

Volume 7, Issue 3

**“Open to Give”: Mindfulness Improves Evaluations of Charity Appeals that are
Incongruent with the Consumer’s Political Ideology**

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Acknowledgements: This article is based on the first author’s doctoral dissertation, under supervision of the second and third authors. The authors would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback. They are also very grateful to the guest editors of this special issue, Rashmi Adaval and Robert S. Wyer, for their support throughout the review process.

ABSTRACT

Previous research has established that both liberals and conservatives tend to reject charity appeals that are incongruent with their political ideologies. We posit that a brief mindfulness intervention can improve consumers’ evaluations of charity appeals whose values appear incongruent with their political ideology. In four studies, we show that a brief mindfulness meditation increases evaluations of charity appeals among consumers with incongruent political ideologies. The effect is mediated by openness to experience and disappears when consumers are under a high cognitive load. The findings offer implications for how to increase generosity to charities on both sides of the political divide.

Keywords: Political Ideology; Mindfulness; Charity Appeals, Openness to Experience

“Open to Give”: Mindfulness Improves Evaluations of Charity Appeals that are Incongruent with the Consumer’s Political Ideology

An estimated \$450 billion is donated to charities in the US annually (Giving USA 2020), with over 65% of liberals and conservatives contributing (Pew Research 2020). However, consumers with different political ideologies have divergent preferences for charity appeals (Kidwell, Farmer, and Hardesty 2013; Winterich, Zhang, and Mittal 2012). Liberals prefer charities that advance social justice and consequently favor charity appeals that highlight harm reduction, fairness, and care. In contrast, conservatives prefer charities that strengthen the social order and, therefore, favor charity appeals that highlight duty, authority, and in-group loyalty (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh, and Hepp 2009; Graham et al. 2011). For instance, liberals comprise most donors to Planned Parenthood, which campaigns on care and equity for all people, whereas conservatives comprise most donors to the Wounded Warrior Project, which campaigns on loyalty and duty to the national order (Farmer, Kidwell, and Hardesty 2020).

Regardless of whether they identify with the left or right, however, consumers tend to actively reject charity appeals that are *incongruent* with their political ideology. That is, many liberals quickly reject appeals that would strengthen the social order, whereas many conservatives quickly reject appeals that would advance social justice (Jost 2017). Further, representatives of each political ideology express a similar level intolerance of ideologically dissimilar groups (Brandt et al. 2014) and have an equal aversion to listening to positions espoused by these groups (Frimer, Skitka, and Motyl 2017). Thus, both liberals and conservatives tend to use the ideological orientation of a charity appeal as a heuristic (Petty and Cacioppo 1986) and to base their decision to “not give” on this criterion alone. The current research explores whether a mindfulness intervention can improve consumers’ evaluations of charity appeals—that is, appeals that reflect values that conflict with the consumers’ political ideology.

The concept of mindfulness comes from the meditative practices of Buddhism and other contemplative traditions. It is defined as the “state of being attentive to and aware of what is taking place in the present” (Brown and Ryan 2003, 822). Thus, it is a state of conscious awareness that leads to a focus on momentary thoughts and feelings and increases the clarity of immediate experiences (Brown and Ryan 2003; Langer 1992). Mindfulness training usually involves having participants become aware of and attend to their body

sensations, breathing, wandering thoughts, as well as the external environment (Van De Veer, Van Herpen, and Van Trijp 2016). Mindfulness can have a host of beneficial outcomes (Kabat-Zinn 1990) including psychological well-being (Brown and Ryan 2003), compassionate behavior towards others (Condon et al. 2013), and an increase in ethical behavior (Orazi, Chen, and Chan 2019).

Of relevance to the current research is the effect of mindfulness on how people process information that is contrary to their ideological beliefs. An increase in self-focused attention, for instance, could make people's existing attitudes more salient and lead them to confirm, rather than question, their ideological beliefs (Kahan 2013). In contrast, increased mindfulness can increase cognitive resources (Orazi et al. 2019) and enable individuals to consider alternative interpretations of information (Chan and Wang 2019).

In the current article, we suggest that although consumers under normal circumstances tend to base their evaluation of a charity appeals on a heuristic (i.e., whether the appeal is consistent with their ideology), mindfulness will decrease this tendency and make them more open to experience. We propose that a simple mindfulness intervention that features a brief guided meditation can make both liberals and conservatives more open and increase their acceptance of an ideologically incongruent charity appeal. Four studies demonstrate that such an intervention can increase both individuals' acceptance of such an appeal and the amount they are willing to donate.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Political Ideology and Charitable Appeals

Liberal and conservative consumers prefer different types of charity appeals, because their political ideologies imply divergent beliefs about moral behavior (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009). Specifically, liberals are more likely to donate to charity appeals that highlight harm reduction, fairness, and care (Lee et al. 2018), whereas conservatives are more disposed to charity appeals about duty, authority, and in-group loyalty (Kaikati et al. 2017). Consequently, appeals that are congruent with implications of consumers' political ideologies are more effective than appeals that are incongruent (Farmer et al. 2020; Winterich et al. 2012; Kidwell et al. 2013). We define *(in)congruence* as the (mis)alignment of the values in a charity appeal with the consumer's political ideology. Thus, an appeal about holding people accountable to group norms (a conservative value) is ineffective at eliciting donations from

liberals (Kaikati et al. 2017). More generally, conservatives typically base donation decisions on external criteria whereas liberals based them on internal criteria (Lee, Seo, and Yoon 2020).

The political divide in charity preferences seems to occur because both liberals and conservatives base their evaluations of charity appeals on heuristic criteria (Zmigrod and Rentfrow 2020). Their use of these criteria decreases their openness to information that is inconsistent with their beliefs (Spohr 2017). Indeed, both liberals and conservatives are known to be less open to opposing moral beliefs (Frimer et al. 2017). We therefore expected that an intervention that promotes openness could lead consumers to evaluate incongruent charity appeals with the same depth of information processing that they afford to congruent charity appeals and to respond favorably to appeals that they would otherwise reject outright.

Mindfulness and Processing

To reiterate, mindfulness is a state of nonjudgmental, awareness and attention to the present-moment (Kabat-Zinn 1990). Several researchers consider mindfulness to be a conscious mindset that involves the awareness and acceptance of thoughts, feelings, and sensations that arise from a heightened state of awareness (Zeidan et al. 2010; Moore and Malinowski 2009; Kang, Gruber, and Gray 2013), and which leads to more contemplative interpretations of a situation (Shapiro et al. 2006). According to Baer et al. (2004), the practice of mindfulness involves (a) serving the full range of internal and external stimuli, (b) verbalizing these stimuli, (c) acting with awareness on tasks in which one is engaged, and (d) acceptance of being nonjudgmental about the current moment and avoiding automatic responses. These practices have been shown to affect information processing in intriguing ways, two of which are relevant to the current context. One suggests that mindfulness can reduce reactivity and automatic responses. The other concerns openness to new information.

