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The Authenticity Heuristic:

Are consumer preferences toward culturally authentic producers rational?

Thesis submitted by Adrian John CASEY BPsych (Hons) *QLD* In March 2014 For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy In the School of Psychology James Cook University

#### Statement on the contribution of others

I wish to acknowledge the assistance of my primary supervisor Professor Edward Helmes for his overall contribution to this thesis. He has contributed to experimental design, the collection, analysis and interpretation of data, and has provided editorial advice throughout. He has also contributed to research publications that have come from this thesis.

I wish to acknowledge the contribution of my associate supervisor, Adjunct Associate Professor Ben Slugoski, particularly in the conceptual stages and final writing stages of this thesis. He has contributed to the interpretation of data, provided editorial advice, and has also contributed to research publications that have come from this thesis.

I also wish to acknowledge the assistance of Ryan Anderson for his assistance with the data collection of Study 5 of this research. He has also contributed to research publications that have come from this research.

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## Declaration of ethics

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the JCU Human Research Ethics Committee (Approval Numbers H3665, H4214, H4432, H4713 and H4983).

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## Abstract

This dissertation examines consumer preferences toward authentic producers. It follows on from the work of Doonan (2007) which demonstrated producer authenticity to be extremely persuasive across a number of consumer based contexts. Authenticity is defined as the quality of being true to one's cultural or emotional self. While some attention in this research is initially given to producer emotional authenticity, the scope is reduced to an investigation of producer cultural authenticity. Three broad objectives were established for this research: 1) to identify some of the underlying mechanisms involved in authenticity preferences; 2) to explore the notion that producer authenticity is processed as a heuristic cue; and 3) to demonstrate the irrational nature of preferences toward authentic producers. Five studies were conducted to address the three research objectives. The first study attempted to identify some of the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in preferences towards a Chinese (culturally authentic) acupuncturist, a happy (emotionally authentic) sandwich shop employee, and a blues musician with a history of depression (emotionally authentic). Based on the findings of Doonan (2007), it was expected that preferences would be influenced by individual differences in need for cognition, essentialist beliefs, idiocentrism, magical thinking, and susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic. Furthermore, it was hypothesised that emotional and cultural authenticity preferences would load onto a single factor. Results provided only marginal support for the hypotheses. Specifically, cultural authenticity preferences were influenced by magical beliefs and the gambler's fallacy (a measure of susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic), whereas emotional authenticity preferences were related to low need for cognition. Study 2 was designed to demonstrate that producer cultural authenticity information was processed as a heuristic cue. It was hypothesised that participants would rate a Thai restaurant more favourably when the head chef was Thai (culturally authentic) rather than Hungarian (non-authentic), but only under conditions of low elaboration i.e. when participants were distracted from issue relevant

information. The results provided support for this hypothesis with only distracted participants demonstrating a willingness to pay more for a meal made by the Thai head chef. Study 3 aimed to identify some of the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in preferences toward espresso coffee produced by an Italian (culturally authentic) producer. The results indicated that cultural authenticity preferences were predicted by positive contagion beliefs, personal relevance, desire to experience Italian culture and associations of espresso coffee as an Italian product. Furthermore, the results demonstrated a cultural authenticity bias, with participants rating low quality Italian espresso coffee more favourably than high quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso coffee. Individual cultural authenticity bias scores were predicted by low scores of need for cognition, providing further validation for the existence of an authenticity heuristic. Study 4 attempted to provide additional evidence that participants exhibiting the cultural authenticity bias were engaging in heuristic processing. It was hypothesised that participants in a positive mood (low elaboration likelihood) would be more biased than participants in a negative mood (high elaboration likelihood). While the results failed to provide direct support for this hypothesis, ancillary analyses offered some support for a heuristic account of the cultural authenticity bias. Study 5 investigated the effect of producer cultural authenticity in a product evaluation task. Participants tasted identical chocolate samples with bogus producer authenticity information provided. The results indicated a systematic preference towards chocolate produced by a Swiss (culturally authentic) producer over chocolate produced by an Irish (non-authentic) producer, even though the actual chocolates were identical. Interestingly, product quality acted as a boundary condition, with a cultural authenticity bias only observable for high quality chocolate. Results also indicated that the bias was weaker (but not removed) for participants encouraged to concentrate on intrinsic cues, i.e. high elaboration. Whilst the dissertation focuses on a dual process account of authenticity preferences, alternative interpretations are offered. Furthermore, the results are discussed in relation to the great

rationality debate, and consequently, the (ir)rationality interpretations made throughout the dissertation are scrutinised.

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## CHAPTER 1

Producer authenticity: The 'new' cue to persuasion

## 'Persuasive cues'

Everyday we are bombarded by persuasion attempts. Whether it is from a friend trying to convince us to come along to an awkward dinner arrangement, or from a bank attempting to convince us that their home loan options are the best, persuasion is a reality that we are unable to escape. Persuasion has become such a mundane part of western society that we often even fail to notice its existence. Nevertheless, it has been subject to extensive research in the fields of advertising, marketing, consumer psychology and social psychology.

Early research on persuasion found that levels of persuasion could be enhanced or reduced by manipulating variables relating to the communicator, the message, or the receiver (Hovland, Janis, & Kelly, 1953). This and subsequent research identified a number of variables or 'cues' that were found to be extremely persuasive across a number of contexts. In particular, research has put a great deal of attention into the impact of different cues relating to the source of persuasive messages. For instance, an inference of credibility is made when source cues such as expertise, likeableness or attractiveness are observed (Chaiken, 1987; Petty & Wegener, 1998). In a rational sense, receivers of a message should process all issue-relevant information, and avoid being biased by the persuasive nature of source characteristics. However, it is important to note that at times, these source characteristics can also be processed with a higher degree of thoughtfulness (Petty, Kasmer, Haugtvedt, & Cacioppo, 1987; Petty & Wegener, 1998). That is, the cues may actually be relevant to the merits of the argument. For example, attractiveness in an advertisement might be relevant if the communicator of a message is trying to persuade receivers to purchase a new line of beauty cream.

### Scepticism and the new age persuasive cues

While source characteristics have had a demonstrated effectiveness for so many years, it has been suggested that due to an increase in consumer scepticism, these cues might not be as persuasive as they once used to be (Doonan, 2007; Forehand & Grier, 2003). As public scepticism gets higher, individuals pay more attention to information other than advertising (Obermiller, Spangenberg, & MacLachlan, 2005). As a result of increased advertising scrutiny, source characteristics such as expertise and attractiveness are less likely to be automatically perceived as diagnostic of credibility. People are becoming increasingly aware, for example, that the beautiful model with flawless skin persuading us to buy a particular brand of beauty cream is not necessarily the most trustworthy source. Individuals can commonly be heard saying, "How do I know that she even uses that product", or, "It is not the cream that made her beautiful." Furthermore, individuals are also aware that the beautiful model might not be so 'perfect' without the rigorous computer enhancements that have become such common practice in advertising. Expertise, like attractiveness, is subject to similar scepticism. For example, an advertisement featuring a dentist's recommendation for a particular brand of toothbrush might not trigger perceptions that "experts can be trusted." Instead, advertising may have helped the modern consumer to construct a revised decision making rule; "experts know best" (Ledgerwood, Chaiken, Gruenfeld, & Judd, 2006). While "experts know best", this does not necessarily mean that experts will give us the unbiased and accurate information that we require in order to make an informed decision. In support of this notion, Priester and Petty (1995) indicated that individuals perceived expert sources to be knowledgeable but not always truthful. Furthermore, individuals rated honesty and trustworthiness as the two most important source characteristics. They were found to be more persuasive than other source characteristics including attractiveness, expertise and similarity. Doonan (2007) suggested that honesty is so persuasive because it assures consumers that ulterior motives are at a minimum. And with the myriad of ulterior

motives involved in advertising, it is no wonder that individuals rely most heavily on honesty when making inferences about source credibility.

Akin to this theme of honesty within advertising, it could be easily argued that people should be more inclined to prefer genuineness and authenticity. Recent research has investigated *producer authenticity* as a persuasive cue, and found it to be extremely persuasive across a number of consumer based contexts (Doonan, 2007). The persuasiveness of authenticity is not a new phenomenon; yet its effects have been ignored or quite possibly overlooked. As stated by Chronis and Hampton (2008), "...consumer researchers are only recently sensitized to the market's demand for the development, positioning, and communication of 'authentic products'"(p.112). Even though there is evidence in the consumer/marketing literature that producer authenticity is generally persuasive, the social psychological literature has previously neglected the inclusion of authenticity as a persuasive cue. Hence, the current research seeks to explore the producer authenticity cue in detail.

#### Research questions

The current dissertation aims to answer three broad research questions.

- What are some of the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in preferences toward authentic producers?
- Are preferences toward authentic producers influenced by heuristic processing? That is, do people use authenticity information as a simple "authentic is better" decision rule?
- 3. Are preferences toward authentic producers the result of faulty or irrational decision making?

## Research significance and contribution

The current research follows on from the previous work of Doonan (2007) which was also completed at James Cook University. As previously mentioned, Doonan found producer authenticity to be extremely persuasive across a number of contexts. Producer authenticity was also found to be quite a pervasive cue, with a number of possible boundary conditions proving to be ineffective in moderating its effect. The current dissertation aims to extend on these findings by exploring the cognitive processes involved in preferences toward authentic producers.

The current research is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it will contribute to the literature on authenticity which thus far has focused predominantly on identifying examples of authentic preferences and argued extensively about the most appropriate definition of authenticity. This research aims to move authenticity research forward by taking a more in depth look at what exactly makes authenticity so persuasive. This research will also contribute to the already established literature on dual processes, by presenting it with a new heuristic cue.

The research findings also have a practical implication in that it will be informative to both consumers and the marketing sector. Whilst the marketing sector is clearly aware of the persuasive impact of product and producer authenticity, the current research will provide some understanding of whom to target and how the authenticity information would best be communicated to consumers. From a consumer perspective, this research provides them with the information and awareness to become savvier in their purchasing decisions. It offers consumers the chance to see the conditions in which authenticity becomes more persuasive, and arms consumers with the knowledge required to become more *rational* consumers.

## Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into ten chapters. The first four chapters provide a rationale for the research with a review of the relevant literature. Whilst at first glance, the literature reviews may not appear to be overly extensive, it should be noted that each study chapter that follows provides a rationale of the relevant literature. In that sense, the study chapters act as extensions of the initial literature reviews.

*Chapter 2* outlines the appeal of authenticity and the importance of producer authenticity in the authentication process. The chapter provides the reader with a definition of authenticity, and outlines cultural authenticity and emotional authenticity.

*Chapter 3* provides a basic overview of dual processing models, persuasion cues and heuristics. The chapter also explores the possibility of the existence of an authenticity heuristic and suggests that preferences toward authentic producers are the result of faulty or irrational decision making.

*Chapter 4* outlines emotional authenticity and describes a number of different cues to emotional authenticity including enjoyment and depression.

*Chapter 5* presents the first study which examines whether certain psychological processes influence preferences toward culturally and emotionally authentic producers. The chapter provides a rationale for exploring these variables and provides a review of the relevant literature. Variables examined include essentialist and individualistic conceptions of self, need for cognition, magical thinking, and susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic.

*Chapter 6* presents the second study which aims to demonstrate the heuristic nature of authenticity preferences by exploring the distraction hypothesis. The chapter discusses the relevant literature with an emphasis on the Elaboration Likelihood Model.

*Chapter 7* presents the third study which examines a number of previously unexplored psychological variables and their influence on biased preferences toward products produced by culturally authentic producers. The chapter provides a rationale for exploring these variables and provides a review of the relevant literature. Variables examined include contagion beliefs, superstitious beliefs, need for cognition, faith in intuition, cultural interest, and product/country associations.

*Chapter 8* presents the fourth study which examines the heuristic nature of biased preferences toward products produced by culturally authentic producers. The study explores the effect of mood on authenticity preferences with the rationale that negative mood states increase elaboration likelihood and hence should decrease participants' reliance on the authenticity heuristic.

*Chapter 9* presents the fifth and final study which examines the irrational nature of authenticity preferences. The study aims to demonstrate biased product evaluations for identical product pairings. Furthermore, the influence that contagion beliefs and heuristic processing has on biased product evaluations is explored.

*Chapter 10* provides an overview of the thesis and summarises the key conclusions and implications of the research. This chapter also scrutinises some of the conclusions drawn from the results by reflecting on alternative theoretical frameworks. Additionally, the chapter discusses limitations of the research and makes recommendations for subsequent research.

## CHAPTER 2

## Authenticity in the consumer context

#### Different contexts for authenticity preferences

It has been widely documented in the consumer psychology and marketing literature that authenticity is something that society appears to desire. A clear preference for the 'authentic' has been established across numerous contexts. In the tourism industry, the desire for authenticity is certainly evident (Chronis & Hampton, 2008; Jones & Smith, 2005; MacCannell, 1973, 2008; Mitai, 2008). Tourists report being more *impressed* when their tour is locationally and factually authentic (Chronis & Hampton, 2008). Furthermore, some travel services offer tourists the chance to experience culturally authentic experiences of the local cuisine by having meals with locals in their own homes (Martinelli, 2013). The television industry also appears well aware about society's desire for the authentic. Hall (2009) indicates that there is a notable appeal for reality television programs. The desire for authenticity and authentic products is apparent within sub-cultures in the music industry (Force, 2009). The restaurant industry is also subject to a similar authentic preference. Diners report that they enjoy authentic ethnic dishes and atmospheres (Gaytán, 2008; Lu & Fine, 1995). Interestingly, and somewhat counter-intuitively, authenticity in the context of food is subject to the inverted 'u' hypothesis. That is, food and restaurants are generally more enjoyed when they are perceived as authentic, as long as they are not too authentic (Gaytán, 2008; Lu & Fine, 1995). By being too authentic or 'ethnically true' a restaurant runs the risk of being too strange and not mainstream enough to be profitable. It is quite likely that this inverted 'U' effect of authenticity would also be observed in other contexts. Nevertheless, a strong 'desire for the authentic' is certainly evident in Western society.

## Defining authenticity

The term authenticity can be conceived in a number of ways. While there is some disagreement about the use of the term (Chronis & Hampton, 2008), there is general agreement that authenticity is the state of being original, genuine or true to one's 'self' (Doonan, 2007; Peterson, 2005; Pratt, 2007). On a consumerism level, there are many factors that can contribute to a product's authenticity. Firstly, a product can be authentic in the sense that it is the result of an authentic craft process (Gaytán, 2008; Lu & Fine, 1995; Pratt, 2007). For example, the authentic experience of New Zealand Maori cuisine requires the craft process of the Hāngi, which involves digging a pit in the ground, heating stones in the pit with a large fire, placing baskets of food on top of the stones and covering everything with earth for several hours of cooking (Mitai, 2008). Secondly, a product can be authentic in relation to its authentic location. This can apply to the location of the actual product (Chronis & Hampton, 2008) or the location of the product's components or 'ingredients' (Lu & Fine, 1995; Pratt, 2007). For example, an authentic Maori Hāngi would ideally be crafted in the South Pacific, or would at least consist of vegetables that are native or common to the South Pacific Islands. Location authenticity can also be observed in the tourism industry, in which tourists indicate that an important aspect of the authenticity of a historical attraction is in actually being at the location that the event occurred (Chronis & Hampton, 2008). Finally, and most obviously, a product can be authentic if it is produced by an authentic *producer*. For example, an authentic Maori Hangi might require that the process is carried out by members of the New Zealand Maori culture. In fact, it could be argued that the authentic producer is the most important diagnostic feature of an authentic product. The term authenticity actually originates from the ancient Greek word *authentes*, derived from *autos* "self" and hentes "doer" (Harper, 2011), highlighting the importance of authorship. Hence, a working definition of authentic food for example, should entail dishes that are true to themselves and the person cooking them (Sukhadwala, 2012). In tourism, works of art,

cuisine, or rituals are often described as authentic or inauthentic based on whether or not they were produced by locals according to their traditions (Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

The notion of consuming authenticity is a very elusive concept, as it does not have the same meaning for all situations (Chronis & Hampton, 2008). On one hand, authenticity can be taken to mean the factual standing of an object, that is, how 'real' the object is (Bagnall, 1996; MacCannell, 1973). Alternatively, the conception of authenticity can refer to the experiential realm of the consumer (Bagnall, 1996). For example, in the restaurant industry, the allure of "authentic Chinese food", "authentic Italian food" and "authentic Mexican food" is certainly evident, even though the desired 'authentic' dishes are often a Westernised transformation of the authentic products themselves (Gaytán, 2008; Lu & Fine, 1995). As stated by Lu and Fine (1995), ".... in this "moral" sense, the food does not deserve the label of being authentic" (p. 538). Nevertheless, the majority of consumers desire the 'illusion of authenticity' and are often forgiving or naïve about the artificiality of such proceedings (Lu & Fine, 1995; MacCannell, 1973; Peterson, 2005). Generally, individuals have a desire for the perception of authenticity as they see best fit. The experience does not necessarily have to be real. As stated by Petraglia (2009), ".... authenticity is not an intrinsic property possessed by information, it is a judgment, a decision made on the part of the learner based on prior experience and socio-cultural context" (p.179). This quote highlights the idea that authenticity is not dependent on its actual, 'real' or factual standing. To create an authentic product or experience, one only has to create the illusion of that which is real or authentic; an outcome that can be easily achieved through very general and stereotypical approaches (Gaytán, 2008). As offered by Reisinger and Steiner (2006), "...it does not matter whether the representation is objective, constructed, or denied legitimacy; it is the world as pictured through one's idea or eidos of it" (p.75). Furthermore, they suggest that any definition of authenticity should abandon a realist approach and focus on a more constructivist perspective.

For this reason, any subsequent discussion about authenticity will not be in terms of that which is truly real or genuine. Instead, the focus will be on that which is *perceived* as authentic.

## The inference of quality

Perhaps the most obvious reason that consumers are persuaded by authenticity is that it implies an added level of quality to a product. Chronis and Hampton (2008) state "a plethora of restaurants, grocery stores, and food manufacturers offer their own versions of authentic Chinese food, Greek feta, and exotic recipes that promise an augmented product value above and beyond their surface functional significance" (p.111). This suggests that by creating the perception of authenticity, a product becomes more valuable and is perceived to be of a better quality. Doonan (2007) also suggested that *authentic* is the new code word for quality and that the mere presence of the word alone can be persuasive. In an empirical study of the effects of authenticity, she found that subjects expected authentically produced products to be of better quality than non-authentically produced products (Doonan, 2007). This is great news for advertisers, as it suggests that people will be more likely to buy the 'authentic' version of a product. However, it might be argued that without some sort of confirmation that the authentic product is actually better in quality, this authentic positioning of a product is only superficial in terms of a preferential effect and is only persuasive in the short term.

Fortunately for these advertisers, there is strong evidence to suggest that the perception of a product's authenticity is so persuasive that it can actually increase post-hoc ratings of quality. Doonan (2007) found that subjects who were told that their sample of coffee was (authentic) Brazilian coffee were more likely to enjoy the odour than subjects who were told that the coffee was (non-authentic) British coffee. Furthermore, these subjects rated the authentic Brazilian coffee as better in quality and reported that they would be

willing to pay more for it. Most notably, all participants sampled exactly the same coffee. These results indicate that the perception of authenticity is able to create an illusory perception of product quality. For an authentic product, consumers not only expect better quality but are likely to experience better quality, even in the absence of an objective increase in quality. Despite the obvious link between authenticity and the inference of quality, it could be argued that this as a sole explanation for authenticity preferences is limited.

## The authentic experience

Authenticity can be seen as not only a product feature, but as an experiential outcome (Chronis & Hampton, 2008). In other words, there is a demand for the experience of authenticity, irrespective of an implied quality. People are able to feel more authentic by immersing themselves in what they take to be authentic experiences (Peterson, 2005). On this level, preferences for authenticity are due to much more than a simple inference of quality. This desire for the 'authentic experience' is evident in a number of contexts, perhaps most notably, in the tourism industry. Tourists often indicate that they feel more connected to a historical event when it is presented more authentically. Chronis and Hampton (2008) suggest that perceived authenticity creates the illusion of being transported in time (p.122). The results of a study conducted by Lewis and Bridger (2000) study show further evidence that authentic preference can be due to the experience rather than an inference of quality. In this study, subjects were asked to rate their liking for a small green bottle. Some participants were told that it was an artefact from Pompeii, while others were told nothing about the bottle. Not surprisingly, subjects who thought they held an actual ancient artefact were much more inclined to indicate liking for the bottle than those who thought they held an ordinary green bottle. These judgments were probably not due to an inference of quality. Instead subjects were most likely appreciating the authentic experience associated with owning the relic from Pompeii. Another example for the authentic experience is highlighted by Gaytán

(2008). This study makes it is clear that the allure of Mexican restaurants is not in its food quality, but in its authentic experience. Gaytán (2008) indicated that in a westernised authentic Mexican restaurant, diners are not expecting the 'ethnically true' food that one could expect to be served in an actual Mexican restaurant. In fact, diners are less worried about the quality and the 'authentic accuracy' of the food and are more interested in the authentic 'feel' or 'atmosphere' of the restaurant (Gaytán, 2008).

## Producer authenticity

Recall the three mentioned contributors in the authentication process of a product: authentic location, authentic craft and authentic producer. Whereas most research on the effects of authentic products has emphasised the authentication process by means of authentic location or authentic craft processes (Boutrolle, Delarue, Köster, Aranz, & Danzart, 2009; Gaytán, 2008; Lu & Fine, 1995; MacCannell, 1973), there are fewer studies that have focused on the effects of having an authentic producer (Doonan, 2007). Authenticity, like honesty, offers a pathway to source credibility. As stated by Zukin (2008) "...I am staring at the strangest tomatoes I have ever seen... 'Italian tomatoes', the sign says.... the farmer, a man in his mid-thirties, with muscular arms already deeply tanned encourages me. 'They're the best tomatoes you've ever eaten,' he says. And although they are ugly, I believe him" (p.724). The authentic producer is not only high in expertise, but is genuine, true to his culture, and in that sense, he is probably honest and trustworthy.

## Cultural (ethnic) authenticity

Perhaps the easiest way to notice the effects of the perception of producer authenticity is by observing those situations in which group membership, rather than training and qualifications, gives an individual the right to represent a group (Peterson, 2005). For example, it is unlikely that one would perceive the experience of being served an authentic Chinese meal cooked by a Caucasian chef at a Chinese restaurant as 'authentic'. Similarly, the authenticity of Blues music in a Chicago Blues club generally requires the stereotypical ethnic appearance of the African-American (Grazian, 2003). Even for an equally 'crafted' or 'culturally trained' non-authentic alternative, it seems unlikely that an individual would still accept the experience as authentic. Doonan (2007) found that individuals exhibited a preferential effect for Aboriginal art when they were told that it was painted by an untrained Aboriginal, compared to when they were told it was painted by a Caucasian with expertise and formal training in Aboriginal art. The previous examples are all situations in which individuals have the perception of authenticity based on very general and stereotypical socio-cultural rules. That is, to belong to an authentic group, one must have the ethnic appearance associated with that group. Doonan (2007) termed this as cultural authenticity and found that it was extremely persuasive in terms of a preferential effect. Ethnicity is perhaps the most explicit pathway to producer authenticity, because we can directly observe it in a physical sense.

Whilst the persuasive impact of producer cultural authenticity has previously been neglected in the social psychology and consumer psychology literatures, there are some similarities with investigations of producer cultural authenticity and the established literature on product *country of origin*. Country of origin typically refers to product information such as "made in (China)" or "owned by" (Leonidou, Palihawadana, & Talias, 2007; Lin & Sternquist, 1994; Mort & Duncan, 2003). For example, cars produced in developed countries are regarded as superior to cars produced in developing countries (Srinivasan, Jain, & Sikand, 2004), and consumers hold stereotypes about the characteristics of cars from different countries (Hooley, Shipley, & Krieger, 1988). Additionally, consumers make inferences of low quality for products produced by Asian countries such as Taiwan and China (Leonidou, et al., 2007; Lin & Sternquist, 1994). The country of origin research has typically referred to production location, and the country information has generally acted as a cue to perceptions of inferior/superior industry. Cultural authenticity research on the other

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hand, involves the producer of culturally relevant products; products that have cultural significance to the producer. These products can be culturally specific; for example, Thai food is culturally specific to Thai people. Alternatively, products can be culturally relevant; for example, the production of chocolate has some cultural relevance to Swiss and Belgian chocolate makers, while the production of the actual cacao beans is culturally relevant to a number of South American ethnicities.

#### Emotional authenticity

Cultural authenticity is not the only aspect of a producer that can be perceived as authentic. Doonan (2007) introduced the notion of emotional authenticity. That is, the degree to which a product is the result of the craft process being 'emotionally true' to the producer's 'self'. Perhaps the most obvious example is in the authentic enjoyment of a producer or service provider. Doonan (2007) found that when told a producer genuinely enjoyed making a product, participants were more likely to rate the quality of the product as higher. A number of other cues to emotional authenticity also exist and are beneficial in particular contexts. Different situations might require a producer / service provider to display authentic expressions of empathy, friendliness, melancholy or pleasure. In the context of blues music, which has a historic theme of hardship and depressed. This emotional authenticity is likely to increase perceptions of the genuineness of a product or the performance. Emotional authenticity will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 3

## The authenticity heuristic:

A dual process account of authenticity preferences

#### Dual process theories

For quite some time, the social psychological literature has conceived the human mind in terms of a dual processing system. This view has had a long history, arguably dating back to the work of James (1890) which posited that human reasoning involved two kinds of thinking: associative and true reasoning. He argued that associative thinking involved the application of knowledge from past experiences, and described associative thinking as merely "reproductive". On the other hand, James suggested that true reasoning was useful for unprecedented situations in which individuals must rely on reasoning to overcome obstacles. In terms of judgments and decision making, Tversky and Kahneman's (1974) work on heuristics and biases has proven extremely influential for a number of decades. Tversky and Kahneman initially proposed that individuals are susceptible to a number of judgment errors and biases, pertaining in particular to probability, frequency judgments and value estimates. Take for example, the following problem from Frederick (2005):

A bat and ball cost \$1.10. The bat costs \$1.00 more than the ball. How much does the ball cost?

The intuitive answer to this problem is "10 cents"; an answer provided by the majority of subjects exposed to the problem. However, with the proper cognitive reflection, it should be recognised that the difference between 10 cents and \$1.00 is only 90 cents, not \$1.00 as specified in the problem (Frederick, 2005). Nearly all participants that avoided the impulsive answer of 10 cents managed to provide the correct response of 5 cents.

To account for erroneous judgments such as this, two distinct modes of cognitive processing have been proposed: System 1, based on intuitive processing, and System 2, based on analytical reasoning (Kahneman, 2003; Stanovich & West, 2000). The operations involved in System 1 are typically fast, intuitive, automatic, effortless, associative, and implicit and often emotionally charged. In contrast, the operations involved in System 2 are slower, serial, effortful, deliberate and more likely to be consciously monitored (Kahneman, 2003). Whilst it is the role of System 2 to monitor System 1, a number of cognitive errors can be attributed to System 2 failing to override the initial intuitive responses of System 1 (Frederick, 2005; Kahneman, 2003). A number of conceptually similar dual process models have been developed over the past few decades, and while they offer slightly different accounts, they share many of the features traditionally described in the System 1/ System 2 framework (Epstein, Pacini, DenesRaj, & Heier, 1996; Evans, 2006; Sloman, 1996; Strack & Deutsch, 2004).

## Heuristics and biases in judgments and decision making

The tendency to respond incorrectly to problems such as the bat and ball problem can be attributed to an over-reliance on intuitive judgments, otherwise known as heuristics (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Based on the Greek word *heuriskein* meaning "to find" (Harper, 2012), heuristics are simple, efficient, rules of thumb that help to reduce the complexity of cognitive tasks (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). In Tversky and Kahneman's (1974) ground-breaking paper, they identified numerous biases relating to three broad categories of heuristics: representativeness heuristic, availability heuristic, and anchoring and adjustment. The *representativeness heuristic* involves mental shortcuts used to make judgments about the probabilities of events under uncertainty. Individuals tend to judge the probability of an event based on how similar the prospects are to the individuals' prototypes about the event. For example, when provided a description of a hypothetical woman named Linda, the majority of people judged it more likely that she was a feminist bank teller than just a bank teller, even though the likelihood of two events cannot be greater than either of the events individually (Tversky & Kahneman, 1983). The availability heuristic involves a mental shortcut that bases the probability of an event on the ease with which examples come to mind. In one study for example, the majority of participants indicated a belief that there were more words in the English language starting with the letter K than words with K as the third letter (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). In actual fact, there are approximately twice as many words in which K is the third letter than words that begin with K. However, people judge the relative frequencies based on the ease with which words of both types come to mind. Since it is easier to recall words with K as the first letter (e.g. knight, kite, kit, kitten) than words with K as the third letter (e.g. acknowledge, bike, ankle, cake), participants assess that there must be more of these words in the English dictionary. The anchoring and adjustment heuristic refers to the tendency for individuals to rely too heavily on the first piece of information (anchor) provided (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). One early demonstration of the anchoring effect had participants estimate various quantities (e.g. the number of African countries in the United Nations). For each quantity, a random number was produced by spinning a 'wheel of fortune' in the participants' presence. Participants were then asked to estimate the actual value by moving upward or downward from the random number. The random numbers had a marked effect on estimated values, despite the irrelevance of them. Subsequent research identified a number of other heuristics relating to a broad range of social judgments and decision making, e.g. simulation heuristic (Kahneman & Tversky, 1988), affect heuristic (Slovic, Finucane, Peters, & MacGregor, 2007), and fluency heuristic (Hertwig, Herzog, Schooler, & Reimer, 2008).

#### Dual process theories for persuasion

Dual process theories are also featured in the social psychological literature on persuasion and attitude change. Early research on persuasion found that levels of persuasion could be enhanced or reduced by manipulating variables relating to the communicator, the message, or the receiver (Hovland, Janis, & Kelly, 1953). Unfortunately, the findings from numerous studies were conflicting, showing that in some situations the variables enhanced persuasion, whereas in other situations there was no effect (Petty & Wegener, 1998). To address the role of cognitive processes involved in persuasion attempts, two important theoretical models of persuasion were developed (Gilovich, Keltner & Nisbett, 2006): the Heuristic-Systematic Model (Chaiken, 1980) , and the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Like with other dual process theories, both models make the general assumption that there are two routes or systems involved in persuasion. The first route, termed the central route (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981) or systematic route (Chaiken, 1980), involves the careful and deliberate thought process in response to the content of a message. People using the systematic/central route attend to the logic of arguments contained in the message. The second route, termed the peripheral route (Petty & Cacioppo, 1981) or the heuristic route (Chaiken, 1980), involves a less conscious response to the content of a message. Whilst the models are quite similar, the focus in the current research is on the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM).

Central to the conceptual framework of the ELM is the notion of elaboration; that is, the extent to which an individual processes issue-relevant information. Elaboration is conceptualised along a continuum ranging from high to low (Petty & Wegener, 1998). The likelihood of high elaboration is dependent on a number of factors related to the individual receiving and processing a message. Firstly, the individual requires the cognitive resources required to process the message. For instance, individuals must not be too distracted (Harkins & Petty, 1981), must have the time to process information, and must have the intellectual ability (Stanovich & West, 2000). Secondly, the individual must have sufficient issue-relevant knowledge about the topic (Petty & Wegener, 1998; Wood & Kallgren, 1988). Finally, the individual must be motivated enough to attend to the message (Cacioppo, Petty, & Morris, 1983; Petty & Wegener, 1998). To be sufficiently motivated, individuals must either find the message personally relevant (Sorrentino, Bobocel, Gitta, Olson, & Hewitt, 1988), or have the tendency to enjoy engaging in complex and analytic thought (Cacioppo, Petty, Kao, & Rodriguez, 1986; Cacioppo, et al., 1983).

When elaboration likelihood is high, an individual uses the central route and attends to the logic of arguments presented. However, when elaboration likelihood is low, an individual uses the peripheral / heuristic route (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). Instead of attending to issue-relevant information, individuals using the peripheral route instead attend to certain variables or 'cues' featured within the message. Cues can be related to a number of different aspects of the persuasion attempt; the message, the receiver, the audience and the communicator. However, the communicator or source characteristics are perhaps the most studied of the persuasive cues. Research has revealed that persuasion is more likely when the communicator is perceived to be credible. Generally the inference of credibility is made when source cues such as expertise, likeableness or attractiveness are observed (Chaiken, 1987; Petty & Wegener, 1998). In a rational sense, receivers of a message should process the issue-relevant information, and avoid being biased by the persuasive nature of source characteristics. However, as discussed previously, there are often times when individuals are unable to operate under the central route. Additionally, it is important to note that while persuasion via the peripheral route is influenced by source cues such as likableness and attractiveness, this does not mean all cues are processed peripherally. These source characteristics can also be processed through higher elaboration (Petty, Kasmer, Haugtvedt, & Cacioppo, 1987; Petty & Wegener, 1998). If the cues are relevant to the merits of the argument, then it is possible that the cues will be used via the central route to persuasion. For example, attractiveness might be relevant if the communicator of a message is trying to persuade receivers to purchase a new line of beauty cream.

Extending from the theoretical framework of the ELM, individuals processing under conditions of low elaboration likelihood attend to persuasive cues in a fast and intuitive manner. In such situations, individuals tend to rely on a variety of heuristics relating to the relevant source, message and recipient cues. An example of such a heuristic is the consensus *heuristic*, in which views are influenced by other people's reaction to the message (Chaiken, 1987; Landy, 1972; O'Keefe, 2008). The consensus heuristic can cause an individual to find a message more persuasive without the individual even attending to issue-relevant information. An individual operating under the consensus heuristic will be more persuaded when they observe other people's approving reactions to a message. Another example of a heuristic cue - but specific to the source or communicator of a persuasive message - is the expertise heuristic. When this heuristic is used, individuals rely on the apparent level of expertise of the source. When expertise is perceived to be high, individuals are more likely to be persuaded by the message. However, under conditions of high elaboration, message content is more likely to be scrutinised and the expertise cue becomes less persuasive (Reimer, Mata, & Stoecklin, 2004). The process of using heuristic cues in decision making relies on the application of basic decision rules or 'rules of thumb' that an individual has constructed as a result of their past experiences and observations (Chaiken, 1987; Nisbett & Ross, 1980). For example, for the expertise heuristic to be used, individuals must have learnt at some point in their life that "experts can be trusted" (Chaiken, 1987).

## Heuristics in the consumer context

Recent research has suggested that a number of heuristics are utilised by consumers when making judgments such as distinguishing between available choices or making product evaluations. One study demonstrated that the effort that goes into making a product is used as a heuristic in product evaluations. The *effort heuristic* was demonstrated experimentally for different products including a painting, a poem and a suit of armour (Kruger, Wirtz, Van Boven, & Altermatt, 2004). Participants made higher ratings of liking, quality and value for the products when they thought the production process was more effortful and time consuming. A similar cue-oriented heuristic is the *duration heuristic*, which describes consumers' tendency to draw inferences of quality from the duration of a service rather than the actual content (Yeung & Soman, 2007). Consumers rely on the duration heuristic because it simplifies the evaluation process. Another example of a heuristic in the consumer context is the *familiarity heuristic* with which brand names are processed at the heuristic level (Macdonald & Sharp, 2000; Maheswaran, Mackie, & Chaiken, 1992; Park & Lessig, 1981). The relevant research demonstrated that consumers required fewer taste samples and less time when one of the choices was a familiar brand. While these heuristics all have different applications, the important feature is that they all assist the consumer to make decisions in a fast, efficient manner, while actually drawing evaluative attention away from the product-relevant information.

Perhaps the most conceptually similar cue to producer authenticity is the country of origin cue. Experimental manipulations have provided evidence that the country of origin cue is processed heuristically. In particular, Chang (2004) found that participants motivated to attend to issue-relevant information in an advertisement were more likely to be persuaded by the country of origin cue. From this, it might be expected that producer cultural authenticity is processed at the same level of heuristic processing. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, whilst country of origin cues share many features of the producer cultural authenticity cue, they are most certainly distinguishable from each other. In the above study for instance, the country of origin cue was specific to the production location, whereas producer authenticity is more concerned with the ethnic background of the producer. Furthermore, the relevant manipulation of the countries in Chang (2004) was based on perceptions that China produces inferior quality products compared to France. In contrast,
the producer's cultural authenticity acts as a positive evaluative cue, and is used for inferences of quality and expectations about the consumer experience. Based on this distinction, it would perhaps be rash to include the producer cultural authenticity cue in the same heuristic framework before analysing it on its own merits.

# Is producer authenticity a heuristic cue?

While there is evidence that suggests authenticity is certainly a persuasive cue, there has been little attempt to demonstrate that authentic preference might be processed heuristically rather than thoughtfully. In terms of the Elaboration Likelihood Model, authenticity preferences might be due to both high and low elaboration (Doonan, 2007; Petty & Wegener, 1998). At the 'high end' of elaboration, people might be making 'thoughtful' inferences such as competence or expertise about the authentic producer. Doonan (2007) found that for many subjects, an inference about product quality was made about the coffee grown by a culturally authentic Brazilian producer. Similarly, findings also indicated that for emotionally authentic service providers -those who had an authentic enjoyment for their job - subjects made not only an inference about product quality, but also had increased perceptions of the authentic service provider's expertise. Furthermore, it was suggested that this increased perception of quality was most likely due to an inference made about the service provider's level of competence or care put into their service or product. This suggests that, in these contexts, preferences toward authentic producers were not necessarily indicative of fast and irrational decision making, but that it was perhaps a thoughtful and rational judgment. On the other hand, there is certainly a part of authentic preference that is the result of low elaboration. Doonan (2007) found that even when it was communicated to subjects that a Chinese acupuncturist (culturally authentic) and Caucasian acupuncturist (culturally inauthentic) were of identical expertise and reputation levels, subjects still showed a preferential effect for the authentic acupuncturist. They were also more likely to rate the authentic acupuncturist's expertise level as higher. Furthermore, subjects who

preferred the authentic acupuncturist were lower in Need for Cognition, meaning that these subjects were less motivated or interested in engaging in analytic thought. According to the ELM, individuals who are less motivated to attend to issue-related information are more likely to use the peripheral route. To date, these findings by Doonan (2007) provide the only evidence that preferences towards an authentic producer are the result of low elaboration likelihood.

# The authenticity heuristic

If an authenticity preference is in fact due to low elaboration likelihood, then it is likely that this effect is mediated by a new heuristic, one that would allow people to make intuitive preferential judgments about authentic products and producers in a fast and decisive manner. Doonan (2007) suggested that subjects may have been operating under an 'authentic is better' heuristic. If there actually is an 'authentic is better' heuristic, it would most likely operate as a general rule of thumb. Of course, for it to be used, an individual must have some context or situation specific knowledge based on a relevant stereotype. For example, in the context of coffee, the authenticity heuristic cannot be relied on if the individual has never formed the perception that 'Brazilian coffee (authentic) is better'. As the results from the experiments conducted by Doonan (2007) indicate, people will often ignore product-relevant information, such as the expertise and reputations of producers, and will instead base their decision entirely on the use of the 'authentic is better' heuristic. Interestingly, people who are *high* in elaboration likelihood probably have constructed similar decision rules. However, the point is that the more 'thoughtful' people will concentrate on issue (product)-relevant information and be less inclined towards, and less dependent on, the use of the authenticity heuristic.

