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3 March 2015

Online at <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/73718/>

MPRA Paper No. 73718, posted 15 Sep 2016 14:08 UTC

Consumer preferences for fair labour certification*

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Abstract: High profile cases of exploitative labour practices have increased concerns over agricultural working conditions. However, it is unclear to what extent the public is willing to trade-off fair working conditions for higher prices. We implement a large-scale survey to uncover consumer preferences for a food labeling system that certifies fair working conditions for the workers employed in agricultural production. We test for several methodological issues

*We'd like to thank the Editor and two anonymous reviewers for their constructive comments. Drichoutis, Vassilopoulos and Lusk acknowledge funding by the John S. Latsis Public Benefit Foundation. The sole responsibility for the paper's content lies with its authors. We also acknowledge the help of several people: Sotiria Alexandri, Nikos Bochoridis, Christina Chliaoutaki, Froso Gkika, Almarina Gkramozi, Eirini Kostoula, Maria Michalopoulou, Alexandra Papadopoulou, Eleftheria Papamichali, Sofia Tsarsitalidou and Eleni Vasilaki for data collection; Foteini Tragou and Nikos Petrou for data coding; Panagiotis Lazaridis for additional financial help; Michalis Chletsos and Apostolis Tsiouris for supporting data collection in the city of Ioannina.

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with respect to value elicitation and predictions of reference dependent theory. With our most conservative estimates, we find that consumers are willing to pay an average premium of 53 cents per 500 gr, 95% CI [43.9, 62.3], for strawberries with fair labour certification.

Keywords: fair labour label; willingness to pay; equivalent loss; contingent valuation; inferred valuation; consequentiality; cheap talk; uncertainty scale.

JEL Classification Numbers: C83; C93; D12; Q13.

1 Introduction

Recently, there has been a surge of labour exploitation incidents in the Greek agricultural farm sector. The most recent incident in April 2013 involved 33 Bangladeshi workers being shot and injured by their supervisors at a strawberry farm as they protested being unpaid for several months. This incident brought mass media attention in the country about the long-term issue of labour exploitation in the agricultural farming sector. Subsequently, a steady stream of cases of mistreatment and unfair working conditions in farm businesses have emerged, resulting in public outcry in Greece and the European Union. Public anger was manifested by a strong (albeit temporary) decline in the demand for strawberries.¹ Despite the public backlash, farmers have argued that in order to produce at prices that consumers are willing to pay, and to be competitive with imported agricultural products, they cannot provide employee benefits (e.g., minimum wage, maximum working hours, sick leave, housing). Hence, without resorting to illegal employment practices, producers fear that they will be unable to profitably operate.

This paper seeks to contribute to the debate regarding the controversy about the trade-offs between fair working conditions and the competitiveness of local agricultural products. We use non-market valuation techniques designed to uncover the underlying preferences of Greek consumers towards a food labeling system that certifies ‘fair’ working conditions for the workers employed at all stages of agricultural production. Our aim is to understand whether consumers’ alleged disapproval of unfair working practices is reflected in their willingness-to-pay (WTP) a premium above regular prices of conventional agricultural products. Most relevant to our work is a labeling system that is already in place in the global agro-food system known as Fair Trade (FT) labels.² However, fair labour labeling is distinct from fair trade labeling in that the latter is mainly focused on commodities or products which are typically exported from developing countries to developed countries and thus, is focused on helping producers in *developing countries*.

Although previous research has studied ethically-related food marketing claims related to animal welfare, environment, or fair trade, we are not aware of prior research that has focused specifically on consumer preferences for agricultural employee pay and working conditions. However, recent works by [Howard and Allen \(2006, 2010\)](#) and [Hustvedt and Bernard \(2010\)](#)

¹Although the decline in demand is an indication that part of the society does not tolerate the mistreatment and unfair working conditions of the workers, demand recovered when the dust settled down and the media coverage stopped. This does not mean that consumers do not care about fair working conditions. It likely reflects the fact that when something is not in their focus of attention, they tend to ignore or forget it. This is analogous to many consumers finding an animal slaughtering video repelling, which could perhaps make some of them temporarily stop eating meat, but which would doubtfully turn them into vegetarians.