Decreased Reactivity. Appeals that are ideologically incongruent can pose a threat and individuals often respond to them reflexively. Mindfulness can reduce this reaction. As Niemiec et al. (2010) showed, mindfulness can reduce defensiveness: people who faced an existential threat to their cultural worldview used mindfulness to contemplate the threat rather than suppressing it. The effect of mindfulness practice on the “de-automatization” of processing has also been noted. Although several processes are automatic and occur mindlessly (Chen and Bargh 1997), they can sometimes result in certain undesirable behavior (Brown and Ryan 2003). Conscious attention could override such unwanted responses (Baumeister and Heatherton 1996). In line with this, Lueke and Gibson (2015) found that

mindfulness reduced implicit age and race bias by decreasing the automatic activation of negative out-group stereotypes. Mindfulness can also increase the ability to respond in non-habitual ways; for example, individuals who engage in mindfulness practice are less likely to make the habitual errors on a Stroop task (Moore and Malinowski 2009). In the present context, these findings suggest that mindful consumers are less likely to react reflexively and automatically to opposing ideological perspectives and thus to charitable appeals that are against one's ideological position.

Openness to Experience. Mindfulness can promote openness by teaching practitioners to value curiosity of the body and mind (Brown and Ryan 2003). Chan et al. (2019) found that a brief mindfulness practice increased abstract thought and that this effect was mediated by openness to experience. State mindfulness can also increase the cognitive resources one has available, because fewer resources are deployed in dealing with habitual worries and concerns given the accepting and nonjudgmental nature of the practice. Freeing up resources allows individuals to approach novel things with curiosity. It has also been shown to increase other-focused ethical behaviors (Orazi et al. 2019).

Openness plays a critical role in political attitudes. Historically, liberals have been viewed as more open than conservatives due to cultural exposure (e.g., art and literature) and higher education (Xu, Mar, and Peterson 2013). However, openness is low in both liberals and conservatives when they are exposed to opposing moral views (Frimer et al. 2017). The widening gap between liberal and conservative viewpoints has motivated calls for research on increasing openness across the political spectrum (Brandt et al. 2014).

The aforementioned research on mindfulness suggests that (a) mindfulness can reduce the likelihood that people will respond heuristically to incongruent charity appeals and (b) the greater acceptance and favorable evaluations that result are mediated by increased openness. Stated more formally, we propose:

H1: *Mindfulness will increase the favorableness of reactions to charity appeals among consumers with incongruent political ideologies.*

H2: *The effect of mindfulness on charity evaluations is mediated by openness to experience.*

As noted earlier, mindfulness increases the cognitive resources that one has available (Orazi et al. 2019) and consequently increases openness (Chan et al. 2019). If this is true, intrusive thoughts that prevent one from being mindful should make the positive effects of the mindfulness intervention disappear. To this extent, the effect of the mindfulness intervention

on acceptance of the incongruent political ideology should disappear when participants are under high cognitive load.

H3: The effect of mindfulness on evaluations of charity appeals disappears among consumers who are under high cognitive load.

OVERVIEW OF STUDIES

Two studies (Studies 1a and 1b) provided a test of H1 by separately examining conservative and liberal charity appeals by measuring participants' attitudes towards these appeals. Study 2 replicated the main effect with a different dependent variable (the intended donation amount to a conservative and liberal charity appeal) and tested the mediating role of openness to experience (H2). Study 3 examined how high cognitive load mitigated the effects (H3) and ruled out alternative accounts based on affect. Finally, a field study using Facebook tested the external validity of the main effect (H1). A summary of studies can be found in the Online Appendix, section 1.1.

Before conducting the main studies, we pretested the mindfulness interventions and the charity appeals to be used. Mindfulness meditations focus on diverse mechanisms (Orazi et al. 2019); major categories are body sensations, thoughts, breathing, and the external environment (Van De Veer et al. 2016). All four major types of meditations were expected to be effective facilitators of mindfulness, such that participants who listened to the mindfulness meditation were expected to score higher on a state mindfulness scale (Tanay and Bernstein 2013) than participants who received the control intervention.

In each pretest, participants were randomly assigned to the mindfulness or control condition. Each type of mindfulness intervention lasted about one-minute and included a focus on body sensations, external environment, thoughts, or breathing. These short exposures have been shown to be sufficient for increasing mindfulness (Errmann et al. 2021). The control condition featured approximately one-minute of instructions (Cui et al. 2019) on how to string a guitar (studies 1-3) or how to take vitamins (study 4) (manipulation stimuli in the Online Appendix, sections 2.1-2.4). The content of both interventions demanded the participant's attention, thereby ensuring that the effect of the mindfulness manipulation could not be attributed to participants being more distracted in one condition.

Following the mindfulness or control intervention, all participants completed the 21-item state mindfulness scale (e.g., "I actively explored my experience in the moment"; all items used the same 7-point scale: 1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; see full scale in the Online Appendix, section 3.1) (Tanay and Bernstein 2013). Mood was also measured in

each pretest because mindfulness has been shown to improve mood (Toneatto and Nguyen 2007), and has the potential to confound the effect of mindfulness *per se* on responses to incongruent charity appeals.

As expected, all four mindfulness interventions resulted in significantly higher state mindfulness than the control conditions (see Table 1). Thus, the four mindfulness meditations had similar broad effects regardless of the precise focus of the meditation itself. Also, there was no significant effect of any of the mindfulness meditations on mood. Additional evidence against the mood-based account is provided in study 3.

A set of charity appeals was also designed and pretested; some highlighted authority, duty, and in-group loyalty (congruent with conservative political ideology), while others highlighted harm reduction, fairness, and care (congruent with liberal political ideology). Sample images can be seen in Figure 1 (full resolution images are available in the Online Appendix, sections 4.1-4.3).

Participants evaluated each appeal on an adapted version of the moral foundations questionnaire (Graham et al. 2009; 2011). This questionnaire used in prior research (Kidwell et al. 2013) contained five items to check for the liberal congruence (e.g., “The appeal exhibits that donating increases equality for others”) and five items to check for conservative congruence (e.g., “The appeal reflects that donating shows loyalty to people like me who might need help”), all on 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; see full scale in the Online Appendix, section 3.2). For each appeal, the significance of all items was assessed relative to the scale’s midpoint, 4. Results summarized in Table 2 confirmed that all charity appeals were congruent with the intended ideology.

STUDY 1: EFFECT OF MINDFULNESS ON ATTITUDES TO CHARITY APPEALS

In study 1a, participants evaluated a conservative charity appeal. We predicted and found that a mindfulness intervention improved attitudes toward the charity appeal among liberal participants (for whom the appeal was incongruent; H1) relative to control conditions. In study 1b, we replicated the main effect of the mindfulness intervention with a liberal charity appeal.

Study 1a

Design and Procedure. 201 US MTurk participants (48.1% Female, $M_{age} = 35.39$, $SD = 12.04$) were recruited and randomly assigned to either the mindfulness or control condition. In the mindfulness condition, participants followed a one-minute video instruction about focusing internally on physical body sensations. This manipulation has been shown to enhance conscious attention and acceptance of physiological change (Van De Veer et al. 2016). In the control condition, participants watched a one-minute video with instructions for how to string a guitar (Cui et al. 2019).