While there is not a great deal of other research that has attempted to demonstrate the heuristic nature of preferences toward culturally authentic producers and products, a number of studies have addressed a conceptually similar area of research, exploring the heuristic nature of the country of origin cue. Generally, the country of origin cue refers to the location that a product was produced. The cue is related to either positive or negative stereotypes about that country's ability to produce a quality product. For example, products 'made in Taiwan' are perceived to be low in quality (Lin & Sternquist, 1994). Chang (2004) found that when consumers engaged in heuristic processing, the country of origin cue was relied on. Some of the research on the country of origin cue has focused on products that are culturally specific, and these studies also provide evidence that it is a heuristic process. Kleppe, Iversen and Stensaker (2002) suggested that the product-country image of products such as French wine and cheese, German beer, and Swiss chocolate is the most important evaluative heuristic. Furthermore, Verlegh, Steenkamp and Meulenberg (2005) found that when comparing Spanish and Dutch tomatoes, the country of origin cue was more effective under conditions that encouraged heuristic processing. Despite the conceptual differences between this research and research about producer cultural authenticity, the findings do give reason enough to believe that product and producer authenticity are also processed heuristically.

While much of the judgment and decision making literature suggests that forming judgments based on heuristic processing leads to systematic biases and non-optimal decisions (Kahneman, 2011; Stanovich & West, 1998; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974), some authors have suggested that heuristic processing is often adaptive, efficient, and at times, more accurate than the "rational" decisions as defined by logic and statistical models (Gigerenzer & Gaissmaier, 2011; Gladwell, 2005). From a functional standpoint, relying on information about producer authenticity may be rational. That is, authentically produced products may actually be 'better' more often than not. Therefore, it would be reasonable to make inferences of quality for such products. However, past research has indicated some clear-cut cases in which the authenticity cue has biased judgments (Doonan, 2007; Lewis &

Bridger, 2000). Hence, the current research aims to demonstrate the irrational nature of authenticity preferences, whilst also demonstrating the relation to heuristic processing.

Whilst a heuristic processing account of authenticity preferences might do a good job of explaining the processes involved, it would be overly simplistic to discount the role that other variables might have in explaining preferences. As such, the current research will address the psychological mechanisms involved other than heuristic processing. The review of the relevant literature for these variables will be provided in the rationale for Studies 1 and 3, which look at preferences toward authentic producers from an individual difference perspective.

#### **CHAPTER 4**

# Emotional authenticity

'I've learned that people will forget what you said, people will forget what you did, but people will never forget how you made them feel'

- Mary Angelou

#### Emotional authenticity

In the realm of consumerism, the word 'authentic' seems most relevant to the context of culture and ethnicity. When asked to describe examples of 'authentic' products, most people would probably provide examples such as authentic Brazilian coffee, authentic Italian pasta, authentic French perfume, or authentic Chinese cuisine. However, by no means is 'cultural authenticity' the end of the story. Authentic production does not always require a culturally authentic producer. As alluded to in Chapter 1, a producer can be considered authentic if the process of making the product is congruent with the emotional disposition of the producer. In other words, a producer can be emotionally authentic, not just culturally authentic. It is important to note that emotional authenticity is not limited to the producer; in fact most research on the topic has emphasised the importance of emotional authenticity for service providers and individuals in customer service roles (Doonan, 2007; Godwyn, 2006; Leidner, 1999). There are a number of services, products and even performances that require a certain level of *emotional authenticity*. The emotion required is dictated by the situation that one finds themself in. The following chapter will outline various emotions that can act as cues to 'producer authenticity', while outlining numerous contexts to which they apply.

## Emotional labour

While the term emotional authenticity has only recently been used (Doonan, 2007), the notion of being emotionally congruent with one's work is certainly not a new idea. Hochschild (1983) initially stated that an important aspect of the service industry was in ensuring that customers received the desired affective experience. For example, an air hostess is expected to offer friendly service and demonstrate a caring and submissive attitude to costumers (Hochschild, 1983). Unfortunately, the expectation is far beyond the usual affective state of most American women working as air hostesses. Therefore, these service providers must perform *emotional labour* – creating a publicly observable facial or bodily gesture – in order to meet that expectation (Hochschild, 1983). This can be done through one of two ways; surface acting or deep acting (Hochschild, 1983; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Surface acting involves simulating or faking desired emotions, or suppressing undesired felt emotions (Zhang & Zhu, 2008). Surface actors are 'putting a mask on' so that they are perceived to be emotionally congruent with the service they are providing. For example, a professional actor required to cry in a scene could rub eucalyptus oil under his eyes to create artificial tears. Deep acting, on the other hand, involves attempting to invoke and actually 'feel' the emotions that are being displayed (Zhang & Zhu, 2008). For example, instead of creating artificial tears, the actor could self-induce 'real' sadness by recalling an extremely depressive situation. Deep acting is generally much more effective, with some employers actually offering their employees training on strategies for achieving deep acting. For example, airline company Delta suggested to their air hostesses that they should imagine that the plane was 'their living room' and that their customers were 'their family members' (Hochschild, 1983). This was meant to evoke the same sense of welcome, warmth and friendliness that they would normally offer their own family members in their own home. This similar approach was taken by the fast-casual chain of sandwich shops known as Pret a Manger (Taylor, 2013). The sandwich shops offer a wide range of pre-made sandwiches,

allowing their customers to be in and out within 60 seconds. Despite the brief nature of the service, Pret a Manger want that time to be filled with smiles, positive energy and a genuine human connection. Pret a Manger desires this emotional output from their employees to such an extent that the company has identified a set of 'Pret behaviours', and they provide an indepth training program that aims to ingrain those behaviours into all employees.

Obviously, the alternative to surface and deep acting is to display the desired emotions because those emotions come genuinely or authentically to one's self (Gardner, Fischer, & Hunt, 2009). However, one might argue that there is little difference between genuine emotions and emotions that become genuine through the deep acting process. As previously mentioned about authentic food, authenticity is best conceptualised as a perception, not an actual state. An emotion does not have to be genuine or authentic; it simply has to be perceived in that way. This might suggest that surface acting is also authentic, provided that the service provider is deceptive enough to create the illusion of emotional authenticity. However, it is important to note that consumers are quite good at distinguishing fake emotional displays from genuine emotional displays (Grandey, Fisk, Mattila, Jansen, & Sideman, 2005). For example, findings indicate that customers perceive genuine smiles (induced through deep acting) to be authentic, whereas forced smiles (resulting from surface acting) are perceived as inauthentic (Grandey, et al., 2005). But is it actually important for service providers to be perceived as emotionally authentic?

A multitude of research has indicated that the answer to this question is 'yes' and this literature is summarised below. Customers have an obvious desire for perceived emotional authenticity. However, as mentioned earlier, the desired emotion is not universal; it is context specific. Emotional authenticity does not always involve outgoing friendliness and submissiveness. Sometimes the required emotion is enjoyment; other times it is empathy. Ironically, negative emotions such as depression may also create the perception of emotional authenticity.

# Enjoyment authenticity

As indicated by Doonan (2007), a service provider's enjoyment acts as a cue to emotional authenticity. Enjoyment authenticity is perhaps the most pervasive cue to authenticity, as it can be applied to nearly any context (Doonan, 2007). Furthermore, enjoyment is quite easy to display by means of a genuine smile. After all, it makes sense that people who *enjoy* their job would appear to be 'happier' when they *do* their job. By displaying authentic enjoyment for one's job, the service provider is sending the message that providing this service comes 'authentically' to them; it is *who* they are.

A number of studies have explored the impact that service provider enjoyment has on customer evaluations (Doonan, 2007; Grandey, et al., 2005; Hennig-Thurau, Groth, Paul, & Gremler, 2006). For example, Grandey et al. (2005) found that the enjoyment authenticity (genuine smile) of a restaurant waitress enhanced perceptions of both friendliness and customer satisfaction. Similarly, Doonan (2007) found that when subjects were informed about the high enjoyment level of a computer technician, they were more likely to rate the quality of service as high, than when they were told that the technician had low enjoyment. As is the case with cultural authenticity, there are two possible pathways to such an authentic preference; an experiential outcome, and an inference of quality. In both of the previously mentioned studies, preference for the high-enjoyment service provider may have occurred due to an inference made that 'those who enjoy their job more will perform better'. As suggested by Doonan (2007), enjoyment implies competence, and in turn, quality. Alternatively, preference for the high-enjoyment service provider may have occurred due to the experiential aspect of the service provider-customer interaction. The emotional authenticity of the service provider may create an 'emotional contagion' (Hennig-Thurau, et al., 2006). That is, the service provider's positive emotions 'rub off' onto the customer. By influencing the affective state of the customer, emotional contagion also influences customer perceptions and evaluations of the service encounter (Hennig-Thurau, et al., 2006).

While enjoyment authenticity is certainly persuasive, the previously mentioned research has explored customer perceptions of service providers based solely on the service provider-customer interaction. Little research has investigated whether or not this effect is observable beyond the service encounter. Hence, the following question must be asked. Is it possible that enjoyment authenticity (and emotional authenticity in general) is still persuasive in situations where no interaction exists between a producer and the consumer? Doonan (2007) conducted a number of experiments that demonstrated that enjoyment authenticity was persuasive, even without the service encounter. In one experiment, it was found that subjects, who were told that an essay would be written by an author who genuinely enjoyed their job, expected a higher quality essay than subjects who were told that the author did not enjoy their job. In another two experiments conducted by Doonan (2007), it was found that producer enjoyment was so persuasive that subjects interpreted enjoyment level as the sole diagnostic criterion for product quality. In both studies, all subjects read the same essay or smelt the same coffee sample. Some subjects were told that the producer had low enjoyment, while other subjects were told that the producer had high enjoyment. Product evaluations were higher for subjects who were told that producer enjoyment was high, even though the products were identical. These results indicate that when making subjective evaluations of a product, consumers tend to ignore the relevant object-related information (quality of smell or writing) and instead base their decision on the characteristics of the producer (in this case, the level of enjoyment).

# Other cues to the emotionally authentic self

While the scope of Doonan's (2007) experimental research on emotional authenticity was limited to enjoyment authenticity, it was suggested that a number of other emotions could act as persuasive cues in certain contexts. For example, it is important for nurses to express *empathy* towards patients and families of patients (Reynolds & Scott, 2000; Stayt, 2009). Similarly, paralegals are expected to perform emotional labour in order to express the required level of empathy and understanding (Pierce, 1999). As suggested by Reynolds and Scott (2000), empathy is crucial to all helping professionals and unfortunately many people in such professions, including nurses, fail to show adequate empathy. One particular study showed that when empathy was expressed by nurses, patients reported better service satisfaction (La Monica, Wolf, Madea, & Oberst, 1987). Furthermore, patients who felt that their nurses were more empathetic showed significantly lower levels of anxiety and hostility (La Monica, et al., 1987). These results demonstrate that empathy is an essential service feature beyond training and formal expertise. Considering the fact that most helping professionals are perceived to be low in empathy (Reynolds & Scott, 2000), it could be suggested that empathy in the context of a service does not come authentically or genuinely to most people. For many of these helping professions, a certain level of emotional labour would be required. This notion seems plausible considering findings that indicate expressing empathy can be trained in helping professionals (La Monica, et al., 1987). Although, it has not been directly researched it is unlikely that fake or inauthentic attempts at being empathetic would be perceived as empathetic. Therefore, only 'authentic' displays of empathy (or deep acting) should have an influence on service satisfaction.

Another example of emotional authenticity is the display of *pleasure*. Expressing pleasure demonstrates that a stimulus is pleasant. Pleasure, like other authentically expressed emotions, may also act as a cue to persuasion. In general, people are more convinced that a product is high in quality when genuine pleasure is expressed. One study explored this idea in the context of female audience reactions to pornographic films. Subjects reported less enjoyment for pornographic films when the expressed pleasure of actresses was perceived to be inauthentic (Parvez, 2006). Such a finding might seem quite obvious, in that the expressed pleasure is essentially the entire product feature. That is, in pornographic films, the realness or genuineness of the performance is the salient cue to acting quality. However, in other contexts, a product can have a number of product features that are essential to the objective

quality of a product. For example, in evaluating a food product, a number of product features can influence an individual's evaluations; the aesthetic appeal, the aroma, and the flavours that are tasted. However, on television cooking programs, viewers are only privy to limited information; namely the aesthetic appeal of the product. Therefore, to get an indication of smell and taste, the viewer must rely on the subjective pleasure expressed by the 'television taster'. It could be argued that this effect is simply an alternate version of the consensus heuristic (Chaiken, 1987; Landy, 1972; O'Keefe, 2008). However, the consensus heuristic refers to the perceived argument quality rather than an observed emotional state. With television taster feedback, viewers are able to make a decision even in the absence of product relevant information. However, even with the expressed emotion of pleasure, post-modern scepticism dictates that we question whether or not the food is good just because the host of the cooking show indicated that it was. After all, it is in the cooking show's 'best interests' to increase the appeal of the food cooked. Therefore, it seems important that emotional labour is performed to ensure that pleasure is perceived by others as emotionally authentic. People who express genuine pleasure, as opposed to obvious surface acting, are less likely to be perceived as manipulative. Hence, they should be more likely to trigger perceptions of honesty, trustworthiness, and credibility.

Another example of emotional authenticity can be seen in the context of the music and film industries. In the music genre of Blues, and Country and Western, many songs have *depressive* or melancholic themes. When musicians who write such depressive lyrics seem genuinely downhearted, they appear to be emotionally authentic (Doonan, 2007). Similarly, professional actors are expected to express genuine sadness in scenes that require crying or similar depressive emotional states. For professional actors, expressing depressive emotional authenticity is generally achieved through deep acting techniques that are learned through training (Zamir, 2010). It seems likely that the authentic expression of depression or melancholy would lead to favourable evaluations of a product, provided that it is the relevant response to the context. Currently however, no empirical study has investigated the persuasiveness or appeal of authentically expressed depression or melancholy.

#### **CHAPTER 5**

# Study 1

Individual differences in preferences toward culturally and emotionally authentic producers

#### Rationale

The previous chapter emphasised the importance of a producer's emotional authenticity. While it is clear that emotional authenticity can be relevant to a much broader range of products and producers than cultural authenticity, it should be noted that they can often operate in close association. For example, an Italian chef is a culturally authentic producer of spaghetti Bolognese because it is a part of his cultural identity; it is a part of his self. Consequently, he may have a deep passion for Italian cuisine, thus forming the emotional authenticity. It is also important to note however, that while cultural and emotional authenticity might often go hand in hand, being emotionally authentic is by no means diagnostic for a culturally authentic producer. For instance, the Italian chef can be culturally authentic without holding the passion required for emotional authenticity. Likewise, one may be emotionally authentic without being ethnically tied to the product they are producing. For example, the chef may be deeply passionate about Italian cuisine but have no Italian lineage. Hence, it may be informative to isolate producer emotional and cultural authenticity experimentally, in order to explore them independently.

As noted by Doonan (2007), the next logical step in producer authenticity research should be to explore the psychological variables that make a person more susceptible to the influence of producer authenticity. So far, the only research that exists on this topic is Doonan (2007, Study 10), and this research only explored individual differences in preferences toward culturally authentic producers. Currently, no study has undergone an individual difference analysis in the context of an emotionally authentic producer. The current study looks to not only replicate the findings initially demonstrated in Doonan (2007), but to demonstrate whether or not these findings extend to a producer's emotional authenticity. The present study will address the underlying mechanisms or psychological variables that were explored in the study conducted by Doonan (2007, 10) and presented by Slugoski and Doonan (2006).

## Perceptions of 'self'

Given that authenticity can be defined as being 'true to one's self' (Doonan, 2007; Peterson, 2005; Pratt, 2007), any investigation of the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in consumers' preferences towards authentic producers should place some importance on the role of perceptions of the 'self'.

According to theories of human character, the self can be viewed in terms of a continuum. At one extreme, people view the self to be made up of personality traits that are fixed and unchangeable. People who hold such essentialist beliefs are known as entity theorists (Chiu, Hong, & Dweck, 1997; Dweck, Hong, & Chiu, 1993). On the other end of the continuum, people view the self to be made up of dynamic personal qualities that can be changed and developed. People who hold this belief are known as incremental theorists (Chiu, et al., 1997; Dweck, et al., 1993). Entity theorists are more likely to make far-reaching judgments about the role of a person's traits, often with quite minimal evidence (Dweck, et al., 1993). For example, research has indicated that entity theorists are more likely than incremental theorists to make judgments based on stereotypes about members of an outgroup (Haslam, Bastian, Bain, & Kashima, 2006; Wallace, 2008).

Based on this, one would expect that entity theorists should be more inclined to evaluate a producer in terms of the producer's perceived level of cultural relevance. They should rely more on the stereotype than information regarding training and qualifications. For example, if entity theorists perceive a Chinese chef's skill in cooking Chinese food to be influenced by fixed traits such as ethnicity, then they would also believe that skill level cannot be increased through training and qualifications. On the other hand, incremental theorists should be more likely to evaluate a Chinese chef in terms of training and qualifications. In that sense, incremental theorists would be less inclined to rely on the stereotype that "Chinese people are better at cooking Chinese food". In terms of cultural authenticity of a producer, one might expect that entity theorists should be more inclined to believe that expertise comes from a producer's cultural authenticity, while incremental theorists should be more focused on other trait changing factors such as training and experience. Therefore, entity theorists should be more persuaded by a producer's authenticity than incremental theorists. In support of this theory, Doonan (2007) found that subjects who preferred a Chinese acupuncturist (culturally authentic) over a Caucasian acupuncturist (culturally inauthentic) were more likely to hold views consistent with those of an entity theorist.

Doonan (2007) also highlighted the importance of the role that a Western view of self might have on preferences toward culturally authentic producers. This point of inquiry was based on the fact that most of the evidence in relation to the persuasiveness of producer authenticity had been based on Australian samples which are generally assumed to hold individualistic conceptions of self (Hofstede, 1980). It could be considered important to determine whether authenticity is also persuasive in other parts of the world that hold a collectivist ideology of the 'self' rather than an individualistic one. However, as was the case in Doonan (2007), a genuine cross-cultural approach is outside the scope of this research. Whilst research has indicated that conceptions of the self differ across cultures, it has also shown that they may also differ within a culture. That is, people from individualist cultures could exhibit collectivist tendencies and conversely, people from collectivist cultures could exhibit individualist tendencies (Hui & Triandis, 1986). Subsequent research explored these

conceptions of self from an individual perspective rather than a cultural one, and used the terms 'idiocentrism' to refer to personal individualism and 'allocentrism' to refer to personal collectivism (Dutta-Bergman & Wells, 2002; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988; Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985). Given this trend in the research, it makes it possible to examine the impact of individualist versus collectivist conceptions of self on authenticity preferences, without the need to conduct a genuine cross-cultural design. Doonan (2007) conducted such research and found that participants exhibiting preferences towards a culturally authentic (Chinese) acupuncturist were more likely to hold individualist tendencies.

### Magical beliefs

As mentioned earlier, people tend to prefer products that they perceive to be authentically produced (Doonan, 2007). This preference extends to situations in which the authentic product is identical to the inauthentic product. When all things such as expertise, experience and reputation of a producer are held constant, people tend to be persuaded by the authenticity of the producer (Doonan, 2007). Recall that there are two pathways to such an authentic preference; an individual might make an inference of quality about the product, or have the desire to be immersed in what they take to be an authentic experience.

For the inference of quality, individuals require some kind of belief system that culturally authentic producers are always better, irrespective of training and other issuerelevant factors. In that sense, culturally authentic producers are considered to possess some degree of automatic knowledge or expertise, simply due to their group membership. To an extent, this thought process could be rational if one considers that culturally authentic members learn through cultural upbringing and tradition. However, it is fundamentally irrational for individuals to assume that there is a degree of natural expertise that only group members are able to obtain since it is genetically determined or 'in their blood' (Doonan, 2007). This belief system can be described in terms of the law of similarity, which refers to the belief that things which are felt to be similar in some properties are fundamentally similar in general (Nemeroff & Rozin, 2000). The law of similarity might also explain the belief that individuals who look like they belong to an ethnic group are always good at producing ethnically relevant products.

For individuals who prefer authentic producers for the experiential aspect, it is possible that, to them, the authentic product contains some invisible quality or essence within it. This notion is supported by findings that indicate that an object's value increases when the illusion of authenticity is created (Doonan, 2007; Lewis & Bridger, 2000). This additional invisible quality, the piece of authenticity, is believed to be transferred through the product. This transfer involves beliefs in the law of contagion. The thought process involved in the law of contagion is that things which have come into contact with each other continue to act on each other even after physical contact has been broken (Nemeroff & Rozin, 1994). In the context of an authentic producer, the authentic essence is transferred from producer to product. For consumers, this essence is the experience that they desire.

In the previously mentioned study conducted by Doonan (2007), a scale designed to measure susceptibility to both kinds of magical thinking (similarity and contagion), was devised. It consisted of numerous items taken from the contagion and similarity literature. Results of the study indicated that individuals who preferred a Chinese acupuncturist (culturally authentic) over a Caucasian acupuncturist (non-authentic) were more likely to engage in magical thinking. Further analysis revealed that this effect was specific to the items designed to measure belief in the law of similarity. While these results were specific to cultural authenticity, it would be interesting to investigate whether or not magical thinking has any effect on preferences toward emotionally authentic producers and service providers.

# Need for cognition

As discussed in previous chapters, it is possible that people who are persuaded by producer authenticity are operating under an 'authentic is better' decision rule. In the language of the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), the authenticity cue should be processed via the peripheral route (low elaboration). In contrast, people processing under the central route (high elaboration) should be less persuaded by producer authenticity. Perhaps one of the most frequently examined constructs pertaining to how individuals process persuasive information is need for cognition (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982; Cacioppo, Petty, & Kao, 1984). Need for cognition refers to the tendency to engage in and enjoy effortful cognitive processing. According to the theoretical framework, individuals with a high need for cognition are more likely to process all issue-relevant information before making a judgment (Cacioppo, Petty, & Morris, 1983) and are less influenced by simple peripheral cues (Haugtvedt & Petty, 1992). In contrast, individuals with a low need for cognition are more likely to ignore issue-relevant information and are therefore forced to rely on peripheral cues when forming judgments. For instance, individuals with low need for cognition tend to be more persuaded by source cues such as credibility, honesty and expertise (Perlini & Hansen, 2001; Priester & Petty, 1995; Zhang & Buda, 1999).

If producer authenticity is indeed a peripheral cue, then it should be that participants with low need for cognition are more persuaded by the authenticity cue than participants with high need for cognition. Doonan (2007) found this to be the case, with scores of need for cognition predicting preferences toward a culturally authentic acupuncturist. This finding provides initial evidence for the proposed framework of an 'authentic is better' heuristic. Although this authenticity heuristic framework was supported in the context of producer cultural authenticity, it would be informative to determine whether or not individuals also process a producer's emotional authenticity heuristically.

#### Susceptibility to cognitive shortcuts: Representativeness heuristic

Past research has indicated that individuals utilise a variety of 'cognitive shortcuts' or heuristics in order to reduce the complexity of mental tasks (Slovic, Finucane, Peters, & MacGregor, 2007; Slugoski, Shields, & Dawson, 1993; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974; Yeung & Soman, 2007). If preferences toward authentic producers can in fact be attributed to a cognitive shortcut, then it seems necessary to examine such psychological processes in the current study. Whilst the judgment and decision making literature has documented an array of heuristics, the one that seems most relevant to the producer authenticity cue is the representativeness heuristic (Doonan, 2007; Tversky & Kahneman, 1974).

The representativeness heuristic refers to the tendency for individuals to judge the probability of an event by how well it matches our existing beliefs about such events (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Whilst using the representativeness heuristic is often useful, it sometimes leads to severe and systematic errors and biases. One such example of a bias related to the representativeness heuristic is the conjunction fallacy, which has been demonstrated experimentally across numerous studies (Davidson, 1995; Hartmann & Meijs, 2012; Tversky & Kahneman, 1983). The typical paradigm outlines the behavioural tendencies and personality traits of a hypothetical person and then asks subjects to rate the probability of a number of statements relating to the hypothetical person being true. For example, Tversky and Kahneman (1983) describe Linda, a single, outspoken woman with a major in philosophy. As a student she was concerned with issues of discrimination and social justice, and also participated in anti-nuclear demonstrations. The majority of participants in the study rated the probability of Linda being a bank teller as lower than the probability of Linda being a bank teller who is active in the feminist movement. This makes sense given the description of Linda was constructed to be representative of an active feminist and unrepresentative of a bank teller. However, these judgments violate principles of probability, given that there are obviously more bank tellers than feminist bank tellers in any given

population. Participants ignored this crucial fact when assigning probability ratings and were instead biased by the apparent match between Linda's personality traits and the idea of her being active in the feminist movement. Numerous other biases relating to the representativeness heuristic have been detailed including base-rate neglect, gambler's fallacy, and belief in the law of small numbers (Tversky and Kahneman, 1974). However, the common feature is that judgments of probability become biased towards outcomes that appear similar or more likely to 'represent' the event in question, even if this violates actual principles of probability.

It is possible that individuals may evaluate culturally authentic products using the same logic as the representativeness heuristic. For example, consumers may perceive a Chinese person to be more skilled at cooking Chinese cuisine than a Caucasian person, solely on the basis that cooking Chinese food appears more representative of someone who is Chinese. While this may seem to be a reasonable inference, this would lead to biases in situations where consumers are forced to consider a non-authentic producer. For instance, it is possible for a Caucasian chef to be as skilled as or even more skilled than other chefs who have Chinese origins. If the representativeness heuristic is related to preferences toward authentic producers, then it would be expected that consumers would demonstrate an over-reliance on information about a producer's cultural authenticity. To explore the relation between the representativeness heuristic and preferences toward culturally authentic producers, the current study will utilise some of the literature's previous examples of the representativeness heuristic.

### Current study

The current study will use a modified version of Doonan (2007, Study 10). The cultural authenticity vignette is unchanged, with the exception of the preference measure. The previous study used a dichotomous (preference toward authentic service provider vs. no

authentic preference) measure, whereas the current study has modified this to a continuous measure, enabling a more exploratory mode of analysis. Rather than simply indicating a preference or no preference response, respondents will indicate the strength of those preferences. Furthermore, and as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it would be interesting to further explore these psychological variables in contexts involving emotionally authentic producers. Two new vignettes will be included in the current study; one exploring the influence of a producer's enjoyment authenticity, and the other explore the relationships between the variables and different types of producer authenticity, it will also be informative to explore the nature of authenticity preferences and determine whether or not they correlate with each other, representing a global authenticity bias. Before proceeding, it is necessary to clarify that the terms service provider and performer are interchangeable with the term producer, given that performers and service provider are still in a sense 'producing' a service or performance. The following hypotheses are proposed for Study 1:

- 1. Participants' culturally authentic preferences will correlate with their emotionally authentic preferences.
- 2. Participants' preferences toward authentic producers will be influenced by essentialism and idiocentrism.
- Participants' preferences toward authentic producers will be influenced by magical beliefs.
- 4. Participants' preferences toward authentic producers will be influenced by low scores of need for cognition and a susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic.

#### Method

# **Participants**

Eighty participants from the general population of Townsville, Australia were recruited for the current study through snowball recruitment. Participants' ages ranged between 16 and 66 with the sample comprising 28 males (M = 30.32 years, SD = 15.63) and 51 females (M = 29.36 years, SD = 13.31). Two participants did not report their age and one participant did not report gender.

# Design

Participants were provided with information about two producers in each of three independent vignettes. In each scenario, participants indicated their strength of preference toward either a (culturally/emotionally) authentic producer or a non-authentic producer. In the first vignette, participants were given a choice between a Chinese (culturally authentic) acupuncturist and an Australian (non-authentic) acupuncturist. In the second vignette, participants were given a choice between two staff members at a sandwich shop who differed from each other in terms of their emotional authenticity. One staff member showed authentic enjoyment for the job whilst the other staff member had no such job enjoyment. In the third vignette, participants were given a choice between two blues musicians: one with a history of depression and hardship (emotionally authentic), and the other with no such emotional involvement (non-authentic). These preference scores were then used as the dependent variable for an individual difference analysis.

#### Materials

Dependent and independent variables were obtained by means of a pen and paper task. The producer preference measures involved one cultural authenticity and two emotional authenticity (enjoyment and depression) vignettes. Individual difference measures examined were an implicit theory of personality scale (Hong et al., 2004), a 29 item idiocentrismallocentrism scale (Triandis, et al., 1988), a magical beliefs scale (MBS, Doonan, 2007), the 18 item Need for Cognition (NFC) scale (Cacioppo, et al., 1984), and two tasks designed to measure susceptibility the representativeness heuristic (gambler's fallacy and the belief in the law of small numbers) (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974).

Cultural authenticity vignette: The vignette used to measure preferences towards a culturally authentic producer was a modified version of the acupuncturist vignette used in Doonan (2007). The vignette provided participants with the character profiles of two acupuncturists. Participants were asked to imagine that they had experienced recurring back problems with which various treatments had failed to resolve. It was then stated that they were recommended to try acupuncture, to which they had agreed. Participants were then provided with information about the history of acupuncture, which was followed by information regarding two recommended acupuncturists. Given that acupuncture has origins in China, it was anticipated that an acupuncturist of Chinese descent would be considered culturally authentic, whereas a Western doctor would not. Hence, one acupuncturist was given a culturally authentic Asian name, whereas the other was given a typically Caucasian name. Additionally, the formal qualifications held by each acupuncturist were obtained in different countries. Participants were told that Dr Chuan Li received his training in acupuncture at the Nanjing Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine, whereas Dr. Robert Hayden was trained in acupuncture at the Centre for Complementary Medicine Research in Sydney. The vignette was designed to portray the idea that both acupuncturists were equal in terms of experience and reputation. The only apparent difference was in the nationalities and training origins.

Participants were then asked to provide a response for four items. Firstly, they were asked to indicate their preference on a seven point rating scale ranging from 1 (Dr Chuan Li - very strongly) to 4 (either) to 7 (Dr Robert Hayden – very strongly). Secondly, participants

were asked to provide a qualitative response justifying their preference. Finally, participants were asked to rate the perceived skill level of both acupuncturists on separate seven point rating scales ranging from 1 (not at all skilled) to 7 (extremely skilled). The basis for this measure to be included was that it would give some indication as to whether preferences toward authentic producers were due to inferences of quality or if they were completely based on a desire to 'experience' authenticity. The acupuncturist vignette and questions can be examined in Appendix A1.

*Emotional Authenticity –Enjoyment*: The enjoyment authenticity vignette was constructed in order to measure participants' preferences towards an emotionally authentic producer in a context where enjoyment was the relevant authentic emotion. Participants were asked to imagine that they were a customer at a local sandwich bar that had two staff members present. Both employees were described as equal on a number of characteristics, such as they were both 19 years of age, were both university students, and both had a history of favourable customer evaluations. In the hypothetical scenario the staff members were overheard having a conversation in relation to their enjoyment for their job. The first employee, Sandy (enjoyment authenticity) discussed that she enjoys making sandwiches for people, and appeared to be in a positive mood. Her colleague Bree on the other hand, replied that she only has the job to get through university. Additionally, she was not chirpy and appeared to be in a neutral mood. After reading the enjoyment authenticity vignette, participants were asked to complete the same preference rating items as in the cultural authenticity vignette, with the obvious difference that the items related to the sandwich makers. The sandwich vignette and questions can be examined in Appendix A2.

*Emotional Authenticity – Depression*: The depression authenticity vignette was constructed in order to measure participants' preferences towards an emotionally authentic producer in a context where depression was the relevant authentic emotion. Within the vignette, participants were asked to imagine that they were an Event Manager responsible for

filling a performance slot for an upcoming Blues music festival. The two choices presented to participants were described as equally talented, with similar lyrical content, vocal style, and musicianship. However, one musician indicated that he had a history of depression which had always been his means of channelling his depressive thoughts and feelings (depression authenticity), while the other musician had no history of depression (nonauthentic). Participants were then asked to complete the relevant preference rating items as done for the previous vignettes. The Blues vignette and questions can be examined in Appendix A3.

Implicit Theory of Human Character Scale (Essentialism measure): Taken from (Hong, et al., 2004), this measures the extent to which individuals view human morality as a fixed versus malleable trait. The scale has previously been used to distinguish between entity theorists who hold static, essentialist conceptions of human character, and incremental theorists who have a more dynamic and adaptive view of human character (Chiu, Hong, & Dweck, 1997; Dweck, Chiu, & Hong, 1995). The scale consists of three items: "A person's moral character is something very basic about them and cannot be changed much," "Whether a person is responsible and sincere or not is deeply ingrained in their personality," and "There is not much that can be done to change a person's moral traits." Participants are asked to indicate their level of agreement with each of the three statements on an eight point scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 8 (strongly disagree). Lower scores indicate higher levels of the essentialist beliefs associated with being an entity theorist. Past studies have verified the reliability and validity of the scale (Chiu, et al., 1997; Dweck, et al., 1995). Furthermore, the current study found the scale to have acceptable reliability ( $\alpha = .69$ ). The scale can be located in Appendix A4.

*Idiocentrism-Allocentrism Scale*: The adopted scale taken from Triandis et al. (1988) is designed to measure the extent to which an individual holds an ideology consistent with allocentrism versus idiocentrism. The scale consists of 29 items designed to tap into one of

three domains. The first domain is 'self-reliance' and includes items such as "What happens to me is my own doing," and "In the long run the only person you can count on is yourself." The second domain is 'concern for in-group' and includes items such as "I like to live close to my friends," and "When my colleagues tell me personal things about themselves, we are drawn closer together." The third domain is 'distance from in-groups' and includes items such as "I am not to blame if one of my family members fails," and "When a close friend of mine is successful, it does not really make me look better." Items are rated on an eight point scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 8 (strongly disagree). Lower scores reflect an ideology consistent with idiocentrism, whereas higher scores reflect an ideology consistent with allocentrism. In previous research, the scale has been shown to have good reliability with Cronbach's alpha estimates of over .71 (Al-Zahrani & Kaplowitz, 1993). Similarly, the present study found the scale to have good reliability ( $\alpha = .75$ ). The scale can be located in Appendix A5.

*Magical Beliefs Scale*: The adopted scale taken from Doonan (2007) is designed to measure people's tendency to partake in magical thinking. The scale consists of nine items purportedly tapping into one of three factors. The first factor is labelled 'consumption disgust' and measures belief in the law of contagion for negative sources. Examples of consumption disgust items include "I would refuse to drink juice from a bed pan even if it had never been used," and "I would not eat soup that had been stirred with a used but thoroughly clean flyswatter." The second factor measures belief in the 'law of similarity' and includes items such as "If my grandmother was good at something, it is likely that I will be too," and "It would be easy for me to think that a doctor, who comes from a long line of doctors, will be a better practitioner than someone who comes from a long line of farmers." The third factor measures a 'general magical beliefs' construct and consists of items such as "I would have no problem walking under a ladder," and "It would not bother me to sleep in a nice hotel room if I knew that a man had died of a heart attack in the room the night before."

Participants rate their level of agreement to each of the items on a scale ranging from 1 (strongly agree) to 8 (strongly disagree). The scale is essentially reverse scored, with lower total scores indicating higher levels of magical beliefs. The scale so far has been found to have relatively poor reliability ( $\alpha = .56$ ), however, the consumption disgust scale has been shown to be a reliable measure ( $\alpha = .81$ ). Given that it was found to be a significant predictor of authenticity preferences, and this study aims to replicate these findings, the scale was used despite the issues with reliability. The scale can be located in Appendix A6.

*Need for Cognition Scale*: The Need for Cognition (NFC) scale (Cacioppo, et al., 1984) is used to measure individual differences in motivation to engage in a more complex and analytic cognitive processing style. The scale consists of 18 items that pertain to individuals' reactions about demands for effortful thinking in a variety of situations. Examples of items include "I would prefer complex to simple problems," and "I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is likely a chance I will have to think in depth about something" (negatively coded). Participants rate the extent to which each statement is true on a scale ranging from 0 (completely false) to 8 (completely true). Higher scores indicate a higher need for cognition (i.e. higher motivation to engage in effortful cognitive processing). Reliability for the scale has been reported to be high, ranging from .81 to .92 (Cacioppo, et al., 1984; Sadowski & Gulgoz, 1992). The present study further demonstrated the internal consistency of the scale ( $\alpha = .84$ ). The scale can be located in Appendix A7.

*Representativeness: Gambler's Fallacy test:* This test was designed to measure individuals' tendency to hold misconceptions of chance and is based on the explanation of the phenomenon by Tversky and Kahneman (1974). In the test, participants read a scenario that has them involved in a game of roulette at a casino. They are then given two sequences of outcomes (red/black) and for each sequence are asked to indicate the proportion of \$100 that they would bet on the next outcome being red. The first sequence is Red, Black, Red, Black, Black, Black, Black, Black, and the second sequence is Red, Black, Red, Black, Red,

Black, Red, Black. Although the actual chance of red being the next outcome in any given sequence is always equal, the gambler's fallacy dictates that an outcome of red should be more likely to occur at the end of the first sequence than at the end of the second sequence. This is due to the fact that in the first sequence, individuals mistakenly believe that red is now 'due' because the occurrence of red will result in a more representative sequence than the occurrence of another black (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Given the probabilities are actually equal, the proportion of betting should be \$50 for each sequence. A bet larger than \$50 for the first sequence indicates a bias towards that sequence, and consequently, an instance of gambler's fallacy. Hence, the independent variable for the gambler's fallacy is a dichotomous measure in which scores of \$50 indicate no bias, whereas other scores indicate a susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic. The gambler's fallacy test can be located in Appendix A8.

*Representativeness: Belief in the Law of Small Numbers (BITLOSN)*: This test was designed to measure individuals' erroneous beliefs that a small sample randomly drawn from a population is highly representative (Tversky & Kahneman, 1971). The test has participants read a scenario involving a hypothetical city with an average gross income of \$100,000. Participants are informed that a sample of 100 residents was taken from the population and that the very first resident in this sample had an average income of \$1,100,000 (\$1.1 million). Participants are then asked, "Based on what you know about the population average, what would you expect the average income to be for the entire sample of 100?" The expected –but incorrect –response is that the average income will be equal to the population average, \$100,000. However, the correct response is \$110,000. The reason that participants would make this incorrect response is that they believe that a random process is self-correcting and that errors will cancel each other out. The laws of chance, however, do not work in this way. Deviations are not cancelled out as sampling proceeds; they are only diluted (Tversky & Kahneman, 1971). Such non-normative responses are considered to be

based on the use of the representativeness heuristic (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974). Responses of \$110,000 indicate an understanding of the principles of chance in a sampling distribution. Any other scores (other than \$100,000), whilst incorrect, still acknowledge that \$100, 000 is not the correct response, and in that sense, is an indication that the belief in small numbers bias is not occurring, and that the individual is not relying on the representativeness heuristic (even if they failed to compute the correct response). Hence, the independent variable is a dichotomous measure where a score of \$100,000 indicates susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic, and all other scores indicate no susceptibility. The BITLOSN measure and correct response formula can be observed in Appendix A9.

# Procedure

Participants were provided with an information sheet detailing the study. Confidentiality and consent were discussed and accepting participants then signed the consent sheet. Participants were asked to write their age and gender on a demographic sheet. Participants were then given the three authenticity vignettes and asked to read them carefully and provide their corresponding responses. The order of the vignettes was counterbalanced to ensure the results were not confounded by order effects. Participants were asked to work through the rest of the tasks (Essentialism scale, Idiocentrism/Allocentrism scale, Need for Cognition scale, Magical Beliefs scale, the Gambler's Fallacy test and BITLOSN test) at their own pace. Upon completion, participants were asked if they had any questions regarding the nature of the study and were thanked for their participation.