²For a recent critical overview of the economic theory behind Fair Trade, see [Dragusanu et al. \(2014\)](#).

provide accumulated evidence of the demand for labour-related information on a variety of products. Using both hypothetical and non-hypothetical methods, the studies found that consumers are willing to pay a premium for products, the production of which mandates subsistence wages to all employees in the production chain. Our aim in this paper is to take this line of research a step forward by introducing and testing labels that ensure not only subsistence wages but also the governance of working hours, access to decent housing, and the availability of personal hygiene facilities and health care services. Given that employment in Greek farms is mostly seasonal and reliant on illegal immigrants who might have less recourse through traditional legal channels, these additional conditions are likely aspects of an agro-food labour market that consumers might find desirable.³

Although there are legal means by which the state could sanction farmers and businesses that do not comply with the law with respect to the legal status of their workers or the legal benefits of the labourers etc., these laws are rarely enforced. For example, a law that prohibits farmers from hiring immigrants who are not green card holders is already in place in Greece. However, the law is widely not implemented. From the farmers perspective, there are good reasons for the non-implementation because of the high risk of encountering a shortage of farm labourers if they abide by these laws.⁴

³There are no official statistics to back our claim that the agricultural sector heavily relies on illegal immigrants because statistical services do not collect green card status information as this is considered sensitive personal information. Even if the collection of this information was possible, it would likely be unreliable given that it is questionable how many of the illegal immigrants would not try to escape census registration.

However, the illegal immigrant status of many labourers in the agricultural sector is implied by at least two facts. For one, Southern Europe's model of migration is very different from the Northern European model of migration and is characterized (among others) by its broad 'illegality' connected to the migration controls imposed by EU countries, heterogeneity of the nationalities of the immigrants, and male predominance (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2005). Illegal migratory flows for Greece in particular, have been facilitated by the geographic location of Greece, characterized by extended coastlines and relatively easier crossed borders, which act as the eastern gate to the EU (Kasimis, 2008). Moreover, the nature of the Greek economy, which is based on tourism, allows the legal entry of migrants who could then stay illegally upon the expiration of their visas (Kasimis, 2008).

Second, it is the structure of the farm labour market that attracts illegal low-skilled immigrants. Officially, migrants' share in the total population was 7.57% in 2015 (Eurostat, 2016) but the actual share is often estimated to be larger than official statistics (e.g., Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2005). Immigrants represent a higher share of the economically active population (Kasimis et al., 2003) due to their relatively younger age. The main working nationalities in the agricultural sector are Albanians, Bulgarians, Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (Kasimis and Papadopoulos, 2013). The presence of immigrants in the country skyrocketed after the collapse of the communist regimes in Central and Eastern European countries, which resulted in hundreds of thousands of (predominantly) Albanians, Bulgarians and Romanians flowing into the country (Kasimis et al., 2003). For the immigrants, the agricultural sector has been very attractive because they can adjust easily to farm work, which often serves as a first step in their pursuit for a higher standard of living. The continuous inflow of immigrants reflects a labour market model where 'old' immigrants are replaced by 'newcomers' (Kasimis, 2008). Thus, collective action and bargaining are limited by the nature of this labour market.

⁴After the outbreak of the strawberry farm incidents, the media reported stories that although farmers

The illegal part of the equation is easier to resolve. For example, with a recently passed bill, farms in Greece will have the right to legally hire labourers without a green card for temporary farm work as long as farmers have registered the workers.⁵ However, this law does not enforce the other dimensions of the working environment such as subsistence wages, working hours, access to decent housing, personal hygiene facilities as well as health care services, which are additional elements of a fair labour certification system.