Next, all participants viewed a charity appeal that highlighted the values of authority, duty, and in-group loyalty, congruent with a conservative political ideology (Graham et al. 2011) (see Online Appendix, section 4.1). Participants indicated their attitude toward the appeal on a 3-item scale: “I have a positive attitude towards the message,” “I agree with the message,” and “The message is appealing” (Errmann et al. 2019), all on 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

Each participant's political ideology was measured by asking for their opinions (1 = *strongly against*, 7 = *strongly favor*, $\alpha = .94$) on several issues that typically are split along party lines: capital punishment (reverse coded), abortion, gun control, socialized healthcare, same-sex marriage, and immigration (Kidwell et al. 2013). Participants' responses were averaged so that a higher (lower) score represented closer alignment with liberal (conservative) ideology.

Results. PROCESS Model 1 (Hayes 2017) was used to test the effect of the mindfulness intervention (coded as 1; control intervention = -1), with political ideology as a moderator, on attitudes toward the charity appeal. As expected, the interaction between the mindfulness intervention and political ideology was significant ($B = .24$, $t(197) = 2.08$, $p < .05$). A spotlight analysis showed that the mindfulness intervention (vs. control) improved attitudes among participants with a liberal ideology, which was incongruent with the appeal ($M_{mindful\&incongruent} = 4.73$ vs. $M_{control\&incongruent} = 3.20$; $B = .76$, $t(197) = 3.63$, $p < .01$), but not among those with a conservative ideology, which was congruent with the appeal ($M_{mindful\&congruent} = 4.96$ vs. $M_{control\&congruent} = 4.66$; $B = .15$, $t(197) = .15$, $p = .45$).

Study 1b

Design and Procedure. 203 US MTurk participants (50.2% Female, $M_{age} = 39.64$, $SD = 11.54$) were recruited. Study 1b used the same materials and procedures as study 1a

except that the charity appeal was liberal instead of conservative (see Online Appendix, section 4.1).

Results. PROCESS Model 1 (Hayes 2017) showed that, as expected, the interaction between the mindfulness intervention and political ideology was significant ($B = -.21$, $t(199) = -2.02$, $p < .05$). A spotlight analysis revealed that the mindfulness intervention (vs. control) improved attitudes among participants with the incongruent political ideology (conservative; $M_{mindful\&incongruent} = 5.04$ vs. $M_{control\&incongruent} = 3.74$; $B = .64$, $t(199) = 3.58$, $p < .01$) but not among those with the congruent political ideology (liberal; $M_{mindful\&congruent} = 5.10$ vs. $M_{control\&congruent} = 4.84$; $B = .12$, $t(199) = .12$, $p = .47$).

Studies 1a and 1b provided initial evidence for H1: a brief mindfulness intervention improved attitudes toward a charity whose appeal was incongruent with the participant's own ideology. The effect held for both liberal participants (evaluating a conservative appeal) and conservative participants (evaluating a liberal appeal). In both studies, the mindfulness intervention did not affect attitudes of participants with the congruent political ideology.

STUDY 2: THE MEDIATING ROLE OF OPENNESS

Study 2 extended the findings of studies 1a and 1b in three ways. First, in study 2, we directly tested the predicted mechanism by measuring participants' openness to experience and conducting a mediation analysis (H2). Second, while participants in study 1 saw only one charity appeal, participants in study 2 saw two charity appeals (one conservative and one liberal) side by side. Third, study 2 increased the robustness and generalizability of the findings by using a different measure of political ideology (a single item) and a different dependent measure (the intended donation amount instead of attitudes toward the charity appeal).

Design and Procedure. 412 US MTurk participants (49.4% female; $M_{age} = 37.56$, $SD = 10.98$) were randomly assigned to the mindfulness or control condition. In the mindfulness condition, participants followed one-minute video instructions about focusing externally on people in their environment, a manipulation known to promote awareness (Pandey et al. 2018). In the control condition, participants watched the same video as in study 1. Next, participants' openness to experience (the proposed mediator) was measured with 10 items (e.g., "I am curious about many different things right now"; $\alpha = .89$), all on 7-point scales (1 = not true at all, 7 = very true). (The measure uses John and Srivastava's (1999) Big-Five taxonomy; see full scale in the Online Appendix, section 3.3).

Next, participants viewed two charity appeals: a message from the Salvation Army, appealing to authority, duty, and in-group loyalty (i.e., conservative values), and a message from The World Wildlife Fund, appealing to harm reduction, fairness, and care (i.e., liberal values) (Farmer et al. 2020) (see Online Appendix, section 4.2). Participants were told to imagine that they had \$100 at their disposal, and they could donate all, some, or none of the funds to both, one, or neither charity. Participants indicated their donation preference for each charity on a sliding scale up to \$100; the total donation amount could not exceed \$100.

Participant's political ideology was measured on a 7-point bipolar scale (1 = *extremely left-wing*, 7 = *extremely right-wing*) (Fernandes 2020), with higher (lower) values indicating a more conservative (liberal) ideology. The use of "left-wing" and "right-wing" to approximate the spectrum from liberal to conservative (Graham et al. 2009; Jost 2017) is considered a valid measure of political ideology, and its brevity can be advantageous (Farmer et al. 2020; Kidwell et al. 2013).

Results: Donation to the Conservative Charity Appeal. PROCESS Model 1 (Hayes 2017) was used to test the effect of the mindfulness intervention (coded as 1; control intervention = -1), with political ideology as a moderator, on the intended donation amount to the charity with the conservative appeal. As expected, the interaction between the mindfulness intervention and political ideology was significant ($B = -4.46$, $t(408) = -6.00$, $p < .01$). A spotlight analysis showed that the mindfulness intervention (vs. control) increased the intended donation amount among participants with the incongruent political ideology (liberal; $M_{mindful\&incongruent} = 48.06$ vs. $M_{control\&incongruent} = 26.54$; $B = 10.75$, $t(408) = 6.94$, $p < .01$) but not among those with the congruent political ideology (conservative; $M_{mindful\&congruent} = 46.50$ vs. $M_{control\&congruent} = 52.09$; $B = -2.79$, $t(408) = -1.74$, $p = .08$).

To test H2, a moderated mediation analysis using PROCESS Model 14 with 5,000 bootstrap resamples (Hayes 2017) was run. The intended donation amount was included as the outcome while the intervention (mindfulness vs. control) and political ideology were predictors, and openness to experience was the mediator. Results revealed a significant index of moderated mediation ($B = -.98$, $SE = .25$, 95% CI: -1.54, -.55) such that the indirect effect of the mindfulness intervention via openness to experience was significant among participants with the incongruent political ideology ($B = 2.68$, $SE = .52$, 95% CI: 1.61, 3.92) but not significant among those with the congruent political ideology ($B = -.30$, $SE = .59$, 95% CI: -1.64, .73).

Results: Donation to the Liberal Charity Appeal. An analogous analysis was run on the intended donation amount to the charity with the liberal appeal. The interaction

between the mindfulness intervention and political ideology was significant ($B = 3.42$, $t(408) = 4.94$, $p < .01$). A spotlight analysis showed that the mindfulness intervention (vs. control) increased the intended donation amount among participants with the incongruent political ideology (conservative; $M_{mindful\&incongruent} = 48.12$ vs. $M_{control\&incongruent} = 31.81$; $B = 8.15$, $t(408) = 5.46$, $p < .01$) but not among those with the congruent political ideology (liberal; $M_{mindful\&congruent} = 45.86$ vs. $M_{control\&congruent} = 50.33$; $B = -2.23$, $t(408) = -1.54$, $p = .12$).