#### Preliminary Data Analysis

# Distribution of preferences

A frequency analysis was conducted to examine the portion of the sample within each preference option. See Table 1 for the distribution of the sample into each preference response for all three vignettes.

# Table 1.

# Response Choices for Producer Preferences

Authenticity vignette		Preference Response	
	Authentic	Non-authentic	Either
Cultural	42 (52.5%)	8 (10%)	30 (37.5%)
Enjoyment	62 (77.5%)	0	18 (22.5%)
Depression	38 (47.5%)	20 (25%)	22 (27.5%)

## The Magical Beliefs Scale (MBS): Reliability and factor analysis

Before proceeding on to the individual difference analysis, it is important to gain a better understanding of the Magical Beliefs scale. Given the scale has only been used once before (Doonan, 2007), the reliability and factor structure was analysed. Initial reliability tests determined the overall measure to have poor reliability ( $\alpha = .48$ ). The most reliable version of the scale was obtained by removing items MBS #2, MBS #7 and MBS #9 ( $\alpha = .58$ ). To assess the factor structure of the new six-item Magical Beliefs Scale, a principle components analysis with the Varimax rotation method was conducted. Two components with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 were found. The scree plot also indicated two components.

Furthermore, each of the items loaded onto only one factor each, making the interpretation of each factor less complicated. The first factor included items MBS #3, MBS #5 and MBS #8. Interestingly, all three items were related to consumption disgust. In terms of magical thinking, this factor can best be described as beliefs in the law of negative contagion. The second factor includes items MBS #1, MBS #4 and MBS #6. The dead man in hotel (MBS #1) and ladder (MBS #4) items indicate a degree of superstitious thinking. MBS #6 is based on the belief that good things happen to people who pray. Given that this could also be considered a superstitious belief, the second factor can be interpreted as a general superstitious beliefs factor. The items loading on each of these factors can be examined in Table 2.

# Table 2.

# Factor Loadings for the Magical Beliefs Scale (Revised) Items

MBS Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
	Negative Contagion Beliefs	Superstitious Beliefs
	(36.24% of variance)	(22.28% of variance)
(#1) Dead man hotel room	.26	.69
(#3) Bedpan juice	.84	.07
(#4) Ladder	.03	.70
(#5) Flyswatter soup	.87	03
(#6) Prayer	13	.64
(#8) Pet food in lunch box	.76	.06
Reliability (alpha)	α = .77	<i>α</i> = .42

Extraction method: Principle Component Analysis

Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation

Note: Factor loadings < .03 have not been used to interpret factor

#### Results

# The relationship between types of authenticity preferences

Pearson correlations were computed to determine whether there was a relationship between preferences for the culturally authentic producer and the two emotionally authentic producers. As can be observed in Table 3, there were no relationships across all three authenticity preferences.

#### Table 3.

Correlations between Preferences toward Culturally and Emotionally Authentic Producers

	Cultural	Enjoyment	Depression
Cultural	1.00	.08	05
Enjoyment		1.00	.04
Depression			1.00

Note: no significant correlations were detected

#### The influence of individual difference variables on authenticity preferences

Before proceeding with the individual differences analysis, the data were examined to determine whether the data were suitable for such an analysis. Upon close inspection of the individual difference variables, the data were found to be normally distributed (all Shapiro Wilkes p values > .05) and no extreme outliers were identified.

A series of Pearson correlations were computed to explore the relationships between the continuous individual difference variables (Magical Beliefs, Essentialism, Idiocentrism, Need for Cognition) and preferences toward culturally and emotionally authentic producers. Given the directional nature of the hypotheses, all correlations were computed as one-tailed with an alpha rate of .05. As can be observed in Table 4, the results failed to reveal many significant correlations; only two out of the 12 possible combinations had a significant correlation. Specifically, preferences toward the culturally authentic acupuncturist were associated with higher levels of magical beliefs. Preferences toward the sandwich maker with authentic enjoyment were associated with lower levels of need for cognition. Correlations between each of the individual difference variables can be observed in Table 5.

# Table 4.

Pearson Correlations between Individual Difference Variables and Authenticity Preferences

Cultural	Enjoyment	Depression
.00	09	.05
.02	.09	.17
.02	21*	.09
31**	07	10
	Cultural .00 .02 .02 31**	Cultural  Enjoyment    .00 09    .02  .09    .02 21*   31*** 07

\* p < .05 \*\* p < .01

• Negatively scored: Higher scores indicate lower magical beliefs, idiocentrism and essentialism

Note: all correlations computed as one tailed tests

### Table 5.

	(E)	(IA)	(NFC)	(MBS)
(E)Essentialism	1.00	.22	.09	14
(IA)Idiocentrism		1.00	.06	17
(NFC)Need for Cognition			1.00	.20
(MBS)Magical Beliefs (Revised)				1.00

# Pearson Correlations between Individual Difference Measures

Note: no significant correlations detected (two-tailed, alpha rate of .05)

# Susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic and its effect on authenticity preferences

The gambler's fallacy measure produced results different to that which was expected; while most participants exhibited either the gambler's fallacy bias or no bias, some participants exhibited a reverse bias (n = 24). Given the complexity of an interpretation of such scores in the context of this study, participants exhibiting a reverse bias were excluded from the subsequent analysis. The measure of belief in the law of small numbers was even more problematic. Nine participants were unable to even provide an answer, and only three participants reported the correct response of \$110,000. While the expected incorrect response of \$100,000 was provided by over half of the sample (n = 45), the fact that there was so many participants that gave responses so far removed from \$100,000 and \$110,000 (e.g. \$500,000) suggests that the measure should have incorporated a scale response option with anchors closer to the expected values. These values were much too difficult to use in the context of the subsequent analysis. Susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic is therefore operationalised as a susceptibility to the gambler's fallacy bias.

To explore the effect that gambler's fallacy bias had on authenticity preferences, three independent samples t-tests were computed. Given the one-directional nature of the hypothesis, all tests were computed as one-tailed with an alpha rate of .05. The results indicated that susceptibility to the gambler's fallacy bias had a significant effect on preferences toward the culturally authentic acupuncturist, t (54) = 1.71, p = .047. Participants exhibiting the gambler's fallacy bias had a significantly higher preference for the culturally authentic acupuncturist (M = 1.16, SD = 1.24) than did participants with no gambler's fallacy bias (M = .53, SD = 1.46). Susceptibility to the gambler's fallacy bias had no effect on preferences towards the sandwich maker with authentic enjoyment, t (54) = .37, p = .355, nor preferences towards the blues musician with authentic depression, t (54) = .20, p = .422.

# Ancillary analyses:

#### Calculating perceived skill difference scores

For each authenticity vignette, scores of perceived producer skill level were used to calculate scores of producer skill difference. These scores acted as a measure of the extent to which participants regarded the authentic producer as more skilled than the non-authentic producer. Scores were calculated by subtracting perceived skill of the non-authentic producer from perceived skill of the authentic producer. For example, if a participant reported scores of 7 for perceived skill of the Chinese acupuncturist and 5 for perceived skill of the Australian acupuncturist, then they would receive a score of 2 for perceived skill difference. Hence, for this dependent measure, positive scores indicate a perception that the authentic producer is more skilled, negative scores indicate a perception that the non-authentic producer is more skilled, and scores of 0 indicate the normative response, which is that both producers are equally skilled.
#### The influence of perceived skill difference on producer preferences

Pearson correlations were computed to determine whether there was a relationship between perceived skill differences and preferences toward authentic producers. A relationship was detected for each authenticity vignette. Preferences towards the culturally authentic acupuncturist were significantly correlated with perceived skill difference, r (80) =.51, p < .001. Preferences towards the sandwich shop employee with authentic enjoyment were significantly correlated with perceived skill difference, r (80) = .39, p < .001. Preferences towards the blues musician with depression were significantly correlated with perceived skill difference, r (80) = .44, p < .001.

### The influence of magical beliefs on preferences towards a culturally authentic producer

As discussed earlier, the influence of magical beliefs on cultural authenticity preferences could be due to either an inference of quality or the desire for an authentic experience. The qualitative responses suggest that both pathways to authenticity preferences are plausible. For the inference of quality, participants indicated a preference towards the culturally authentic producer due to the perception that the culturally authentic producer was more skilled in the relevant production process / service. Qualitative comments such as "I would feel he was better trained", "since he was taught in a place far closer to the culture, I presume he was taught correctly", and "he would have better, more traditional training" exemplify this thought process. These kinds of responses suggest that the participants' inferences were based on perceptions of competence and probably not magical thinking.

In contrast, participants may view the producers as equally skilled, but still prefer the culturally authentic producer because of the authentic experience that they offer. This thought process is demonstrated with comments such as, "having an Asian makes it seem a lot more authentic". It could be argued that having a preference for the culturally authentic

producer without making the inference that they have a higher skill level incorporates a degree of magical thinking, particularly contagion beliefs.

It would be interesting to demonstrate whether or not the relationship between cultural authenticity preferences and magical beliefs was only present if an inference of quality was being made. To test this notion, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to examine whether magical beliefs would account for unique variance in authenticity preferences when the variance accounted for by perceived skill differences was included in the regression model. At block one, perceived skill difference was included as a predictor of cultural authenticity preference, and this predictor was found to be significant, F $(1, 78) = 27.06, p = <.001, (\beta = -.31, t = 2.90, p = .005)$ . The model was found to explain 25.8% of the variance in cultural authenticity preferences, R = .507, Adjusted  $R^2 = .26$ . At block two, magical beliefs was added to the model as a predictor. Adding this variable increased the overall significance of the model (F change = .007) in predicting cultural authenticity preferences, F(2, 77) = 18.58, p < .001. The model with two predictors was able to explain 32.5% of the variance in cultural authenticity preferences, R = .57, Adjusted  $R^2 =$ .31. When looking at the individual contribution of each predictor it could be seen that both perceived skill difference ( $\beta = .48$ , t = 5.10, p < .001) and magical beliefs ( $\beta = -.26$ , t = -2.79, p = .007) made a significant contribution to the overall model. This result indicates that when perceived skill difference was controlled for, magical beliefs alone accounted for 7% of the variance in cultural authenticity preferences.

# The differential impact of MBS factors on cultural authenticity preferences

Given that the preliminary data analysis revealed two separate magical beliefs factors, it was decided to explore whether the relationship between magical beliefs and cultural authenticity preference could be accounted for by both factors. To investigate, a simultaneous multiple regression analysis was conducted. The regression model with two predictors (contagion beliefs and superstitious beliefs) was found to be significant, *F* (2, 77) = 4.40, *p* = .015. The model was found to explain 10.3% of the variance in scores of cultural authenticity preference, *R* = .32, Adjusted  $R^2$  = .08. When examining the individual contributions to the model, it could be seen that superstitious beliefs made a unique contribution to the model ( $\beta$  = -.24, *t* = -2.23, *p* = .029), whereas contagion beliefs did not ( $\beta$  = -.18, *t* = -1.68, *p* = .097).

### Discussion

As established in the preliminary results, participants exhibited a systematic preference toward culturally and emotionally authentic producers. For both the cultural and depression authenticity vignettes, approximately half of the sample exhibited a preference towards the authentic option. For the enjoyment authenticity vignette, nearly all participants preferred the authentic option. It should be noted however, that this alone does not give a true reflection of the proportion of participants preferring the authentic producer. If the preference measure did not give the option of a 'no preference' response, it would be expected that these authenticity preferences would be even higher. Given that participants reporting no specific preference would have had to choose between the two options at random, the chance that participants would have chosen the authentic option would have been even higher than the results indicate.

The results failed to provide support for hypothesis one, with preferences across the different types of authenticity not correlating with one another. For enjoyment authenticity, this is not all that surprising considering that participants preferred enjoyment authenticity disproportionately more than they preferred cultural and depression authenticity. However, the results do suggest that preferences toward emotional authenticity do not predict preferences toward cultural authenticity. Hence, there is no evidence that preferences toward different types of authenticity represent a single underlying construct.

## Discussion of the individual difference analysis

The individual difference analysis presented mixed findings, with only a few of the variables being correlated with preferences for authentic producers. Failing to support hypothesis two, preferences toward emotionally and culturally authentic producers were not correlated with the essentialism measure or the idiocentrism/allocentrism measure. This conflicts with the findings of Doonan (2007) in which both variables were found to predict

preferences toward the culturally authentic acupuncturist. The other variables proved somewhat more effective; however, none of the individual difference variables were found to correlate with preferences toward the emotionally authentic blues musician.

### The influence of magical beliefs on preferences toward authentic producers

In partial support of hypothesis three, magical beliefs were found to have an influence on preferences toward the culturally authentic producer, but not the two emotionally authentic producers. Ancillary analyses suggested that the variance in cultural authenticity preferences accounted for by magical beliefs was unique to the variance accounted by perceived producer skill difference. This suggests that the role of magical thinking in authenticity preferences was not limited to influencing perceptions of producer skill level. Rather, magical thinking influenced preferences for some other reason – perhaps the desire to have an 'authentic experience'.

Upon closer examination of the magical beliefs factors, it was revealed that this relationship was accounted for by the superstitious beliefs factor and not the contagion factor. Regardless, it is still difficult to offer an accurate account of this finding for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is unclear whether the results are an indication of a direct influence of superstitious beliefs on cultural authenticity preferences, or whether it is simply that participants who engage in superstitious thinking tend to engage in a magical thinking style similar to that which explains some of the variance in cultural authenticity preferences. Secondly, the use of the Magical Beliefs Scale comes with some obvious psychometric concerns, and even attempts to increase the reliability of the scale failed to make great improvements to the scale. It is possible that the superstitious beliefs interpretation is not even the best interpretation for the items loading onto that factor. Thirdly, the influence of contagion beliefs cannot be completely ruled out. Even though the multiple regression analysis demonstrated that the contagion factor was not a significant predictor, there was a

marginal effect in the expected direction. It is possible that the contagion factor might be a significant predictor in scenarios involving a physical or consumable product rather than a service. After all, the expected contagion effect for cultural authenticity preferences was initially theorised to involve a magical transfer of some authentic 'essence' from the producer into a physical product. Furthermore, the dependent measures are simply preferences towards the producers and not the actual products. Product evaluations as the dependent measures may have proven more informative in regards to identifying any possible contagion effects.

Given the concerns about reliability and factor validity, the results should most certainly be interpreted with due caution. Nonetheless, the magical beliefs scale has been correlated with cultural authenticity preferences in two separate studies; a fact that certainly warrants further investigation. However, it is important that a more reliable measure of the different constructs be used in future studies, in order to paint a clearer picture for the relationship between culturally authentic preferences and magical thinking.

### Relation of authenticity preferences to heuristic processing

One of the key objectives of this research was to establish whether producer authenticity was processed at a heuristic level. To test this, individual differences in need for cognition were explored. It was proposed that individuals with a low need for cognition would be more affected by the producer authenticity cue than participants with a high need for cognition. This prediction was based on the tendency for individuals with low need for cognition to rely on simple cues rather than processing all issue-relevant information. In partial support of hypothesis four, need for cognition was found to be negatively correlated with preferences towards the emotionally authentic sandwich shop employee suggesting that producer enjoyment acted as a heuristic cue. That is, participants with higher need for cognition tended to be less persuaded by the enjoyment authenticity cue and appeared to rely more on the issue-relevant information provided within the vignette. The qualitative rationales appear to support this notion. For instance, participants reporting no preference made comments such as, "they both seem competent and have a good customer satisfaction history". Such a response considers the issue-relevant information, and in that sense, is more thoughtful and typical of someone with a higher need for cognition. On the other hand, participants reporting an emotionally authentic preference made less elaborative comments that did not acknowledge the issue-relevant information, and instead focused solely on the enjoyment or happiness of the employee.

Another way that the authenticity heuristic framework was addressed was by exploring the relationship between authenticity preferences and susceptibility to another heuristic. The representativeness heuristic was used as a point of inquiry, given that it seems most relevant to the stereotypical nature of cultural authenticity preferences. The reliance on the representativeness heuristic in this context should involve the following judgments: culturally authentic producers (x) possess attributes such as ethnicity (y), hence all individuals with those attributes (y) are perceived as culturally authentic (x). Providing further support for hypothesis four, preferences toward the culturally authentic acupuncturist were positively correlated with a susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic. Conversely, there were no relationships detected for the emotional authenticity vignettes, which is not surprising given that the expected effect was due to ethnic stereotypes. While the cultural authenticity preferences seem conceptually and contextually dissimilar to the gambler's fallacy, the point is that susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic is expected to predict a number of associated biases that utilise the heuristic. As demonstrated by Slugoski et al. (1993), a number of biases associated with the representativeness heuristic were found to load onto a single underlying factor. Given that preferences toward culturally authentic producers were related to susceptibility to the gambler's fallacy, it could be

reasoned that cultural authenticity preferences are also a part of this broader representativeness construct.

One conceptual problem with this result is that cultural authenticity preferences failed to correlate with scores of need for cognition. It seems somewhat contradictory that authenticity preferences could be related to the representativeness heuristic but not negatively correlated with need for cognition. One possible interpretation is that cultural authenticity preferences were due to both high and low elaboration. At the low end of elaboration (low need for cognition), participants may have applied the representativeness heuristic. Whereas at the high end of elaboration likelihood (high need for cognition), participants may have been able to override the initial intuitive judgment that the culturally authentic producer was better, by thoughtfully processing the issue-relevant information. This may have led to the thoughtful inference that both producers were equally as good. However, for some other reason, such as a desire for an 'authentic experience', these participants may have again altered this thoughtful judgment back in favour of the culturally authentic producer.

# Conclusions

To summarise, the current study aimed to explore the relationship between number of individual difference variables and three different types of producer authenticity preferences: cultural authenticity, enjoyment authenticity and depression authenticity. Whilst only a few of the variables proved useful in explaining some of the variance in consumer preferences, the findings provide some understanding of the underlying psychological processes involved in cultural and emotional authenticity preferences. Specifically, enjoyment authenticity preferences were found to be influenced by lower levels of need for cognition, supporting the notion that preferences are guided by an 'authenticity heuristic'. Similarly, cultural authenticity preferences were found to be related to magical beliefs and a susceptibility to the representativeness heuristic. Future research should look to extend these findings to a number of different contexts and products.

Finally, the results did not support the notion that emotional and cultural authenticity preferences were made up of a single underlying authenticity preference. Given the conceptual differences between different types of producer authenticity, and the relatively large scope of the current research, it was decided that the addition of emotional authenticity in the current theoretical framework would be too complex. As such, it was decided to reduce the scope of the study to just cultural authenticity. Hence, any further investigation of authenticity preferences will only involve culturally authentic producers.

### CHAPTER 6

# Study 2

Producer cultural authenticity as a heuristic process: An investigation of the distraction hypothesis in a consumer evaluation paradigm

# Rationale

The results thus far provide some support for the "authentic is better" decision rule. However, the results were not entirely convincing regarding this heuristic interpretation. Hence, it is important to strengthen the validity of this claim by providing further empirical evidence. As mentioned in Chapter 3, if authenticity is to be considered a heuristic, it must be demonstrated to be more persuasive under conditions of low elaboration. So far, Study 1 is one of only a few studies to demonstrate that cultural authenticity preferences are more likely to occur under conditions of low elaboration. One related study, conducted by Verlegh, Steenkamp and Meulenberg (2005), addressed the role that motivation to attend to information had on consumers' tendency to rely on perceived authenticity based on the country of origin of a product. In this study, the researchers had participants listen to advertising claims about two brands of canned tomatoes. In one group, participants were shown a Spanish (authentic) brand, and in the other group participants were shown a Dutch (non-authentic) brand. To measure participants' motivation to attend to information, personal involvement was manipulated. That is, participants in the low involvement (low elaboration) condition were informed that the advertised tomatoes were not available in their own country and that the study was a pre-test for a larger study, whereas participants in the high involvement (high elaboration) condition were informed that the tomatoes featured in the advertisement would soon be introduced to nearby supermarkets and that the ad was pretested on a select group of customers. Additionally, participants in the high involvement

condition were told to pay careful attention to the ad before filling out the questionnaire. The results from this study revealed that participants relied more on the authenticity cue when involvement was low than when involvement was high. This finding suggests that consumers relied on the authenticity cue when elaboration likelihood was low. Conversely, consumers relied more on information presented in the ad when elaboration likelihood was high. While the results of this study provide some support for the existence of an 'authenticity heuristic', these results investigated product authenticity based only on location.

The current study is specifically interested in whether or not producer authenticity and source authenticity are more persuasive under conditions of low elaboration. Doonan (2007, study 10), attempted to explore this notion by exploring individuals' levels of need for cognition. As discussed previously, individuals high in need for cognition tend to engage more in analytic thought and are generally more motivated to pay attention to issue-relevant information (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984). Furthermore, previous research has indicated that individuals with higher levels of need for cognition are less susceptible to an array of heuristics and biases (Smith & Levin, 1996; Stanovich & West, 1998, 2000). In Doonan's study, participants were told to imagine that they were seeking the services of an acupuncturist. They were then given the choice between two equally qualified acupuncturists; one was Chinese (culturally authentic) and the other was Australian (nonauthentic). Doonan hypothesised that participants who preferred the culturally authentic (Chinese) acupuncturist would score lower in need for cognition than participants who had no specific preference. This hypothesis was confirmed by the results. However, this hypothesis could not be supported by the findings in a modified version of this study (see Study 1, Chapter 5).

In Study 1, a number of explanations were given for the lack of a relationship between authenticity preferences and low levels of need for cognition. Firstly, it may just be the case that the initial hypothesis is partially incorrect; that the authenticity cue is not always processed heuristically and it is in fact relied on at both high and low levels of elaboration. On the other hand, it may have been an oversight to use need for cognition as the only measure of elaboration likelihood. By doing so, it was incorrectly assumed that individuals who were high in need for cognition would always make use of issue-relevant information, and that individuals who were low in need for cognition would always rely on heuristic processing. However, as previously discussed, motivation to attend to issuerelevant information is not only dependent on the individual's tendency to engage in analytic thought but also how personally relevant the issue is to the individual. Therefore, it seems necessary for future studies to acknowledge the role of personal relevance, if not by directly manipulating the variable, at least measuring it to control for any potential confounding relationship. Another issue with the acupuncturist study is that the material in the vignette was self-paced (i.e. in written form). When material is self-paced rather than externallypaced (i.e. video-taped or audio-taped), it allows for greater scrutiny and therefore encourages higher elaboration (Chaiken & Eagly, 1976). Furthermore, it has been shown that peripheral cues have more of an impact when a message is externally-paced than when it is self-paced (Andreoli & Worchel, 1978; Chaiken & Eagly, 1976). Based on these findings, it could be suggested that reliance on the authenticity cue was determined more by the modality of the message rather than individual levels of need for cognition. It is also quite possible that the authenticity cue would be more relevant when the material is externallypaced (i.e. audio-taped).

Thus far, the only variables that have been used to demonstrate culturally authentic preferences as heuristic processing are need for cognition and personal involvement. However, as shown by Petty and Wegener (1998), there are numerous variables that can be manipulated in order to create conditions of low elaboration. Although they were discussed previously in the literature review, they will be briefly recapped here. Firstly, elaboration likelihood is low when the individual is not motivated enough to attend the message (Cacioppo, Petty, & Morris, 1983; Petty & Wegener, 1998; Smith & Levin, 1996). Secondly,

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elaboration likelihood is low when the individual lacks sufficient issue-related knowledge about the topic (Petty & Wegener, 1998; Wood & Kallgren, 1988). Finally, elaboration likelihood is low when the individual does not have the cognitive resources necessary to process the message. For instance, the individual may be too distracted (Harkins & Petty, 1981), may lack sufficient time to process the information (Verplanken, 1993), or may lack the necessary intellectual ability (Stanovich & West, 1998, 2000). In an experimental context, manipulating some of these variables is actually quite a difficult task. For example, the intelligence level and knowledge base of an individual are variables that cannot be directly manipulated. Rather than exploring conditions of elaboration that are fixed within the individual, it makes more sense to focus on conditions of low elaboration that can be directly manipulated by the experimenter; one such variable is distraction. Given that it is quite common for individuals to encounter a persuasive message whilst they are engaging in other tasks, this seems to be a logical next step.

#### Distraction as a condition of low elaboration

Early research on distraction as a condition of low elaboration was conducted to explore the effect that distraction had on persuasive messages. Festinger and Maccoby (1964) found that distraction increased the acceptance of propaganda. The results of their study indicated that when an individual was confronted with a persuasive message with which he disagrees and engages in active counter-arguing, distraction could inhibit such counter-arguing, thereby weakening resistance to the message. The study however, did not say anything about what would happen if the cognitions toward a message were favourable. This explanation for how distraction affected persuasive messages was termed the disruption hypothesis and was generally supported throughout the literature (Insko, Turnbull, & Yandell, 1974; Osterhouse & Brock, 1970; Petty, Wells, & Brock, 1976). However, an alternative theory, postulates that distraction increased persuasion as a function of cognitive dissonance and effort justification (see Baron, Baron, & Miller, 1973). Some authors have also suggested that distraction would not increase persuasion in all cases. In a study designed to provide some clarity to the literature, Petty, Wells and Brock (1976) demonstrated that, rather than invariably increasing persuasion, distraction simply inhibited the dominant cognitive response. If the dominant cognitive response was disagreement and counterargumentation, then distraction inhibited this response and resulted in increased persuasion. On the other hand, if the dominant cognitive response was to hold favourable thoughts, then distraction inhibited this response and the result was decreased effectiveness of the persuasive message. Insko et al. (1994) agreed with the notion that distraction facilitated counter-argumentation, but suggested that this was only the case when attention was focused on the message and not the distracting events. They found that when individuals focused on the distracting events, the effect of distraction was best explained by a large decrement in recall, rather than counter-argumentation. It is important to note that despite the level at which the individual is distracted, the outcome remains the same; distraction lowers an individual's likelihood of elaboration. In conditions of high distraction that are typical in a real-world setting, it is quite likely that the distraction would result in a large decrement in recall. This being the case, individuals would have to rely on 'other' information. If, according to the ELM (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), individuals rely more on peripheral cues when elaboration is low, then it seems logical that individuals would rely on these cues when they are too distracted to process issue-relevant information. In the 'real world', individuals are likely to be distracted to the extent that they are unable to recall issue-relevant information. For example, imagine driving a car, whilst also listening to a conversation with a friend and listening to a radio advertisement for an Italian restaurant. It seems unlikely that you would be able to recall issue-relevant information such as the address of the restaurant, the price of the pizzas, and the names of the dishes served. Your attitudes towards the restaurant might therefore reflect peripheral cues such as the thick Italian accent of the alleged head chef.

Some studies have explored the effect that peripheral cues have had under conditions of distraction. In one study, Kiesler and Mathog (1968) explored the effect that distraction had on the credibility cue. In this study, college students were presented with four counterattitudinal messages communicated by either a high-credibility source (e.g. a doctor) or a low-credibility source (e.g. parking attendant). During two out of the four messages, students were given a simple number-task to complete simultaneously (high interference), while for the other two messages, no task was given (low interference). The results indicated that the high-credibility source led to more favourable attitudes than the low-credibility source, but only when the distraction task was present. When participants were distracted, the effectiveness of the message was affected by the credibility of the source. Conversely, when participants were not distracted, the credibility of the source had little effect on the persuasiveness of the message. In a similar experiment, Howard (1997, experiment 2) investigated distraction effects to explore whether or not familiar phrases acted as peripheral cues in persuasive communications. In this experiment, participants were exposed to messages from a financial planner association about retirement funds. Messages contained either literal statements (e.g. "Don't risk everything on a single venture") or familiar phrases (e.g. "Don't put all your eggs in one basket"). Participants were assigned to either a distraction condition - in which participants were instructed to simultaneously complete a behaviour monitoring task - or a no distraction condition (no additional task). Results of the experiment indicated that familiar phrases were more persuasive than literal phrases but only when participants were distracted. The results of another study conducted by Miarmi and DeBono (2007) provided even more evidence for the notion that distracted message recipients are more likely to be persuaded by peripheral cues. In this experiment, participants read a hypothetical crime scenario and were then asked to sentence the defendant. The defendant was either Caucasian or African-American, and participants were assigned to either a distraction condition (distracting internet advertising present) or a no distraction condition. It was found that participants assigned a harsher sentence to the AfricanAmerican, but only in the distraction condition. These results suggest that participants are guided by a stereotypical 'racial cue' under conditions of low elaboration. The results of the Miarmi and DeBono (2007) experiment are perhaps the most closely related to the current study, in that having preferences for producer authenticity also relies on a stereotypical racial cue (e.g. Italian people make the best pasta).

### Present study

The current study aims to demonstrate that producer authenticity acts as a peripheral cue and is more persuasive under conditions of distraction. The study will investigate this notion by having both distracted and non-distracted participants listen to a conversation about a high-quality Thai restaurant, communicated by either a Thai head chef or a Hungarian head chef. The study will specifically address some of the concerns brought up in Study 1. The current study will control for personal relevance of Thai food, given the potential for confounding effects. Also, as previously mentioned, the authenticity cue may be more effective if the material is externally-paced rather than self-paced, hence, the message in the current study will be presented as audio rather than text..

The audio was designed to give participants the idea that the mentioned restaurant is an above average, award-winning restaurant. Based on the information, it is expected that participants will have positive expectations in relation to the restaurant, the head chef and the product (a single green curry). However, participants who are distracted from the audio file should be less likely to form an impression based on this information and will be more likely to rely on the source authenticity of the communicator. The initial aim of the current study is to provide evidence consistent with previous research; that participants make more favourable product/producer ratings when cultural authenticity is present. The main aim of the current study is to demonstrate, that in making their evaluations for a hypothetical culturally specific product (green curry), distracted participants will rely on the source's cultural authenticity, whereas non-distracted participants will rely on product-relevant information. Thus, the following hypotheses are advanced;

- Distracted participants will make more favourable ratings (perceived chef skill and price willing to pay) for the Thai (culturally authentic) head chef than for the Hungarian (non-authentic) head chef.
- 2. Non-distracted participants will not be affected cultural authenticity.

# Method

# Participants

Eighty undergraduate psychology students from James Cook University participated in this study. Participants' ages ranged between 17 and 67 years, with the sample comprising 26 males and 54 females. Students were recruited using an internet-based student research participation resource. As an incentive, students were given course credit points for their participation.

## Design

The design of the study was a 2 [Authenticity manipulation: Thai (authentic) versus Hungarian (non-authentic)] x 2 (Distraction manipulation: Distraction versus no distraction) between subjects design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four possible conditions. In this particular study, evaluations were made regarding the participants' expectations about the product without actually being exposed to the product at question. Participants had to rely on either the information provided or their most accurate intuitive response.

### Materials

The materials for this study consisted of a desktop computer, headphones, a Microsoft PowerPoint presentation, a Facial recognition (distraction) task, a Shape recognition (practice) task, a mock phone interview, and two pen-and-paper tasks.

*Shape recognition (practice) task:* A series of twelve shapes with varying colours (e.g. red triangle, yellow rectangle, blue oval) were created as individual slides on the PowerPoint presentation. Each slide was shown for 5 seconds before automatically proceeding to the next slide in the sequence. Three of the shapes were used as 'target shapes' and were shown in the opening slide along with the instructions, "indicate whether or not you recognise each shape as one of the three from the initial slide". This task was completed along with the Shapes Checklist.

*Shapes Checklist:* The shapes checklist consisted of a sheet of paper with instructions and a checklist table. The instructions read, "tick the corresponding box based on whether each item is either familiar (a shape that was on the original slide of 3 shapes) or unfamiliar (not on the initial slide)". The Shapes Checklist can be found in Appendix B1.

*Facial recognition (distraction) task:* A series of twenty faces were generated using facial modelling software, FaceGen Modeller 3.5. Five different but similar faces were constructed for each of the four racial types used. The racial types included, African, East Asian, Middle Eastern and Caucasian. Example faces can be found in Appendix B2. The faces were used as the distraction task and were incorporated into Microsoft PowerPoint. Each face was assigned to an individual slide that was shown for five seconds before automatically proceeding to the next slide in the sequence. Four of the faces were used as 'target' faces and were shown in an opening slide. These four target faces were to be remembered and identified when shown amongst the entire slide of twenty faces. The facial

recognition task was developed specifically for this study and pilot testing confirmed that it was a cognitively demanding task.

*Faces Checklist:* The faces checklist consisted of a sheet of paper with instructions and a checklist table. The instructions read, "tick the corresponding box based on whether each face is either familiar (a face that was on the original slide of 4 faces) or unfamiliar (not on the initial slide). The Faces Checklist can be found in Appendix B3.

*Mock Phone Interview:* Two versions of a mock phone interview were recorded using audio recording software, Audacity 2.0. The audio consisted of an interview between a male Head Chef/Owner of a fictional Thai restaurant called Taste of Thailand and a female journalist (Andrea Harvey) from a food review website called Taste.com. The woman states that she is writing an article about the recent success of 'A Taste of Thailand' and that she would like to ask a few questions. This is followed by a detailed discussion about the skill level and experience of the head chef, as well as the recent awards the restaurant has received.

The head chef has 10 years experience in various Thai restaurants, and was trained by a celebrity Thai chef named Arjan Yingsak. Taste of Thailand has been open for three years, has recently been awarded an AGF (Australian good food) Chef Hat award, and was a finalist for the regional restaurant of the year in both 2008 and 2009, before taking out the title in 2010. 'A Taste of Thailand' has a huge range of traditional Thai dishes and Thai salads, all using authentic Thai ingredients. The average price of these dishes is from \$18-22. The head chef is thanked for his time and the conversation comes to an end. The script for this mock interview can be found in Appendix B4.

In one version of the mock phone interview, the voice actor for the head chef/owner has a Thai accent; in the other version, the voice actor's accent is Hungarian. Additionally, participants were told the nationality of the head chef in the audio file.

Pen and paper task 1: Manipulation checks and dependent measures: The first penand-paper task was made up of seven questions. The first question asked participants to recall as many of the key points brought up by the head chef of "A Taste of Thailand" as possible. This question was designed to be a manipulation check for the distraction manipulation. The second question asked participants to identify the accent of the head chef from the audio file. Even though the head chef's nationality and accent was initially disclosed to participants, it was still important to include this question as a manipulation check for the authenticity manipulation. The third question asked participants to rate, along a 5-point Likert scale, how authentic they would expect their experience at this restaurant to be. Responses ranged from 'completely authentic' to 'completely inauthentic'. This dependent measure thus aimed to evaluate the expectation of the restaurant's authenticity as a whole. Participants were then asked to briefly explain the reason for their response to this question. The fourth question asked participants how authentic they expected the meals to be at the restaurant. This question was measured along a 5 point Likert scale identical to the previous question. This dependent measure thus aimed to evaluate the perceived authenticity specifically for meals at the restaurant. Participants were again asked to briefly explain the reason for their response to this question. The fifth question asked participants to rate how skilled they expected the head chef to be at cooking Thai food. This question was measured using a rating scale from 0 (no skill) to 100 (highly skilled). Again, participants were asked to provide a qualitative response detailing the reason for their response to this question. The sixth question asked participants to rate the expected quality of the food served at the restaurant. This question was scored on a rating scale from 0 (Low quality) to 100 (high quality). The qualitative component was also repeated for this question. The seventh question asked participants, "given that the average price for a restaurant quality Thai dish is \$20, what is the highest price that you would be happy to pay for a dish (e.g. single green curry, not including entree or drink) at A Taste of Thailand?" Participants could write any number as no scale or anchors - other than the \$20 average price - were provided to

participants. The manipulation checks and dependent measures can be located in Appendix B5.

*Pen-and-paper task 2: Demographics sheet:* The demographics sheet asked participants to provide their age in years, their sex, their country of birth and their nationality. Another question asked participants to indicate on a rating scale how much they like Thai food from 0 (not at all) to 100 (very much). The final question asked participants how likely they would be to consider going to a Thai restaurant. This was scored on a rating scale from 0 (not at all) to 100 (very likely). These last two questions were designed to measure personal relevance as a covariate in the analysis.

#### Procedure

Participants were tested individually. On arrival at the laboratory, participants were provided with an information sheet detailing a plausible cover story of the study; participants were led to believe that the study was about facial recognition. Confidentiality and consent were discussed and accepting participants then signed a consent form. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions (distraction/Hungarian, distraction/ Thai, no distraction/ Hungarian, or no distraction/ Thai). The procedure and materials used differed substantially depending on whether they were randomly assigned to the 'distraction' or no 'distraction condition'.

## 'Distraction' condition:

Participants were seated in front of a computer monitor. On the screen was the PowerPoint presentation titled Facial Recognition task. Participants were then given the following instructions:

> In this experiment you will be shown 4 faces. You will be required to remember these faces as well as you can. You will be given 15 seconds to do this. After that,

you will be shown a slideshow of numerous faces. Each face will only be shown for 5 seconds. When you recognise a face as one of the four original faces, please indicate whether that face is familiar or unfamiliar.

Participants were then told that they would first have a practice run, but with shapes instead of faces. They were then given the shape recognition (practice) task along with the shapes checklist. The purpose of this task was simply to familiarise the participants with the checklist system so that they knew what to expect for the actual facial recognition task. Participants were told that if they were confused to let the experimenter know. If any participant indicated confusion, the experimenter explained the task in more detail and provided examples, until the experimenter was satisfied that the participant now fully understood the checklist system. In the next section of the experiment participants were given the following instructions:

> Throughout this task you will hear a phone conversation (between a female journalist and a Thai [Hungarian] restaurant owner) played through your headphones. Try to concentrate on the facial memory task without being distracted by the audio. You will be presented with 20 faces. On your faces sheet, indicate whether or not you recognise each face as one of the 4 faces shown on the initial slide.

Participants were then given the facial recognition task along with the faces checklist. Once this was completed participants were told, "The restaurant owner/head chef of the restaurant mentioned, 'A Taste of Thailand', had a Thai (or Hungarian) accent. He is from Thailand (or Hungary)". Participants were then asked to complete the two pen-and-paper tasks. Participants were then told to work through both pen-and-paper tasks at their own pace. Upon completion, participants were thanked for their participation and granted credit points for the relevant subject. 'No distraction' condition:

Participants were seated in front of a computer monitor. On the screen was the PowerPoint presentation titled Audio Memory task. Participants were then given the following instructions:

> Throughout this task you will hear a phone conversation (between a female journalist and a Thai [Hungarian] restaurant owner) played through your headphones. Throughout this task you will also be shown a number of faces of various ethnic backgrounds. Try not to be distracted by the visual stimuli. The purpose of this experiment is for you to remember as much as possible about the details of the phone conversation.

Participants in this condition did not require the materials for the facial recognition task or the shape recognition task. They were shown the faces, but this was only to control for any possible confounds such as a racial based priming effect. From this point in the experiment, the procedure and materials were identical to the distraction condition.

#### Results

# Preliminary data analysis

Due to the fact that scores of the two personal relevance variables – measuring the extent to which individuals like Thai food and the likelihood of individuals going to a Thai restaurant – were highly correlated, the two measures were pooled together with mean scores being computed to make a general 'personal relevance' measure (Chronbach's  $\alpha = .92$ ).

Throughout the analysis it became clear that one dependent variable, quality of food, lacked face validity. The intention was for this to be interpreted as "rate how good the food at this restaurant will taste". Unfortunately, qualitative feedback made it clear that there was confusion in regards to the wording of this question. Some did interpret it as intended, however many participants clearly indicated that they interpreted this item as a measure of quality and freshness of ingredients. Given the confusion, it was decided to remove this dependent measure from further analysis.