To uncover consumers' preferences for a fair labour label, this study uses traditional stated preferences methods augmented with recent methodological advances designed to identify and weed out potential biases. We conducted a large scale questionnaire based experiment in two cities of Greece, Athens and Ioannina. We collected data from personal interviews of more than 3,800 subjects. In addition to the empirical objective related to fair labour labels, we also explore several methodological issues that are relevant to nonmarket valuation, such as social desirability bias, hypothetical bias, consequentiality of the survey, and certainty of responses. The next section describes the survey-experiment and the relevant methodological issues we address.

2 The valuation survey-experiment and methodological issues

The Contingent Valuation Method (CVM) has become one of the most popular methods to measure WTP values for public and private goods, services, or amenities. Although it was principally developed in environmental and transport economics, it has made considerable headway in the valuation of food products over the last decades (e.g., [Buzby et al., 1998](#); [Corsi, 2007](#)). Most, if not all, CVM studies are conducted in hypothetical contexts, particularly in environmental valuation studies where a real market with salient payments is difficult to establish ([Carson, 2012](#); [Haab et al., 2013](#); [Kling et al., 2012](#)).

and cooperatives asked for more than 4500 farm labourers through an open call, only a handful of people actually responded to the advertisements. This situation is not different from what has happened in the US when the E-verify system was introduced and mandated in some states. For example, [Bohn et al. \(2015\)](#) find that in Arizona where E-verify was mandated in 2007, contrary to its intent, the law did not appear to have improved labour market outcomes of legal low-skilled workers who compete with unauthorized immigrants. For instance, they find evidence of diminished employment and increased unemployment among legal low-skilled workers. Furthermore, the state of Georgia in the United States has reportedly experienced a shortage of farm labourers due to the E-verify mandate driving immigrants out of Georgia. This has caused crops being left unharvested ([Mcardle, 2012](#); [Powell, 2012](#)). [Zahniser et al. \(2012\)](#) found through a simulation analysis that a large reduction in the number of unauthorized workers in all sectors of the U.S. economy (the consequence of E-verify) would lead to a longrun reduction in output and exports in agriculture as well as the broader economy.

⁵This has been made possible by Law 4384/2016, Article 58 (Government Gazette Series A, No 58).

2.1 The inferred valuation method

The CVM involves creating a hypothetical valuation scenario in which consumers are asked to state their WTP for the product in question. Empirical findings from several disciplines suggest that results from the CVM can be susceptible to social desirability bias. There are now several studies that show that when people are asked to predict other people's value, as in the Inferred Valuation method (discussed momentarily), they state a different value than their own (e.g., [Frederick, 2012](#); [Kurt and Inman, 2013](#); [Loewenstein and Adler, 1995](#); [van Boven et al., 2000, 2003](#)). [Lusk and Norwood \(2009b\)](#) used a modification of [Levitt and List's \(2007\)](#) additive utility model to illustrate how social desirability may carry over to non-market valuation and produce inflated bids that misrepresent respondents' preferences. Their so called Inferred Valuation (IVM) method, addresses social desirability bias by asking respondents to state their beliefs about the average consumer's valuation for a good.

[Lusk and Norwood \(2009a,b\)](#) argued that the IVM generates valuations that are less likely to suffer from normative or moral response biases (such as social desirability bias), and they found that responses to the IVM better predicted actual shopping behavior than did those from a CVM. They also found that the IVM produced less hypothetical bias when social desirability was present. The authors showed that goods with normative dimensions are more prone to social desirability bias and thus the IVM is more effective in bridging the gap between the laboratory and field valuations. In the spirit of [Lusk and Norwood \(2009a,b\)](#), [Pronin \(2007\)](#) argues that people tend to recognize biases in human judgment except when biases are their own, which implies that predictions over other peoples' preferences should mitigate biases.