To test H2, we conducted the analogous moderated mediation analysis. Again, results revealed a significant index of moderated mediation ($B = 1.10$, $SE = .23$, 95% CI: .67, 1.59) such that the indirect effect of the mindfulness intervention via openness to experience was significant among participants with the incongruent political ideology (conservative; $B = 2.61$, $SE = .60$, 95% CI: 1.53, 3.90) but not significant among those with the congruent political ideology (liberal; $B = -.73$, $SE = .38$, 95% CI: -1.51, .01).

Because participants could donate to two charities, we repeated the analysis with a different dependent variable: the proportion of the donated amount that went to the charity congruent with the political ideology. The results, included in Online Appendix section 5.1, were consistent with the main results.

Study 2 showed that a brief mindfulness intervention increased the intended donation amount to the charity whose appeal was incongruent with the participant's own ideology—even though a congruent charity was also an option. More importantly, the results of study 2 provide direct support for the proposed mechanism (H2): the mindfulness (vs. control) intervention increased participants' openness to experience, which led to an increase in the intended donation amount to the incongruent charity.

STUDY 3: THE EFFECTS OF COGNITIVE LOAD

Study 3 had three objectives. First, given that mindfulness interventions typically increase the availability of cognitive resources (Orazi et al. 2019), which in turn increase openness to experience (the mediator, tested in study 2), adding cognitive load should theoretically attenuate the effect of the mindfulness intervention. Second, mindfulness is known to alter emotional states by improving mood (Toneatto and Nguyen 2007) and decreasing arousal (Lin et al. 2016). Thus, any shift in emotional states can affect information processing, thereby confounding the mindfulness effect. Thus, in study 2, measures of mood, valence, and arousal were included to test the affective pathway directly. Third, while studies 1 and 2 used hypothetical scenarios, study 3 used an incentive-compatible design involving a lottery scenario (Winterich et al. 2012).

Design and Procedure. 505 US MTurk participants (45% female; $M_{age} = 41.50$, $SD = 12.17$) were randomly assigned within a 2 (intervention: mindfulness vs. control) x 2 (cognitive load: high vs. low) between-subjects design. In the mindfulness condition, participants listened to a one-minute recording of instructions about directing nonjudgmental attention to one's thoughts, which has been shown to make individuals more aware and accepting of information (Errmann et al. 2021). In the control condition, participants watched the same video as in study 1. Then, participants in the high (low) cognitive load condition were asked to memorize a 10-digit (2-digit) number and remember it (Bullard, Penner, and Main 2019).

Next, all participants viewed the same conservative charity appeal (Salvation Army) used in study 2 and read a message about a donation lottery (Winterich et al. 2012). Specifically, participants learned that we would randomly select one participant to receive a \$50 bonus at the end of the study. Participants were asked to think about whether they would want to donate all, some, or none of the \$50 to the Salvation Army if they were selected as the winner. Participants indicated their intended donation amount in \$10 increments (so the dependent variable had six discrete values: \$0, \$10, \$20, \$30, \$40, and \$50). After this, we released participants from attempting to remember the number, and subsequently measured each participant's political ideology using the same scale as in study 1.

To test the alternative account based on affect, mood (Toneatto and Nguyen 2007) (7-point scale; 1 = *happy*, 7 = *unhappy*), arousal, and valence (Di Muro and Murray 2012) were measured on the affect grid (Russell, Weiss, and Mendelsohn 1989), a scale that assesses valence and arousal simultaneously on 9-point scales (1 = *low*, 9 = *high*).

Results. The mindfulness intervention (vs. control) increased the intended donation amount among participants with the incongruent political ideology (liberal) in the low cognitive load condition ($M_{mindful\&incongruent\&low} = 20.52$ vs. $M_{control\&incongruent\&low} = 10.04$; $B = 5.24$, $t(496) = 3.99$, $p < .01$) but not in the high cognitive load condition ($M_{mindful\&incongruent\&high} = 11.82$ vs. $M_{control\&incongruent\&high} = 11.48$; $B = -.22$, $t(496) = .08$, $p = .77$). That is, the high cognitive load attenuated the mindfulness effect: the mindfulness intervention (vs. control) had no significant effect on the intended donation amount among the incongruent political ideology (liberal participants) ($B = .16$, $t(496) = .12$, $p = .90$). The same analysis was repeated with arousal, mood, and valence as co-variates, and the results were consistent.

Study 3 complements study 2 to build a strong case for the pathway of the mindfulness effect. While study 2 used a mediation analysis, study 3 manipulated cognitive load as a theoretically relevant boundary condition and found the predicted attenuation of the

mindfulness effect under high cognitive load (H3). Study 3 also provides evidence against alternative information processing explanations based on affect. Finally, study 3 increases the external validity of the mindfulness effect by using an incentive-compatible scenario, in which participants had a chance to receive a real bonus and donate some or all of it to the specified charity.

STUDY 4: FACEBOOK FIELD STUDY

Study 4 tested H1 in an externally valid setting: Facebook. Facebook A/B split tests have been used as field tests to randomly assign advertisement appeals to target populations, confirming the condition with the highest number of page engagements (Orazi and Johnston 2020). Engagement with a liberal charity appeal among conservative (Republican) and liberal (Democrat) audiences was operationalized by examining the number of users who clicked on the charity appeal to “like” the charity’s page.

Design and Procedure. We aimed to reach 150,000 Facebook users over 8 days to ensure that at least 100,000 total were exposed to either the mindfulness or control video (Orazi and Johnston 2020) (final sample was 46% Female, $M_{age} = 35.02$, $SD = 12.81$). We split our population into conservatives and liberals by targeting US consumers who had “liked” the official Facebook page of either the US Republican Party or the US Democratic Party. To ensure that participants did not see duplicate advertisements, each audience was exposed to only one manipulated post during the 8 days.

The mindfulness intervention featured a 30-second video ad that instructed the participant to focus on breathing, which can induce contemplation by directing attention to one task (Nair et al. 2017). The control intervention featured a 30-second instructional video ad on how to take vitamins (Fiorella and Mayer 2018). In both conditions, the liberal charity appeal came immediately after the intervention (see Online Appendix, section 4.3). Then, participants who were interested in the charity could click on the post link to “like” the charity’s Facebook page. We operationalized engagement (the dependent variable) as the number of participants who “liked” the charity’s page.