# Manipulation check

As a check on the distraction manipulation, the number of recalled key points was analysed. An independent samples t-test was conducted which revealed a significant difference in mean number of recalled key points between distracted participants and non-distracted participants, t (78) = 7.89, p < .001. Non-distracted participants recalled significantly more key points (M = 3.8, SD = 2.11) than distracted participants (M = .9, SD = .92).

## Analysis design

As there were four dependent variables and a covariate being investigated, it would seem intuitive to run the data as a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA). However, given the nature of the hypotheses, the MANCOVA design may not be the most appropriate. As suggested by Huberty and Morris (1989), it is beneficial in some cases to conduct a series of univariate analyses rather than a single multivariate analysis. One particular example that the authors gave was when some of the dependent variables are conceptually different. In the current study, the dependent variables of perceived chef skill and price willing to pay are conceptually quite different to the dependent variables of perceived authenticity of meal and restaurant experience. Based on this reasoning the best method of analysis would be to run a series of univariate analyses.

## Assumption testing

Before conducting the appropriate analysis, the assumptions for ANCOVA were investigated. Initial assumption tests for ANOVA were met for all dependent variables with the exception of some violations of the assumption of normality for ratings of chef skill. However, as suggested by Brace, Snelgar and Kemp (2003), ANOVA is typically a robust analysis, even with modest violations of normality. To test the assumption of independence of the covariate and the treatment effect, two independent samples t-tests were conducted for both the distraction and authenticity manipulations. There was no significant difference in mean scores of personal relevance for both distracted and non-distracted participants, t (78) = -.02, p= .982. There was also no significant difference in mean scores of personal relevance for both the authenticity condition and the non-authenticity condition, t(78) = .40, p = .842. To test the assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes, the ANCOVA model was customised to include the interaction terms of the covariate with the two independent variables, authenticity and distraction. The assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes was violated for all dependent variables with most of the main effects and interaction terms being significant (p < .05). Given that the effect of personal relevance on price was significantly different across conditions, the covariate could not be properly addressed and was therefore removed from further analysis.

### Primary analysis

All analyses for this study were conducted using two-tailed tests with an alpha level of .05. A series of 2x2 between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) were computed to establish whether the effects of cultural authenticity and distraction were significant for each of the dependent measures.

The effect of authenticity and distraction on perceived restaurant authenticity

The cultural authenticity manipulation was found to have a significant effect on ratings of restaurant authenticity, F(1, 73) = 7.64, p=.007,  $\eta^2 = .10$ . Participants who listened to the culturally authentic head chef rated the restaurant as more authentic (M = 3.0, SD = .86) than participants who listened to the non-authentic head chef (M = 2.4, SD = .95). The distraction manipulation was also found to have a significant effect on ratings of restaurant authenticity, F(1, 73) = 6.25, p = .015,  $\eta^2 = .08$ . Non-distracted participants rated the dining experience as more authentic (M = 2.9, SD = .74) than distracted participants (M = 2.4, SD = 1.06). Results revealed no significant interaction between authenticity and distraction, F(1, 73) = .88, p = .351,  $\eta^2 = .01$ .

### The effect of authenticity and distraction on perceived meal authenticity

The cultural authenticity manipulation was found to have a significant effect on ratings of meal authenticity, F(1, 75) = 18.60, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .20$ . Participants who listened to the culturally authentic head chef rated the meal as more authentic (M = 3.3, SD = .57) than participants who listened to the non-authentic head chef (M = 2.6, SD = .81). The distraction manipulation was found to have no effect on ratings of meal authenticity, F(1, 75) = 1.14, p = .290,  $\eta^2 = .02$ . Results also revealed no significant interaction between authenticity and distraction, F(1, 75) = .266, p = .351,  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

#### The effect of authenticity and distraction on perceived chef skill

The cultural authenticity manipulation was found to have a significant effect on ratings of chef skill, F(1, 76) = 11.12, p = .001,  $\eta^2 = .13$ . Participants who listened to the culturally authentic head chef rated chef skill as higher (M = 85.0, SD = 12.61) than participants who listened to the non-authentic head chef (M = 72.5, SD = 20.35). The distraction manipulation was found to have a marginal but non-significant effect on ratings of chef skill, F(1, 76) = 3.49, p = .066,  $\eta^2 = .04$ . Non-distracted participants rated chef skill as

higher (M = 82.3, SD = 16.72) than distracted participants (M = 75.3, SD = 18.67). Results revealed no significant interaction between authenticity and distraction, F(1, 76) = .07, p = .790,  $\eta^2 = .00$ .

#### The effect of authenticity and distraction on price willing to pay

The cultural authenticity manipulation had a marginal but non-significant effect on the price that participants were willing to pay for a Thai meal at 'A Taste of Thailand', F(1, 76) = 3.65, p = .060,  $\eta^2 = .05$ . Participants who listened to the culturally authentic head chef were willing to pay more (M = \$25.23, SD = 4.40) than participants who listened to the nonauthentic head chef (M = \$22.90, SD = 6.99). The distraction manipulation was found to have a significant effect on the price willing to pay, F(1, 76) = 9.36, p = .003,  $\eta^2 = .11$ . Nondistracted participants were willing to pay more (M = \$25.93, SD = 4.67) than distracted participants (M = \$22.20, SD = 6.49). Results revealed a significant interaction between authenticity and distraction, F(1, 76) = 4.47, p = .038,  $\eta^2 = .06$ .

Pairwise comparisons were conducted to further explore this significant interaction. Distracted participants were willing to pay more for a Thai meal from 'A Taste of Thailand' when the head chef was culturally authentic (M = \$24.65, SD = 5.33) than when the head chef was non-authentic (M = \$19.75, SD = 6.74), F(1, 76) = 8.10, p=.006,  $\eta^2=.10$ . However, there was no significant difference in the amount that non-distracted participants were willing to pay for the culturally authentic head chef (M = \$25.80, SD = 3.25) and the non-authentic head chef (M = \$26.05, SD = 5.84), F(1, 76) = .021, p = .885,  $\eta^2 = .00$ . Participants who heard the non-authentic head chef were willing to pay significantly less for a Thai meal from 'A Taste of Thailand' when they were distracted (M = \$19.75, SD = 6.74) than when they were not distracted (M = \$26.05, SD = 5.84), F(1, 76) = 13.39, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .15$ . However, for participants who heard the culturally authentic head chef, there was no significant difference in the amount willing to pay for the Thai meal when they were either

distracted (M = \$24.65, SD = 5.33) or not distracted (M = \$25.80), F(1, 76) = .45, p = .506,  $\eta^2 = .01$ . The interaction between cultural authenticity and distraction can be observed in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Study 2. Cultural Authenticity x Distraction Interaction. Mean price willing to pay

Ancillary analyses: Exploring the relationship between personal relevance and dependent measures

Given that the personal relevance variable violated assumptions of ANCOVA and therefore had to be removed from further analysis, the current results offer no explanation about the role that personal relevance plays on evaluations of authentically produced products. However, it is possible that by examining the nature of the violated assumptions, that a meaningful explanation could be forthcoming. The assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes being violated suggests that the effect that the personal relevance variable (covariate) had on the dependent variables was different across conditions of the independent variables. Therefore, the correlations between personal relevance and the dependent variables were explored individually for levels of the independent variables. A series of split file correlations were conducted to investigate whether or not there were significant differences across conditions. All correlations were analysed using Fisher r to ztransformations.

For the first set of analyses, the data set was split to compare groups based on the two levels of distraction. The correlation between price willing to pay and personal relevance was significantly different for non-distracted participants (r = .35, p = .027) than for distracted participants (r = .06, p = .724), (z = 1.82, p = .035). The correlation between authentic experience and personal relevance was significantly different for non-distracted participants (r = .39, p = .014) than for distracted participants (r = .08, p = .655), (z = 2.10, p = .018). No significant correlations or differences between those correlations were found for both perceived chef skill and meal authenticity.

For the second set of analyses, the data set was split to compare groups based on the two levels of authenticity. The correlation between perceived chef skill and personal relevance was significantly different when participants heard the culturally authentic head chef (r = -.34, p = .032) than when participants heard the non-authentic head chef (r = .22, p = .179), (z = -2.47, p = .007). The correlation between authentic experience and personal relevance was significantly different when participants heard the culturally authentic head chef (r = .42, p = .007) than when participants heard the non-authentic head chef (r = -.13, p = .453), (z = 2.48, p = .007). No significant correlations or differences between those correlations were found for both meal authenticity and price willing to pay.

### Discussion

Based on the nature of the design, this study makes some basic assumptions. Firstly, non-distracted participants should be more likely to thoughtfully process the recorded conversation than distracted participants. Secondly, since the recorded conversation is intended to give the impression that the restaurant is of a very high standard and that the head chef is extremely skilled at cooking Thai food, non-distracted participants should get more of a positive impression of the restaurant than distracted participants. This was supported by the main effects of distraction on chef skill and price willing to pay.

The results demonstrated that the authenticity manipulation was successful, with perceived restaurant and meal authenticity being higher for the restaurant owned by the Thai head chef. However, the fact that there was a significant main effect of distraction on perceived restaurant authenticity was of some concern. Theoretically, perceived authenticity should only be affected by producer authenticity. This result probably materialised because the audio file actually included some information about authenticity (e.g. trained in Thailand) and it may suggest the pre-testing was insufficient. However, the fact that perceived meal authenticity did not result in a distraction main effect suggests that perceptions of the meal were not confounded by this methodological concern.

The predictions made for this study were partially supported with results detecting a significant interaction between distraction and authenticity. This trend was observed for price willing to pay, but not for perceived chef skill. Specifically, participants were willing to pay more for a meal cooked by the Thai head chef, but only in the distraction condition. These results provide support for the notion that the authenticity cue is processed heuristically. Also, it is apparent that the interaction effect observed for price willing to pay materialised due to one specific cell difference. Participants in the distracted/non-authentic condition were willing to pay less than participants in all other conditions. Furthermore, no

significant differences were found between the other cells. Quite interesting to note is the fact that participants were willing to pay just as much for a Thai dish produced by the nonauthentic head chef, provided that participants were not distracted from the product-relevant information. The results also show that establishing the prestige and quality of a product does nothing to boost the value of the product when authenticity information is already established. The results provide some practical implications for marketing and advertising. Firstly, the results suggest that if a producer can easily communicate their cultural authenticity, then there would be no point in also establishing expertise and qualifications as it would not boost their product's value. Secondly, if a non-authentic producer can effectively communicate the quality of their product, then consumers will value the nonauthentically produced product no less than its authentically produced counterpart. However, this practical implication should be treated cautiously, since the kind of high level cognitive processing that occurred for participants in the psychology laboratory is not typical for people partially engaged in an audio stimulus such as a radio advertisement.

### Distraction and the 'authenticity heuristic'

In interpreting the interaction effect for price willing to pay, it could be argued that the effect was actually the result of a 'non-authenticity' effect acting as a heuristic cue for diminished value, rather than the 'authenticity' cue working to increase value. The former interpretation is plausible given that the interaction effect was due to the cell differences associated with the non-authenticity condition. However, the latter interpretation does seem more applicable in light of some important details. Participants were given an anchor for the 'price willing to pay' dependent measure. Recall that participants were told that the average Thai dish across restaurants was \$20. According to this, only distracted participants who heard the Hungarian chef saw the Thai dish as approximately 'average' (these participants were willing to pay \$19.75). All other participants were willing to pay approximately \$25 for a Thai dish. It should be noted that non-distracted participants were able to rely on productrelevant information to assist them in making evaluations of the product's value. In contrast, participants in the distraction condition were unable to thoughtfully process the product-relevant information and were therefore forced to rely on information about the head chef's ethnicity. The fact that authenticity alone – in the absence of product-relevant information – could increase perceptions of product value to a price similar to that of participants who processed the product-relevant information thoughtfully, suggests that it was the authenticity cue that increased perceived value and not the non-authenticity decreasing perceived value. What is especially striking about these results is that simply communicating that the producer was authentic had the same impact on perceived value that was observed from an exhaustive list of achievements, qualifications and relevant experience. Not only does the authenticity cue seem to be just as effective as an exhaustive list of product features, but it is also a much faster and practical way to increase perceived value of a product.

Whilst the results demonstrate that the authenticity cue was used as a heuristic for evaluating a product's worth, the findings for perceived chef skill were much more ambiguous. From the results of the current study, it is impossible to say that chef skill was not processed heuristically, just as it is impossible to definitively say that it was processed heuristically. The results indicated that the Thai head chef was perceived as more skilled than the Hungarian head chef independent of the distraction condition. In other words, the authentic producer was perceived as more skilled than the non-authentic producer when participants were both distracted and not distracted. When participants were processing information thoughtfully, the information about the head chef's authenticity overrode the product-relevant information. It is still possible that when participants in the distraction condition made evaluations about the head chef's skill, that they did so heuristically and based on the authenticity cue. However, the results indicate that even under conditions of high elaboration, participants still rate the authentic head chef's skill as better. Two arguments can be qualified by these results. Firstly, Thai chefs will always be rated as better at making Thai cuisine than Hungarian chefs. Secondly, participants will only pay a 'premium' for authenticity when conditions favour heuristic processing.

The results of the current study are consistent with previous studies that demonstrated that participants were more reliant on cue usage under conditions of distraction (Howard, 1997; Kiesler & Mathog, 1968; Miarmi & DeBono, 2007). The most conceptually similar finding was that of Miarmi and Debono (2007) which showed that distracted participants were more likely than non-distracted participants to use a negative racial stereotype when assigning a defendant's prison sentence. The current study found that participants had a similar dependence on the racial cue of the head chef's, although the racial cue was used in the reverse direction. That is, the stereotype was of a positive nature i.e. "Thai people cook better Thai food", rather than "African-Americans are more guilty".

The current study also provides some insight about the underlying mechanisms of the distraction manipulation and its exact operation as a condition of low elaboration. Firstly, some support is offered for the disruption hypothesis (Petty et al., 1976), which suggests that distraction disrupts the dominant cognitive response. The disruption hypothesis predicts that if the dominant cognitive response is to hold favourable thoughts, then distraction will inhibit this response and the result will be decreased persuasion. In the current study, the dominant cognitive response was that the restaurant and head chef were of a high standard, even when the producer was Hungarian and not Thai. According to the disruption hypothesis, the distraction inhibited such favourable cognitions. The outcome was decreased persuasion and the quality of the food being questioned. The second explanation is more in line with Insko et al. (1974), who suggested that when participants focused on the distracting events – rather than issue-relevant information – the effect of distraction was best explained by a large decrement in recall, rather than counter-argumentation. This explanation seems most plausible, given that the distraction manipulation check showed that participants recalled significantly less than non-distracted participants. Furthermore, participants were

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instructed to ignore the product-relevant information and to focus on the distraction task. It is quite possible that distraction had multiple roles in the current study. In situations where participants were unsuccessful in their attempts to ignore product-relevant information, the disruption hypothesis has more explanatory power. Conversely, when participants gave all of their attention to the distraction task and successfully blocked out all product-relevant information, they were forced to rely on the authenticity cue, as they had no other information to rely on.

### The effect of personal relevance on dependent measures across conditions

Given that the rationale of the current study emphasised the importance of investigating the role of personal relevance on evaluations of authentic producers, it is disappointing that the personal relevance variable violated assumptions of ANCOVA and had to be removed from the analysis. However, the ancillary analyses that were conducted did do quite a good job of explaining why these violations occurred. Furthermore, these analyses actually offer some insights as to the effect that personal relevance had on the dependent measures. Most notably, the results indicated that there was a significant positive relationship between price willing to pay and personal relevance for non-distracted participants, but not for distracted participants. In other words, non-distracted participants and not distracted participants – who found Thai food more personally relevant were willing to pay more for a Thai meal. One possible explanation for this result is that distracted participants relied completely on the authenticity cue and ignored not only the productrelevant information but also their own dispositions towards Thai food. In contrast, nondistracted participants relied less on the authenticity cue because they evaluated product value based on product-relevant information as well as their personal relevance to Thai food. This explanation should be considered in conjunction with the elaboration likelihood model which posits that if an issue is personally relevant, the likelihood for elaboration will be higher (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986; Petty & Wegener, 1998). The model suggests that personal
relevance predicts the level of elaboration likelihood. The current results however, suggest that the elaboration likelihood – which was manipulated in the current study – influenced the extent to which personal relevance affected evaluations. What the results do have in common with the ELM framework is that personal relevance was related to high elaboration and not low elaboration. While the other ancillary analyses offer less insight to authenticity and its relevance to the ELM framework, they do provide clear evidence that controlling for personal relevance is problematic in a design such as the current study, and that the personal relevance has a differential effect on all dependent measures across conditions of the independent variables.

#### Is accent a reliable cue to cultural authenticity?

As stated previously, cultural authenticity is processed as a simple cue because it is often directly observable. Contrast this with emotional authenticity, which needs to be communicated and might therefore rely on an exhaustive account of the producer's background and reasons for producing the product. Conversely, a producer's cultural authenticity can be observed simply through the producer's accent or physical appearance. Even a product's cultural authenticity can be succinctly communicated through phrases such as 'made in Italy' or 'authentic Italian', or even by displaying the relevant country's flag on the packaging. The question however, is whether or not accents are a reliable cue in communicating that a producer is culturally authentic. Pilot testing for the current study revealed that the sample of students were quite incapable of recognising Thai and Hungarian accents. Fortunately, this potential problem was resolved by informing participants about the head chef's nationality and accent prior to hearing the recorded conversation. However, the fact that this had to be done should give enough concern about the reliability of accents as a cue to cultural authenticity. This might only have been an issue based on the sample (undergraduate university students may be less knowledgeable about accents than other older samples). Alternatively, it may have been an issue specific to Thai and Hungarian accents. It

is possible that if more recognisable accents were used, then they would act as more salient cues to cultural authenticity. It is also possible that physical appearance would act as a more reliable cue to authenticity than accent. Although outside the scope of the current research, it would be interesting to investigate the effectiveness of accents versus physical appearance as cues to a producer's cultural authenticity. Certainly one would expect that the most salient cue to authenticity would involve the combination of both physical appearance and accent. The persuasive effect of producer authenticity might also be increased by using physical appearance as opposed to accents. Results of a study conducted by Chaiken and Eagly (1976) would lend support to the idea that being able to see and hear an authentic producer would be more persuasive than only hearing them. In the study, they demonstrated that for simple messages persuasion was greater when the source was videotaped than when the message was audio-taped or written.

#### Conclusions

The current study successfully demonstrated that the cultural authenticity of a producer is processed heuristically; at least when making evaluations of a product's value. The study supports the findings of Doonan (2007, study 10) which showed that preferences towards an authentic producer were marginally affected by need for cognition. The current study also supports the findings of Verlegh et al. (2005) which demonstrated that product authenticity was more persuasive when personal involvement was low. It is important to validate these findings by providing further evidence that a producer's cultural authenticity is processed heuristically. Hence, the following chapters – whilst also addressing the other research aims – will further explore the persuasiveness of producer cultural authenticity under conditions of low elaboration.

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#### CHAPTER 7

#### Study 3

Individual differences in culturally authentic preferences for espresso coffee

#### Rationale

Past research has indicated that for culturally relevant products, a culturally authentic producer is much more desirable than a non-authentic producer. Such judgements are most likely the result of socially learnt rules and prior experiences. Individuals learn over time that certain foods and other products are culturally relevant to people with specific cultural or ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, they develop schemas about the skill level of culturally authentic producers over non-authentic producers. Individuals make assumptions that people who take cultural ownership of a particular product should do a better job at producing it. In a sense, it seems perfectly rational to assume that a culturally authentic producer would be more knowledgeable and skilled at producing a product that is a part of his or her own cultural background. Most individuals have likely had positive experiences when it comes to the consumption of culturally authentic products, hence confirming the schemas that they have developed. However, relying on this cultural authenticity rule may become problematic in some situations. Firstly, it may be incorrect to automatically assume that a producer is skilled at producing an ethnically relevant product based solely on the fact that their ethnicity seems congruent with the cultural background of the product, i.e. not all Chinese people are good at cooking Chinese cuisine. Secondly, it may be incorrect to automatically assume that a producer, who lacks cultural authenticity based on their ethnicity, is unable to produce a high quality version of the product, i.e. some non-Chinese people are good at cooking Chinese cuisine. Based on this logic, it could be argued that, while in most cases, basing decisions about culturally relevant products on the producer's

cultural authenticity would be reasonable; it would be irrational to rely completely on cultural authenticity when other product or producer information is also available. The present study will address this notion by exploring the extent to which knowledge about a producer's cultural authenticity can promote irrational decision making.

Further to this primary research aim, the current study also aims to extend on the findings from both Study 1 and Doonan (2007, study 10). As mentioned in study one, it is important to identify some of the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in preferences toward culturally authentic producers. Unfortunately, study one failed to replicate some previous individual difference findings from initial research by Doonan (2007). Some of the individual differences that were explored pertained to aspects of the individual's self and this is a direction that the present research will address no further. The study also explored variables related to heuristic processing, which in this research, are of particular interest. The present study will provide a rationale for new points of inquiry, some of which were speculated about in earlier chapters. In particular, three themes related to preferences toward culturally authentic producers will be explored: heuristic processing, magical beliefs and cultural experience. Individual differences will be analysed to explore these themes and to further our understanding about the underlying psychological mechanisms involved with preferences toward culturally authentic producers.

#### Cultural authenticity heuristic

Whilst the results of Studies 1 and 2 provided support for the notion of the authenticity heuristic, it is still disconcerting that need for cognition failed to influence authenticity preferences. However, there are some possible explanations for the lack of an effect. Firstly, it is possible that the nature of the study promoted high elaboration and that even participants with low need for cognition were subjected to conditions that encouraged a thoughtful process. For example, the issue-relevant information was written and self-paced

which is known to increase the likelihood of elaboration compared to when information is delivered through video or audio (Chaiken & Eagly, 1983). Another explanation is that cultural authenticity preferences are not actually the result of biased or irrational thinking in situations where factors such as product quality or producer skill are held constant. Rather, need for cognition may only play a role in situations that involve clear-cut cases of irrationality, such as when the culturally authentic option is lower in quality than the non-authentic one. Past research would support this notion, with need for cognition being associated with some of the more traditional cognitive biases and heuristics (Perlini & Hansen, 2001; Smith & Levin, 1996).

#### Rationality vs. Experientiality

An alternative explanation is that, if authenticity preferences are guided by heuristic processing, then it might be more relevant to explore individuals' tendency to engage in automatic and intuitive thinking styles, as opposed to a rational system that is the focus of the need for cognition variable. The logic here is that authenticity preferences may not be the consequence of deviations from rational thought, but rather automatic associative rules that have been learnt from prior experiences. Of particular relevance is Cognitive-Experiential Self Theory which posits that individuals process information under two parallel and interactive processing systems: a rational system and an experiential system (Epstein, 1994). The rational system operates at a conscious, deliberative level and is logical and relatively free of affect. The experiential system is automatic, preconscious, and tends to rely on intuitive processes and associationistic connections. Epstein et al. (1996) demonstrated that an individual's reliance on the experiential system could be explored by measuring an individual's tendency to trust one's own intuitions, a construct that the authors labelled faith in intuition. Similarly, the rational system could be measured by the previously established measure of need for cognition. Pacini and Epstein (1999) investigated whether or not nonoptimal responses in a game of chance were associated with faith in intuition and need for

cognition. The results revealed that non-optimal responses (ratio bias) were negatively related to need for cognition but unrelated to faith in intuition, suggesting that judgmental errors about probability were governed by the rational system independently of the intuitiveexperiential system. In contrast, a number of recent studies have shown that higher levels of faith in intuition are associated with heuristic processing styles. Keller and Bless (2009) found that ease of retrieval affected an individual's reasoning ability during an affective forecasting task, and that the ease of retrieval effects were more pronounced for those with high faith in intuition. These results demonstrated that the biasing judgments made by individuals were moderated by the intuitive-experiential system. Nan (2009) explored the effect that individuals' emotional responses to public service announcements had on their attitudes towards the idea advocated in the announcement. The study found evidence that having high faith in intuition led to a higher reliance on experienced emotions when making judgments. Trent and King (2013) also emphasised the role of the experiential system in emotionally related judgments. Here, it was found that participants in a positive affect condition were more likely to rely on stereotypes but only if they had high faith in intuition. Alos-Ferrer and Hugelschafer (2012) investigated the reinforcement heuristic in a probability-based game. The reinforcement heuristic is a simple "win-stay, lose-shift" decision rule based on the outcome of the previous trial. Reliance on the reinforcement heuristic leads to non-optimal decisions that disregard rational principles of probability. The results of the study demonstrated that participants with higher faith in intuition relied more on the reinforcement heuristic. While these studies provide substantial evidence for the relation between heuristic processing and the faith in intuition variable, it is important to emphasise that faith in intuition was linked to emotionally involved, associationistic and stereotypical thinking styles, rather than deviations from mathematically-based, formuladriven thought processing. Given that the nature of authenticity preferences is most likely associative and stereotypical rather than mathematically based, it is possible that the

authenticity heuristic would be governed by the experiential system rather than the rational system.

#### Personal relevance

Similar to Study 2, the current study also aims to provide further evidence that authenticity preferences are guided by heuristic processing, by exploring the relation between personal relevance and evaluations of authentic products. Personal relevance/involvement has been considered an important determinant of processing styles (Celsi & Olson, 1988; Johnson & Eagly, 1989; Petty & Cacioppo, 1984; Petty, Cacioppo, & Goldman, 1981; Rothman & Schwarz, 1998; Sorrentino, Bobocel, Gitta, Olson, & Hewitt, 1988). Specifically, it has been argued that individuals process information more thoughtfully and rationally when the issue is of high personal relevance than when it is of low personal relevance. For example, Rothman and Schwarz (1998) had participants assess their own risk of heart disease by listing risk factors that were either of personal relevance to themselves or just relevant to the average man. Participants relied on either recalled content (rational response) or experienced ease of retrieval (heuristic response). When participants considered heart disease to be personally relevant, they were more likely to rely on recalled content. On the other hand, participants who did not find heart disease personally relevant used a heuristic judgment strategy and relied on their ease of retrieval. In a more consumer related example, Celsi and Olson (1988) found that individuals who found tennis personally relevant paid more attention to and engaged in higher elaboration for advertisements relating to tennis products. In the present research, if authenticity information is processed heuristically, then it would be expected that people who find a product personally relevant should be more likely to process information more thoughtfully or rationally. In other words, it would be expected that coffee drinkers would be more likely to evaluate coffee brands based on product relevant information, whereas non-coffee drinkers would rely more on extrinsic information about the cultural authenticity of a coffee product.

Alternatively, personal relevance could impact on evaluations in a different manner. Individuals who find a product personally relevant may feel that the cultural authenticity of the product is more important than individuals who do not find the product personally relevant. For example, coffee drinkers might view the cultural authenticity of espresso as a more important factor than someone who does not even drink coffee. The strength of the authenticity cue would in turn, have a positive impact on product evaluations. Based on this notion, it would be expected that coffee drinkers would rate culturally authentic coffee more favourably and would rate non-authentic coffee more unfavourably, as compared to noncoffee drinkers.

#### Desire for cultural experiences

Another potential factor influencing consumer preferences towards authentically produced products is the desire to experience other cultures. It is possible that people who place more value in authentically produced products do so because they see the consumption of ethnically relevant products as a substitute for culturally authentic experiences. As noted by Reisinger and Steiner (2006), tourists "desired authentic opportunities because they lacked such experiences in their routine and shallow daily lives. They seek authenticity as a form of fulfilment to escape to other places and times" (p. 67). Although consuming an ethnically relevant product might not be considered a truly authentic experience, if the product offers some kind of gateway to another culture then it should at least be as 'real' as possible; and what easier way to portray cultural authenticity is there than to have the product produced by a culturally authentic producer? Furthermore, people who have little concern about experiencing a culture would care much less about the perceived authenticity of a culturally relevant product, since they are not concerned about consuming this cultural 'substitute'. Gaytán (2008) observed that American customers at Mexican restaurants were particularly unforgiving about "not quite Mexican" staff members. One customer in particular mentioned that the lack of authentic people affected her ability to "escape that we

are in New England" (Gaytán, 2008, p. 321). This suggests that, ideally, the consumption of Mexican food at a Mexican restaurant should make the consumer feel as though they are somewhere else, immersing themselves in the culture of another country. From this logic, it could be expected that people who are interested in experiencing a particular culture and travelling to a particular country, would place less value on culturally relevant products that are *not* produced by culturally authentic producers.

#### Magical beliefs

Recall that in Study 1 a relationship was found between scores on the magical beliefs scale and preferences towards the culturally authentic (Chinese) acupuncturist. Furthermore, this relationship was accounted for by items tapping into a superstitious beliefs construct and not the law of contagion construct. From these results it is still rather unclear whether this relationship materialised as a result of superstitious individuals being more inclined towards culturally authentic service providers, or a more general indication of irrational thinking styles. Furthermore, the superstitious factor interpretation may not have been the best interpretation of the factor, and the magical beliefs scale did not specifically set out to measure this as a construct. The present study will address this issue by exploring the relationship between authenticity preferences and superstitious thinking, using a more validated measure of superstitious thinking.

#### Law of contagion

Doonan (2007) initially postulated that people who hold strong beliefs about the law of contagion would be more affected by a producer's cultural authenticity. The belief in the law of contagion is perhaps one of the more prevalent types of *magical thinking*. It involves the belief that when people and objects come into contact with each other, they continue to influence each other by transferring its properties to the other (Nemeroff & Rozin, 1994). As described by Nemeroff and Rozin, the underlying assumption is that some "essence" or "soul stuff' may be transmitted. Beliefs in the law of contagion have been explored extensively in a variety of contexts with a variety of different objects (Argo, Dahl, & Morales, 2006, 2008; Lee, Linkenauger, Bakdash, Joy-Gaba, & Profitt, 2011; Morales & Fitzsimons, 2007; Nemeroff & Rozin, 1994; Newman, Diesendruck, & Bloom, 2011; Rozin & Nemeroff, 2002). Nemeroff and Rozin (1994) had participants rate how pleasant or unpleasant the experience of wearing a sweater would be, when it was previously worn by a variety of other sources. Even without a physical basis for disgust, participants were generally uncomfortable with the notion of wearing a sweater previously worn by a negative source. For example, people did not like the idea of wearing a sweater previously worn by someone with AIDS, even though they acknowledged that wearing the sweater would not put them at risk of transmitting the disease. In a similar consumer related study, it was found that consumers were reluctant to purchase a T-shirt if it had just been tried on by a stranger (Argo, et al., 2006). The effect is not limited to negative contagion though, with consumers also being found to be more likely to purchase an item if it had come into contact with an attractive salesperson of the opposite sex (Argo, et al., 2008). Furthermore, Newman, Diesendruck and Bloom (2011) identified positive contagion as a critical factor affecting the valuation of celebrity possessions. They found that manipulating the degree of physical contact between celebrity and object influenced consumer willingness to purchase. In a somewhat novel experiment, Lee et al. (2011) demonstrated that the effects of positive contagion could even influence perception and performance. In a golf putting experiment, they found that participants who believed that they were using a professional golfer's putter perceived the size of the hole to be larger and sank more putts than participants who believed they were using an ordinary putter.

Past research has demonstrated that individuals place more value in authentically produced products, when they believe that the product has come into physical contact with the producer. For example, Newman and Bloom (2012) found that original paintings were more valuable as a function of the direct physical contact with the original artist. Here the driving factor that increased the painting's value was not some intrinsic property that actually made the painting better, but rather an invisible quality or essence transmitted from the artist into the painting. As speculated by Doonan (2007), during the production process, authentically produced products become an extension of the producer's self and become infused with some magical property or essence that it would otherwise lack. In the context of cultural authenticity, it is possible that a producer's 'cultural essence' is transferred into a product, and that this 'essence' could even be consumed by the consumer. In this sense, the desire for consuming culturally authentic products could be the result of a desire to consume the producer's or the product's cultural essence. While this thought process could be either implicit or explicit, measuring an individual's tendency to believe that essences firstly, exist, and secondly, that they can be transferred, could provide some insight as to the potential relationship between contagion beliefs and cultural authenticity preferences. Also pertinent is the idea that skills and knowledge related to producing authentic products can be passed on though genetic transmission, which is likely to involve some element of magical thinking.

The first problem to address however is that Study 1 failed to show a relationship between the contagion factor and preferences towards a culturally authentic acupuncturist. Two possible explanations can be offered for this lack of an effect. Firstly, the contagion items were completely related to consumption disgust or *negative* contagion, e.g. "I would not eat soup that had been stirred with a used, but thoroughly cleaned fly swatter" and "I would refuse to drink juice from a bed pan even if it had never been used". If authenticity preferences are the result of an "essence transfer" then this essence would certainly be of a positive nature. Including a measure designed to tap specifically into a positive contagion construct may be more revealing than the negative constructs were in Study 1. Secondly, the acupuncturist vignette failed to capture the potential relationship as described above. The acupuncturist is present during the procedure and given the fact that there is no separation between the consumer and producer, the transfer of essence is potentially irrelevant. It is important that the producer has no contact with the consumer; otherwise the principle of contagion does not apply. For the contagion factor to be relevant, the consumer's only connection to the producer should be through the product, and not any producer-consumer interaction.

#### Present study

Primarily, the present study aims to demonstrate that espresso coffee produced by a culturally authentic producer will be rated more favourably than espresso coffee produced by a non-authentic producer, even when the authentically produced product is stated to be lower in product quality. The study also aims to explore the relationship between ratings for culturally authentic espresso and a number of individual difference variables. Hence, the following hypotheses are advanced:

- Participants' will make more favourable evaluations for Italian espresso (culturally authentic) than for Chinese espresso (non-authentic), even when quality is held constant.
- Expected taste and price willing to pay for Italian (culturally authentic) espresso will be positively associated with superstitious beliefs and belief in the law of contagion.
- Expected taste and price willing to pay for Italian (culturally authentic) espresso will be positively associated with faith in intuition and negatively associated with need for cognition.
- 4. Expected taste and price willing to pay for Italian (culturally authentic) espresso will be positively associated with the extent to which individuals consider espresso to be an Italian product, and negatively associated with the extent to which individuals consider espresso to be a Chinese product.

- 5. Expected taste and price willing to pay for Italian (culturally authentic) espresso will be affected by the extent to which individuals find coffee personally relevant.
- 6. Expected taste and price willing to pay for Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer will be positively associated with interest in travelling to Italy and experiencing Italian culture.

#### Method

#### **Participants**

Participants in the current study consisted of 134 undergraduate psychology students from James Cook University. Students took part in the study in order to gain course credits for an introductory psychology subject. Participants' ages ranged between 17 and 69, with the sample comprising 83 females (M = 24.1 years, SD = 7.61), 48 males (M = 25.3 years, SD = 9.04) and three participants who did not disclose their age or gender.

#### Design

Participants were asked to indicate their expectations of taste, and the price they would be willing to pay, for four fictional espresso coffee products. Each of the four products were differentiated based on a 2 [producer cultural authenticity: Italian (culturally authentic) versus Chinese (non-authentic)] x 2 [product quality: high quality versus low quality] within subjects design. For the individual differences, taste and price ratings for Italian espresso products were used as the dependent measures. Additionally, the differences in ratings between low quality culturally authentic and high quality non-authentic were calculated to give an indication of an individual's bias towards the authentically produced espresso product. These bias scores were also used for subsequent individual difference analyses.

#### Materials

The current study consisted of a mock article about a blind consumer study discussing the product quality of four espresso coffee brands. This was followed by a number of scales used to evaluate the four espresso products; the first item asked participants to indicate their preferences based on rank ordering scales, the second item asked participants to rate how good they expected each of the four espresso products to taste, and the third item asked participants to indicate how much they would be willing to pay for each of the four espresso products. Next was a series of questions asking participants how personally relevant they found coffee, followed by a manipulation check for authenticity. Individual differences measures used were the 40-item version of the Rational-Experiential Inventory (Pacini & Epstein, 1999), a six-item superstitious beliefs scale (Wiseman & Watt, 2004), an interest in culture/travel scale, and the Magical Transfer Scale.

*Mock coffee article:* Participants read a mock article that included information about four espresso brands produced by four different companies. Two were produced by Italian companies Tazza D'oro and Bene Bevuta, while the other two were produced by Chinese companies Kunming Yunnan and Hao Xin. Tazza D'oro and Kunming Yunnan both produced a line of espresso that scored 92/100 in a blind consumer study, while Hao Xin and Bene Bevuta both scored 75/100. The full article can be observed in Appendix C1.

*Preference ranking measure:* Each producer's espresso product was ranked from  $1^{st}$  to  $4^{th}$ .

*Price measure:* Participants indicated how much they would be willing to pay for a 200g packet of each producer's espresso line. Scores were measured using a rating scale from \$3 -\$10 with increments of \$.50.

*Taste measure:* Participants were asked to try and imagine what the products from each company would taste like. Participants rated expected taste for each of the products on 11-point rating scales ranging from 0 (worst taste imaginable) to 10 best taste imaginable.

*Personal Relevance Measures*: Participants were asked to indicate "how often do you drink coffee" and "how often do you purchase coffee for your household." Both items were scored on 5-point rating scale from 1 (never) to 5 (always). The two items were combined to create a general personal relevance measure ( $\alpha$ = .88).

*Authenticity manipulation check:* Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they associated espresso as an Italian product and as a Chinese product. Both items were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much so).

*Rational-Experiential Inventory-Revised 40 Item Scale (REI-40:* The Rational-Experiential Inventory-Revised 40 Item Scale was taken from Pacini and Epstein (1999) and is based on the previously established measures of need for cognition and faith in intuition. The scale measures two distinct thinking styles: rationality and experientiality. The rationality scale is a short form of the original Need for Cognition scale (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982). It measures self-reported ability in, reliance on and enjoyment for thinking in an analytical, logical manner. The rationality scale includes items such as "I prefer complex problems to simple ones" (positively coded) and "I don't like to have to do a lot of thinking" (negatively coded). The experientiality scale is an adaptation of the Faith in Intuition scale (Epstein, Pacini, DenesRaj, & Heier, 1996). It measures an individual's self-reported ability in, reliance on and enjoyment for making decisions and judgments based on one's feelings and intuitions. It includes items such as "I believe in trusting my hunches" (positively coded) and "If I were to rely on my gut feelings, I would often make mistakes" (negatively coded). Respondents rate all items on a 5-point scale from 1(definitely not true of myself) to 5 (definitely true of myself). Pacini and Epstein (1999) reported the reliability of rationality and experientiality to be very high ( $\alpha$ =.91 and  $\alpha$ =.88 respectively). The current study further demonstrated high reliability for both the rationality scale ( $\alpha$ =.89) and the experientiality scale ( $\alpha$ =.87). Furthermore, the two constructs were found not to be correlated with one another, supporting the Cognitive-experiential Self Theory assumption that experientiality and rationality are two independent processing systems. This was further validated in the present study with no correlation detected (r=.05, p>.05) between the two scales (see Table 10 for more information relating to correlations between measures used in the present study). The scale can be located in Appendix C2.

*Cultural interest:* Participants were asked two questions that gave an indication about their cultural interest. The first question asked participants to rate the extent to which they intend to travel to a number of destinations (Japan, Thailand, China, Greece, UK, Italy, America, New Zealand, and Egypt). The nine items were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (absolutely no intention) to 5 (very high intention). The second question asked participants to rate the extent to which they would be interested in exploring the 'culture' in the same countries mentioned in the previous question. These nine items were scored on a 5point scale ranging from 1 (not at all interested) to 5 (completely interested). For both questions, the only country of interest was Italy, while the other eight countries were only included as fillers in order to avoid transparency. The two items were combined to create a single reliable measure of *Interest in Italy* ( $\alpha$ = .80).