2.2 Incentive compatible elicitation formats and consequentiality

Ever since the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) ([Arrow et al., 1993](#)) criticized the open-ended format as providing 'erratic and biased' responses, the favored elicitation format in the CVM literature has been the dichotomous choice (DC) format. Although other alternatives that were not considered by the NOAA panel were later developed, [Carson and Groves \(2007\)](#) offer a typology of elicitation formats that shows that all formats can be seen as generalizations of the DC format. The DC format has been favored due to its well known property of incentive compatibility. This is due to the Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem ([Gibbard, 1973](#); [Satterthwaite, 1975](#)) which states that for the case of more than two alternatives (i.e., non-DC formats), no non-dictatorial strategy-proof voting

procedure exists.⁶

This is to say that any response format with at least three possible outcomes is subject to individual manipulation (i.e., it is not incentive compatible). This does not imply, however, that any binary DC format is incentive compatible but that, by elimination, only a DC format could be incentive compatible assuming subjects believe that their response is consequential (meaning there is some probability that the respondent's answer will actually influence the provision of the good).⁷ As we discuss in the next paragraph, the consequentiality of the survey is a key condition in the assumption of incentive compatibility, and yet it is an issue that has only lately received much attention.

Much of the early literature has evolved around the presumption that hypothetical bias prevails in CVM estimates (i.e., that people tend to state a higher WTP in hypothetical questions as opposed to non-hypothetical questions). As such, a number of approaches have been proposed to mitigate hypothetical bias. As discussed above, the issue of consequentiality has only been given attention in the last few years. [Carson and Groves \(2007\)](#) argue that to produce useful information about an agent's preferences, survey results must be seen as potentially consequential.⁸ Under consequentiality, survey respondents are explicitly told that their responses to preference questions will influence provision of the good under valuation. As a result of [Carson and Groves's \(2007\)](#) suggestion, the literature examining the merits of consequential surveys has been rapidly growing.⁹ While proponents of the

⁶The theorem was formalized by [Gibbard \(1973\)](#) and [Satterthwaite \(1975\)](#) and noted in passing by [Dummett and Farquharson \(1961\)](#). See also [Svensson and Reffgen \(2014\)](#).

⁷While proponents of the DC format take this result about the incentive compatibility of the DC format as granted for any type of good, [Carson et al. \(1997\)](#) show that the DC format is not incentive compatible in the case of provision of a new private or quasi-public good. The incentive compatibility of the DC format can be restored for quasi-public or private goods only if the binary choice is between two different forms of the good, so that the valuation question represents a change in the good ([Carson et al., 2001](#); [Carson and Groves, 2007](#)).

⁸More recently, [Carson et al. \(2014\)](#) showed theoretically, that the conditions put forward by [Carson and Groves \(2007\)](#) for ensuring the incentive compatibility of the discrete choice format, also hold under weaker assumptions that do not require agent preferences to conform to expected utility. In addition, [Poe and Vossler \(2011\)](#) provide a discussion of the theoretical arguments set forth by [Carson and Groves \(2007\)](#) and accumulated supporting empirical evidence. [List and Price \(2013\)](#) also discuss the role of consequentiality in aligning hypothetical and real statements of value. [Rheinberger and Schläpfer \(2015\)](#) express doubt that [Carson et al.'s \(2014\)](#) results apply to the binary referendum with randomly assigned bids because, as they argue, the random bid assignment makes binary referendum CVM surveys incentive incompatible since a typical respondent is presented with a randomly assigned bid that might be very different from the actual cost of the project under consideration.