Results. A logistic regression analysis using the intervention (mindfulness = 1, control = -1), political ideology (congruent = 1, incongruent = -1), and their interaction was used to predict engagement. As expected, there was a significant interaction effect ($B = .15$, $SE = .01$, $Wald = 185.13$, $p < .01$). We examined the interaction with chi-square tests on the subsamples of Republican (conservative) and Democrat (liberal) participants. Among Republican participants (incongruent ideology), there was significantly more engagement in

the mindfulness condition (7.20% [=2,486/34,744]) than in the control condition (3.9% [=1,459/37,609], $\chi^2(1) = 375.93$, $p < .01$). Among Democrats (congruent ideology), however, there was no significant difference in engagement between the mindfulness condition (6.5% [=2,540/39,312]) and the control condition (6.3% [=2,322/37,111], $\chi^2(1) = 1.33$, $p = .25$).

Study 4 provided evidence with strong external validity for H1. On Facebook, a popular platform that often features charity appeals from different sides of the political spectrum, the mindfulness intervention increased favorable engagement with a charity among Facebook users whose political ideology was incongruent with the charity's appeal.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Four studies, including a field study, provide robust evidence that a brief mindfulness intervention may improve responses to charity appeals that are incongruent with the prospective donor's political ideology. Specifically, we found that the mindfulness intervention improved attitudes toward the incongruent charity appeal (studies 1a and 1b), increased the intended donation amount (studies 2 and 3), and increased favorable engagement with the charity on Facebook (study 4).

We contribute to the literature by identifying mindfulness as a simple psychological intervention (Langer 1992) that bridges the gap in receptivity to charity appeals across the political spectrum. Moreover, we predicted and found evidence for an underlying mechanism based on openness to experience. Our finding that mindfulness can increase openness to incongruent beliefs among liberals and conservatives alike adds to the conversation about whether liberals are higher in openness (Xu et al. 2013) or whether both groups have relatively low openness to incongruent views (Frimer et al. 2017).

Further, we demonstrated that a high cognitive load suppresses the mindfulness effect, consistent with the theory that mindfulness increases the availability of cognitive resources, which are required for openness to experience. Available resources may lead to greater deliberation, which could result in consumers seeking reasoning to bolster their beliefs (Kahan 2013). In contrast, the current research has shown that mindfulness may be a unique tool to instead use available resources to increase the acceptance of alternative information. However, when such resources become stressed, such as high-stress situations and/or information overload, consumers may be even more likely to retreat to heuristic shortcuts and automatically reject charity appeals that are incongruent with their own beliefs.

The success of the intervention has clear implications for charities that wish to advertise to consumer segments in which the incongruent political ideology dominates.

Specifically, a charity might facilitate donations by including brief mindfulness interludes on its website or before an appeal on social media (as in study 4). We believe the social media context is especially critical as consumers tend to behave more divisively online, where their viewpoints can remain more anonymous (Iyengar and Hahn 2009). The significant, positive effect of the mindfulness intervention on Facebook, an organic social media environment, attests to the potential of our simple intervention to increase generosity in a world with widening political divides.

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FIGURE LEGEND






Figure 1. Sample Images of Charity Appeals.

Table 1. Mindfulness Intervention Pretest Results.

Studies	Mindfulness focus	Cronbach's <i>a</i> for dependent measure	State Mindfulness (as Measured in the Pretest)		
			Mindfulness Condition	Control Condition	Difference
Pretest 1; Study 1 (n = 164)	Focus internally on physical body sensations	<i>a</i> = 0.91	<i>M</i> = 5.37, SD = .60	<i>M</i> = 4.23, SD = .76	<i>t</i> (162) = -4.06, <i>p</i> < .01
Pretest 2; Study 2 (n = 159)	Focus on people in external environment	<i>a</i> = .87	<i>M</i> = 5.57, SD = .90	<i>M</i> = 4.58, SD = 1.07	<i>t</i> (157) = -6.17, <i>p</i> < .01
Pretest 3; Study 3 (n = 118)	Nonjudgmental focus on internal thoughts	<i>a</i> = .90	<i>M</i> = 5.67, SD = .61	<i>M</i> = 5.23, SD = .76	<i>t</i> (116) = -4.02, <i>p</i> < .01
Pretest 4; Study 4 (n = 123)	Focus on sensations of breathing	<i>a</i> = .82	<i>M</i> = 5.77, SD = .70	<i>M</i> = 5.40, SD = 1.06	<i>t</i> (121) = -2.25, <i>p</i> < .05

Table 2. Charity Appeal Pretest Results.

Studies	Cronbach's <i>a</i> for dependent measure	Conservative Appeal (congruent with conservative values)	Liberal Appeal (congruent with liberal values)
Pretest 1; Study 1 (n = 142)	<i>a</i> = .81	<i>M</i> = 4.94, <i>SD</i> = 1.40, <i>t</i> (141) = 11.33, <i>p</i> < .01	<i>M</i> = 5.15, <i>SD</i> = 1.27, <i>t</i> (141) = 15.81, <i>p</i> < .01
Pretest 2; Study 2 & 3 (n = 198)	<i>a</i> = .90	<i>M</i> = 5.06, <i>SD</i> = 1.29, <i>t</i> (197) = 11.56, <i>p</i> < .01	<i>M</i> = 5.07, <i>SD</i> = 1.33, <i>t</i> (197) = 11.38, <i>p</i> < .01
Pretest 3; Study 4 (n = 139)	<i>a</i> = .79	n/a	<i>M</i> = 5.34, <i>SD</i> = 1.15, <i>t</i> (138) = 13.79, <i>p</i> < .01

	<i>Conservative Charity Appeal</i>	<i>Liberal Charity Appeal</i>
Pretest 1; Study 1	 <p>Remaining Loyal – Donate to Charity</p> <p>It is our duty as citizens to remain loyal and help those like us... fight to make the USA more virtuous by keeping with tradition to respect the authority of helping your nation.</p> <p>Donating to your local place of worship shows you value the tradition of your country and fellow groups.</p>	 <p>Support Equality – Donate to Charity</p> <p>Together, we can care for citizens to reduce harm for those less fortunate... make a compassionate difference in diverse communities to build equality for those vulnerable by doing your part to ensure people are not treated differently.</p> <p>Donating to your local place of worship shows you value the fairness of life and your community.</p>
Pretest 2; Study 2 & 3		
	<i>Liberal Charity Appeal</i>	
Pretest 3; Study 4		

ONLINE APPENDIX

“Open to Give”: Mindfulness Improves Evaluations of Charity Appeals that are Incongruent with the Consumer’s Political Ideology

Table of Contents

1. Summary	3
1.1 Summary of Studies	3
2. Mindfulness vs. Control Manipulations	5
2.1 Pretest 1; Study 1.....	5
2.2 Pretest 2; Study 2	5
2.3 Pretest 3; Study 3	5
2.4 Pretest 4; Study 4	5
3. Scales: State Mindfulness Scale, Moral Foundations Questionnaire, Openness to Experience.....	6
3.1 State Mindfulness Scale (Tanay and Bernstein 2013)	6
3.2 Moral Foundations Questionnaire (Graham et al. 2011), adapted by (Kidwell et al. 2013).....	7
3.3 Openness to Experience (John and Srivastava 1999)	7
4. Charity Appeals	8
4.1 Pretest 1; Study 1.....	8
4.2 Pretest 2; Studies 2 & 3	9
4.3 Pretest 3; Study 4	10
5. Alternative Analysis.....	11
5.1 Study 2 Alternative Analysis.....	11
Discussion	12
6. Empirical Tables.....	13
6.1 Study 1a: Moderated Regression Results.....	13
6.2 Study 1b: Moderated Regression Results	13
6.3 Study 2: Moderated Regression Results	14
6.4 Study 2: Donation Intent to Conservative Charity Appeal.....	14
6.5 Study 2: Moderated Regression Results.....	15
6.6 Study 2: Donation to Liberal Charity Organization	16
6.7 Study 3: Moderated Regression Results.....	17