*Superstitious Beliefs:* The adopted scale was taken from Wiseman and Watt (2004) and is designed to measure both positive and negative superstitious beliefs. The authors originally constructed the scale to account for the limitations of previous paranormal belief scales which only measured negative superstitious beliefs. The scale consists of six items: three items that measure positive superstitious beliefs and three items that measure negative superstitious beliefs. While the original scale phrases items as questions, the current study restructured the items to reflect statements. Negative superstitious items included, "I avoid

walking under ladders because doing so is associated with bad luck", "I am anxious about breaking a mirror because it is thought to cause bad luck", and "I am superstitious about the number thirteen". Positive superstitious items included, "I do say 'fingers crossed', or actually cross my fingers", "I do say 'touch wood' or actually touch or knock on wood", and "I sometimes carry a lucky charm or object." Although Wiseman and Watt originally scored items on a 5-point rating scale ranging from 1 (Definitely No) to 5 (Definitely Yes), the current study used a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Wiseman and Watt did not report reliability coefficients however the current study demonstrated acceptable reliability from both positive superstition ( $\alpha$ =.66) and negative superstition ( $\alpha$ =.86). The scale can be located in Appendix C3.

Magical Transfer Scale: The magical transfer scale was designed particularly for this study. The scale is based on the sweater contact scenarios taken from Nemeroff and Rozin (1994), in which participants were asked to rate how negatively/positively they would feel about wearing a jacket previously worn by a number of interpersonal/moral sources (e.g. lover, good, sexy, enemy, evil). The newly constructed scale is designed to measure two types of magical transfer beliefs: positive contagion and negative contagion. Respondents are asked to indicate how comfortable they would be with wearing a shirt previously worn by various positive and negative figures. In each case the shirt would be professionally cleaned before being returned. Respondents are then asked to rate how they would feel about wearing the shirt after it had been worn by each of the positive sources (e.g. good person, attractive person, loved famous person) or negative sources (e.g. evil person, unattractive person, disliked famous person). All items are scored on an 11-point scale ranging from -5 (this has made it the most unpleasant experience imaginable), to 0 (nothing has changed about the shirt), to 5 (this has made it the most pleasant experience imaginable). The magical transfer scale consists of eleven items: five items were included as a measure positive contagion and the other six measure negative contagion. Factor analysis revealed two separate factors

(eigenvalues greater than one) that could be easily interpreted as positive and negative contagion. Table 6 displays the factor loadings for all items on the Magical Transfer scale. The 6 negative contagion items were found to be highly reliable ( $\alpha$ =.87), as were the 5 positive contagion items ( $\alpha$ =.88). The scale can be located in Appendix C4.

# Table 6.

# Factor Loadings for Magical Transfer Scale

Magical Transfer Items	Component 1 Negative Contagion (42.33% variance)	Component 2 Positive Contagion (23.32% variance)
Most 'evil person' you can think of	.68	22
A criminal	.81	17
Someone famous you dislike	.79	.00
Someone famous you like	23	.84
Someone attractive	30	.77
Someone unattractive	.81	02
Personal enemy	.81	15
Most 'good person' you can think of	07	.86
Someone you admire	23	.82
Volunteer worker	.19	.77
Soiled by dog-doo	.71	11

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization

Note: Factor loadings  $\leq$  .30 have not been used to interpret factors

## Procedure

Participants were tested individually by means of an on-line survey

(www.surveymonkey.com) with the relevant link provided on a research participation site

for first and second year psychology students at James Cook University. Participants read a

brief study outline and gave informed consent before proceeding on to the survey. After providing consent, participants read the coffee article, completed the product evaluations, and then completed the demographics section and the series of measures listed in the Materials section. Upon completion, participants were thanked for their participation and granted subject credits electronically.

#### Results

As can be observed from the frequency data in Table 7, the high quality espresso produced by the culturally authentic Italian producer Tazza d'oro was preferred to the other products. Interestingly, the low quality espresso produced by Italian producer Bene Bevuta was preferred more than the high quality espresso produced by Chinese producer Kunming Yunnan.

#### Table 7.

Rank	Tazza d'oro <sup>1</sup>	Kunming Yunnan <sup>2</sup>	Bene Bevuta <sup>3</sup>	Hao Xin <sup>4</sup>
1 <sup>st</sup>	100	5	22	3
$2^{nd}$	25	29	63	13
3 <sup>rd</sup>	4	66	34	26
4 <sup>th</sup>	1	30	11	88

Frequency Data for Rank-Order Preferences of Espresso Products

<sup>1</sup>High quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer,

<sup>2</sup>High quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

<sup>3</sup>Low quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer

<sup>4</sup>Low quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

#### Preliminary data analysis

To address the first hypothesis, a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was computed to examine the effects that cultural authenticity and product quality had on participants' evaluations of expected taste for espresso products, with another ANOVA computed to examine the effects of cultural authenticity and product quality on the price participants were willing to pay for espresso products. Before proceeding, the data were examined to establish whether they met the assumptions required for a two-way repeated measures analysis. For both dependent measures (expected taste and price willing to pay), normality was violated in all cases (all Shapiro-Wilkes p values < .05). However, as suggested by Brace, Snelgar and Kemp (2003), ANOVA is robust, even with modest violations of normality. The assumption of sphericity was not an issue as both of the repeated measures variables had only two levels (high vs. low quality and culturally authentic vs. non-authentic) (Field, 2009).

Results of the first two-way repeated measures ANOVA indicated that product quality had a significant effect on participants' ratings of expected taste, F(1,132) = 29.53, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .22$ . Similarly, cultural authenticity had a significant effect on expected taste, F(1, 132) = 39.96, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .30$ . Participants rated expected taste as significantly higher for high quality espresso (M = 6.7, SD = 2.36) than for low quality espresso (M = 5.9, SD = 2.26). Participants also rated expected taste as significantly higher for espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = 6.9, SD = 2.37) than for espresso produced by a nonauthentic producer (M = 5.7, SD = 2.25). The interaction between product quality and cultural authenticity was also found to be significant, F(1, 132) = 6.21, p = .014,  $\eta^2 = .047$ .

A series of repeated measures t-tests were conducted to further explore this significant interaction. Given the one-directional nature of the first hypothesis, the analyses were conducted using one-tailed tests at an alpha rate of .05. Participants rated expected

taste higher for high quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = 7.4, SD = 2.46) than for equally high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = 6.0, SD = 2.25), t(133) = 6.85, p < .001. Similarly, participants rated expected taste as higher for low quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = 6.5, SD = 2.28) than for equally low quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = 5.3, SD = 2.24), t(132) = 5.04, p < .001. Furthermore, participants rated expected taste as *higher for low quality* espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = 5.3, SD = 2.24), t(132) = 5.04, p < .001. Furthermore, participants rated expected taste as *higher for low quality* espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer, *t*(132) = 2.01, *p* = .023.

Results of the second two-way repeated measures ANOVA indicated that product quality had a significant effect on the price that participants were willing to pay for espresso, F(1, 131) = 19.28, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .15$ . Similarly, cultural authenticity had a significant effect on the price that participants were willing to pay for espresso, F(1, 131) = 39.77, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .30$ . Participants were willing to pay significantly more for high quality espresso (M =\$5.09, SD = 1.69) than for low quality espresso (M = \$4.75, SD = 1.60). Participants were also willing to pay significantly more for espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = \$5.26, SD = 1.77) than for espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M= \$4.58, SD = 1.57). Unexpectedly, no significant interaction was detected between product quality and cultural authenticity, F(1,131) = 2.56, p = .112,  $\eta^2 = .019$ .

Given that the first hypothesis was primarily designed to explore any potential biased judgments, a series of pre-planned comparisons were conducted regardless of the absence of an interaction effect. Whilst these comparisons are informative and relate directly to the hypothesis, it is important to note that these results should be treated with due caution, as pre-planned analyses in the absence of an interaction effect can often be statistically unreliable. The pre-planned comparisons were conducted using a series of repeated measures t-tests (one-tailed, with an alpha rate of .05). Participants were willing to pay more for a high quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M =\$5.47, SD = 1.87) than for

an equally high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = \$4.70, SD = 1.60), t(132) = 6.13, p < .001. Participants were also willing to pay more for a low quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = \$5.05, SD = 1.66) than for an equally low quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = \$4.45, SD = 1.54), t(131) = 5.16, p < .001. Furthermore, participants were willing to pay more for low quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer *than for high quality* espresso produced by a non-authentic producer than for high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer than for high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer, t(132) = 2.55, p = .006.

#### Table 8.

#### Mean Ratings of Expected Taste and Price Willing to Pay

Product	Expe	cted taste	Price willing to pay		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	
Tazza d'oro <sup>1</sup>	7.4	2.46	\$5.47	1.87	
Kunming Yunnan <sup>2</sup>	6.0	2.25	\$4.70	1.60	
Bene Bevuta <sup>3</sup>	6.5	2.28	\$5.05	1.66	
Hao Xin <sup>4</sup>	5.3	2.24	\$4.45	1.54	

<sup>1</sup>High quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer

<sup>2</sup>High quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

<sup>3</sup>Low quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer

<sup>4</sup>Low quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

### Individual differences in ratings for Italian espresso

The individual difference analysis aimed to identify predictors of taste and price ratings for Italian espresso. For both price willing to pay and expected taste, new scores were calculated by summing Tazza D'oro and Bene Bevuta scores. Upon close inspection of the data, it was revealed that the two dependent measures were normally distributed with no extreme outliers. Conversely, extreme outliers were detected across all independent variables (up to eight for some variables) except faith in intuition and need for cognition. Outliers greater than 3 standard deviations from the mean were removed from the analysis and were treated as missing values. After removing these cases, the normality assumption was met for most variables (excluding age) with skewness and kurtosis statistics generally within the accepted range (Bulmer, 1979). Although age was positively skewed, the observed trend was expected for a sample comprising of undergraduate psychology students. However, it was decided that the age variable should be transformed in order to meet the assumption of normality. After testing a number of transformations, age was transformed using the 1/X transformation method, which was deemed to be the most effective technique in minimising the skew of these particular data (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006). Given that the new transformed scores for age were reverse-scored, the correlations reported will be reversed for conceptual purposes.

A series of Pearson correlations were computed to explore the relationships the individual difference variables and ratings of taste and price for Italian espresso. Expected taste of Italian espresso was positively correlated with scores of personal relevance to coffee, positive contagion, negative contagion, and associating with espresso as an Italian product. The price that participants were willing to pay for Italian espresso was positively correlated with scores of personal relevance to coffee, interest in experiencing Italian culture and associating with espresso as an Italian product. All correlations can be observed in Table 9. It is also important to understand the relationships between each of the individual difference variables. Hence, the correlations between predictor variables were also computed and can be observed in Table 10.

Table 9.

# Pearson Correlations between Individual Difference Variables and Taste and Price Scores for Italian Espresso

Individual difference	Expected	taste	Price willing to pay		
	Correlation	Probability	Correlation	Probability	
Age (transformed)	14	.059	02	.401	
Need for Cognition	10	.137	.05	.280	
Faith in Intuition	.06	.239	.04	.348	
Negative Contagion Beliefso	19	.017	08	.191	
Positive Contagion Beliefs	.34	.000	.09	.146	
Negative Superstition	01	.478	01	.443	
Positive Superstition	.10	.132	.05	.269	
Personal Relevance	.41	.000	.34	.000	
Interest in Italy	.02	.435	.22	.007	
Associate espresso as Italian	.31	.000	.27	.001	
Associate espresso as Chinese	01	.443	02	.425	

• Negatively scored: Low scores indicate higher beliefs in negative contagion

All correlations computed as one-tailed tests

## Table 10.

# Pearson Correlations between Individual Difference Measures

	(Age)	(NFC)	(FI)	(NCB)	(PCB)	(NS)	(PS)	(PR)	(II)	(AI)	(AC)
(Age) Age- transformed	1.00	.30**	.17	.14	.00	03	.02	.10	22*	.01	.11
(NFC) Need for cognition		1.00	.05	.01	.04	18*	03	.08	09	.14	01
(FI) Faith in Intuition			1.00	20**	.20*	.04	.29**	.20*	.19*	.12	21*
(NCB) Negative contagion beliefs $\circ$				1.00	47**	07	01	19*	15	02	.16
(PCB) Positive contagion beliefs					1.00	.17	.22*	.19**	.08	.04	08
(NS) Negative Superstition						1.00	.54**	.00	05	03	14
(PS) Positive Superstition							1.00	.03	.06	.03	22*
(PR) Personal relevance								1.00	.03	.31**	.06
(II) Interest in Italy									1.00	.05	.00
(AI) Associate espresso as Italian										1.00	04
(AC) Associate espresso as Chinese											1.00

\*p<.05 \*\*p<.01

All correlations computed as two tailed tests

• negatively scored: low scores indicate higher beliefs in negative contagion

Two simultaneous multiple regression analyses were conducted, to determine whether the individual difference variables could predict expected taste and price willing to pay for Italian espresso and to identify which variables made significant contributions to the models. Although some of the predictor variables were correlated with one another, the assumption of multicollinearity was not violated, with all VIFs within the acceptable range (Field, 2009). Mahalanobis distances revealed no extreme outliers and the assumption of multivariate normality was met (Coakes, Steed, & Price, 2008). Finally, an examination of the scatter plots of residuals showed no violations of the assumptions of normality and homoscedasticity (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2006).

#### Expected taste of Italian espresso

The first simultaneous multiple regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual difference variables predicted participants' expectations of taste for Italian espresso. The model with 11 predictors (age, need for cognition, faith in intuition, negative and positive contagion, negative and positive superstition, personal relevance to coffee, interest in experiencing Italian culture, associating espresso as an Italian/Chinese product) was found to be significant, F(11,105) = 4.27, p < .001. The model was found to explain 30.9% of the variance in scores of expected taste for Italian espresso, R = .56, Adjusted  $R^2 = .24$ . When examining the individual contributions to the model, it could be seen that three out of the 11 predictor variables made significant contributions to the model; personal relevance to coffee ( $\beta = .32$ , t = 3.50, p = .001), positive contagion beliefs ( $\beta = .23$ , t = 2.42, p = .017), and associating espresso as an Italian product ( $\beta = .23$ , t = 2.59, p = .011). Despite a significant zero order correlation between expected taste of Italian espresso and negative contagion, no unique variance was contributed by negative contagion beliefs ( $\beta = .006$ , t = ..59, p = .554). A second simultaneous multiple regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual difference variables predicted the price that participants were willing to pay for Italian espresso. The model with all 11 predictors was found to be significant, *F* (11,105) = 2.09, p = .027 and explained 18.0% of the variance in the price participants were willing to pay for Italian espresso, R = .42, Adjusted  $R^2 = .09$ . When examining the individual contributions to the model, it could be seen that only two of the predictors made significant contributions to the model; personal relevance ( $\beta = .29$ , t = 2.93, p = .004) and interest in experiencing Italian culture ( $\beta = .21$ , t = 2.22, p = .028). Despite the significant zero order correlation between price willing to pay for Italian espresso and associations of espresso as an Italian product , no unique variance was contributed by this predictor ( $\beta = .14$ , t = 1.43, p= .157).

#### Expected taste and price willing to pay for Chinese espresso

Although outside the scope of the initial hypotheses, it was decided that it would also be informative to see if any of the individual difference variables predicted ratings for Chinese espresso. Zero order correlations found that participants' expectations of taste for Chinese espresso was negatively correlated with need for cognition r(117) = .185, p = .044, and positively correlated with personal relevance to coffee, r(118) = .33, p < .001, and associating espresso as a Chinese product, r(118) = .264, p = .004. Somewhat counter intuitively, associating espresso as an Italian product was positively correlated with the price that participants were willing to pay for Chinese espresso, r(117) = .19, p=.039. Two stepwise regression analyses were computed given that the nature of the analysis was completely exploratory. The first stepwise regression analysis was computed to examine how well the individual difference variables predicted participants' expectations of taste for Chinese espresso. The best model retained two predictors (personal relevance to coffee and associating espresso as a Chinese product). The model was found to be significant *F* (2,115) = 11.91, *p* = .004, and explained 17.2% of the variance in participants' expectations of taste for Chinese espresso, *R* =.414, Adjusted  $R^2$  = .16. When examining the individual contributions to the model, it was observed that both of the predictors made significant contributions to the model; personal relevance to coffee ( $\beta$  = .32, *t* = 3.76, *p* < .001) and associating espresso as a Chinese product ( $\beta$  = .25, *t* = 2.95, *p* = .004). The second stepwise regression analysis was computed to examine how well the individual difference variables predicted the price that participants were willing to pay for Chinese espresso. The best model retained only one predictor (associating espresso as an Italian product), *F* (1,115) = 4.37, *p* = .039, ( $\beta$  = .191, *t* = 2.09, *p* = .039). The model only accounted for 3.7% of the variance in the price participants were willing to pay for Chinese espresso, *R* = .19, Adjusted *R*<sup>2</sup> = .03.

#### Ancillary analysis

#### When cultural authenticity overrides product quality: cultural authenticity bias

As was found from the repeated measures ANOVA conducted earlier, participants tended to evaluate the low quality espresso produced by the Italian (culturally authentic) producer more favourably than the high quality espresso produced by the Chinese (nonauthentic) producer. From this result, it would seem that for some participants, cultural authenticity actually overrode a previously communicated measure of objective quality (blind consumer evaluations). Such a trend would appear to be the result of an irrational thought process. Hence, there might be significant value in exploring the extent to which the individual difference variables predict scores of this authenticity bias. The new dependent variables, authenticity bias for expected taste and price willing to pay were calculated by subtracting the ratings of Kunming Yunnan's high quality product from the ratings of Bene Bevuta's low quality product. Positive scores give an indication of bias towards the espresso produced by the Italian (culturally authentic) producer. Prior to conducting multiple regression analyses, a series of zero order correlations were computed between the individual difference variables and authenticity bias for both expected taste and price willing to pay. Given the exploratory nature of this analysis, all correlations were computed as two-tailed analyses with an alpha rate of .05. Cultural authenticity bias for expected taste was negatively correlated with both age and need for cognition, indicating that younger participants and participants with lower need for cognition were more likely to expect the low quality Italian espresso to taste better than the high quality Chinese espresso. For price willing to pay, significant correlations were detected between the authenticity bias and scores on both negative and positive contagion beliefs, suggesting that participants with higher scores of contagion beliefs were willing to pay a higher price for low quality Italian espresso than high quality Chinese espresso. All correlations can be observed in Table 11 for both expected taste and price willing to pay. Table 11.

# Zero Order Correlations between Individual Difference Variables and Cultural Authenticity Bias

Individual difference	Expec	eted taste	Price willing to pay		
	Correlation	Probability	Correlation	Probability	
Age	29	.002	.08	.516	
Need for Cognition	31	.000	03	.756	
Faith in Intuition	.04	.648	.12	.218	
Negative Contagion	07	.466	23	.014	
Beliefs					
Positive Contagion	.09	.330	.21	.026	
Beliefs					
Negative Superstition	.10	.274	.06	.506	
Positive Superstition	.18	.104	.06	.532	
Personal Relevance	02	.810	.12	.188	
Interest in Italy	.10	.306	.17	.076	
Associate espresso as	.08	.380	.02	.840	
Italian					
Associate espresso as	191	.040	05	.628	
Chinese					

All correlations computed as two-tailed tests

#### Cultural authenticity bias for expected taste and price willing to pay

Again, due to the exploratory nature of the analysis, stepwise regression analyses were used to explore individual differences. The first stepwise regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual difference variables predicted the authenticity bias for expected taste. The best model included 3out of the 11 individual difference variables and was found to significantly predict the authenticity bias for expected taste, *F* (3,113) = 7.66, p < .001. The three variables were need for cognition ( $\beta = -.25$ , t = -2.83, p =.006), age-transformed ( $\beta = -.20$ , t = -2.16, p = .033), and associating espresso as a Chinese product ( $\beta = -.17$ , t = -2.00, p = .048). The model was found to account for 16.9% of the variance in authenticity bias for expected taste, R = .41, Adjusted  $R^2 = .15$ . A second stepwise regression analysis was conducted to evaluate how well the individual difference variables predicted the authenticity bias for price willing to pay. The best model included only one predictor (negative contagion beliefs), F(1,112) = 6.19, p = .014, ( $\beta = -.23$ , t = -2.49, p =.014), and accounted for only 5.2% of the variance in authenticity bias, R = .23, Adjusted  $R^2$ = .04.

#### Discussion

The first primary objective of the present study was to demonstrate the irrational nature of preferences for products that are produced by culturally authentic producers, as opposed to those that are produced by non-authentic producers. This objective was met on two levels and the results provide full support for hypothesis one. Firstly, participants indicated a preference towards espresso produced by an Italian (culturally authentic) producer over an equal quality espresso produced by a Chinese (non-authentic). Secondly, participants indicated a preference for low quality Italian espresso over high quality Chinese espresso. These results are informative; however they reveal little about why such a bias existed. On one hand, the bias could have been the result of high expectations for authentic products, whereas on the other hand, it could have been the result of low expectations for non-authentic products. The individual difference analyses will be discussed in order to provide some clarity to this issue. The second primary objective of the present study was to identify a number of underlying psychological mechanisms that could predict preferable ratings for authentic Italian espresso. Furthermore, the influence that these individual difference variables had on the authenticity bias was explored as a secondary objective. The results of the individual difference analysis yielded some mixed but interesting results, and will be discussed in detail.

#### The influence of magical beliefs on evaluations of culturally authentic espresso

Recall from study one that preferences towards a culturally authentic acupuncturist were influenced by magical beliefs. In particular, one of the magical beliefs factors, best interpreted as superstitious beliefs, was found to account for most of this relationship. The present study aimed to replicate these findings using a more validated scale designed specifically to measure superstitious beliefs. However, the results indicated no relationship between ratings for Italian espresso and superstitious beliefs. However, in partial support of hypothesis two, contagion beliefs were found to be a useful predictor variable. Both positive and negative contagion scores were associated with expected taste ratings for Italian espresso. Furthermore, as indicated by the regression analysis, positive contagion was found to be a significant predictor, whilst the variance in expected taste ratings accounted for by the negative contagion factor was partialled out by positive contagion . Given the correlation between the two contagion variables, this is not at all surprising. However, it is does support the rationale for including a positive contagion measure, which was that a contagion effect for a culturally authentic product should be of a positive nature. The fact that positive contagion had a larger effect than negative contagion provides support for this conceptual framework, especially considering past research indicating that negative contagion effects are generally stronger than positive contagion effects (Rozin & Royzman, 2001).

It is important to revisit the fact that in Study 1 the contagion effect had no influence on preferences towards a culturally authentic acupuncturist. It was suggested that this was due to the absence of a material object for a transfer of a cultural essence to be relevant. The current study gave participants a situation which would be more likely to involve the transfer of an essence. In this study the only interaction that consumers could have with the producer was an indirect one by means of the product. Even though participants were provided with information about the product's quality, participants who believed in the transfer of an 'essence' expected that the Italian espresso would taste even better. In that sense, cultural authenticity implicates some kind of invisible quality or a 'cultural essence' that actually increases the quality of a product. Provided that the consumer believes in the existence and transfer of such an essence, the perceived quality of the product becomes enhanced. Another interesting observation is that contagion beliefs were not at all useful in predicting authenticity bias for expected taste. Contagion beliefs only led to increased expectations about the taste of Italian espresso, and did not account for the difference in ratings between high quality Chinese and low quality Italian espresso. This seems to hint to the fact that the individuals with contagion beliefs are no more likely to ignore product relevant information (objective product quality) than people without this thinking style.

#### Heuristic processing and its influence on evaluations of culturally authentic espresso

A number of predictions were made in order to demonstrate the heuristic nature of preferences towards culturally authentic espresso. The results were rather mixed but still provide marginal support for a heuristic framework. First of all, individual differences in experientiality were hypothesised to influence expectations about Italian espresso. The logic being that the cultural authenticity heuristic might reflect a more associationistic, intuitive and stereotypical thinking style than a mathematically driven, analytical thinking style. Unfortunately, experientiality had no influence on evaluations for Italian espresso. However, it is interesting to note that whilst individual differences in experientiality were not directly related to high expectations for Italian espresso, experientiality was associated with high scores of contagion (which did predict high expectations of Italian espresso). This suggests that following the law of contagion is related to intuitive thinking and that at that level is governed by the experiential system. This is not surprising, as contagion beliefs have previously been described as heuristic processes (Rozin & Nemeroff, 2002). This at least provides some supportive evidence for an authenticity heuristic framework, since authenticity preferences were more likely for individuals with a tendency to engage in another intuitive thinking style.

Secondly, the measure of rationality was included to explore whether or not a thoughtful and logical thinking style would play more of a role in situations where authenticity preferences involved clear deviations from rational thought; e.g. preferring a low quality authentic product over a high quality non-authentic product. Not surprisingly, rationality had no influence on evaluations for Italian espresso. However, some support was provided for hypothesis three, with the rationality system predicting scores of authenticity

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bias. Specifically, individuals with a lower need for cognition were more likely to have higher expectations for low quality Italian espresso than for high quality Chinese espresso. One possible interpretation is that when an authenticity/quality trade-off was involved, the rationality system helped to detect and override the output of the 'authentic is better heuristic'. An alternative interpretation is that the rationality system did not override the 'authenticity is better' rule, but rather, it enabled individuals to accept the idea that a nonauthentic product could be better than the authentic product. The results do seem to support the latter interpretation more than the former. Authenticity bias scores were predicted by associations of espresso as a "not a Chinese product" and had nothing to do with associating espresso as an "Italian product." These results roughly translate to, the more an individual found Chinese producers to be incongruent with espresso, the less inclined they were to accept the notion that a Chinese espresso producer could make a better product than an Italian espresso producer. However, this association was overridden if individuals had a high need for cognition. For individuals with a low need for cognition, the information about product quality was discounted and a 'Chinese people cannot make espresso' rule was relied on.

One curious issue to address is why a lower reliance on the rationality system influenced susceptibility to the authenticity bias for expectations of taste, but not the price willing to pay variable. It is possible that individuals with high need for cognition would have verbalised the scenario as, "if other individuals made 'blind' ratings and decided that the Chinese espresso *tasted* better than the Italian espresso then logic dictates that I should expect the high quality Chinese espresso to *taste* better than the low quality Italian espresso." Furthermore, these results conflict with those of study two in which the authenticity heuristic was related to price and not the other dependent measures.

The rationale for including a measure of how much individuals associated espresso as an Italian/Chinese product was initially to use it as an authenticity manipulation check.
However, as the results revealed, these variables offered some valuable insight about the underlying mechanisms involved in perceptions about culturally authentic and non-authentic products. Logically, one of the most crucial factors for a 'rule of thumb' such as 'culturally authentic is better' to be applied, is that the individual possesses such cue dependent knowledge. For example, an individual who has no prior knowledge about the cultural relevance of a Hāngi will fail to recognise that a New Zealand Maori is a culturally authentic producer, and will in turn, be unable to apply the cultural authenticity heuristic. In the present study, hypothesis four assumes that if an individual fails to recognise the cultural relevance of 'Italian' espresso, then they will not demonstrate the same authenticity preferences as an individual who does have that cue dependent knowledge. The results support this hypothesis, since individuals who viewed espresso as an Italian product had higher expectations of taste and were willing to pay more for Italian espresso. When the cue dependent knowledge was present, judgments about Italian espresso increased. Similarly, when participants considered Chinese espresso to be incongruent they became more inclined to make unfavourable evaluations for the Chinese espresso products.

According to the heuristic framework, when personal relevance is high, individuals should be more motivated to process issue-relevant information. Conversely, when personal relevance is low, individuals should tend to rely more on heuristic cues. From this logic it should be expected that personal relevance would be negatively associated with ratings of Italian espresso. However, it was also considered a possibility that personal relevance could influence ratings in the opposite direction. The results appear to provide support for the latter hypothesis, with personal relevance predicting favourable taste and price ratings for Italian espresso. One possible interpretation is that finding coffee personally relevant had an influence on whether or not the individual had cue dependent knowledge in the first place. In other words, individuals who found coffee personally relevant rated Italian espresso higher because they were more likely to have developed an 'Italian espresso is better' rule. This

interpretation seems plausible given that personal relevance scores were positively correlated with associating coffee as an Italian product. However, this interpretation is flawed considering that the regression analysis found both personal relevance and associating coffee as an Italian product to account for unique variance in ratings for Italian espresso. An alternative interpretation is that individuals who found coffee personally relevant (regularly drink and purchase coffee) had a higher baseline of responses for expected taste and product value. Additional results support this interpretation, with personal relevance correlating positively with ratings for Chinese espresso. The positive relationships between personal relevance and both Italian and Chinese espresso ratings were simply due to the fact that people who like coffee also expect it to taste better than those who do not like coffee. Similarly, people who like coffee are willing to pay more for coffee than those who do not like coffee. In light of this interpretation, the results are clearly confounded and do not shed any appreciable light on the actual issue at hand.

Perhaps a more appropriate way to explore the role that personal relevance had on heuristic processing is to investigate the relationship between personal relevance and the authenticity-over-quality bias. In this part of analysis, the confounding effect of taste and price ratings was essentially controlled for by using difference scores. The authenticity bias is certainly a better example of a non-optimal heuristic response, and it seems more likely that low personal relevance scores would be negatively associated with authenticity bias. The logic here is that people who like coffee should put more effort into reading the coffee article and should therefore be more attentive to the information provided about product quality. However, as the results indicate, personal relevance did not predict scores of authenticity bias; they only predicted general liking for coffee. While this suggests a lack of support for the heuristic framework, it should be noted that the personal relevance measures used in the current study might not have been the most appropriate measures that could be used in a study exploring the relationship between personal relevance and a heuristic response. Rather than looking at personal relevance, it might be better to measure individual motivation to make optimal economic decisions or general utility maximisation (e.g. Schwartz et al., 2002). After all, it is not necessarily the case that individuals who like coffee are more motivated to make optimal economic decisions about coffee products. However, it does sound reasonable to expect that individuals who pride themselves on making economically sound judgments would be more motivated to make optimal economic decisions about products in general, and would be more likely to ignore heuristic cues such as cultural authenticity when product quality information is available.

#### Interest in Italy and its influence on evaluations of culturally authentic espresso

Hypothesis six posited that being interested in travelling to Italy and experiencing Italian culture would have an influence on evaluations of culturally authentic espresso. This hypothesis was partially supported with the interest in Italy variable being a significant predictor of price willing to pay for Italian espresso. However, no relationship was detected between interest in Italy and expectations of taste for Italian espresso, suggesting that this variable did not influence perceptions of product quality. Rather, being interested in Italy influenced the perceived value of Italian espresso. One interpretation of the result is that individuals who wish to experience Italian culture place a higher value on products that would be likely to give them a pseudo-experience of Italy. In that sense, they would view authentic Italian espresso as a substitute for the actual experience of being in Italy. In contrast, people not interested in experiencing Italy would place no extra value on authentic Italian coffee and would be less likely to pay a 'premium' for authenticity. The results also provide support for the notion that some consumers value culturally authentic products for the experiential outcome, rather than an inference of quality. That is, they view culturally authentic products as 'worth more' but not necessarily better in the objective sense. It makes sense that the consumers who have this thought process would also be the ones to be interested in experiencing the culture of Italy.

An alternative interpretation of this finding is that the value of an 'authentic experience' is increased as a result of self-symbolic consumption. Self-symbolic consumption refers to the unconscious or conscious desire to consume products that offer a particular symbolic meaning (Elliott & Wattanasuwan, 1998). For example, purchasing recycled products may symbolise "I care for the environment", whereas purchasing unbranded products may symbolise "I am a clever consumer" (Elliott & Wattanasuwan, 1998). In the present study, participants who indicated a desire for experiencing Italy may have identified with themselves as an 'experiential consumer' seeking a true Italian experience. Hence, these participants may have felt that Italian espresso would offer a more Italian-like experience, and that consuming this product would symbolise "I am an experiential consumer" or "I like to experience other cultures." Conversely, consuming Chinese espresso would not symbolise "I like to experience other cultures," as it offers no insight about Chinese culture (assuming of course that China and coffee are considered incongruent). Furthermore, it seems reasonable to expect that a product that could offer symbolic self completion to the experiential consumer would be highly valued, independent of expectations about product quality.

From the results discussed so far, it is not certain whether individuals interested in experiencing Italy placed more value on Italian espresso as a function of some direct interest in experiencing Italian culture, or simply as a desire to have 'experiences' in the broader sense. To address this, the cultural interest items were summed to create a general 'interest in other cultures' measure. It was found to be highly correlated with the interest in Italy variable, r(131) = .57, p < .001. Furthermore, the new variable was found to be correlated with price willing to pay for high quality Italian espresso, r(131) = .16, p = .030, and low quality Italian espresso, r(129) = .20, p = .012. These results suggest that the relationship between interest in Italy and price willing to pay for Italian espresso might be explained by a

general experience factor and not something specific about the desire to experience Italian culture.

## The influence of age on the authenticity bias

The results also indicated that age was negatively associated with the authenticity bias. Specifically, younger participants were more likely to have the biased expectation that low quality espresso produced by an Italian producer would be better than high quality espresso produced by a Chinese producer. One explanation for this finding is that older participants were simply higher in rationality making them more resistant to the authenticity bias as a function of higher elaboration likelihood. This idea is partially supported by the results which indicate a positive correlation between age and scores on the rationality scale. Furthermore, the regression analysis indicated that need for cognition partialled out some of the variance of age. However, the results also revealed that age did account for unique variance in authenticity bias scores. This could be put down to the fact that older consumers have had more experience as consumers. They are more likely to have encountered situations in which the cultural authenticity rule was broken, and as a consequence, have become more sceptical about following the authenticity rule without considering other product-relevant information. Alternatively, the observed age effect might be unrelated to cultural authenticity, and might instead be related to preferences for Italian products in general. For instance, young people may simply be showing a 'blind' preference to espresso produced by an Italian producer as a result of a general liking for Italy. This is supported by the fact that interest in Italy was negatively correlated with age.

# Limitations and Future Recommendations

It should be noted that the variance accounted for in the price willing to pay regression analyses was much lower than for expected taste. The significant predictors for price willing to pay should be interpreted with caution, as the overall models do not account for a great deal of variance. While it is important that the results are not over interpreted, they should however be addressed as variables of interest in future research. One possible reason that the price willing to pay models had less predictive power is that the models did not account for variables such as income level, purchasing tendencies and baseline values for espresso purchasing. These variables would very likely provide a more predictive model. However, the purpose of the current study was not to provide a detailed and exhaustive predictive model, but to get some insight about the underlying psychological mechanisms involved with perceptions of quality and value for authentically produced products.

Another potential limitation in the current study is that the non-authentic espresso producer was Chinese. Chinese products are generally perceived to be of a poor quality and it is possible that espresso evaluations were confounded by participants' negative associations of Chinese products. However, the results do provide evidence that evaluations of the espresso produced by the Chinese producer were influenced by the extent to which coffee was associated as 'not a Chinese product'. Although this demonstrates that the Italian vs. Chinese producer manipulation did a decent job of manipulating cultural authenticity (high vs. low), the current study is unable to rule out that the effect was also due to a more general and confounding negative stereotype. Perhaps future studies should use a different country for the low authenticity condition; one that offers a sound authenticity manipulation, while not evoking any negative stereotypes.

### Conclusion

To summarise, participants were found to prefer espresso produced by culturally authentic Italian producers over equal quality espresso produced by non-authentic Chinese producers. Expectations of taste for Italian espresso could be predicted by beliefs about positive contagion and associating coffee as an Italian product. The price that participants were willing to pay for Italian espresso could be predicted by their interest in travelling to Italy and experiencing Italian culture. Furthermore, many participants exhibited a bias towards authentically produced espresso. Participants preferred low quality espresso produced by an Italian producer over high quality espresso produced by a Chinese producer. The authenticity bias could be predicted by lower scores of rationality, supporting the notion of an authenticity heuristic. However, the results also indicate that participants were more likely to be following a negatively associated 'inauthenticity' heuristic than a positively associated 'authentic is better' heuristic.

# **CHAPTER 8**

## Study 4

Mood effects for evaluations of culturally authentic products

#### Rationale

The research thus far suggests that making positive inferences about culturally authentic producers and products is not necessarily restricted to processing style and seems to occur at both high and low levels of elaboration. The focus has been to demonstrate instances where consumer preferences toward culturally authentic producers clearly deviate from the norms of rational consumer decision making. Study 3 demonstrated such an example, with many participants exhibiting a systematic bias towards a low quality culturally authentic (Italian espresso) product over an objectively higher quality non-authentic (Chinese espresso) product. The fact that participants systematically forgot, ignored or disregarded important product-relevant information suggests that this behaviour was an example of irrational consumer decision making. Although Study 3 demonstrated that this type of choice was related to heuristic processing, the results overall have been mixed and it is therefore important to further explore this issue in an attempt to validate the existence of an 'authenticity' heuristic. Hence the next step for this dissertation is to replicate the results of the cultural authenticity bias paradigm (Study 3), whilst incorporating another condition of low elaboration, affect.

## The Affect Infusion Model (AIM)

In an integration of the pre-existing empirical evidence and theories, Forgas (1995) proposed the Affect Infusion Model (AIM) to account for the effect that mood has on information processing. The AIM is conceptually similar to other multi-process models, especially dual process models of judgment such as the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM, Petty and Cacioppo, 1986) and the Heuristic-Systematic Model (HSM, Chaiken, 1980). However, the AIM specifically focuses on the role of affect in information processing and allows for additional processing alternatives such as direct access and motivated processing. In this model, affect infusion refers to the process whereby affectively loaded information leads to an eventual 'colouring' of the judgmental outcome. A primary assumption of the AIM is that "affective states, although distinct from cognitive processes, do interact with and inform cognition and judgments by influencing the availability of cognitive constructs used in the constructive processing of information" (Forgas, 1995, p. 41). This amount of influence can be seen as a continuum, with four alternative processing strategies acting as markers along that continuum: a) the direct access strategy, b) motivated processing, c) heuristic processing, and d) substantive processing.

The *direct access* strategy is the simplest method of producing a judgment and is used when the target judgment is well known and has highly prototypical features that cue an already-stored and available judgment. This strategy requires that the judge is not personally involved and that there are no strong cognitive, motivational or situational factors directing more elaborate processing. Since strongly cued retrieval of a pre-existing judgment is quite robust to affective distortions, direct access judgments should not be infused by current mood. Similarly, *motivated processing* should involve little to no affect infusion. Motivated processing occurs when there are strong and specific motivational pressures to reach an outcome judgment, which encourages judges to engage in highly selective and targeted information searches that are relatively uninfluenced by current mood states.

When individuals are required to make a judgment with no prior evaluation or motivational goal to help determine the outcome, they may wish to achieve a judgment with minimal effort or *heuristic processing*. For such judgments, affect infusion is more likely; individuals may simply infer a judgment from their prevailing affective state. For example, an individual may provide a positive judgment under uncertainty based on the fact that they are feeling happy at the time the judgment is made. This effect has been described as the affect-as-information heuristic. Affect infusion is considered to be at its highest however, when individuals engage in *substantive processing*, a conceptually similar term to the systematic system or the central route of persuasion. Substantive processing is more likely to be infused with affect because mood can influence each stage of the cognition process: attention, encoding, retrieval and association. For instance, mood-congruent information is more likely to be attended to, is more likely to be encoded into a richer network of interpretations, and is more likely to be retrieved from memory than other information. Furthermore, affect can prime certain associations that influence subsequent interpretations of complex information.