⁹Most of this strand of the literature find that consequentialism can align hypothetical values to real valuations. For example, [Vossler and Evans \(2009\)](#) find no elicitation bias in participants that vote in advisory referenda that regard their votes as consequential. [Vossler et al. \(2012\)](#) find a positive bias on WTP estimates for tree planting projects but that once the analysis is conditioned on the belief that responses had more than a 'weak' impact on policy, stated and real payment WTP functions were statistically identical. [Vossler and Watson \(2013\)](#) find negative hypothetical bias among inconsequential survey respondents that were to vote in a public referendum and that hypothetical bias goes away when they focus only on respondents that perceived

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2.3 Cheap talk

The Cheap Talk method has been used to potentially reduce hypothetical bias by reminding participants of the tendency among people to inflate their (hypothetical) valuations ([Kling et al., 2012](#)). However, the evidence of its effectiveness is far from conclusive. In particular, [Cummings and Taylor \(1999\)](#) proposed a quite lengthy cheap talk script which they found to be effective at reducing hypothetical bias in experiments using public good referenda. [List \(2001\)](#) and [Lusk \(2003\)](#) found that [Cummings and Taylor’s \(1999\)](#) cheap talk script lowered bids for inexperienced (unknowledgeable) consumers while [Brown et al. \(2003\)](#) and [Murphy et al. \(2005\)](#) concluded it was indeed successful but only for high payment amounts. [Blumenschein et al. \(2007\)](#) on the other hand, found that cheap talk has no significant impact while the results of [Morrison and Brown \(2009\)](#) suggest that it can over-calibrate responses and underestimate the actual WTP. Earlier attempts also failed to match the hypothetical with the actual WTP. Notably, [Cummings et al. \(1995\)](#) found that short scripts inflated the hypothetical bias while [Loomis et al. \(1996\)](#) argued that although the short script reminder reduced the ratio of hypothetical and actual WTP, this effect failed to reach statistical significance. Our script resembles the ones employed in [Champ et al. \(2009\)](#), [Bulte et al. \(2005\)](#) and [Aadland and Caplan \(2003\)](#) who successfully mitigated the bias and those of [Brummett et al. \(2007\)](#) and of [Poe et al. \(2002\)](#) that failed to do so.¹⁰ In

their vote as consequential. Similarly, [Herriges et al. \(2010\)](#) explore the role of policy consequentiality (note, that this is not the same as strong consequentiality unless respondents believe there is an implied payment obligation) and find that WTP distributions are equal only for subjects that believe that the survey has some potential for shaping policy decisions. [Whitehead et al. \(2016\)](#) find that participatory sporting event behavior accurately predicts actual behavior at a middle level of respondent certainty, overpredicts actual behavior at a lower level of certainty, and underpredicts behavior at a higher level of certainty. [Mitani and Flores \(2013\)](#) explore consequentiality of stated preference choices by means of a laboratory experiment and find that the probability of provision of a public good has a positive effect on contributions. On the other hand, [Oehlmann and Meyerhoff \(2016\)](#) find no effects tied to inclusion/exclusion of a consequentiality script on elicited valuations. On the empirical modelling forefront, [Czajkowski et al. \(2015\)](#) show how to appropriately integrate subjective measures of latent beliefs about consequentiality in econometric models by developing a Hybrid Mixed Logit model.

¹⁰The cheap talk scripts of [Aadland and Caplan \(2003\)](#) and [Poe et al. \(2002\)](#) were significantly shorter than ours and the rest.

addition, our cheap talk script was not designed neutral (as in [Aadland and Caplan \(2006\)](#) and [Silva et al. \(2011\)](#)) since we side with those who believe that the danger of hypothetical bias stems from inflated rather than deflated bids.