1. Summary

1.1 Summary of Studies

Study 1a (N = 201, 48.1% Female, Mage = 35.39, SD = 12.04, MTurk)		
DV: Attitude toward Charity Appeal; 7-point scale	IV: Control (N = 99)	IV: Mindfulness (N = 102)
W: Congruent Political Ideology (Conservative); B = .15, $p = .45$	4.66	4.96
W: Incongruent Political Ideology (Liberal); B = .76, $p < .01$	3.20	4.73
Main Findings: The mindfulness (vs. control) intervention improved attitudes toward a conservative charity appeal in the incongruent political ideology.		
Study 1b (N = 203, 50.2% Female, Mage = 39.64, SD = 11.54, MTurk)		
DV: Attitude toward Charity Appeal; 7-point scale	IV: Control (N = 105)	IV: Mindfulness (N = 98)
W: Congruent Political Ideology (Liberal); B = .12, $p = .47$	4.84	5.10
W: Incongruent Political Ideology (Conservative); B = .64, $p < .01$	3.74	5.04
Main Findings: The mindfulness (vs. control) intervention improved attitudes toward a liberal charity appeal in the incongruent political ideology.		
Study 2 (N = 412, 49.40% Female, Mage = 37.56, SD = 10.98, MTurk)		
DV: Intended donation amount (\$0–\$100) to the conservative charity	IV: Control (N = 204)	IV: Mindfulness (N = 203)
W: Congruent Political Ideology (Conservative); B = -2.79, $p = .08$	52.09	46.5
W: Incongruent Political Ideology (Liberal); B = 10.75, $p < .01$	26.54	48.06
M: Mindfulness Intervention → Openness to Experience → Donation to Conservative Charity Congruent Political Ideology (Conservative): (B = .26, SE = .65, 95% CI including zero [-1.09, .150]) Incongruent Political Ideology (Liberal): (B = 2.21, SE = .52, 95% CI excluding zero [1.32, 3.37])		
DV: Intended donation amount (\$0–\$100) to the liberal charity	IV: Control (N = 204)	IV: Mindfulness (N = 203)
W: Congruent Political Ideology (Liberal); B = -2.23, $p = .12$	50.33	45.86

W: Incongruent Political Ideology (Conservative); $B = 8.15, p < .01$	31.81	48.12
M: Mindfulness → Openness to Experience → Donation to Liberal Charity Congruent Political Ideology (Liberal): ($B = -.45, SE = .42, 95\% \text{ CI including zero } [-1.25, .42]$) Incongruent Political Ideology (Conservative): ($B = 2.26, SE = .53, 95\% \text{ CI excluding zero } [1.27, 3.39]$)		
Main Findings: The mindfulness (vs. control) intervention increased the intended donation to a conservative or liberal charity in the incongruent political ideology. This is was mediated by openness to experience.		
Study 3 (N = 505, 45.00% Female, Mage = 41.50, SD = 12.17, MTurk, incentive-compatible)		
DV: Intended donation amount (\$0–\$50 in \$10 increments), with a chance to receive a \$50 bonus and make the actual donation	IV: Control (N = 251)	IV: Mindfulness (N = 254)
W: Low Cognitive Load: Congruent Political Ideology (Conservative); $B = .69, p = .60$	19.32	20.71
W: Low Cognitive Load: Incongruent Political Ideology (Liberal); $B = 5.24, p < .01$	10.04	20.52
W: High Cognitive Load: Congruent Political Ideology (Conservative); $B = .73, p = .58$	18.19	19.66
W: High Cognitive Load: Incongruent Political Ideology (Liberal); $B = .16, p = .90$	11.48	11.82
Main Findings: The mindfulness (vs. control) intervention increased the intended donation amount among participants with the incongruent political ideology in the low cognitive load condition. The effect of the mindfulness intervention disappeared in the high cognitive load condition.		
Study 4 (N (Reach) = 146,776, 46% Female, Mage = 35.02, SD = 12.81, Facebook Field Study)		
DV: Proportion of post viewers who “Liked” the charity’s Facebook Page	IV: Control (N = 72,719)	IV: Mindfulness (N = 74,057)
W: Congruent Political Ideology (Democrat); $B = .12, p = .47$	6.30%	6.50%
W: Incongruent Political Ideology (Republican); $B = .64, p < .01$	3.90%	7.20%
Main Findings: The mindfulness (vs. control) intervention increased favorable engagement with the Facebook page of a liberal charity among Republican Facebook users.		

2. Mindfulness vs. Control Manipulations

2.1 Pretest 1; Study 1

Mindful Condition: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F7PxEy5IyV4>

Control Condition: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e61-YO34htE>

2.2 Pretest 2; Study 2

Mindful Condition: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=57-JEkmTGZA>

Control Condition: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e61-YO34htE>

2.3 Pretest 3; Study 3

Mindful Condition: https://youtu.be/nZ_q9b72nsA

Control Condition: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e61-YO34htE>

2.4 Pretest 4; Study 4

Mindful Condition: https://youtu.be/KWc_eixQ1Ls

Control Condition: <https://youtu.be/298Qw229EF8>

3. Scales: State Mindfulness Scale, Moral Foundations Questionnaire, Openness to Experience

3.1 State Mindfulness Scale (Tanay and Bernstein 2013)

1. I noticed pleasant and unpleasant emotions
2. I noticed pleasant and unpleasant thoughts
3. I noticed emotions come and go
4. I was aware of different emotions that arose in me
5. I felt aware of what was happening inside of me
6. I was aware of what was going on in my mind
7. I felt closely connected to the present moment
8. I had moments when I felt alert and aware
9. I actively explored my experience in the moment
10. I felt that I was experiencing the present moment fully
11. I tried to pay attention to pleasant and unpleasant sensations
12. It was interesting to see the patterns of my thinking
13. I noticed many small details of my experience
14. I noticed thoughts come and go
15. I found some of my experiences interesting
16. I noticed physical sensations come and go
17. I noticed some pleasant and unpleasant physical sensations
18. I noticed various sensations caused by my surroundings (e.g., heat, coolness, the wind on my face)
19. I clearly physically felt what was going on in my body
20. I felt in contact with my body
21. I changed my body posture and paid attention to the physical process of moving

3.2 Moral Foundations Questionnaire (Graham et al. 2011), adapted by (Kidwell et al. 2013)

Liberal Charity Appeal Check

1. The appeal reflects that donating is rooted in reducing harm for others
2. The appeal portrays that donating shows care for other beings
3. The appeal demonstrates that donating makes things fairer for others
4. The appeal exhibits that donating increases equality for others
5. The appeal reflects that donating should be compassionate to enable caring for everyone

Conservative Appeal Check

1. The appeal portrays that donating shows duty for one's country and citizens
2. The appeal reflects that donating shows loyalty to people like me who might need help
3. The appeal exhibits that donating shows respect for authority
4. The appeal portrays that donating helps us conform to the traditions of our society
5. The appeal exhibits that donating shows one can be more virtuous by helping people like themselves

3.3 Openness to Experience (John and Srivastava 1999)

1. Right now I feel like I am inventive
2. At the moment I feel like an original thinker and can come up with new ideas
3. I value artistic, aesthetic experiences
4. I am curious about many different things right now
5. I prefer work that is routine [reverse-scored]
6. I feel like I am a deep thinker right now
7. I like to reflect and play with ideas
8. I have few artistic interests [reverse-scored]
9. Right now I have an active imagination
10. I am sophisticated in art, music, or literature

4. Charity Appeals

4.1 Pretest 1; Study 1



Remain Loyal – Donate to Charity

It is our duty as citizens to remain loyal and help those like us... fight to make the USA more virtuous by keeping with tradition to respect the authority of helping your nation.