### Effects of mood on processing styles

Within the realm of substantive and heuristic processing it has been hypothesised that different emotional states may also make social judges more or less systematic in their information processing strategies. While some research has focused on negative emotional states such as anger (Bodenhausen, Sheppard, & Kramer, 1994), most of the research has focused on sad versus happy emotional states. Many of these studies have demonstrated happiness to be associated with fast, heuristic thinking styles, whereas sadness has been associated with more systematic and detail-oriented thinking styles. In particular, happy people tend to focus more on source cues such as credibility, expertise and trustworthiness in persuasion situations, while sad people tend to focus more on message quality (Mackie & Worth, 1989; Schwarz, Bless, & Bohner, 1991; Worth & Mackie, 1987). Happy people rely more on stereotypes and heuristics when making social judgments (Bodenhausen, 1993; Ruder & Bless, 2003; Wyland & Forgas, 2010) and generally approach problem-solving tasks in a more heuristic fashion (Schwarz & Bless, 1991). Sad people tend to be more sceptical about the genuineness of others and are more accurate in the detection of deception, while happy people tend to be more trusting and gullible (Forgas & East, 2008a, 2008b). Sad people are also less likely to commit the fundamental attribution error (Forgas, 1998) and tend to show less halo bias in performance appraisals (Sinclair, 1988).

A number of accounts have been offered to explain the differences in processing styles between happy and sad people. Some models suggest that positive mood states tend to distract the individual from thoughtful processing, resulting in reduced cognitive capacity (Mackie & Worth, 1989). Alternatively, motivational explanations suggest that people in positive moods avoid mood-disrupting activities and messages that are difficult to process in order to maintain their positive mood (Mackie & Worth, 1989; Wegener & Petty, 1994; Wegener, Petty, & Smith, 1995). In contrast, sad mood states are generally associated with problematic life circumstances that generally require more systematic, vigilant and sceptical thought processing (Forgas & East, 2008; Schwarz, 1990). Although the exact mechanisms are under dispute and competing theories exist for the reported mood effects on cognitive processing, there is a general consensus based on the cumulative evidence, that positive moods promote a more creative, flexible and top-down processing style, whereas negative moods promote more systematic and careful cognitive processing styles (Forgas, 1998).

The current study aims to demonstrate the heuristic nature of processing the cultural authenticity cue, by showing that happy participants tend to ignore product relevant information and rely more on information about producer cultural authenticity than sad participants. As discussed previously, the cultural authenticity bias – in which product evaluations were more favourable for low quality Italian espresso than for a higher quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso – was associated with a tendency to engage in heuristic processing. The bias occurred because participants placed too much value on producer cultural authenticity and hence either ignored the product quality information or completely disregarded it. The main hypothesis in the current study is that since happy participants tend to engage more in heuristic processing, they will exhibit higher levels of cultural authenticity bias than sad participants.

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### Method

### Participants

One hundred and seventeen students from James Cook University took part in the current study. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 58, with the sample consisting of 29 males (M = 27.9, SD = 13.00) and 88 females (M = 23.0, SD = 7.74).

# Design

This study used the same pair-wise comparison design as Study 3. Participants were asked to indicate their expectations of taste, and the price they would be willing to pay, for four fictional espresso coffee products. Each of the four products were differentiated based on a 2 [producer cultural authenticity: Italian (culturally authentic) versus Chinese (non-authentic)] x 2 [product quality: high quality versus low quality] within subjects design. From these evaluations, authenticity bias scores were calculated. To test the effect that mood had on susceptibility to the cultural authenticity bias, a single factor [mood: (sad / control / happy)] between subjects design was employed.

## Materials

*Mood manipulations*: Some studies have induced different moods by using manipulated feedback tasks, in which participants are made to believe that they performed well (positive mood) or well below average (negative mood) on an assigned cognitive task (Forgas, 1998; Wyland & Forgas, 2010). In other studies, participants were asked to provide a vivid written report of either a happy or sad life event (Bodenhausen, Sheppard, & Kramer, 1994; Ruder & Bless, 2003). While these manipulations have proven successful, some research has indicated that mood effects are more consistent when the mood induction tasks are targeting general mood states rather than a context-specific mood induction. Addressing this, a number of studies have induced positive mood by having participants watch 10 minute edited sequences from a comedy series, and have induced negative mood by showing an edited version of a film dealing with dying of cancer (Forgas, 2002; Forgas & Cromer, 2004; Forgas & East, 2008). The current study employed similar mood induction tasks to those cited. However, as the current study was conducted using an online survey format, new materials more suitable for the online format had to be constructed.

*Happy mood manipulation*: Participants were asked to read three jokes; two of which were previously established in separate studies as the funniest jokes ever written. One of the studies, conducted by John Sewell from www.onepoll.com, had over 36,000 people vote on over 1000 jokes (Hutchison, 2010). The winning joke – and the first used in the current study – read as follows:

A woman gets on a bus with her baby. The bus driver says, "That's the ugliest baby that I've ever seen. Ugh!" The woman goes to the rear of the bus and sits down, fuming. She says to a man next to her, "The driver just insulted me!" The man says, "You go right up there and tell him off – go ahead, I'll hold your monkey for you".

In another study, researcher Richard Wiseman had people sending in their favourite jokes and rating the jokes sent in by others (Laughlab, 2001). The project involved over 40,000 jokes and 1.5 million ratings. The winning joke – and the second used in the current study – read as follows:

Two hunters are out in the woods when one of them collapses. He doesn't seem to be breathing and his eyes are glazed. The other guy whips out his phone and calls the emergency services. He gasps, "My friend is dead! What can I do?" The operator says "Calm down. I can help. First, let's make sure he's dead." There is a silence, then a gunshot is heard. Back on the phone, the guy says "OK, now what?

The third joke was found on numerous online forums and while no origins could be found, it was also used in the current study at the author's discretion: A blonde gets pulled over in traffic by a blond female police officer. "Excuse me, miss, but I need to see some form of ID," says the police officer. Frantically, the blonde goes through her purse, searching for her driver's license with no luck. "I can't find my license, but I have something with my picture on it. Will that do?" asks the driver. The blonde driver hands the blonde traffic cop a small compact mirror, and as the blonde traffic cop looks at it, she says, "Excuse me Miss, I didn't know you were a police officer... go on your way."

Sad mood manipulation: Participants were asked to read a short, sad story titled, 'Sandpiper' (Hilbert, n.d.), involving a woman with depression who retreats to a beach for some time away from her normal life. Whilst on the beach she meets and converses with a young girl. At the end of the story, she is saddened to find out that the girl has passed away after suffering with cancer. The story can be found in Appendix D1.

*Mood manipulation check:* After reading the material assigned to them, participants then rated their current mood on a scale ranging from 0 (extremely sad) to 5 (extremely happy).

*Mock coffee article:* Participants read the same mock article as was used in Study 3. The article included information about four espresso brands produced by four different companies. Two were produced by Italian companies Tazza D'oro and Bene Bevuta, while the other two were produced by Chinese companies Kunming Yunnan and Hao Xing. Tazza D'oro and Kunming Yunnan both produced a line of espresso that scored 92/100 in a blind consumer study, while Hao Xing and Bene Bevuta both scored 75/100.

*Preference ranking measure:* Each producer's espresso product was ranked from 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup>.

*Price measure:* Participants indicated how much they would be willing to pay for a 200g packet of each producer's espresso line. Scores were measured using a rating scale from \$3 -\$10 with increments of \$.50.

*Taste measure:* Participants were asked to try and imagine what the products from each company would taste like. Participants rated expected taste for each of the four products on 11-point rating scales ranging from 0 (worst taste imaginable) to 10 best taste imaginable.

*Authenticity manipulation check:* Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they associated espresso as an Italian product and as a Chinese product. Both items were scored on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much so).

## Procedure

Participants were tested individually by means of an online survey (www.surveymonkey.com) with the relevant link provided on a research participation site for first and second year psychology students at James Cook University. Participants read a brief study outline and gave informed consent before proceeding on to the survey. After providing consent, participants were asked to select one of three numbers randomly. Unbeknownst to participants, the number that they selected corresponded to the condition that they were assigned to – sad, happy or control. Participants in the sad mood condition read the Sandpiper story, participants in the happy mood condition read the jokes, and participants assigned to the control condition took part in neither mood manipulation task. Then after providing information about their age and gender, participants were asked to read the coffee article and complete the hypothetical product evaluations. Upon completion, participants were thanked for their participation and granted subject credits electronically.

# Results

As can be observed from the frequency data in Table 12, the high quality espresso produced by the culturally authentic Italian producer Tazza d'oro was preferred to the other products. As was the case in Study 3, the low quality espresso produced by Italian producer Bene Bevuta was preferred more than the high quality espresso produced by Chinese producer Kunming Yunnan.

Table 12.

Frequency Data for Rank Order Preferences of Espresso Products

Rank	Tazza d'oro <sup>1</sup>	Kunming Yunnan <sup>2</sup>	Bene Bevuta <sup>3</sup>	Hao Xing <sup>4</sup>
1 <sup>st</sup>	84	6	21	6
$2^{nd}$	22	36	47	12
3 <sup>rd</sup>	9	55	31	22
$4^{th}$	2	20	18	77

<sup>1</sup>High quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer,

<sup>2</sup>High quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

<sup>3</sup>Low quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer

<sup>4</sup>Low quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

# Preliminary data analysis

A two-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was computed to examine the effects that cultural authenticity and product quality had on participants' evaluations of expected taste for espresso, with another ANOVA computed to examine the effects of cultural authenticity and product quality on the price participants were willing to pay for espresso products. Before proceeding, the data were examined to establish whether they met the assumptions required for a two-way repeated measures analysis. For both dependent measures (expected taste and price willing to pay), normality was violated in all cases (all Shapiro-Wilkes p values < .05). However, as suggested by Brace, Snelgar and Kemp (2003), ANOVA is robust, even with modest violations of normality. Like in Study 3, the assumption of sphericity was not an issue as both of the repeated measures variables had only two levels (high vs. low quality and culturally authentic vs. non-authentic) (Field, 2009).

#### Cultural authenticity manipulation check

A paired samples t-test was computed to determine whether the cultural authenticity manipulation was successful. This was confirmed, with participants indicating that they associated espresso coffee as an Italian product (M = 3.7, SD = 1.27) more than they associated espresso coffee as a Chinese product (M = 1.4, SD = .63), t (116) = 18.19, p < .001.

The effect of authenticity and product quality on ratings of expected taste and price willing to pay

Results of the first two-way repeated measures ANOVA indicated that product quality had a significant effect on participants' ratings of expected taste, F(1,116) = 26.8, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .19$ . Similarly, cultural authenticity had a significant effect on expected taste, F(1,116) = 82.23, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .42$ . Participants rated expected taste as significantly higher for high quality espresso (M = 6.9, SD = 2.28) than for low quality espresso (M = 6.0, SD = 2.23). Participants also rated expected taste as significantly higher for espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = 7.2, SD = 2.27) than for espresso produced by a nonauthentic producer (M = 5.7, SD = 2.24). No significant interaction was found between product quality and cultural authenticity, F(1,116) = 2.82, p = .096,  $\eta^2 = .02$ .

Despite the absence of the interaction, it is still important to explore the specific cell differences in order to establish a cultural authenticity bias. Participants rated expected taste higher for high quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = 7.8, SD = 2.31) than for equally high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = 6.0, SD = 2.25), t (116) = 9.04, p < .001. Similarly, participants rated expected taste as higher for low quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = 6.7, SD = 2.24) than for equally low quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = 5.36, SD = 2.25), t (116) = 6.07, p < .001. Furthermore, participants exhibited a cultural authenticity bias with expected taste being rated significantly higher for the low quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = 5.36, SD = 2.25), t (116) = 6.07, p < .001. Furthermore, participants exhibited a cultural authenticity bias with expected taste being rated significantly higher for the low quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer by a culturally authentic producer than for the high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = 5.36, SD = 2.25), t (116) = 6.07, p < .001. Furthermore, participants exhibited a cultural authenticity bias with expected taste being rated significantly higher for the low quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer, t (116) = 2.91, p = .020.

Results of the second two-way repeated measures ANOVA indicated that product quality had a significant effect on the price that participants were willing to pay for espresso, F(1,116) = 32.34, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .22$ . Similarly, cultural authenticity had a significant effect on the price that participants were willing to pay for espresso, F(1,116) = 53.60, p < .001,  $\eta^2$ = .32. Participants were willing to pay significantly more for high quality espresso (M =\$5.23, SD = 1.88) than for low quality espresso (M = \$4.78, SD = 1.77). Participants were also willing to pay significantly more for espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = \$5.47, SD = 2.02) than for espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M= \$4.54, SD = 1.64). A significant interaction effect was detected between product quality and cultural authenticity, F(1,116) = 4.15, p = .044,  $\eta^2 = .04$ .

A series of repeated measures t-tests were conducted to further explore this significant interaction. Given the results were expected to replicate those of Study 3, the

analyses were conducted using one-tailed tests at an alpha rate of .05. Participants were willing to pay more for a high quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = \$5.77, SD = 2.08) than for an equally high quality espresso produced by a nonauthentic producer (M = \$4.69, SD = 1.67), t (116) = 7.53, p < .001. Participants were also willing to pay more for a low quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer (M = \$5.17, SD = 1.95) than for an equally low quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer (M = \$4.39, SD = 1.60), t (116) = 5.11, p < .001. Furthermore, participants exhibited the cultural authenticity bias with a willingness to pay significantly more for the low quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer than for the high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic producer, t (116) = 3.14, p = .001.

Table 13.

# Mean Ratings of Expected Taste and Price Willing to Pay

Product	Expec	Expected taste		Price willing to pay	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation	
Tazza d'oro <sup>1</sup>	7.8	2.31	\$5.77	2.08	
Kunming Yunnan <sup>2</sup>	6.0	2.25	\$4.69	1.67	
Bene Bevuta <sup>3</sup>	6.7	2.24	\$5.17	1.95	
Hao Xing <sup>4</sup>	5.4	2.25	\$4.39	1.60	

<sup>1</sup>High quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer

<sup>2</sup>High quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

<sup>3</sup>Low quality Italian (culturally authentic) espresso producer

<sup>4</sup>Low quality Chinese (non-authentic) espresso producer

## Cultural authenticity bias scores

Cultural authenticity bias for expected taste and price willing to pay were calculated by subtracting the ratings of Kunming Yunnan's high quality product from the ratings of Bene Bevuta's low quality product. Positive scores give an indication of bias towards the espresso produced by the Italian (culturally authentic) producer.

## Mood manipulation check

A one-way ANOVA was computed to determine whether the mood states were successfully manipulated by the mood conditions. Results revealed a significant effect of mood condition on self reported mood, F(2,114) = 27.26, p < .001. Post-hoc analysis using the LSD method revealed a significant difference in mood between participants in the sad mood condition (M = 2.7, SD = 1.08) and participants in the happy condition (M = 4.2, SD =.90), p < .001. A significant difference in mood was also detected between sad participants and the control group (M = 3.9, SD = .85), p < .001. These results suggest that the sad mood manipulation was successful. Conversely, no significant difference in mood was found between the control group and happy participants (p = .253), indicating that either the happy mood manipulation was unsuccessful, or that the control group was above what would be considered a baseline of neutral mood. Nonetheless, the happy and sad groups differed significantly in self reported mood which was the primary aim of the mood manipulations. The self reported mood scores for each condition are presented in Figure 2 below.



Figure 2. Study 4. Manipulation check for mood conditions

# The influence of mood on cultural authenticity bias

To test the main hypothesis, a one-way ANOVA was computed to determine whether mood had an effect on the cultural authenticity bias for expected taste and price willing to pay. The results failed to support the hypothesis for both dependent measures. For expected taste, mood had no effect on cultural authenticity bias, F(2, 114) = .19, p = .83. Similarly, for price willing to pay, mood had no effect on cultural authenticity bias, F(2, 114) = .19, p = .83. 114) = .18, p = .84. The mean cultural authenticity bias scores for each mood condition can be observed in Table 14 below.

Table 14.

Mood Condition	Expected taste		Price willing to pay	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Sad	0.9	2.58	\$.56	1.95
Control	0.5	2.36	\$.34	1.32
Нарру	0.7	2.93	\$.50	1.58

Mean Cultural Authenticity Bias Scores across Mood Conditions

Ancillary analyses:

# Relationships between cultural authenticity bias and country-espresso associations

As a point of further inquiry, the relationships between cultural authenticity biases and country-espresso associations were explored. Pearson correlations were computed with two-tailed tests and an alpha rate of .05. For expected taste, a relationship was detected between cultural authenticity bias and negative associations of coffee as a Chinese product, r (117) = -.22, p = .018, and not positive associations of coffee as an Italian product, r (117) = .05, p = .578. For price however, cultural authenticity bias was related to neither variable, r (117) = -.04, p = .696, and r (117) = .05, p = .620 respectively.

While the results indicated that cultural authenticity bias was not affected by mood, it is possible that cognitions responsible for the bias are different for participants in the sad condition compared to participants in the happy condition. To explore this notion, the relationships between cultural authenticity biases and country-espresso associations were again computed for expected taste, although in this instance the data file was split to allow for a comparison between participants in the happy and sad mood conditions. As can be observed below in Table 15, cultural authenticity bias for participants in the happy condition was influenced by the extent to which they negatively associated espresso as a Chinese product (and not positive associations of espresso as an Italian product); while for sad participants, it was influenced by the extent to which they positively associated espresso as an Italian product (and not negative associations of espresso as a Chinese product).

Table 15.

Correlations between Authenticity Bias and Country-espresso Associations for Expected Taste

Mood	Associating espresso	Associating espresso
condition	as Italian product	as Chinese product
Sad	.33*	.09
Нарру	11	30*

\*p < .05, two tailed

## Discussion

The first primary objective was to replicate the results from the mock coffee article and product evaluations from Study 3. As was the case in Study 3, participants made favourable ratings for espresso produced by a culturally authentic producer over espresso produced by a non-authentic producer. Furthermore, participants systematically exhibited the cultural authenticity bias, with a preferential effect being shown for low quality espresso produced by a culturally authentic (Italian) producer over high quality espresso produced by a non-authentic (Chinese) producer. These results provide additional evidence for the overriding effect of the producer cultural authenticity cue. The second primary objective was to provide further evidence for the existence of an authenticity heuristic, by demonstrating that the cultural authenticity bias was more likely under another condition of low elaboration: positive mood. This research aim was not met directly, although the ancillary analyses offer some support, and will be discussed in more detail later.

### Why did mood have no effect on cultural authenticity bias?

This study offered no support the main hypothesis, with no differences in cultural authenticity bias detected between happy and sad participants. The lack of mood effects on cultural authenticity bias may have stemmed from a number of factors. Firstly, the manipulation for positive mood could be scrutinised, given that participants who received the positive mood induction did not report being happier than participants in the control condition. This could be attributed to a high baseline of mood; perhaps participants were generally very happy. Or perhaps, this was just the result of a ceiling effect stemming from a response bias. Participants in the control condition may have wanted to appear 'happy' and hence, may have reported a high score in an attempt to reflect this self-presentational concern. This would mean that participants in the happy condition had no room for higher responses. Despite this methodological concern, it is important to note that the expectation

was that there would be a difference in mood between participants in the happy and sad mood conditions. In that sense, the mood manipulation did differentiate happy from sad participants. Secondly, the lack of mood effects may be an indication that the cultural authenticity bias is simply not dependent on heuristic processing. While the results in Study 3 demonstrated that low levels of need for cognition were associated with the cultural authenticity bias, this result only made it clear that low need for cognition led to a higher bias score. Therefore, it is possible that the lack of the expected mood effects are due to the fact that the cultural authenticity bias is pervasive and occurs at both high and low levels of elaboration.

Another interpretation is that the trend of product evaluations was not due to processing style as much as some other confounding factors. This makes sense given that previous research has demonstrated different effects of mood in the consumer context. For instance, López & Ruiz de Maya (2012) found that sad participants had more favourable ratings and higher intention to purchase hedonic products than happy participants, due to the fact that sad participants view hedonic products as a way to improve on their current mood. While the current study placed an emphasis on the role that mood has on cognitive processing style, the results may be confounded by the fact that coffee was viewed as such a hedonic product. After all, coffee consumption is associated with elevated mood (Quinlan et al., 2000). It may be the case that on one hand, sad participants were less inclined to process information 'heuristically' and this led to less favourable ratings. However on the other hand, this effect was counterbalanced by the fact that sad participants generally made more positive evaluations as a function of improving their current mood state. In this sense, it is problematic to examine the mood effects on processing style for judgments about products with hedonic properties, particularly if the dependent variables are specifically related to product evaluations and not how much processing actually occurred. Future studies should therefore avoid product evaluations and instead compare dependent variables such as

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information recall or some other measure of motivation to attend to product-relevant information in a detail-oriented manner.

#### The relationship between cultural authenticity bias and country-espresso associations

The ancillary results found cultural authenticity bias for expected taste to be related to negative associations of espresso as a Chinese product. Conversely, no relationship was detected between cultural authenticity bias and positive associations of espresso as an Italian product. This result supports the notion that the cultural authenticity bias is due to incongruence between a product or producer and its cultural relevance. Interestingly however, this result did not materialise for the price willing to pay measure of cultural authenticity bias, which does draw questions as to the reliability of the result. Nonetheless, it does give some insight in relation to the exact mechanisms involved in the cultural authenticity bias.

In addition to testing the main hypothesis, an ancillary analysis was conducted to further explore the result, with a particular focus on the mood conditions. The ancillary analysis revealed that the relationships between cultural authenticity bias scores and countryespresso associations were different across the conditions of mood. For happy participants, the bias was related to negative associations of espresso as a Chinese product, whereas for sad participants, the bias was related to positive associations of espresso as an Italian product. Assuming that the mood manipulation was successful and sad participants were in fact more 'thoughtful' than happy participants, this result provides some important insights as to the heuristic nature of the cultural authenticity bias. Happy participants engaged in heuristic processing and applied a negative stereotype, e.g. "Chinese people cannot make good coffee". Conversely, sad participants avoided the negative stereotype and instead applied a positive association, e.g. "Italians make better coffee". Although the positive cognition is still most likely heuristic in nature, the important point is that sad (high elaboration) participants were able to avoid the negative stereotype. However, rather than focusing on product-relevant information and avoiding the cultural authenticity bias altogether, sad participants still relied on the producer cultural authenticity cue. This interpretation of the results certainly highlights the notion that the producer cultural authenticity cue is pervasive and processed at both high and low levels of elaboration.

## Conclusion

To summarise, the results from the coffee evaluations in Study 3 were replicated, with participants preferring espresso produced by culturally authentic Italian producers over equal quality espresso produced by non-authentic Chinese producers. Furthermore, the cultural authenticity bias was again observable, with participants preferring low quality espresso produced by an Italian producer over high quality espresso produced by a Chinese producer.

Although it was expected that happy participants would show more cultural authenticity bias than sad participants, this was not the case in the current study. However, the associations that resulted in the cultural authenticity bias were differential across the conditions of mood. In particular, happy participants used a negative stereotype against Chinese coffee producers, while sad participants were biased towards the Italian espresso producers because of positive associations.

# **CHAPTER 9**

## Study 5

Producer cultural authenticity and its effect on evaluations of chocolate

#### Extrinsic vs. Intrinsic product cues

Traditionally, the basic view held in economics about the consumer experience is that the appeal of a product should depend only on intrinsic product cues (e.g. taste and ingredients) and the state of the consumer (e.g. thirst and hunger) (Kahneman, Wakker, & Sarin, 1997). Conversely, consumer psychology research holds the general view that consumers place more value on the extrinsic cues of a product (Richardson, Dick, & Jain, 1994). Extrinsic cues can be characterised as product-related characteristics that, when changed, have no influence on the product's physical properties (Olson & Jacoby, 1972). Extrinsic product cues have received extensive coverage in the literature over the past few decades. Many studies, for example, have shown that consumers make inferences about quality based on price (Dodds, 1995; Gabor & Granger, 1979; Rao, 2005; Rao & Monroe, 1989). Other research has demonstrated that people rely on brand name information in determining product preferences (Allison & Uhl, 1964; Hoyer & Brown, 1990; Macdonald & Sharp, 2000; Maheswaran, Mackie, & Chaiken, 1992; Rao & Monroe, 1989; Warlop, Ratneshwar, & van Osselaer, 2005). Furthermore, a number of studies have demonstrated that people prefer and avoid certain products based on the product's country of origin (Dekhili, Sirieix, & Cohen, 2011; Mort & Duncan, 2003; Srinivasan, et al., 2004; Verlegh, et al., 2005).

## Extrinsic cues as Heuristics

In order to deal with the bulk information presented to them, it has been suggested that consumers make decisions based on simple decision heuristics or 'rules of thumb', based on various extrinsic cues. For example, a consumer might apply a heuristic such as "expensive products are better products", to aid in decision making. As mentioned in Chapter 3, individuals rely on heuristic processing when they lack the time, motivation or cognitive effort. Using heuristic processing enables consumers to make decisions faster and with less effort.

For example, Hoyer and Brown (1990) showed that when consumers were asked to indicate their preference for peanut butter, they required fewer taste samples if one of the choices was a known brand. In a similar study, Macdonald and Sharp (2000) demonstrated that participants took less time to indicate their preference for cordial drink when one of the options was a familiar brand. These results suggest that the brand recognition acts as a simple decision heuristic that helps consumers to reduce the number of choices available and simplify the decision making process. Other studies have demonstrated that the product's country of origin also acts as a heuristic cue. Verlegh et al. (2005) demonstrated that consumers relied on country of origin more when they were less involved with the advertisement. In other words, when people didn't find the advertisement as personally relevant, they were less motivated to process all product-relevant information, and therefore more likely to rely on the country of origin in their decision making process. In another study conducted by Chang (2004), consumers relied on information about a product's country of origin if they were given ambiguous, non-specific product information.

## The overriding effect of extrinsic information

In one way, it does seem reasonable that consumers tend to rely on extrinsic cues, given the fact that most consumer decisions are made without the opportunity to test a

product and thoroughly inspect its intrinsic properties. Decision heuristics are often adaptive and useful given the complex nature of decision making (Gigerenzer & Gaissmaier, 2011). However, in some cases, even when the intrinsic cues are available, product preferences and perceptions of quality are still dominated by extrinsic cues. Some research has demonstrated that the over-reliance on extrinsic cues can lead to biased perceptions about the intrinsic properties of a product. For example, Hoyer and Brown (1990) demonstrated that in a blind condition, nearly all participants preferred high quality peanut butter over low quality peanut butter. However, when a known brand label was attached to the low quality peanut butter, over 70% indicated a preference for the low quality peanut butter. These results indicate that consumers are able to assess the intrinsic qualities of a product, but when presented with additional extrinsic information, this seems to override the taste cues. In another study conducted by Plassmann, O'Doherty, Shiv and Rangel (2008), participants reported that they enjoyed a sample of red wine more when they were told that it costed \$90 compared to when they were told it costed \$10. Unbeknown to the participants was the reality that the two samples of wine were actually from the same bottle. In another study investigating this "placebo effect" of wine, it was found that consumers only attended to intrinsic qualities of the wine after attending to the extrinsic information of price and region of production (Priilaid, 2006). In summation, Priilaid stated that "the finding shows how we are deleteriously distracted by the apparent efficacy of extrinsic cues" (p. 17). In a similar but rather novel example of such research, it was found that extrinsic factors such as pricing of an energy drink had an effect on the actual efficacy of the product (Shiv, Carmon, & Ariely, 2005). Across three studies, the authors consistently found that participants who paid a discounted price for the energy drink (which is thought to increase mental ability) experienced less actual benefit from consuming the drink (e.g. they were able to solve fewer puzzles) than participants who consumed the same product at its regular price.

## Cultural authenticity as an overriding extrinsic cue

As is the case with other product cues, cultural authenticity also acts as an extrinsic product cue. The authenticity cue generally leads to assumptions of product quality; however, it also appears to trigger increased perceptions of worth (Doonan, 2007; Lewis & Bridger, 2000). This seems perfectly rational from a decision making point of view; authentically produced products are probably higher in quality and generally are more expensive. However, like with the previously mentioned extrinsic cues such as price, the authenticity cue seems to override the product's intrinsic information. A good example of this was in a study conducted by Doonan (2007), in which participants rated the same coffee as higher in quality when told that it was Brazilian rather than British. In a subsequent study, it was demonstrated that participants were willing to pay more for an aboriginal artwork when they were told that it was painted by an untrained aboriginal artist compared to a trained Caucasian. While these results seem intuitive, the intriguing aspect of this research is that the products were always identical (intrinsically). Doonan mentioned that the qualitative responses indicated that participants nearly always relied on information about the product, even when the product was given to them.

The practical implications of this and similar research should be quite clear for marketers; when product quality is lacking (intrinsically), knowledge about product authenticity can compensate for this. While this seems intuitive, it would be interesting to explore the limit to this assertion. Can making product authenticity salient save a product that consumers do not like? Or alternatively, does authenticity have a backfiring effect when product quality is discernibly low? The current study will address these research questions.

#### Do 'consumers' use an Authenticity Heuristic?

Thus far, this dissertation has demonstrated that authenticity preferences are related to heuristic processing. These studies have been based on vignettes and not the actual consumption experience. It would certainly be informative to know if the authenticity heuristic is used during consumption of actual products

### Magical Transfer

Recall that Study 3 found a relationship between cultural authenticity preferences and positive contagion beliefs. Specifically, an individual's expectation about taste was predicted by high scores on positive contagion. In study three, participants were asked to indicate preferences based on judgments and expectations. In contrast, the current study will investigate the cultural authenticity bias in a 'real-product' context. Therefore, it would be interesting to investigate whether the positive contagion construct also plays a role in the actual experience and subjective pleasure of a consumable product. Based on these earlier findings, it seems possible that participants with higher scores on positive contagion will be more likely to 'overvalue' the extrinsic authenticity information and focus less on a product's intrinsic features such as taste.

### Pre-test rationale: Establishing authenticity and product quality for chocolate

The current study aims to explore the effect of actual product quality and bogus information about producer cultural authenticity on evaluations of chocolate. Before commencing with the main study, it was decided to conduct a small pre-test study in order to get a more accurate understanding of lay perceptions of ethnic groups' cultural authenticity in relation to the chocolate production process. The ethnic group judged to be most authentic will be used for the high authenticity condition. Alternatively, the ethnic group judged as least authentic will be used for the low authenticity condition. To ensure the successful manipulation of product quality in the main study, it was decided to also pre-test product quality from a number of chocolate products. The chocolate sample that is evaluated most favourably will be used for the high quality condition, while the chocolate sample that is evaluated least favourably will be used for the low quality condition.

### Pre-test Method

### **Participants**

Sixteen university students from James Cook University took part in the pre-test phase. Participants' ages ranged between 17 and 44, with the sample consisting of 10 males (M = 27.10 years, SD = 7.03) and six females (M = 20.83, SD = 3.60).

## Design

The design for this study consisted of a one-way (nationality manipulation: Belgian vs. Scottish vs. British vs. Mexican vs. Brazilian vs. American vs. South-African vs. Swiss vs. Italian vs. Greek vs. Irish) within subjects design, as well as three one-way (product manipulation: Lindt vs. Whittaker's vs. Woolworths Select vs. Cocoa Belgian vs. Home Brand compound) within subjects designs for ratings of taste, quality and price willing to pay.

#### Materials

Materials for the pre-test phase consisted of a blindfold, bottled water, six chocolate products, a chocolate evaluation sheet and an authenticity rating sheet. The chocolate products investigated were Lindt Creamy Milk Chocolate (\$3.21/100g), Whittaker's Creamy Milk Chocolate (\$2.31/100g), Woolworths Select Milk Chocolate (\$1.45/100g), Cadbury Baking Chocolate (\$1.45/100g), Cocoa Belgian (\$.85/100g), and Home Brand Compound Cooking (\$.60/100g).<sup>1</sup>

The chocolate evaluation sheet consisted of three items per sample. The first item asked participants, 'how much did you like this sample' on an 11-point rating scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 100 (completely) with increments of 10. The second item asked

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> All prices were based on undiscounted retail prices.

participants to 'rate the quality of this sample' on an 11-point rating scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 100 (completely) with increments of 10. The third item asked participants, 'how much would you be willing to pay (\$) for a 200g block of this sample'.

The authenticity rating sheet included the question 'how authentic would you consider a chocolate maker to be if their ethnic background was,' which was followed by rating scales for each of the ethnic groups (Belgian, Scottish, British, Mexican, Brazilian, American, Australian, South African, Swiss, Italian, Greek and Irish). Each ethnic group was rated on a 5-point rating scale ranging from 0 to 4 (not at all authentic / not very authentic / somewhat authentic / very authentic / completely authentic).

#### Procedure

Participants were tested individually. After providing informed consent, participants asked to report their age and gender. Participants were then given the following instructions:

You are about to taste six samples of chocolate. Throughout the study you will be blind folded. This is firstly, due to the nature of a blind-taste study which requires you to not see the samples you taste. Secondly, studies have shown that perception of taste is enhanced when vision is restricted. After tasting each sample you will be asked to rate how much you liked the sample, the quality of the sample, and how much you would be willing to pay in dollars for a standard 200g block of this chocolate. Then, before proceeding on to the next sample you will be required to cleanse the pallet by taking a small drink of water, ensuring that the aftertaste of the previous sample is removed as much as possible.

Participants were then asked to put on their blind folds, evaluate one sample of chocolate, rate the chocolate on the evaluation sheet, take a drink of water and then put the blindfold back on. This procedure was repeated for all six samples. Once all six samples had been evaluated, participants were asked if they recognised any of the products for the brands

that they were. Participants were then asked to complete the authenticity rating sheet. Upon completion, participants were thanked for their participation in the study.

#### Pre-test Results

Given the exploratory nature of the pre-test phase, two-tailed tests were used for all analyses. Before proceeding with the analysis, the data were explored to determine whether they met the assumptions required for a one-way analysis of variance. Normality tests revealed no extreme outliers on any of the dependent measures. For the product evaluations, there were no violations of normality (all Shapiro-Wilkes *p* values > .05). For authenticity ratings, the assumption of normality was found to be violated (10 out of 12 Shapiro-Wilkes *p* values < .05). However, as suggested by Brace, Snelgar and Kemp (2003), ANOVA is robust, even with modest violations of normality. A series of Mauchly's tests of sphericity were computed. The assumption of sphericity was met for all dependent measures across all four within subject variables; taste ( $\chi^2$  (14) = 15.99, *p* = .322), quality ( $\chi^2$  (14) = 18.89, *p* = .176), price willing to pay ( $\chi^2$  (14) = 12.50, *p* = .573), and authenticity ( $\chi^2$  (65) = 66.82, *p* = .542).

### Taste, quality and price ratings for chocolate brands

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was computed to examine the effect that chocolate brand had on perceptions of taste. The results indicated that perceptions of taste were significantly affected by the brand of chocolate, F(5, 75) = 13.88, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .48$ . Post-hoc analyses using LSD revealed that Lindt chocolate was judged to be better tasting (M = 64.4, SD = 14.93) than all other brands (all *p* values < .05), with the exception of Cadbury chocolate (M = 67.8, SD = 14.26). Cadbury chocolate was also judged to be better tasting than all other brands (all *p* values < .05), with the exception of Lindt chocolate. Home Brand compound chocolate was judged as significantly worse tasting (M = 27.2, SD = 17.70) than all other brands (all *p* values < .05). A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was computed to examine the effect that chocolate brand had on judgments of product quality. The results indicated that perceptions of product quality were significantly affected by the brand of chocolate, F(5, 75) = 11.47, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .43$ . Post-hoc analyses using LSD revealed that Cadbury chocolate was judged as higher in quality (M = 70.0, SD = 14.26) than all other brands (all p values < .05), with the exception of Lindt chocolate (M = 62.5, SD = 17.70). Home Brand compound chocolate was judged as significantly lower in quality (M = 31.9, SD = 19.05) than all other brands (all p values < .05).

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was computed to examine the effect that chocolate brand had on the price participants were willing to pay for a block of the chocolate. The results indicated that the price participants were willing to pay was significantly affected by the brand of chocolate, F(5, 75) = 12.35, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .45$ . Posthoc analyses revealed that participants were willing to pay the most for Lindt chocolate (M = \$4.26, SD = .96) and Cadbury chocolate (M = \$4.28, SD = .84). The price that participants were willing to pay was higher for Lindt than Cocoa Belgian (M = \$3.44, SD = 1.44, p = .042), Woolworths Select (M = \$3.45, SD = 1.26, p = .006), and Home Brand (M = \$1.87, SD = 1.23, p < .001). In contrast, the price that participants were willing to pay for Cadbury chocolate was only significantly higher than Home Brand chocolate (p < .001). Participants were willing to pay significantly less for Home Brand than all other brands (all p values < .05). The relevant means can be observed in Table 16.

As a final point of analysis, the qualitative responses indicated that some participants recognised Cadbury chocolate and the Home Brand compound cooking chocolate.
Table 16.

Product	Mean taste (SD)	Mean Quality (SD)	Price (SD)
Lindt	64.4 (14.93) <sup>2356</sup>	62.5 (17.70) <sup>36</sup>	\$4.26 (.96) <sup>356</sup>
Whittaker's	49.3 (17.71) <sup>146</sup>	56.8 (13.55) <sup>46</sup>	\$3.69 (1.08) <sup>6</sup>
Woolworths Select	53.4 (22.11) <sup>16</sup>	50.6 (19.22) <sup>146</sup>	\$3.45 (1.26) <sup>16</sup>
Cadbury	67.8 (14.26) <sup>2356</sup>	70.0 (14.26) <sup>2356</sup>	\$4.28 (.84) <sup>6</sup>
Cocoa Belgian	48.1 (23.44) <sup>146</sup>	50.6 (19.65) <sup>46</sup>	\$3.44 (1.44) <sup>16</sup>
Homebrand	27.2 (17.70) <sup>12345</sup>	31.9 (19.05) <sup>12345</sup>	\$1.86 (1.23) <sup>12345</sup>
compound			

Mean Evaluations of Taste, Quality and Price Willing to Pay for Chocolate Brands

<sup>1</sup>Indicates a significant mean difference with Lindt; <sup>2</sup> indicates significant mean difference with Whittaker's; <sup>3</sup> indicates significant mean difference with Woolworths Select; <sup>4</sup> indicates significant mean difference with Cadbury; <sup>5</sup> Indicates significant mean difference with Cocoa Belgian; <sup>6</sup> Indicates significant mean difference with Homebrand compound.

All Pairwise comparisons computed with  $\alpha$ =.05.

# Authenticity ratings

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was computed to examine the effect that ethnicity had on ratings of authenticity. The results indicated that perceptions of authenticity were significantly affected by ethnicity, F(11,165) = 15.90, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .52$ . Post-hoc analyses using LSD revealed that Swiss was judged as more authentic (M = 3.6, SD = .61) than all other groups (all p values <.05), except Belgian (M = 3.3, SD = 1.14). Belgian was judged as more authentic than all other nationalities (all p values <.05), except Swiss and Brazilian. Scottish, Mexican, Australian, Greek and Irish were all judged as equally low in authenticity (all p values >.05). These nationalities were also all judged as less authentic than all other nationalities (all p values < .05). Table 17 displays all relevant means.

# Table 17.

Nationality	Mean	Standard Deviation
Belgian	3.3	1.14
Scottisho	1.5	.63
British	2.1	.93
Mexicano	1.3	.86
Brazilian	2.9	.64
American	1.9	.74
Australiano	1.5	.82
South African	1.9	1.09
Swiss*	3.6	.61
Italian	2.2	1.06
Greeko	1.5	1.09
Irisho	1.4	.89

# Mean Evaluations of Producer Authenticity for Making Chocolate

\* Swiss judged as more authentic than all nationalities except Belgian

All of these groups were judged as less authentic than Belgian, British, Brazilian, American, South
African Swiss and Italian

## Pre-test Discussion

### Determining a low vs. high product quality manipulation

The first phase of the pre-test was designed to identify which two product pairings would allow for the most appropriate manipulation of product quality for the main experiment. Rather than only use one measure of perceived product quality, it was decided to also investigate judgments of taste and price willing to pay for each product. The initial results indicate that Lindt and Cadbury could be pooled in a group labelled highly evaluated products. Home Brand compound cooking chocolate appeared to stand alone as a low quality chocolate. Alternatively, the other brands – Whittaker's, Woolworths Select and Cocoa Belgian – represented a range of moderately evaluated products.

Results suggest that for the main study either Lindt or Cadbury should be used for the high product quality condition, whereas Home Brand should be used for the low product quality condition. However, this interpretation is confounded by the fact that participants indicated that they recognised the Cadbury chocolate and the Home Brand compound cooking chocolate. Furthermore, the Home Brand chocolate was so poorly evaluated, that it might not even appear as a credibly 'authentic' product. Therefore, it was decided to exclude Home Brand and Cadbury as candidates for the product quality manipulation. Cocoa Belgian is perhaps the next best choice for the low product quality condition, as it was generally evaluated lower than the other mid-range products (although these differences were nonsignificant). Lindt chocolate is the most appropriate choice for the high product quality condition. The fact that participants rated the taste of Lindt as higher than Cocoa Belgian, and that participants were willing to pay more for Lindt than Cocoa Belgian, supports this decision.

### Determining a high and low authenticity manipulation

The second phase of the pre-test was designed to identify which two nationalities would allow for the most appropriate manipulation of authenticity for the main experiment. The results indicated that Swiss was rated as the most authentic nationality, which is consistent with Deshpande (2010) who suggested that consumers have been conditioned to believe that great chocolate comes from Switzerland. However, Deshpande postulates that truly authentic chocolate can only be produced in a country that produces cacao beans, an essential ingredient in the production process of chocolate. This is reflected in the results of the pre-test, in which ratings of authenticity for Brazilian chocolate makers were also quite high. What seems most important is that the production process of chocolate – and not the cacao bean – is more prominent in European countries. The invention of milk chocolate and the development of chocolate making craft processes can even be traced back to European countries (Wikipedia, 2012). Nonetheless, perceived authenticity for making chocolate was highest for Swiss chocolate makers, making it quite apparent that Swiss should be used for the high authenticity condition in the main experiment.

As for a low authenticity condition, the results do not give any clear indication as to which nationality would be most suitable for a low authenticity condition. Scottish, Mexican, Australian, Greek and Irish were all judged as equally low in authenticity. Based on the results, it would appear that any of these five nationalities would be appropriate for a low authenticity condition. However, the use of Australian and Mexican producers comes with some possible confounding factors. In the main experiment, participants will be asked to indicate the price that they would be willing to pay for each product. It is possible that participants will be considering import costs when making judgments about price. Assuming that participants will generally associate producer nationality with the location of production, it seems fit also to assume that participants' judgments of price will be confounded if the country is geographically distant from Switzerland. Therefore it would be better to use a country that is closer geographically, such as the other three European countries; Scotland, Greece and Ireland. As it so happens, the distance between Switzerland and these three countries is quite similar. By a simple rule of chance, the main experiment will use Irish chocolate makers for the low authenticity condition.

### Study 5- Experimental phase

The current study was based on other studies that showed how participants rated products more favourably when they were produced by an authentic producer than when they were produced by a non-authentic producer, even when the products were actually identical Doonan (2007). The current study sought to extend these findings to a withinsubject design in the context of milk chocolate. Participants were given two identical high quality samples from the same chocolate bar, and two identical low quality samples from another chocolate bar. If individuals are completely rational in the economic sense, then identical samples of chocolate should be evaluated based on intrinsic properties of the chocolate and not the extrinsic information provided. Therefore, any difference between identical samples would indicate a cultural authenticity bias.

The current study addressed a number of research aims. The first aim is to establish whether or not individuals evaluate two identical chocolate samples differently when they are made to believe that one is made by an authentic producer and one is not. Specifically, it is expected that participants will rate the alleged 'authentic' chocolate more favourably, hence exhibiting a cultural authenticity bias. The second aim is to explore whether such favourable ratings towards the authentically produced chocolate occur for both high and low quality chocolate samples. The third aim is to establish whether or not individuals' susceptibility to the cultural authenticity bias can be inhibited by increasing the likelihood of elaboration and attention to the intrinsic properties of chocolate. The fourth and final aim is to explore whether personal relevance, age, gender and beliefs in the law of contagion have an influence on the extent to which individuals exhibit the cultural authenticity bias.

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### Method

### Participants

Sixty-four university students from James Cook University took part in the experimental phase of the study. Participants' ages ranged between 17 and 59, with the sample consisting of 17 males (M = 26.1 years, SD = 12.17) and 47 females (M = 25.9 years, SD = 9.30).

### Design

The study used a mixed design consisting of two levels of two within-subjects variables and two levels of one between-subjects variable. The within-subjects variables included product quality (high vs. low) and producer cultural authenticity (low vs. high). The between-subject variable was the participants' level of elaboration (high vs. low).

# Materials

Materials for the pre-test phase consisted of a blindfold, bottled water, four chocolate samples, small disposable plates, a chocolate evaluation sheet, a participant information sheet and the contagion scale. Two out of the four chocolate samples were taken from Lindt Creamy Milk Chocolate (\$3.21/100g), and the other two were taken from Cocoa Belgian (\$.85/100g).

*Chocolate evaluation sheet*: The chocolate evaluation sheet consisted of three items per chocolate sample. The first item asked participants "how much did you like this sample" on an 11-point rating scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 100 (completely) with increments of 10. The second item asked participants to "rate the quality of this sample" on an 11-point rating scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 100 (completely) with increments of 10. The third item asked participants, "how much would you be willing to pay (\$) for a 200g block of this sample." The evaluation sheet can be found in Appendix E1.

*Participant information sheet*: The participant information sheet consisted of seven items. The first two items asked participants to indicate their age and gender. The third and fourth items asked participants to "indicate how often you purchase/ consume chocolate." Participants responded on a 5-point scale consisting of "never", "less than monthly", "monthly", "weekly" and "daily". The fifth item asked participants how knowledgeable they considered themselves to be on a 5-point rating scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 4 (very highly). Items three, four and five were combined to create a single measure of personal relevance. The items were highly correlated and the new measure was found to be highly reliable ( $\alpha = .84$ ). The sixth and seventh items asked participants to "rate the extent to which you associate chocolate as a Swiss/ Irish product." Both items were rated on a 5-point rating scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 4 (very highly).

*Magical Transfer Scale*: The magical transfer scale from Study 3 was again used as a measure of positive and negative contagion beliefs. Factor analysis again revealed the existence of two separate factors (eigenvalues > 1) that could be easily interpreted as positive and negative contagion. As was the case in Study 3, the 5 positive contagion items were found to be reliable ( $\alpha$ = .76), as were the 6 negative contagion items ( $\alpha$ = .77).

### Procedure

Participants were tested individually or in small groups. After providing informed consent, participants were given specific details and instruction depending on the condition that they were randomly assigned to. Participants were given the following set of instructions:

The current study is interested in exploring Australian consumers' evaluations for foreign brands of chocolate. You are about to taste 4 samples of chocolate that are currently unavailable in Australian stores. Each of the four products is produced by one of four chocolate companies; 2 are Swiss, and the other two are Irish. Throughout the study you will be blindfolded. This is mostly due to the fact that studies have shown that perception of taste is enhanced when vision is restricted. After tasting each sample you will be asked to rate how much you liked the sample, the quality of the sample, and how much you would be willing to pay (\$) for a standard 200g block of this chocolate if it was made available in Australian stores. Then, before proceeding on to the next sample you will be required to cleanse the pallet by taking a small drink of water, ensuring that the aftertaste of the previous sample is removed as much as possible.

The next piece of information pertained to the elaboration level condition. Participants in the low elaboration condition were told to "please try not to spend too much time tasting each sample. It is important that evaluations are marked on the evaluation sheet as soon as possible." Participants in the high elaboration condition were given the following set of instructions:

There are a number of visual, textural and taste markers that professional chocolate tasters consider when rating chocolate. You will obviously ignore the visual markers as you will be blindfolded during each taste trial. When rating each chocolate, keep in mind that good chocolate should; 1) melt in the mouth like butter, 2) taste of pure chocolate and not cocoa powder, and 3) leave no greasy or sticky residue in the mouth. Please take your time to taste and rate each sample in order to maintain a high level of accuracy.

Prior to receiving each sample of chocolate, participants were given information about the cultural authenticity of the chocolate they were about to taste. For the first chocolate sample, participants were told "this is sample A, produced by Swiss chocolate maker, Fehrmann." The researcher would then proceed to place a high quality chocolate in front of the participant for evaluation. After a judgment was made, participants removed the blindfold and proceeded to rate the sample on the evaluation sheet. For the second chocolate sample, participants were told "this is sample B, produced by Swiss chocolate maker, Kipfer", and were then given the low quality chocolate for evaluation. For the third chocolate sample, participants were told "this is sample C, produced by Irish chocolate maker, O'Donnell." The high quality chocolate was then placed in front of the participant. For the fourth chocolate sample, participants were told "this is sample D, produced by Irish chocolate maker, Mullins", and then given the low quality chocolate. It should be noted that the results of the experiment were likely to be confounded by order-effects, especially considering the fact that subjective enjoyment of food depends not only on intrinsic and extrinsic factors, but also the state of the individual, e.g. hunger (Kahneman et al., 1997). In that sense, the risk was that participants may have rated earlier samples as more favourable. To control for this potential confound, the order in which the chocolates were given was randomised. Although the order was randomised, a chocolate sample was never followed by its identical sample. This was essential to maintain the integrity of the experiment and avoid transparency.

Once all four samples had been evaluated, participants were told to complete the information sheet and the magical transfer scale. Upon completion participants were thanked for their participation in the study and were free to leave.

### Results

To investigate the effect that information about producer cultural authenticity had on ratings of taste, perceived quality and price willing to pay for chocolate brands, a two-way repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted, followed by a series of univariate ANOVAs. Before proceeding with the analysis, the data were explored to determine whether they met the assumptions required for a two-way repeated measures analysis of variance and multivariate analysis of variance. Normality tests revealed no extreme outliers for any combination of the related groups. For taste, quality and price ratings, the assumption of normality was found to be violated (11 out of 12 Shapiro-Wilkes *p* values <. 05). However, as suggested by Brace, Snelgar and Kemp (2003), ANOVA is robust, even with modest violations of normality. The assumption of sphericity was not an issue as each of the within-subject variables were made up of only two levels. Box's M (> .001) revealed that the covariance matrices of the dependent variables were the same across groups. The data consisted of no multivariate outliers, and appeared to be relatively linear and homogenous.

### Manipulation check

To ensure that the authenticity manipulation was successful, participants were asked to rate the extent to which they associated chocolate as a Swiss/Irish product. A paired sample t-test was computed to check the authenticity manipulation. The t-test revealed that participants associated chocolate more as a Swiss product (M = 2.5, SD = 1.10) than an Irish product (M = .8, SD = .86), t (63) = 11.69, p < .001.

### Main effects

A 2x2 repeated measures MANOVA was conducted to establish whether the effects of producer cultural authenticity and product quality were significant across the three ratings of taste, perceived quality and price willing to pay. As expected, the cultural authenticity of the chocolate maker was found to have a significant effect on ratings, F(3, 61) = 4.79, p=.005,  $\eta^2 = .19$ . However, product quality was not found to have a significant effect on ratings, F(3, 61) = 1.21, p=.313, partial  $\eta^2 = .06$ . The cultural authenticity x product quality interaction was found to be significant, F(3, 61) = 10.23, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .34$ .

### The effect of producer cultural authenticity on taste ratings

Univariate ANOVAs were computed to examine the effect that producer cultural authenticity had on each of the dependent measures. As expected, participants' taste ratings

were significantly influenced by the cultural authenticity of producers, F(1, 63) = 9.98, p = .002,  $\eta^2 = .14$ . Participants liked the taste of chocolate more when they were told that it was produced by a Swiss (culturally authentic) producer (M = 64.7, SD = 20.26) than when they were told it was produced by an Irish (non-authentic) producer (M = 58.5, SD = 20.74). Participants' ratings of perceived quality were also significantly influenced by the cultural authenticity of producers, F(1, 63) = 14.60, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .19$ . Participants rated perceived quality of chocolate as higher when they were told that it was produced by a Swiss producer (M = 64.5, SD = 20.92) than when they were told that it was produced by a Swiss producer (M = 57.2, SD = 20.49). Similarly, producer cultural authenticity had a significant effect on the price that participants were willing to pay for chocolate, F(1, 63) = 9.10, p = .004,  $\eta^2 = .13$ . Participants were willing to pay significantly more for chocolate when they were told it was produced by a Swiss chocolate maker (M = 4.1, SD = 1.57) than when they were told it had been produced by an Irish chocolate maker (M = 3.7, SD = 1.57).

### The interaction between producer cultural authenticity and product quality

Univariate ANOVAs were computed to further examine the interaction between producer cultural authenticity and product quality across the three dependent measures. A significant interaction between producer cultural authenticity and product quality was detected for participants' ratings of taste, F(1, 63) = 30.49, p < .001,  $\eta^2 = .33$ . Simple effects analysis using a series of paired samples t-tests revealed a very similar pattern for each of the dependent variables.

Participants rated high quality chocolate as better tasting when it was produced by a Swiss (culturally authentic) chocolate maker (M = 70.8, SD = 21.33) than when it was produced by an Irish (non-authentic) chocolate maker (M = 56.5, SD = 20.94), t (63) = 5.80, p < .001. Conversely, for low quality chocolate, there was no significant difference in taste ratings between chocolate produced by a Swiss chocolate maker (M = 58.7, SD = 19.19) and

an Irish chocolate maker (M = 60.6, SD = 20.53), t(63) = -.77, p = .444. Furthermore, for chocolate produced by a Swiss chocolate maker, participants rated the taste of the high quality chocolate as significantly better (M = 70.8, SD = 21.33) than the low quality chocolate (M = 58.7, SD = 19.19), t(63) = 4.50, p < .001. Conversely, product quality had no significant effect on taste ratings for chocolate produced by an Irish chocolate maker, t(63) = 1.42, p = .159. This interaction can be observed in Figure 3.

Participants perceived the high quality chocolate to be higher in quality when it was produced by a Swiss chocolate maker (M = 70.2, SD = 22.26) than when it was produced by an Irish chocolate maker (M = 54.9, SD = 19.75), t (63) = 6.38, p < .001. Conversely, for low quality chocolate, participants perceived there to be no difference in quality between chocolate produced by a Swiss chocolate maker (M = 58.8, SD = 19.57) and an Irish chocolate maker (M = 59.5, SD = 21.23), t (63) = -.24, p = .808. For chocolate produced by a Swiss chocolate maker (M = 59.5, SD = 21.23), t (63) = -.24, p = .808. For chocolate produced by a Swiss chocolate maker, participants perceived the quality to be higher when it was the high quality chocolate (M = 70.2, SD = 22.26) than when it was the low quality chocolate (M = 58.8, SD = 19.75), t (63) = 4.22, p < .001. In contrast, for chocolate produced by an Irish chocolate maker, participants perceived there to be no difference in quality between the high quality and low quality chocolate, t (63) = 1.62, p = .110. This interaction can be observed in Figure 4.

Participants indicated they were willing to pay significantly more for high quality chocolate produced by a Swiss producer (M = \$4.44, SD = 1.56) than high quality chocolate produced by an Irish producer (M = \$3.66, SD = 1.42), t (63) = 4.36, p < .001. Conversely, there was no difference in the amount that participants were willing to pay for low quality chocolate produced by a Swiss chocolate maker (M = \$3.77, SD = 1.59) and low quality chocolate produced by an Irish chocolate maker (M = \$3.80, SD = 1.72), t (63) = -.26, p = .798. For chocolate produced by a Swiss chocolate maker, participants were willing to pay significantly more for it if it was a high quality chocolate (M = 4.44, SD = 1.56) than if it

was a low quality chocolate (M = \$3.77, SD = 1.59), t(63) = 3.66, p = .001. In contrast, for chocolate produced by an Irish chocolate maker, there was no difference in the amount that participants were willing to pay for the low and high quality chocolates, t(63) = .77, p = .440. This interaction can be observed in Figure 5.



Figure 3. Study 5. Mean evaluation for taste of chocolate brands



Figure 4. Study 5. Mean evaluation for perceived quality of chocolate brands



Figure 5. Study 5. Mean price willing to pay for chocolate brands

## Individual scores for cultural authenticity bias

Recall that participants were given four samples of chocolate; the two low quality samples were actually identical, taken from the same bar of chocolate, as was the case for the two high quality samples which were also identical. In an objective sense, intrinsically identical chocolates should be evaluated in an identical matter. The only apparent difference between the paired samples is in the authenticity information that is provided. If an individual's ratings between two intrinsically identical samples are contradictory, than this gives an indication as to how biased an individual was in relation to the information about the chocolate's 'cultural authenticity'. Individual scores for cultural authenticity bias were hence calculated, in order to explore the psychological mechanisms involved in such biased evaluations. For each participant, six cultural authenticity bias scores were calculated; three were based on the taste ratings, perceived quality ratings, and price ratings for the low quality chocolate, and the other three were based on the three ratings for the high quality chocolate. Authenticity bias scores (for both high and low quality) were simply calculated by subtracting the non-authentic rating from the corresponding culturally authentic rating. For example, 'taste rating for high quality Swiss chocolate' - 'taste rating for high quality Irish chocolate' = cultural authenticity bias score for ratings of taste (high quality). After exploring the new data for cultural authenticity bias, three distinct categories were apparent. While the current study would predict a large portion of participants to be categorised as exhibiting cultural authenticity bias, and a smaller number not exhibiting any such bias, the results indicate that many participants exhibited a reverse bias. Of particular interest is the trend that the reverse bias is more prevalent for low quality chocolate and the authenticity bias is more prevalent for high quality chocolate. The possibility of an authenticity backfiring effect is likely, and this will be discussed in detail in the discussion section of this chapter. Table 18 displays the frequency data for the cultural authenticity bias categories.

The categorical authenticity bias data were explored using a series of chi-square goodness-of-fit tests. For ratings of taste for high quality chocolate, 45 participants (70.3%) exhibited cultural authenticity bias, six (9.4%) showed no bias, and 13 (20.3%) exhibited a reverse bias. The observed pattern was significantly different from what would be expected by chance,  $\chi^2$  (2) = 40.53, *p* < .001. For ratings of taste for low quality chocolate, 21 participants (32.8%) exhibited cultural authenticity bias, 14 (21.9%) had no bias, and 29 (45.3%) exhibited a reverse bias. The observed pattern was no different from what would be expected by chance,  $\chi^2$  (2) = 5.28, *p* =.07.

For ratings of perceived quality for high quality chocolate, 44 participants (68.7%) exhibited cultural authenticity bias, 14 (21.9%) showed no bias, and six (9.4%) exhibited a reverse bias. The observed pattern was significantly different from what would be expected by chance,  $\chi^2$  (2) = 37.63, *p* < .001. For ratings of perceived quality for low quality chocolate, 23 participants (36%) exhibited cultural authenticity bias, 15 (23.4%) showed no bias, and 26 (40.6%) exhibited a reverse bias. The observed pattern was no different from what would be expected by chance,  $\chi^2$  (2) = 3.03, *p* = .22.

For the price that participants were willing to pay for high quality chocolate, 36 (56.2%) exhibited cultural authenticity bias, 17 (26.6%) showed no bias, and 11 (17.2%) exhibited a reverse bias. The observed pattern was significantly different from what would be expected by chance,  $\chi^2$  (2) = 15.97, p < .001. For the price that participants were willing to pay for low quality chocolate, 20 (31.25%) exhibited cultural authenticity bias, 20 (31.25%) showed no bias, and 24 (37.5%) exhibited a reverse bias. The observed pattern was no different from what would be expected by chance,  $\chi^2$  (2) = .50, p = .779.

# Table 18.

# Frequency Data for Cultural Authenticity Bias Categories

	High	Low
	Quality	Quality
Taste		
Authenticity Bias	45	21
No Bias	6	14
Reverse Bias	13	29
Perceived Quality		
Authenticity Bias	44	23
No Bias	14	15
Reverse Bias	6	26
Price		
Authenticity Bias	36	20
No Bias	17	20
Reverse Bias	11	24

### The influence of elaboration on cultural authenticity bias

To explore the hypothesis that cultural authenticity bias would be higher for the low elaboration condition than the high elaboration condition, a series of independent samples t-tests were computed. Given the directional nature of this hypothesis, all tests were conducted as one-tailed tests. For high quality chocolate, elaboration had an effect on quality and price willing to pay, but not taste ratings. When participants made ratings of perceived quality for high quality chocolate, those in the low elaboration condition exhibited significantly higher cultural authenticity bias effects (M = 19.48, SD = 17.59) than participants in the high elaboration condition (M = 11.3, SD = 20.12), t (62) = 1.72, p = .045. Similarly, when indicating the price they were willing to pay for high quality chocolate, participants in the high elaboration condition exhibited significantly higher cultural authenticity bias effects (M = 19.48, SD = 1.72, p = .045. Similarly, when indicating the price they were willing to pay for high quality chocolate, participants in the high elaboration condition exhibited significantly higher cultural authenticity bias effects (M = \$1.08, SD = 1.54) than participants in the low elaboration condition (M = \$.48, SD = 1.26) t (62) = 1.71, p = .047. Conversely, for ratings of taste for high quality chocolate, there was no significant difference in cultural authenticity bias between the low elaboration condition (M = 17.3, SD = 19.01) and the high elaboration condition (M = 11.3, SD = 20.28), t (62) = 1.24, p = .110, however, the trend was in the expected direction.

For low quality chocolate, elaboration had no effect on cultural authenticity bias across the three dependent measures. For expected taste, there was no difference in cultural authenticity bias between participants in the high elaboration condition (M = -1.9, SD =20.07) and participants in the low elaboration condition (M = -1.9, SD = 19.21), t (62) = 0.00, p = .500. For perceived quality, there was no difference in cultural authenticity bias between participants in the high elaboration condition (M = .6, SD = 19.33) and participants in the low elaboration condition (M = .1.9, SD = 21.77), t (62) = -.36, p = .315. For price, there was no difference in cultural authenticity bias between participants in the high elaboration condition (M = \$.02, SD = 1.32) and participants in the low elaboration condition (M = -\$.09, SD = 1.12), t (62) = -.49, p = .361.

### The influence of contagion beliefs on cultural authenticity bias scores

To examine the effect of contagion beliefs on cultural authenticity bias, a series of Pearson correlations were computed. Specifically, it was expected that positive contagion beliefs would be positively correlated with cultural authenticity bias scores; hence, the following tests were all computed as one-tailed tests. For high quality chocolate, cultural authenticity bias scores were not found to be correlated with any of the dependent measures; taste (r = -.03, p = .418), quality (r = .18, p = .075) and price willing to pay (r = -.06, p = .320). For low quality chocolate, cultural authenticity bias scores were found to be positively correlated with the quality measure (r = .24, p = .028), and although the trend was in the expected direction for the other two measures, they failed to reach statistical significance: taste (r = .19, p = .065) and price willing to pay (r = .20, p = .054).

To further explore this significant correlation, the effect of positive contagion on the type of authenticity bias was explored. Specifically, the purpose of this analysis was to determine whether high positive contagion would lead to the cultural authenticity bias as a categorical factor, and whether low positive contagion would lead to a reverse of the bias. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was computed to further explore this notion. The results revealed a significant effect between cultural authenticity bias (for perceived quality of the high quality chocolate) and positive contagion beliefs, F(2, 61) = 2.61, p = .04,  $\eta^2 = .08$ . Post-hoc analysis using LSD revealed that participants who exhibited cultural authenticity bias scored significantly higher in positive contagion (M = 10.6, SD = 6.27) than participants who exhibited reverse bias (M = 6.7, SD = 5.65), p = .024, but not those who exhibited no bias (M = 10.7, SD = 7.30), p = .49. Furthermore, participants exhibiting no bias had significantly higher positive contagion beliefs than participants exhibiting reverse bias, p = .038.

### Gender differences in cultural authenticity bias

To explore the effect of gender on cultural authenticity bias, a series of independent samples t-tests were conducted. Given that the current study made no predictions about the role that gender would play, all tests were computed as two-tailed tests. No gender differences were detected for cultural authenticity bias for ratings of taste and perceived quality. However, gender was found to have an effect on cultural authenticity bias for the price willing to pay for high quality chocolate, t (62) = 2.41, p =.020, but not low quality chocolate, t (62) = .31, p = .760. For the price willing to pay for high quality chocolate, for pay for high quality chocolate, for pay for high quality chocolate, M = \$1.03, SD = 1.21) than males (M = \$.09, SD = 1.77).

### The influence of age on authenticity bias scores

To examine the effect that age had on cultural authenticity bias, a series of Pearson correlations were computed. Specifically, it was expected that age would be negatively correlated with cultural authenticity bias. Given the specific directional nature of the hypothesis, all correlations were computed as one-tailed tests. For all six measures of cultural authenticity bias, age was uncorrelated (all Pearson r values < .08, all p values > .05).

## The influence of personal relevance on cultural authenticity bias scores

To examine the effect that personal relevance had on cultural authenticity bias, a series of Pearson correlations were computed. Given the non-directional nature of this hypothesis, two-tailed tests were used. For all six measures, cultural authenticity bias scores were uncorrelated with personal relevance (all Pearson *r* values < .1, all *p* values > .05).

## Discussion

The first objective of the present study was to demonstrate that consumers would rely on information about the producer's cultural authenticity in order to make evaluations of taste, perceived quality and price willing to pay. With this over-reliance on the extrinsic authenticity information, it was expected that consumers would hence ignore important intrinsic information such as the product's taste and texture. With participants exhibiting the expected cultural authenticity bias, this research aim was met. The results demonstrated that when given two intrinsically identical samples of chocolate, participants made more favourable evaluations for the brand that was purportedly produced by a Swiss (culturally authentic) producer compared to the brand that was purportedly produced by an Irish (nonauthentic) producer. This finding shares some similarities with previous research showing that manipulations of price had an influence on experiences involved in the product's consumption (Plassmann et al., 2008; Shiv et al., 2005). The present research places information about a producer's cultural authenticity in the same light as price and brand name; that it is an extrinsic cue that can be easily manipulated as a marketing action to change perceptions about the product.

### The effect of product quality on cultural authenticity bias scores

The second objective of the present study was to investigate whether or not product quality would have an influence on the effect of producer cultural authenticity. The results indicated that the effect of authenticity information was dependent on product quality. The cultural authenticity bias only occurred for high quality chocolate and not low quality chocolate. The rationale for investigating this issue was to determine whether or not the cultural authenticity cue would boost a product's value even if product quality was lacking. However, these results alone do not provide the clearest answer to this question. Ancillary analyses were therefore conducted to investigate the issue further and revealed that for high quality chocolate, most participants exhibited the expected cultural authenticity bias. Conversely, for low quality chocolate, the results were very mixed. Approximately one third of participants were biased towards the cultural authenticity information, one third was completely unbiased and correctly evaluated the identical samples as the same, and the other third exhibited a reversed bias, rating Irish chocolate more favourably than Swiss chocolate. A plausible interpretation can be offered for each pattern of results. Firstly, participants that exhibited the cultural authenticity bias simply relied on the cultural authenticity information and failed to make objective evaluations based on the intrinsic properties of the chocolates. Secondly, participants that exhibited no bias were able to determine that the two low quality chocolates were actually the same – or at least of the same quality – and rated the chocolates accordingly. Thirdly, participants that exhibited the reverse bias were subject to a backfiring effect. That is, the producer cultural authenticity information created high expectations and when these expectations were not met – the experienced quality was poor – the participants' evaluations were notably unfavourable. Similarly, participants had low expectations for Irish chocolate and when the chocolate exceeded these low expectations, the result was a more favourable evaluation. These results have important implications for marketing, indicating that high quality products will benefit from authenticity. On the other hand, low quality products need to be dealt with carefully considering the potential for a backfiring effect in product evaluations. It might be better to simply exclude authenticity information when product quality is low.

### The influence of heuristic processing on cultural authenticity bias scores

The third objective of the present study was to explore whether the cultural authenticity bias was a result of heuristic processing. The results provided support for this aim, demonstrating that for ratings of quality and price willing to pay, participants who were told to make their evaluations as quickly as possible (low elaboration) exhibited higher levels of the cultural authenticity bias than participants who were encouraged to pay more attention

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to the intrinsic taste and textural cues (high elaboration). However, it is important to note that level of elaboration only had an effect on cultural authenticity bias for high quality chocolate and not low quality chocolate. Given the fact that there were no differences in ratings between low quality Irish chocolate and low quality Swiss chocolate, this result is not surprising and possibly even suggests that for low quality chocolate, all evaluations avoided heuristic processing, regardless of the condition of elaboration they were assigned to. In other words, when product quality was lacking, participants in both the high and low elaboration conditions ignored the authenticity cue and relied on some other method to make their evaluations. Another interpretation is that for low quality chocolate, the low elaboration participants did in fact show higher cultural authenticity bias scores, and high elaboration participants were less biased. However, these results may have been counterbalanced by participants who showed the reverse bias. If these participants were in fact exhibiting a backfiring effect because their expectations (that Swiss chocolate should be better) were not met, then they may have made those negative judgments in a heuristic fashion. Hence, those kinds of judgments would also be more likely in the low elaboration condition.

As for ratings of high quality chocolate, participants in the high elaboration condition were less biased towards the Swiss producer, although this did not mean they were immune to the cultural authenticity bias; they were simply less generous with their judgments. However, the cultural authenticity bias might actually have stemmed from negative evaluations of the supposed high quality Irish chocolate. The results would support this notion with ratings for high quality Irish chocolate being no higher than low quality chocolate. This interpretation is also consistent with the results from the previous studies, which have provided evidence for a "products lacking authenticity are bad" heuristic rather than an "authentic products are better" heuristic.

### The effect of positive contagion on cultural authenticity bias

Based on the results of Study 3, it was predicted that positive contagion beliefs would have an influence on cultural authenticity bias scores. Marginal support was provided for this hypothesis with positive contagion influencing cultural authenticity bias scores for low quality chocolate. While the results across the three dependent measures were all in the expected direction, the effects were weak and statistical significance was obtained only for expected taste. Despite the weak effects of positive contagion in the current study, this does not necessarily contradict the results of study three, which found positive contagion beliefs to strongly predict positive expectations of Italian espresso. Rather, the effects of positive contagion beliefs are simply stronger for expectations than for actual product evaluations.

Upon further investigation of this result, it was found that there was actually no difference in positive contagion beliefs between participants exhibiting cultural authenticity bias and participants exhibiting no bias. Rather, the effect was due to the fact that participants exhibiting the reverse bias had significantly lower positive contagion beliefs. This result is interesting, although it only appears to further confuse the issue in relation to the exact mechanisms involved in the relationship between the cultural authenticity preferences and positive contagion beliefs. Recall from study three however, that participants with higher positive contagion beliefs had higher expectations for culturally authentic products. The results may be an indication that high positive contagion beliefs led to inflated expectations about Swiss chocolate, which resulted in either cultural authenticity bias, or for more 'rational' tasters, no bias. In contrast, when positive contagion beliefs were low, there were no inflated expectations being formed, and the resulting judgment was the backfiring effect. The influence of age, gender and personal relevance on cultural authenticity bias scores

As a final point of analysis, it was expected that there would be an influence of age, gender and personal relevance on cultural authenticity bias scores. This prediction was not supported; however, there was one exception. For the price that participants were willing to pay for high quality chocolate, the cultural authenticity bias was dependent on gender, with females indicating a higher willingness than males to pay more for 'Swiss' chocolate than identical 'Irish' chocolate. This could be an indication that females have a higher bias towards authentic products. Interestingly, the gender effect was only seen for price willing to pay and not perceived taste and quality. The result should be treated with caution though, given the small number of male participants in the study. Nonetheless, this is potentially good news for marketers, given that females tend to do more grocery shopping than males (GfK Custom Research North America, 2013).

### Future recommendations

Future studies might benefit from investigating the role of heuristic processing in ways other than directly manipulating conditions of elaboration. For instance, measuring the amount of cognitive processing spent on making evaluations may provide more meaningful results. This could be tested by measuring the time it takes participants between tasting samples and making the relevant product evaluations, as has been done in previous research demonstrating the heuristic nature of the brand name heuristic (Macdonald & Sharp, 2000). The authenticity heuristic framework would predict that participants exhibiting cultural authenticity bias would take less time in making their product evaluations compared to participants who exhibit no bias.

While the emphasis in the present study has been on incorporating heuristic and rationality accounts to explain the cultural authenticity bias, it is likely that other psychological mechanisms are also at play. Future research may benefit from exploring the

influence that cognitive dissonance has on the cultural authenticity bias effects observed in the present study. Cognitive dissonance theory suggests that when cognitions that individuals hold are inconsistent with other cognitions or behaviours, this discrepancy results in a state of tension known as cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Furthermore, individuals will attempt to resolve this dissonance in one of three ways: by changing the cognition/ behaviour, by changing the conflicting cognition to justify the behaviour/ cognition, or by adding new cognitions to justify the cognition/ behaviour (Festinger, 1957; Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959). For the cultural authenticity bias, participants typically would have an initial cognition (e.g. "Swiss chocolate is better than Irish chocolate"). Participants would then go on to taste two identical samples; one a bogus Swiss chocolate and the other a bogus Irish chocolate. Cognitive dissonance would occur when participants have the cognition, "These products taste the same", because it conflicts with their initial cognition that the Swiss chocolate sample should have been better than the Irish sample. They would then attempt to resolve this dissonance by altering their second cognition to something like, "No actually, the Swiss chocolate must have been better". Furthermore, the primary investigator observed that in a number of instances, participants appeared confused and verbalised that the samples were the same, but then still rated the authentic product as more favourable. The cognitive dissonance interpretation seems to offer a plausible enough account of the cultural authenticity bias to warrant further investigation, although unfortunately, this was outside the scope of the current research.

### Conclusion

To summarise, participants rated a sample of chocolate made by a bogus Swiss chocolate producer more favourably than they rated a sample of identical chocolate made by a bogus Irish chocolate producer. This effect was described as a cultural authenticity bias and occurred only for high quality chocolate and not low quality chocolate. Evidence was provided to support the theoretical framework of the authenticity heuristic, with results

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indicating that participants who were encouraged to make quick evaluations were more likely to exhibit cultural authenticity bias than participants who were encouraged to make thoughtful and careful evaluations based on the intrinsic properties (taste and texture) of the chocolate samples. Marginal evidence was provided for influence of positive contagion on the cultural authenticity bias scores, although the positive contagion beliefs appear to have more impact on initial expectations (Study 3) than they do on actual product evaluations. The current study also provided an alternative account for the observed cultural authenticity bias, implicating cognitive dissonance, which future studies may wish to explore specifically.

## CHAPTER 10

Conclusions, theoretical considerations, limitations and future directions

### Conclusions

The final chapter aims to summarise the findings of the five studies conducted with reference to the specific research questions identified in Chapter 1. Furthermore, this chapter aims to critique some of the theoretical implications drawn from the current research by suggesting alternative theoretical accounts for some of the findings. The chapter will also address some of the limitations and implications of this research, and identify some future directions in which this research could be conducted. To reiterate, three research questions were initially proposed:

- What are some of the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in preferences toward authentic producers?
- 2. Are preferences toward authentic producers influenced by heuristic processing? That is, do people use authenticity information as a simple "authentic is better" decision rule?
- 3. Are preferences toward authentic producers the result of faulty or irrational decision making?

As indicated by Doonan (2007), an important next step would be to explore the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in preferences toward culturally authentic producers. In relation to the first research question, this research identified a number of variables that proved effective as determinants of authenticity preferences and consumer evaluations for authentically produced products. Possibly the most novel individual difference finding was the link between magical beliefs/contagion beliefs and cultural authenticity preferences. The relationship emerged across multiple studies, highlighting the strength of the contagion interpretation of cultural authenticity preferences. These findings are consistent with other conceptually similar research exploring the link between contagion beliefs and increased value of authentic artworks (Newman & Bloom, 2012). That the contagion effect can be extended to a different context and even a different conceptualisation of authenticity is of theoretical significance. This dissertation has also providing some mixed, and at times, confusing results regarding other individual differences. Need for cognition and age emerged as important determinants of authenticity preferences. However, this was only the case when the authenticity preferences gave a clear indication of biased judgments. Cue dependent knowledge, interest in culture, and gender were also found to be linked to authenticity preferences; however, these findings were either weak or conditional.

In relation to the second research question, the results provided some evidence to indicate that judgments about authentic producers and products are related to heuristic processing. These findings might appear redundant given that they are confirming a somewhat obvious hypothesis. As mentioned by an anonymous examiner, why would anyone argue with the proposal that authenticity preferences operate at the heuristic level? However, social psychology has had a long history of validating persuasion cues as heuristics from a limited capacity or low elaboration perspective. Given that the cultural authenticity cue is a recent addition to the persuasion literature, going through these motions is of theoretical significance. While the support for the existence of an authenticity heuristic was not overwhelming, there is enough evidence to move forward from this issue. The results, rather than demonstrate that authenticity preferences involve an irrational authenticity-quality trade-off, they are accounted for by heuristic processing. In other words, people with higher elaboration likelihood are no less persuaded by cultural authenticity, but

rather, they are less likely to make judgmental errors associated with the cultural authenticity bias.

#### Implications for the rationality debate

In relation to the third research question, this dissertation has provided substantial evidence to indicate that the nature of preferences toward authentic products is irrational. The studies that found individuals to neglect product-relevant information give some indication of consumer irrationality. For instance, participants in study 3 and 4 were willing to pay more for low quality coffee produced by a culturally authentic producer than for high quality coffee producer by a non-authentic producer. These participants would essentially be getting less for their money, and from an economic standpoint, it is not reasonable to pay more for something that is lower in quality. Study 3 specifically, provides evidence for this consumer irrationality argument, with these seemingly irrational preferences being more likely for individuals who tend to avoid using the rational system. Such a model of consumer rationality implies of course, that the utility or expected gain of a product does not outweigh the investment.

In some contexts however, consumer rationality considers not only the economic investment, but other aspects such as the consumer experience. Take for example, the consumer behaviour of purchasing lottery tickets, which is widely considered a bad economic investment. The traditional economic view is that consumers purchase lottery tickets because they are ignorant, irrational, and see value in playing the lottery (Friedman & Savage, 1948; McCaffery, 1994). However, there are a number of reasons that consumers purchase lottery tickets beyond the mere irrationality argument. To highlight this point, entrepreneur Jay Walker responded to the irrationality view held by Dan Gilbert by suggesting that people purchase lottery tickets, not as a function of their stupidity, but because they enjoy the feeling of anticipation (Gilbert, 2005). Furthermore, it has been suggested that consumers purchase lottery tickets with co-workers, friends and family, not as a function of reducing investment risk, but to strengthen social ties and interpersonal trust (Guillen, Garvia, & Santana, 2011). The point is that while these purchasing behaviours are considered irrational from one economic standpoint, they can be viewed in terms of a consumption 'experience' and not just an economic investment. Based on this logic, it could also be argued that this dissertation has conceptualised the irrationality of authenticity preferences in too limited a fashion. That is, consumers may acknowledge that two options are objectively similar, but may still value the authentic option as higher because it offers a better consumption experience. Given that the results did indicate that preferences were sometimes guided by the experiential outcome rather than an inference of quality, it seems appropriate to consider the subjective value of the consumption experience before jumping to an irrationality conclusion. After all, if consuming authentic products makes people happier, is it not reasonable to pay more for authentic products? But then again, what about the happiness consumers are sacrificing because of the added opportunity costs of buying authentic products?