Donating to your local place of worship shows you value the tradition of your country and fellow groups.

Conservative Charity Appeal



Support Equality – Donate to Charity

Together, we can care for citizens to reduce harm for those less fortunate... make a compassionate difference in diverse communities to build equality for those vulnerable by doing your part to ensure people are not treated differently.

Donating to your local place of worship shows you value the fairness of life and your community.

Liberal Charity Appeal

4.2 Pretest 2; Studies 2 & 3

We support:

- loyalty to our cause
- Virtuous efforts to help fellow groups
- Traditions of serving



WE SEE WHAT MOST DON'T

THE SALVATION ARMY

Giving Hope Today

SalvationArmy.ca 1.800.SAL.ARMY

Conservative Charity Appeal

We support:

- The reduction of harm for animals
- Compassion and animal equality
- Fairness of life for all beings



WWF

Animals around the world are being kept in cages. By joining all your TV, social and computer when not using them, you can help prevent this. Help make right now. www.wwf.ca

Liberal Charity Appeal

4.3 Pretest 3; Study 4



This video was sponsored by the Family Planning Project. The Family Planning Project is a charity and a passionate advocate. Family Planning delivers reproductive health care, sex education, and information. The organization supports equality, diversity, reduction of harm, and fairness for all.

As a charity, The Family Planning Project is looking for some support.

Please 'like' this page by clicking through to show your support.

Liberal Charity Appeal

5. Alternative Analysis

5.1 Study 2 Alternative Analysis

We ran a moderated mediation regression analysis using PROCESS Model 15, with 5,000 bootstrapped samples (Hayes 2017). We ran the analysis with 'donation intent' (% of total donation) as the dependent variable, 'mindfulness intervention: control vs. mindful' (coded as -1 vs. 1) as the independent variable, 'political ideology: congruent vs. incongruent' (1 SD +/- mean, 7-point scale) as the moderating variable, and 'openness to experience' (7-point scale) as the mediating variable. Results showed a significant main effect of the mindfulness intervention ($B = .15, t(410) = 4.85, p < .001$) and political ideology ($B = .23, t(410) = 7.22, p < .001$). There was also an interaction between the mindfulness intervention and political ideology ($B = -.03, t(410) = -4.87, p < .001$) and political ideology and openness to experience ($B = -.03, t(410) = -5.69, p < .001$). A spotlight analysis revealed that mindfulness (vs. control) had a positive effect on donation intent in the incongruent political ideology ($B = .06, t(410) = 4.10, p < .001$). In contrast, there was a negative effect of mindfulness on donation intent in the congruent political ideology ($B = -.05, t(410) = -3.16, p < .005$; see Figure 1). This is explained two ways. In the incongruent condition, mindfulness increased donation for the conservative charity appeal. However, in the incongruent political ideology, this is explained by the participant donating more to the liberal charity appeal, indicating the participants increased sharing across the two organizations in the mindful condition.

Results revealed that the indirect effect of the mindfulness intervention via openness to experience was significant in the incongruent political ideology, to the conservative charity appeal ($B = .01, SE = .00, 95\% \text{ CI excluding zero } [.0090, .0281]$). However, in the congruent political ideology, openness had a negative effect on donations to the conservative charity appeal ($B = -.01, SE = .00, 95\% \text{ CI including zero } [-.0228, -.0036]$, overall model index $B = -.00, [-.0152, -.0053]$). This is explained by parity of donations in the mindful condition. As the congruent political ideology donated more to the liberal charity appeal in the mindful condition, their openness to the congruent appeal decreased.

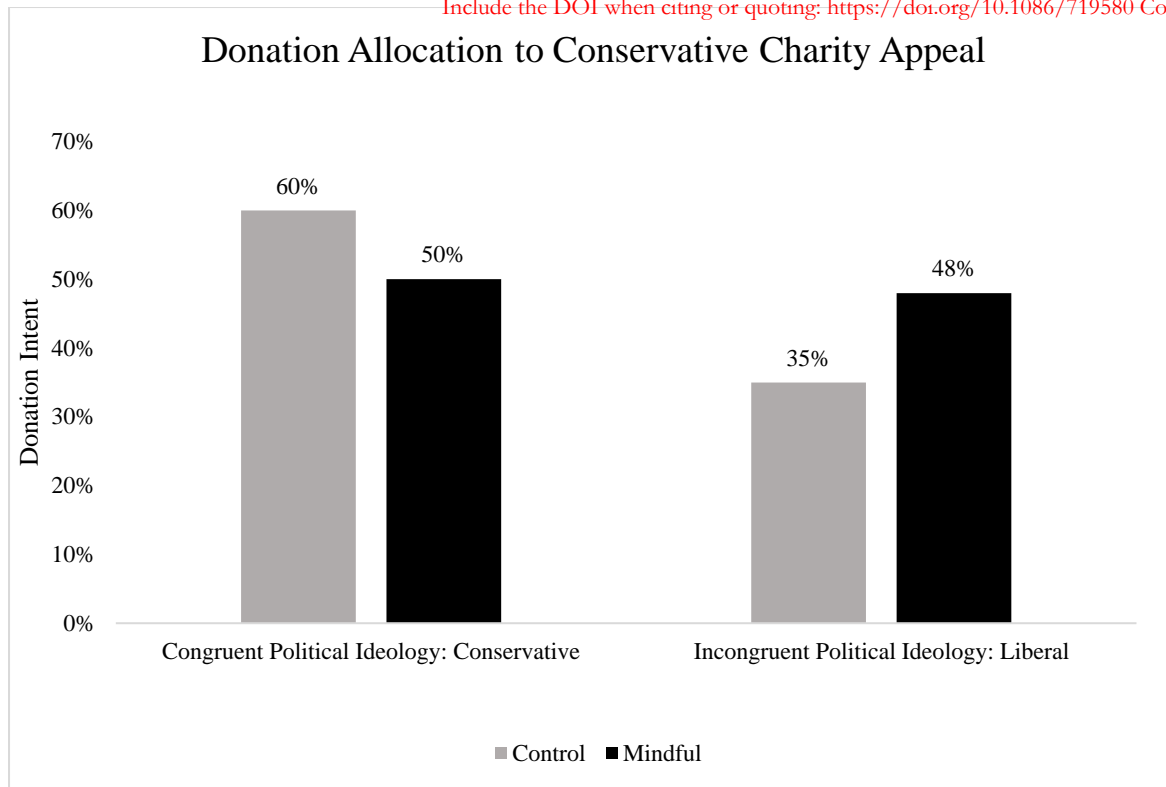


Figure 1: Donation Allocation to Conservative Charity Appeal

Discussion. Study 2 demonstrated that mindfulness increases openness in incongruent political ideologies, resulting in a significant increase in donation intent to the conservative charity appeal. However, as the dependent variable was mutually exclusive in that each participant selected how much, out of \$100, they donated across both organizations, their donation amount shifted between the two. In the incongruent condition, mindfulness increased donation for the charity appeal. However, in the incongruent political ideology, participants donated more to other liberal charity appeal, the charity incongruent to their political ideology, indicating the participants increased parity across the two organizations in the mindful condition.