This brings us to the next issue of rationality; participants were in a sense, 'fooled' by authenticity as an extrinsic cue. In Study 5, participants indicated a willingness to pay more for chocolate they believed to be made by a Swiss producer than for chocolate they believed to be made by an Irish producer, even though the two chocolate samples were actually identical. Although these judgments can be explained in terms of a bias and irrational decision making, such an account might perhaps be a little harsh. It is possible that for many participants, detecting the taste cues of chocolate and understanding the subtle differences in taste between samples was simply too complex a task. This would not be the first study to demonstrate the relative difficulty of tasting paradigms. For instance, wine tasting studies have demonstrated the apparent difficulty in making accurate taste evaluations (Priilaid, 2006). Similarly, most people are unable to distinguish between different wines or

taste the difference between cola brands even though they think they can (Hayden, 2012). In Study 5, participants may have simply found the taste cues of chocolate too complex to process and were consequently forced to use the cultural authenticity information. It could be argued that if intrinsic information is too hard to accurately process, then it would actually be more irrational to rely on taste. Furthermore, using the authenticity information might have been the only viable way for individuals to reach a decision. To further scrutinise on the appropriateness of the term 'irrational' in the context of Study 5, the results indicated that when product quality was low, there was no indication of a systematic cultural authenticity bias. This should be considered good news for consumers; in a sense, they managed to avoid being 'fooled' into thinking that low quality products were good just because they were presented as culturally authentic.

### Criticisms of the dual process approach to authenticity preferences

In the current research, producer authenticity has been dealt with as a heuristic cue and the assumption has been maintained that producer authenticity is more persuasive under conditions of heuristic processing rather than a more systematic or thoughtful cognitive processing style. As such, the current research has emphasised the importance of the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM, Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) in explaining the cognitive processing style involved with preferences toward authentically produced products. Central to the ELM is the notion that different modes of processing account for the persuasive differences between peripheral cues and issue/ message relevant information. Persuasion via peripheral cues is assumed to take place when the recipient's motivation or cognitive resources are limited (i.e. elaboration likelihood is low). In contrast, persuasion via issue relevant information is assumed to take place when the recipient's motivation is high and cognitive resources are available (i.e. elaboration likelihood is high).
Within the persuasion literature, empirical support has been gained for such a dual process account of a number of source cues such as source expertise and attractiveness. However, some critics have argued that the findings do not adequately distinguish between two qualitatively different processing systems. Rather, they propose a single route for persuasion: the Unimodel (Kruglanski & Thompson, 1999; Pierro, Mannetti, Erb, Spiegel, & Kruglanski, 2005). They argue that the results of these earlier persuasion studies do not actually give an indication that cues and issue relevant information are processed by different systems, but rather the results were merely confounded by the task difficulty of different information types (Kruglanski & Orehek, 2007; Pierro, et al., 2005). Specifically, cues are usually brief and easy to process, while messages are generally lengthy and difficult to process. Kruglanski and Thompson (1999) conducted a number of experiments to test the notion that controlling informational length and complexity should eliminate the differences in persuasive effects between cues and messages. In the first experiment, they manipulated the length and complexity of cue information (source expertise). Traditionally, persuasion studies had presented source expertise as a brief and simple cue, and found it to be more effective when personal involvement to the issue was low (low elaboration likelihood), whereas issue relevant information was more effective when personal involvement was high (high elaboration likelihood). However, according to the results of Kruglanski and Thompson's first study, when the source expertise cue was complex and harder to process, it was more effective for recipients with high personal involvement (high elaboration likelihood). In the second and third experiments, these results were replicated, with distraction (cognitive load) used as the condition of low elaboration likelihood. The fourth experiment manipulated the length of the message arguments. Initially, the results seem to support the standard dual process model, in that when messages were lengthy, high argument quality was more effective for recipients with high personal involvement (vs. low). In other words, recipients processed the message more effectively when they had high versus low

elaboration likelihood. However, when the messages were brief and easy to process, high argument quality was more effective for recipients with low personal involvement (vs. high). These results suggest that having a higher elaboration likelihood does not necessarily make recipients more likely to process 'relevant' information; they are simply more motivated to process the more difficult and complex information, whether that be the cue or the message.

In light of these findings, it is possible that the current research findings are confounded by the length and complexity of product/producer relevant information. That is, the findings that appear at first glance to provide support for a dual process account of authenticity preferences may simply be an artefact of the experimental design. For instance, in Study 1, emotional authenticity was found to be negatively correlated with preferences toward an emotionally authentic producer. From a dual process perspective, this is relatively simple to interpret; people with high need for cognition (high elaboration likelihood) rely more on the issue relevant information and less on the producer enjoyment cue. However, the alternative account provided by the Unimodel perspective seems plausible, given that the inferences drawn from the producer enjoyment are relatively simple (Sandy is happy and loves her job), while the information about producer expertise is more complex (customer satisfaction ratings, work experience and motives for having the job). It could be argued that the relationship is simply due to the fact that people with a high need for cognition are more motivated towards making the more complex inference. A similar account can be offered for the findings of Study 2. Recall that distracted participants relied more on the cultural authenticity of the head chef than on the product relevant information presented in the audio stimulus. From the Unimodel perspective, these findings are due to the difficulty of tasks assigned to participants. For non-distracted participants, the inferences were relatively simple. It was clear to participants that the head chef was highly skilled and experienced, and that the restaurant was of a very high quality. For distracted participants, this inference was much harder to make because the distraction task made it very difficult to recall information

that would have led them to such an inference. Likewise, in Studies 3 and 4, the product relevant information was much more difficult to process than the producer authenticity cue. To make an inference based on the product relevant information, participants had to sort through a lengthy article about different brands of coffee. They then had to recall this information whilst ignoring or discounting the cultural authenticity cue. In contrast, the cue information was extremely easy to process; country cues (e.g. Tazza d'oro Italian Espresso, Hao Xin Chinese Espresso) were even included in the product evaluation measures. Whilst the findings of Study 3 indicated that a bias towards the culturally authentic product was related to low need for cognition, it is possible that these biased preferences were not influenced by heuristic processing at all. Rather, the Unimodel would assume that high need for cognition individuals were more likely to make the more difficult inference ("Chinese and Italian coffee products in this example are equal") than the simple inference ("Italian coffee is better"). For future research, it would be informative to manipulate informational length and complexity in a replication of the coffee vignette. An important issue to address is whether or not making producer authenticity information a long-winded, complex description would reduce the effectiveness of the authenticity cue under conditions of low elaboration. One might expect that participants with high need for cognition would then be the ones to use the authenticity cue in their judgments and product evaluations. Similarly, by making the information about product quality or producer skill extremely short and simple, one might expect low need for cognition individuals to ignore the authenticity cues and make the more 'thoughtful' inference.

### Recency effects on preferences toward culturally authentic producers

Further to the issue of the relative ease of processing heuristic cues, it is important to point out that the results may also be confounded by primacy and recency effects. Primacy and recency effects have long been debated over in the context of persuasion. Early research described the "Law of Primacy in Persuasion" which asserted that the side of an issue presented first would be more effective than the side of the issue presented second (Lund, 1925). Subsequent research indicated that, in some contexts, recency was actually more effective in persuasion attempts, and at times, no primacy or recency effects were forthcoming (Hovland et al., 1957). Given that the results were largely inconsistent with the studies conducted by Lund, Hovland and colleagues pointed out that primacy and recency effects were likely to be associated with, and confounded by, several other variables. Recent research has addressed this issue, indicating that people with high motivation to think (i.e. need for cognition) were more susceptible to primacy effects in persuasion attempts, whereas people with low motivation to think were influenced more by recent information (Haugtvedt & Petty, 1992; Kassin, Reddy, & Tulloch, 1990). Kassin et al. (1990) speculated that these results occurred because people higher in need for cognition are actively processing information and are more likely to form opinions early. In contrast, people lower in need for cognition are not actively processing information and presumably are not forming opinions early. When eventually asked to make a decision, low need for cognition individuals rely on the information that is most accessible to them at the time, which happens to be the most recent piece of information. In the coffee vignettes of Studies 3 and 4, the cultural authenticity cue information was presented at the same time participants were asked to make their product evaluations, whereas the issue relevant information was only provided earlier on in the mock article. It is possible that low need for cognition individuals were not directly influenced by the cultural authenticity cue as the results seem to indicate. They may have just failed to adequately process the initial information, forcing them to rely on the most recent information – which happened to be the authenticity cue. It remains to be seen whether or not changing the order of presentation (i.e. authenticity cue first, issue relevant information second) would provide different results. Nonetheless, it seems important that future studies control for primacy and recency effects by counterbalancing the order in which cue information and detailed information are presented.

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#### Limitations

While this dissertation has enabled a relatively comprehensive exploration of the underlying mechanisms involved in producer authenticity preferences, some limitations should be acknowledged. Many specific limitations have been discussed in the context of the individual studies, and those discussed below are more general limitations.

It has been suggested that the cultural authenticity heuristic influenced disliking for ethnic products produced by a non-authentic producer rather than increased liking for products produced authentically. In the real-world setting, most ethnic products already market themselves as culturally authentic, and consumers are already accustomed to purchasing culturally authentic products. Hence, consumers might be particularly unforgiving about deviations from cultural authenticity. While this seems intuitive, the current research cannot make such a specific inference based on the results. In all five studies, cultural authenticity was manipulated in terms of authentic versus non-authentic, and no adequate control condition was included. To have a better idea about the exact direction of the authenticity heuristic it would be necessary to include a control group that excluded any information about authenticity or non-authenticity.

Another limitation of this research is that the studies relied on hypothetical products with which the only cue made salient was cultural authenticity. Although, the research was only interested in producer authenticity cues when other cues and information were controlled for, in the real-world setting, consumers consider authenticity information alongside a multitude of other extrinsic cues and product relevant information. For instance, consumers must filter though brand name, price, product labels, product positioning and product related information such as nutritional information and ingredients. It would be insightful to explore whether or not factors such as price and brand name recognition act as boundary conditions for the effectiveness of cultural authenticity.

## **Research Implications**

This research offers important marketing insights in relation to identifying target audiences for advertising efforts and product positioning in general. From a marketing perspective, this research could be useful in order to optimize the use of media space, and help to avoid advertising authenticity to people who simply do not care about authentic products. For instance, advertisers should focus their attention on people who want to seek relevant authentic experiences and people who want to travel to relevant destinations. Furthermore, advertisers should consider online advertising strategies that take into account consumers' internet search histories of topics related to magical thinking, such as horoscopes, superstitions and family lineages.

From an advertising perspective, this research can offer insights about optimal messages within advertisements. For instance, knowing that a contagion effect is apparent for authenticity preferences might be an exploitable piece of knowledge. Appealing to the consumer's belief in essence transferrals could be a useful advertising strategy. While the research on individual differences in this dissertation was not exhaustive by any means, it at least provides a launching pad for further inquiry.

This research also provides an interesting application for non-authentic producers. The results of Study 2 provide hope for producers lacking cultural authenticity and suggest that they can still be competitive in their chosen market. The barrier of being inauthentic can be broken provided that consumers are encouraged toward high elaboration or that the 'quality' of the product (restaurant) can be easily communicated.

From a consumer perspective, this research has educative value and can be utilised by consumers to arm themselves with the information required to be more 'rational' consumers. This research has demonstrated the biasing nature of authenticity information. Even explicit attempts to establish high product quality were insufficient in reducing the extent of the cultural authenticity bias. Consumers can use this knowledge to avoid deceptive uses of cultural authenticity information and can also be mindful that authenticity may be having an influence on their subjective experiences of authentic products.

#### Directions for Future Research

This research has gained a number of insights about the underlying mechanisms involved in authenticity preferences. However, this research is simply the beginning of a much larger story and there is potential for a great deal of more research in this area.

For one point of future inquiry, the effect of the explicitness of cultural authenticity information should be investigated. In the current research, producer cultural authenticity was not always clearly defined. In Studies 1 and 2 it certainly was; the acupuncturist was trained in China, and the Thai head chef was actually from Thailand. However, the remaining studies simply described authenticity in terms of products produced by Italian coffee producers and Swiss chocolate makers. In these studies, there was some ambiguity about the actual authentication processes. That is, are the employees actually Italian/ Swiss? Is the company located in Italy/ Switzerland? Is it packaged in Italy/ Switzerland, but not actually produced there and not by people with Italian/ Swiss origins? These are questions that cannot be answered from the current research, and future research would benefit from making this information clearer. Furthermore, manipulating the authentication processes may produce different results. For instance, contagion effects might be more salient when the specific producer-product-consumer interaction is more obvious.

The results in Study 3 suggested that interest in Italian culture was an important determinant of price willing to pay for Italian espresso. This seems to indicate that the value placed on culturally authentic products acts as an extension of a specific desire to experience products that are ethnically relevant to the country in question. The validity of such a claim is questionable, particularly when further investigation of the issue suggested that paying a 'premium' for authenticity might also be predicted by a desire for cultural experiences in general, and not just the specific country. In this vein, it would be interesting to explore personality variables that are not context or product-specific such as measures of general cultural interest or even simply the Big 5 personality domain of *openness to experience* (Costa & McCrae, 1992). One might expect that consumers with a high openness to new experiences would be more open to ethnic foods and cultural experiences. However, future analysis might produce some counterintuitive results. For instance, they might actually be more open to deviations from culturally relevant producers, such as Chinese coffee producers and Mexican acupuncturists. After all, people with high openness to experience tend to be less prejudiced (Flynn, 2005) and may be less prone to the stereotypical nature of cultural authenticity information.

It would also be interesting to extend the current research beyond the realm of the producer and consumer context. For instance, authenticity could be investigated as a source characteristic for persuasive communications of a purely attitudinal nature. Rather than measuring product evaluations or consumer preferences, it would be rather insightful to explore the impact of communicator authenticity on attitude change. In certain culturally relevant persuasion attempts, it is likely that source credibility would be determined by the communicator's cultural authenticity. For example, an Aboriginal politician might be more convincing than a Caucasian politician on matters of Indigenous affairs and policy making. Similarly, emotional authenticity might act as an important cue to communicator credibility. For example, advocating disability rights might be more emotionally relevant to someone with a disabled child, and this perceived emotional authenticity might influence attitude change independently from the actual merits of the argument.

# Conclusion

To conclude, this research has provided a launching pad for further inquiry about the underlying psychological mechanisms involved in preferences toward authentic producers. It has also provided substantial evidence that such preferences are related to heuristic processing, though it has been conceded that the dual process interpretations proffered can potentially also be accounted for by the Unimodel of persuasion. Thus, there remains great potential for future research to explore producer authenticity in terms of this single/dual systems debate, while also extending the research to other products, in other contexts, and even beyond the realm of the consumer.

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Appendices
#### Appendix A1: Acupuncturist Vignette and Questions for Study 1

You have been complaining of back pain for a few months now, and have tried several treatments, all which have shown to be of little use. A friend of yours asks you if you have ever tried acupuncture. Eager to know more you go to the library and read that acupuncture is a form of ancient Chinese medicine which involves the insertion of fine needles into the body at specific points shown to be effective in the treatment of health problems. Although the Chinese have mapped these points over a period of four thousand years, the western world has more recently adopted this technique as a treatment for a range of health problems.

Given that you feel there are few options left, you decide to give acupuncture a chance. However, given that you are having needles inserted into your back, you are somewhat selective about which acupuncturist you will use. You want to ensure you will get someone who knows what they are doing. You contact the local health centre and they tell you they have two acupuncturists to choose from.

Dr Chuan Liu received his training in acupuncture at the Nanjing Institute of Traditional Chinese Medicine. Dr. Robert Hayden was trained in acupuncture at the Centre for Complementary Medicine Research in Sydney. Both therapists have had 15 years of experience, are registered members of the Acupuncture Society of Australia and have solid reputations. Appendix A1: Acupuncturist Vignette and Questions for Study 1(cont.)

1) Who would be your preference for administering acupuncture on your back? Indicate your preference and the strength of the preference by marking X on a point of the line.



## 2) Why would you have such a preference?

3) How skilled do you think <u>Dr Chuan Liu</u> is at administering acupuncture? Indicate your decision by marking X on a point of the line.



4) How skilled do you think <u>Dr Robert Hayden</u> is at administering acupuncture? Indicate your decision by marking X on a point of the line.



Appendix A2: Enjoyment Authenticity Vignette and Questions for Study 1

You are a customer at a local sandwich bar. At this shop the sandwiches are made by a staff member who is in plain sight of the customer. You have the choice between two staff members; Sandy and Bree. Both staff members have been working at this store for 2 years. Both staff members are aged 19, female, and work this job in order to pay their way through their university education. Past customer satisfaction ratings have been equally favourable regarding Sandy and Bree's performance.

As you are waiting in the queue to be served by served by either Sandy or Bree, you overhear conversations between a customer and the two staff members. The conversations are in relation to their enjoyment for their job. Sandy replies that she really enjoys her job and enjoys making sandwiches for customers. She also appears to be quite chirpy and in a positive mood. Bree on the other hand replies that she only has this job to get through university and pay the bills. She is not as chirpy as Sandy and appears to be in a neutral mood.

Appendix A2: Enjoyment Authenticity Vignette and Questions for Study 1 (cont.)

# 1) Who would be your preference for making your sandwich? Indicate your preference and the strength of the preference by marking X on a point of the line.



### 2) Why would you have such a preference?

3) How skilled do you think <u>Sandy</u> is at making sandwiches? Indicate your decision by marking X on a point of the line.



# 4) How skilled do you think <u>Bree</u> is at making sandwiches? Indicate your decision by marking X on a point of the line.



Appendix A3: Depression Authenticity Vignette and Questions for Study 1

You are the event manager for an upcoming musical festival titled "Sing the Blues away". As event manager you are responsible for making sure that the event runs smoothly. The festival is two days away and one performer has dropped out with no warning. The slot needs to be filled urgently and you have the choice between two Blues performers. A contact states to you that the reputation and talents of both of the performers seem to be equal and that you should just pick one or the other. After listening to a demo tape from each of the performers it is clear that they have very similar lyrical content, vocal style and musicianship. Despite all of this, you decide it would be best to interview both performers before making your decision.

In the first interview is Harvey Jones. Harvey has been playing blues music for 25 years. He plays the piano and sings. Harvey states in the interview that he doesn't feel particularly 'blue' when he writes his music, however he is passionate about Blues music. Liam Grey has also been playing blues music for 25 years. He too plays the piano and sings. However, Liam also states in the interview that he is passionate about Blues music. He mentions that he has a history of depression and that writing and performing blues has always been his means of channelling his depressive thoughts and feelings.

Appendix A3: Depression Authenticity Vignette and Questions for Study 1 (cont.)

# 1) Who would be your preference for the festival? Indicate your preference and the strength of the preference by marking X on a point of the line.



## 2) Why would you have such a preference?

3) How skilled do you think <u>Liam Grey</u> is at performing Blues music? Indicate your decision by marking X on a point of the line.



# 4) How skilled do you think <u>Harvey Jones</u> is at performing Blues music? Indicate your decision by marking X on a point of the line.



- 1. A person's moral character is something very basic about them and cannot be changed much.
- 2. Whether a person is responsible and sincere or not is deeply ingrained in their personality.
- 3. There is not much that can be done to change a person's moral traits.

### Appendix A5: Idiocentrism-Allocentrism scale

- 1. If the group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone
- 2. To be superior a man must stand alone.
- 3. Winning is everything.
- 4. Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life.
- 5. If you want something done right, you've got to do it yourself.
- 6. What happens to me is my own doing.
- 7. I feel winning is important in both work and games.
- 8. Success is the most important thing in life.
- 9. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do.
- 10. Doing your best isn't enough; it is important to win.
- 11. In most cases, to cooperate with someone whose ability is lower than oneself is not as desirable as doing the thing on one's own.
- 12. In the long run the only person you can count on is yourself.
- 13. It is foolish to try to preserve resources for future generations.
- 14. People should not be expected to do anything for the community unless they are paid for it.
- Even if a child won the Nobel Prize the parents should not feel honoured in any way.
- 16. I would not let my parents use my car (if I had one), no matter whether they are good drivers or not.
- 17. I would help within my means if a relative told me that he/she is in financial difficulty. \*

Appendix A5: Idiocentrism-Allocentrism scale (cont.)

- 18. I like to live close to my friends. \*
- 19. The motto "sharing is both blessing and calamity" is still applicable even if one's friend is clumsy, dumb, and causing a lot of trouble. \*
- 20. When my colleagues tell me personal things about themselves, we're drawn closer. \*
- 21. I would not share my ideas or newly acquired knowledge with my parents.
- 22. Children should not feel honoured even if the father were highly praised and given an award by a government official for his contributions and service to the community.
- 23. I am not to blame if one of my family members fails.
- 24. My happiness is unrelated to the well-being of my co-workers.
- 25. My parents' opinions are not important in my choice of a spouse.
- 26. I am not to blame when one of my close friends fails.
- 27. My co-workers' opinions are not important in my choice of spouse.
- When a close friend of mine is successful, it does not really make me look better.
- 29. One need not worry about what the neighbours say about whom one should marry.
  - \*= reverse scored item

- It would not bother me to sleep in a nice hotel room if I knew that a man had died of a heart attack in the room the night before. \*
- 2. Abilities can be transmitted from person to person though generation even when they have not met.
- 3. I would refuse to drink juice from a bed pan even if it had never been used.
- 4. I would have no problem walking under a ladder.\*
- 5. I would not eat soup that had been stirred with a used but thoroughly clean fly swatter.
- 6. Good things happen to people who pray.
- 7. If my great grandmother was good at something, it is likely I will be to.
- 8. I would never store my lunch in a plastic container previously used to store pet food, even though it had been washed thoroughly.
- It would be easy for me to think that a doctor, who comes from a long line of doctors, will be a better practitioner than someone who comes from a line of farmers.

\*Reverse scored item.

### Appendix A7: Need for Cognition Scale

- 1. I would prefer complex to simple problems.
- 2. I like to have the responsibility of handling a situation that requires a lot of thinking.
- 3. Thinking is not my idea of fun.\*
- I would rather do something that requires little thought than something that is sure to challenge my thinking abilities.\*
- I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is likely a chance I will have to think in depth about something.\*
- 6. I find satisfaction in deliberating hard and for long hours.
- 7. I only think as hard as I have to.\*
- 8. I prefer to think about small, daily projects to long-term ones.\*
- 9. I like tasks that require little thought once I've learned them.\*
- 10. The idea of relying on thought to make my way to the top appeals to me.
- 11. I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with new solutions to problems.
- 12. Learning new ways to think doesn't excite me very much.\*
- 13. I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve.
- 14. The notion of thinking abstractly is appealing to me.
- 15. I would prefer a task that is intellectual, difficult, and important to one that is somewhat important but does not require much though.
- 16. I feel relief rather than satisfaction after completing a task that required a lot of mental effort.\*
- 17. It's enough for me that something gets the job done; I don't care how or why it works.\*
- I usually end up deliberating about issues even when they do not affect me personally.
  - \*Reverse scored item.

## Appendix A8: Gambler's Fallacy Test

You are in a casino and approach the roulette table with your remaining \$100 to gamble. Acknowledging the following sequences, indicate how much would you gamble on red by writing the value on the line provided. You must spend the full \$100 across the two sequences.

The history board shows the following sequence:

Red, Black, Red, Black, Black, Black, Black and Black.

\$\_\_\_\_\_

The history board shows the following sequence:

Red, Black, Red, Red, Black, Red, Black.

\$\_\_\_\_\_

Appendix A9: Belief in the Law of Small Numbers Measure

Old Kroy City is a large city with a population similar to that of Sydney, Australia. A recent census revealed that the average gross income per annum was \$100, 000. A sample of 100 residents has been taken from the population of Old Kroy City. You notice that the very first resident has an income of \$1, 100, 000 (\$1.1 million). Based on what you know about the population average, what would you expect the average income to be for the entire sample of 100?

\$\_\_\_\_\_

Solution: (not provided to participants)

The correct answer is 110, 000.

100,000 x 99 (99 residents) = 9, 900,000 + 1, 100, 000(1 resident)

=\$11 million/100

=\$110,000

 $((100,000 \ge 99) + 1100000)) / 100 = \$110,000$ 

## Appendix B1: Shapes Checklist used in Study 2

# SHAPES:

Tick the corresponding box based on whether each item is either <u>familiar</u> (a shape that was on the original slide of 3 shapes) or <u>unfamiliar</u> (not on the initial slide).

Shape number	Familiar	Unfamiliar
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		

Try to remember the following faces





## Appendix B3: Faces Checklist used in Study 2

# FACES:

Tick the corresponding box based on whether each item is either <u>familiar</u> (a face that was on the original slide of 4 faces) or <u>unfamiliar</u> (not on the initial slide)

Face number	Familiar	Unfamiliar
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13		
14		
15		
16		
17		
18		
19		
20		

### Appendix B4: Mock Phone Interview (Script) used in Study 2

(Phone rings)

Thai: Hello, A Taste of Thailand, (Kriangkrai) speaking

Journalist: Hi, how are you going?

Thai: Very well thank you. What can I do for you?

**Journalist:** This is Andrea Harvey from Taste.com. I am writing a small article for the Courier Mail about the recent success of A Taste of Thailand. If I can just ask a few questions that would be greatly appreciated.

**Thai:** Uh, yes that is OK with me. I am the owner of a Taste of Thailand. Also, I am the Head Chef (Kriangkrai).

Journalist: Thank you. So, first question-

What kinds of experience do you as the head chef; have in terms of cooking Thai food?

**Thai:** Well, I have been a qualified chef for many years now, about 10 years. Most of that time I have spent in various Thai restaurants. Actually, I was originally trained by a great celebrity Thai chef, named Arjarn Yingsak. About 3 years ago, I decided to start my own Thai restaurant.

**Journalist:** Your restaurant has recently stumbled across a lot of success; can you tell me about the awards you have received over the past year or so?

**Thai**: Well actually, I was awarded a chef hat in the Australian good food Chef Hats awards. Also, Taste of Thailand recently won the award for regional restaurant of the year in 2010, after being regional finalist in both 2008 and 2009. Appendix B4: Mock Phone Interview (Script) used in Study 2 (cont.)

**Journalist:** Very nice, that's pretty impressive. What kinds of dishes can customers expect to see at a Taste of Thailand?

**Thai:** We have a huge range of traditional Thai dishes, such as Penaeng, Masaman, Tom Yam, and Pad Thai. We also do a number of Thai salads and vegetarian dishes. All of our food uses authentic Thai ingredients.

**Journalist:** Ok, and just lastly, what kind of price range can customers expect to see at your restaurant?

Thai: Well the average dish ranges from \$18 to \$22 with seafood dishes costing a bit more.

**Journalist:** Ok well thanks you very much for you time. Keep an eye out in the Courier mail on Monday for the write up. Thanks. Bye.

Thai: Ok, thank you, bye.

Appendix B5: Manipulation Checks and Dependent Measures used in Study 2

1) A number of points were brought up by the Head Chef of 'A Taste of Thailand' during the interview.

Please try to recall as many key points as possible.

a) _	 	 
b)	 	 
c)	 	 
d)		
e)		
f)		
-) <u>-</u>		
в/ h)		
i)		
IJ		 
J)		

2) What was the accent of the head chef from the audio file?

3) How strongly would you rate your experience at this restaurant as authentic?

0-----3-----4

Completely	Mostly	Average	Mostly	Completely
Inauthentic	Inauthentic		Authentic	Authentic

Please briefly explain why

~)

Appendix B5: Manipulation Checks and Dependent Measures used in Study 2 (cont.)

4) How *authentic* do you expect the meals to be at this restaurant?

0	1	2	3	4
Completely	Mostly	Average	Mostly	Completely
Inauthentic	Inauthentic		Authentic	Authentic

Please briefly explain why

5) How skilled do you expect the head chef to be at cooking Thai food?

020	-30607080-	100
No Skill	Moderately	Highly
	skilled	skilled

Please briefly explain why

6) Please rate the expected *quality* of the food served at 'a Taste of Thailand'.

0------10------20------30------50------60-----70------80------90------100

Low Quality

Average Quality

High Quality

Appendix B5: Manipulation Checks and Dependent Measures used in Study 2 (cont.)

Please briefly explain why

7) Given that the average price for a restaurant quality Thai dish is \$20, what is the <u>highest</u> <u>price that you would be happy to pay</u> for a dish (single green curry, not including entrée or drink) at 'a Taste of Thailand'?

\$\_\_\_\_\_.

Appendix C1: Mock Coffee Article used in Study 3 and Study 4

#### The truth about coffee

When you think about the things that make up a true authentic coffee, the pictures that come to mind might be the massive coffee fields of Columbia, or the luscious richness of the aromatic Arabica bean, or even a café filled with passionate, coffee-obsessed Italians. Whatever visual imagery this thought evokes, one thing is for certain; your ideal coffee bean was not produced by the Chinese coffee industry. A recent consumer study conducted by Australian researchers compared a number of Chinese and Italian espresso products. The study involved blind ratings, in which consumers never saw the brand of each coffee sample they had tasted. Italian coffee producers, Tazza d'oro faired very well, scoring an average consumer rating of 92/100. Meanwhile, the espresso line from the struggling Italian coffee producers Bene Bevuta scored quite poorly with an average consumer rating of 75/100. Chinese producers Hao Xin scored an identically low 75/100. Most interestingly, the espresso produced by Kunming Yunnan equalled Tazza d'oro with a score of 92/100. The results are quite revealing and show promise from the Chinese coffee industry.

## Appendix C2: Rational-Experiential Inventory- Revised (REI-40)

- 1. I try to avoid situations that require thinking in depth about something.\*
- 2. I'm not that good at figuring out complicated problems.\*
- 3. I enjoy intellectual challenges.
- 4. I am not very good at solving problems that require careful logical analysis.\*
- 5. I don't like to have to do a lot of thinking.\*
- 6. I enjoy solving problems that require hard thinking.
- 7. Thinking is not my idea of an enjoyable activity.\*
- 8. I am not a very analytical thinker.\*
- 9. Reasoning things out carefully is not one of my strong points.\*
- 10. I prefer complex problems to simple problems.
- 11. Thinking hard and for a long time about something gives me little satisfaction.\*
- 12. I don't reason well under pressure.\*
- 13. I am much better at figuring things out logically than most people.
- 14. I have a logical mind.
- 15. I enjoy thinking in abstract terms.
- 16. I have no problem thinking things through carefully.
- 17. Using logic usually works well for me in figuring out problems in my life.
- Knowing the answer without having to understand the reasoning behind it is good enough for me. \*
- 19. I usually have clear, explainable reasons for my decisions.
- 20. Learning new ways to think would be very appealing to me.
- 21. I like to rely on my intuitive impressions.
- 22. I don't have a very good sense of intuition.\*
- 23. Using my gut feelings usually works well for me in figuring out problems in my life.
- 24. I believe in trusting my hunches.

### Appendix C2: Rational-Experiential Inventory- Revised (cont.)

- 25. Intuition can be a very useful way to solve problems.
- 26. I often go by my instincts when deciding on a course of action.
- 27. I trust my initial feelings about people.
- 28. When it comes to trusting people, I can usually rely on my gut feelings.
- 29. If I were to rely on my gut feelings, I would often make mistakes.\*
- 30. I don't like situations in which I have to rely on intuition.\*
- 31. I think there are times when one should rely on one's intuition.
- 32. I think it is foolish to make important decisions based on feelings.\*
- 33. I don't think it is a good idea to rely on one's intuition for important decisions.\*
- 34. I generally don't depend on my feelings to help me make decisions.\*
- 35. I hardly ever go wrong when I listen to my deepest gut feelings to find an answer.
- 36. I would not want to depend on anyone who described himself or herself as intuitive.\*
- 37. My snap judgments are probably not as good as most people's.\*
- 38. I tend to use my heart as a guide for my actions.
- 39. I can usually feel when a person is right or wrong, even if I can't explain how I know.
- 40. I suspect my hunches are inaccurate as often as they are accurate.\*

\*Reverse scored item.

## Appendix C3: Superstitious Beliefs Scale

- 1. I avoid walking under ladders because doing so is associated with bad luck.
- 2. I am anxious about breaking a mirror because it is thought to cause bad luck.
- 3. I am superstitious about the number thirteen.
- 4. I do say 'fingers crossed', or actually cross my fingers.
- 5. I do say 'touch wood' or actually touch or knock on wood.
- 6. I sometimes carry a lucky charm or object.

Appendix C4: Magical Transfer Scale

For the next question, imagine you are wearing a plain shirt that has been professionally cleaned and dried. It is not new, but it has only been worn by you. Think about how the shirt would make you feel if you were wearing it. Now imagine that the shirt has previously been worn by someone else. In each case it has been professionally cleaned and dried before you wear it. It is returned to you in exactly the same state as you initially imagined it to be in. Imagine that you are wearing the shirt when you find out this new information. Rate how strongly you would feel about wearing the shirt, in each of the following hypothetical situations:

- Previously worn by the most 'evil person' you can think of (serial killer, war criminal etc.).
- 2. Previously worn by a criminal.
- 3. Previously worn by someone famous that you hate or really dislike.
- 4. Previously worn by someone famous that you love or really like.
- 5. Previously worn by someone who you find extremely attractive.
- 6. Previously worn by someone who you find extremely unattractive.
- 7. Previously worn by a personal enemy.
- Previously worn by the most 'good person' you can think of (charitable, religious etc.).
- 9. Previously worn by someone close to you that you admire.
- 10. Previously worn by a volunteer worker.
- 11. Previously soiled by dog-doo.

#### Appendix D1: Sad Mood Manipulation used in Study 4: 'Sandpiper'

She was six years old when I first met her on the beach near where I live. I drive to this beach, a distance of three or four miles, whenever the world begins to close in on me. She was building a sand castle or something and looked up, her eyes as blue as the sea.

"Hello," she said.

I answered with a nod, not really in the mood to bother with a small child. "I'm building," she said.

"I see that. What is it?" I asked, not caring.

"Oh, I don't know, I just like the feel of sand." That sounds good, I thought, and slipped off my shoes. A sandpiper glided by.

"That's a joy," the child said.

"It's a what?"

"It's a joy. My mama says sandpipers come to bring us joy." The bird went glistening down the beach. "Good-bye joy,"

I muttered to myself, "hello pain," and turned to walk on. I was depressed; my life seemed completely out of balance.

"What's your name?" She wouldn't give up.

"Ruth," I answered. "I'm Ruth Peterson." "Mine's Wendy... I'm six."

"Hi, Wendy." She giggled. "You're funny," she said. In spite of my gloom I laughed too and walked on. Her musical giggle followed me. "Come again, Mrs. P," she called. "We'll have another happy day."

The days and weeks that followed belong to others: a group of unruly Boy Scouts, PTA meetings, and ailing mother. The sun was shining one morning as I took my hands out of the dishwater. "I need a sandpiper," I said to myself, gathering up my coat. The ever-changing

balm of the seashore awaited me. The breeze was chilly, but I strode along, trying to recapture the serenity I needed. I had forgotten the child and was startled when she appeared. "Hello, Mrs. P," she said. "Do you want to play?"

"What did you have in mind?" I asked, with a twinge of annoyance.

"I don't know, you say."

"How about charades?" I asked sarcastically.

The tinkling laughter burst forth again. "I don't know what that is."

"Then let's just walk."

Looking at her, I noticed the delicate fairness of her face. "Where do you live?" I asked.

"Over there." She pointed toward a row of summer cottages.

Strange, I thought, in winter. "Where do you go to school?"

"I don't go to school. Mommy says we're on vacation."

She chattered little girl talk as we strolled up the beach, but my mind was on other things.

When I left for home, Wendy said it had been a happy day. Feeling surprisingly better, I smiled at her and agreed.

Three weeks later, I rushed to my beach in a state of near panic. I was in no mood to even greet Wendy. I thought I saw her mother on the porch and felt like demanding she keep her child at home.

"Look, if you don't mind," I said crossly when Wendy caught up with me, "I'd rather be alone today."

She seems unusually pale and out of breath. "Why?" she asked.

I turned to her and shouted, "Because my mother died!" and thought, my God, why was I saying this to a little child?

"Oh," she said quietly, "then this is a bad day."

"Yes, and yesterday and the day before and-oh, go away!"

"Did it hurt? "

"Did what hurt?" I was exasperated with her, with myself.

"When she died?"

"Of course it hurt!" I snapped, misunderstanding, wrapped up in myself. I strode off. A month or so after that, when I next went to the beach, she wasn't there. Feeling guilty, ashamed and admitting to myself I missed her, I went up to the cottage after my walk and knocked at the door.

A drawn looking young woman with honey-coloured hair opened the door. "Hello," I said. "I'm Ruth Peterson. I missed your little girl today and wondered where she was."

"Oh yes, Mrs. Peterson, please come in."

"Wendy talked of you so much. I'm afraid I allowed her to bother you. If she was a nuisance, please, accept my apologies."

"Not at all-she's a delightful child," I said, suddenly realizing that I meant it.

"Where is she?"

"Wendy died last week, Mrs. Peterson. She had leukaemia. Maybe she didn't tell you." Struck dumb, I groped for a chair. My breath caught. "She loved this beach; so when she asked to come, we couldn't say no. She seemed so much better here and had a lot of what she called happy days."

## Sample A: produced by Swiss chocolate maker "Fehrmann"

How much did	d you lik	e this san	ple (0 n	ot at all /	100 com	oletely)			
010	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Rate the quali	tv of this	sample							
010		30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
How much we	ould vou	expect to	pay (\$)	for this s	ample				
0\$1	\$2	\$3	\$4	\$5	\$6	\$7	\$8	\$9	\$10
Sample B: pr	oduced	by Swiss	chocola	te maker	· "Kipfer	<del>,,</del>			
How much die	d you lik	e this san	ple (0 n	ot at all /	100 com	pletely)			
010	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Rate the quali	ty of this	sample							
010	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
How much we	ould you	expect to	pay (\$)	for this s	ample				
0\$1	\$2	\$3	\$4	\$5	\$6	\$7	\$8	\$9	\$10
Sample C+ pr	boubo	by Irish (	chacalat	o makor	"O'Don	nell"			
Sample C. pi	ouuccu	<u>by misir</u>	cnocolai						
How much die	d you lik	e this sam	nple (0 no	ot at all /	100 com	pletely)	20	00	100
010	20	30	40	30	00	/0	80	90	100
Rate the quali	ty of this	sample	40	50	(0)	70	00	00	100
010	20	30	40	50	60	/0	80	90	100
How much we	ould you	expect to	pay (\$)	for this s	ample	<b>•-</b>	<b>\$</b> 0	<b>\$</b> 0	¢10
0\$1	\$2	\$3	\$4	\$5	\$6	\$7	\$8	\$9	\$10
					/ <b>.</b>				
Sample D: pr How much die	<u>oduced</u> d vou lik	by Irish e this sam	chocolat pple (0 n	e maker ot at all /	<u>"Mullins</u> 100 com	s <sup>22</sup> pletely)			
010	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Rate the quali	ty of this	sample							
010		30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

How much would you expect to pay (\$) for this sample 0-----\$1----\$2-----\$3-----\$5-----\$6-----\$7----\$8-----\$9-----\$10