6. Empirical Tables

6.1 Study 1a: Moderated Regression Results

DV: Attitude to Conservative Charity Appeal	B	SE	t	p
Constant	6.04	.58	10.28	.000* **
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	-.73	.58	-1.25	.211
Political Ideology: Conservative vs. Liberal (1SD -/+ mean)	-.33	.11	-2.87	.004* **
Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	.24	.11	2.08	.038* *
Congruent PI - Conservative: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	.15	.20	.74	.454
Incongruent PI - Liberal: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	.76	.21	3.63	.000* **
Bootstrapping based on 5,000 samples ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10				

6.2 Study 1b: Moderated Regression Results

DV: Attitude to Liberal Charity Appeal	B	SE	t	p
Constant	3.48	.54	6.38	.000* **
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	1.46	.54	2.68	.007* **
Political Ideology: Conservative vs. Liberal (1SD -/+ mean)	.24	.10	2.25	.025* *
Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	-.21	.10	-2.02	.044* *
Congruent PI - Liberal: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	.12	.18	.71	.476
Incongruent PI - Conservative: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	.64	.18	3.58	.000* **
Bootstrapping based on 5,000 samples ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10				

6.3 Study 2: Moderated Regression Results

DV: Donation Intent to Conservative Charity Appeal	B	SE	t	p
Constant	28.08	3.03	9.26	.000* **
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	21.16	3.03	6.98	.000* **
Political Ideology: Conservative vs. Liberal (1SD -/+ mean)	3.95	.74	5.31	.000* *
Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	-4.46	.74	-6.00	.000* *
Congruent PI - Conservative: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	-2.79	1.60	-1.74	.082*
Incongruent PI - Liberal: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	10.75	1.54	6.94	.000* **
Bootstrapping based on 5,000 samples ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10				

6.4 Study 2: Donation Intent to Conservative Charity Appeal Moderated Mediation Results

Effect	Regression Analysis		Bootstrap Analysis	
	b	t	Index/Indirect Effect	95% CI
Openness to Experience				
Constant	5.40	96.27***		
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	.33	5.88***		
Donation to Conservative Organization				
Constant	-46.75	-4.15***		

Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	2.67	2.39**		
Openness to Experience	15.05	7.30***		
Political Ideology: Liberal vs. Conservative (1SD -/+ mean)	18.38	6.09***		
Openness to Experience X Political Ideology	-2.97	-5.48***		
<i>Openness to Experience X Political Ideology at Value of Political Ideology</i>				
Congruent PI - Conservative: Openness to Experience X Political Ideology	-0.93	-0.64		
Incongruent PI - Liberal: Openness to Experience X Political Ideology	8.11	7.36***		
Mindfulness Intervention → Openness to Experience → Charity Donation (Moderated Mediation)			-.98***	-1.5491, -.5558
Congruent PI - Conservative			-.30	-1.6430, .7319
Incongruent PI - Liberal			2.68***	1.6179, 3.9205
Bootstrapping based on 5,000 samples ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10				

6.5 Study 2: Moderated Regression Results

DV: Donation Intent to Liberal Charity Appeal	B	SE	t	p
Constant	54.34	2.82	19.26	.000* **
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	10.21	2.82	-3.62	.000* **
Political Ideology: Conservative vs. Liberal (1SD -/+ mean)	2.67	.69	-3.87	.000* *
Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	3.42	.69	4.94	.000* *
Congruent PI - Liberal: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	-2.23	1.44	-1.54	.122
Incongruent PI - Conservative: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	8.15	1.49	5.46	.000* **

Bootstrapping based on 5,000 samples
 ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10

6.6 Study 2: Donation to Liberal Charity Organization Moderated Mediation Results

Effect	Regression Analysis		Bootstrap Analysis	
	b	t	Index/Indirect Effect	95% CI
<i>Openness to Experience</i>				
Constant	5.40	96.27***		
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	.33	5.88***		
<i>Donation to Liberal Organization</i>				
Constant	104.69	9.98***		
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	2.29	2.20**		
Openness to Experience	-10.02	-5.22***		
Political Ideology: Liberal vs. Conservative (1SD -/+ mean)	-19.84	-7.06***		
Openness to Experience X Political Ideology	3.34	6.60***		
<i>Openness to Experience X Political Ideology at Value of Political Ideology</i>				
Congruent PI - Liberal: Openness to Experience X Political Ideology	-1.36	-1.25		
Incongruent PI - Conservative: Openness to Experience X Political Ideology	7.91	5.89***		
Mindfulness Intervention → Openness to Experience → Charity Donation (Moderated Mediation)				
Congruent PI - Liberal			1.10***	.6721, 1.5979
Incongruent PI - Conservative			2.26***	1.2770, 3.3994
Bootstrapping based on 5,000 samples ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10				

6.7 Study 3: Moderated Regression Results

DV: Donation to Conservative Charity Appeal	B	SE	t	p
Constant	27.46	2.53	10.82	.000***
Mindfulness Intervention: Mindful vs. Control (1 = mindful, -1 = control)	-1.93	2.53	-.76	.447
Political Ideology: Conservative vs. Liberal (1SD -/+ mean)	-2.36	.52	-4.48	.000***
Cognitive Load: Low vs. High (-1 = low, 1 = high)	1.15	2.53	.45	.650
Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	.78	.52	1.48	.137
Mindfulness Intervention X Cognitive Load	3.42	2.53	1.34	.178
Political Ideology X Cognitive Load	-.50	.52	-.95	.341
Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology X Cognitive Load	-1.00	.52	-1.90	.05*
Cognitive Load - Low: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	1.78	.52	6.06	.01**
Cognitive Load - High: Mindfulness Intervention X Political Ideology	-.22	.52	.08	.770
Congruent PI - Conservative X Low Cognitive Load	.69	1.32	.52	.600
Congruent PI - Conservative X High Cognitive Load	.73	1.33	.54	.582
Incongruent PI - Liberal X Low Cognitive Load	5.24	1.31	3.99	.001***
Incongruent PI - Liberal X High Cognitive Load	.16	1.35	.12	.900
Bootstrapping based on 5,000 samples ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10				