2.4 Reference dependent preferences

An additional challenge we face with this survey-experiment is the issue of reference-dependent preferences. In the presence of information asymmetry, reference points may be formulated differently for each consumer and thus, heterogeneity in valuations may not only reflect taste heterogeneity. In our context, for example, for the share of consumers aware of labour exploitation in farms, the current endowment corresponds to products whose production line entails undesirable practices. As such, the availability of certified alternatives is seen as an opportunity to upgrade the (extrinsic) quality of goods they consume, at a cost equal to the price premium of such alternatives. Clearly, this premium is better framed as their willingness-to-pay (WTP), which is defined as the maximum amount a consumer would be willing to pay in return for an increase (or upgrade) in his consumption for a good. This is the valuation measure used in most studies eliciting homegrown values (e.g., [Bateman et al., 2000](#)). On the other hand, there are uninformed consumers who think that currently available goods are produced using fair labour practices and thus, according to their (wrong) perception, the introduction of a certification system would induce an extra-cost for goods which are the same with the ones they are already consuming. As a result, their valuation is better framed as an ‘Equivalent loss’ (EL), defined as the maximum amount a consumer would be willing to pay in place of a reduction (or downgrade) in her consumption of a good.¹¹ Under Hicksian preferences, these two valuation measures should be equal to each other (EL=WTP), since ordering of consumption bundles is independent of individual’s endowment. However, if preferences are formed as in [Tversky and Kahneman’s \(1992\)](#) reference-dependent theory, this distinction is important. For this reason and to better approximate the average welfare of fair labour labels, we use both WTP and EL questions on a between-subjects basis.

The next section describes the experimental design we adopt to test the hypotheses described above.

¹¹While at a first glance one might think of EL as a willingness to accept measure (WTA), we would like to emphasize that EL and WTP are both ‘willingness to pay’ measures. The only difference is the starting point by which one is asked to pay. WTP is paying for an upgrade while EL is paying to avoid downgrading.

3 Experimental design and questionnaire development

To elicit valuations for the fair labour certification system, we chose a pack of 500gr of strawberries as our product of interest. This was our chosen product for a number of reasons. First, we needed a product which is widely consumed and would appeal to most consumers. Second, we wanted a product that can be sold in packages that could carry a labeling certification system; strawberries can and are often sold in a packaged form. Third, the production process of strawberries is a (manual) labour intensive process (labour contributes to 45-50% of total cost of strawberries ([Poinssot, 2013](#))).

All subjects were first informed about the fair labour certification system. Because there was the chance that subjects were familiar with a ‘fair trade’ label which could confound their perception of a ‘fair labour’ label, we wanted to make sure that all subjects would be actually valuing a ‘fair labour’ label by providing them a script with relevant information about fair labour labeling (the script can be found in [Appendix A.1](#)).

To answer the methodological issues we raised in the previous section, we adopted a design with elements of a within- as well as a between-subjects design ([Charness et al., 2012](#)). For the between-subjects design, we adopted a 4×2 design where we vary the scripts accompanying the valuation questions (control (no scripts) vs. cheap talk vs. consequentiality vs. cheap talk & consequentiality) as well as the elicited valuation measure (equivalent loss vs. willingness to pay). The five bid amounts used for the Discrete Choice format (20 cents vs. 40 cents vs. 70 cents vs. 100 cents vs. 120 cents) were selected based on projected historical prices of strawberries as well as feedback we received from the pilot survey (see [Appendix A.3](#) for a discussion of selection of bid amounts). The bid amounts were varied on a between subject basis so that each subject was asked for his/her valuation at only one bid amount. [Table 1](#) shows our experimental design and the per treatment number of subjects. Valuations were elicited using the CVM as well as the IVM on a within subjects basis. The order was counterbalanced.

The cheap talk script was compiled from several sources as well as our own previous work (e.g., [Bulte et al., 2005](#); [Lusk, 2003](#)) and reads as follows:

“In a minute you’ll be asked whether you are willing to pay a certain amount for strawberries.

This question will be hypothetical, that is, you will not actually have to pay. In general, people experience difficulties in answering hypothetical questions. They often state they are willing to pay an amount larger than the amount they are willing to pay in reality.

One reason why this happens is because when the time comes to actually

Table 1: Experimental design

		Equivalent Loss					Willingness to pay					Total
Bid amount		20	40	70	100	120	20	40	70	100	120	
IVM then CVM	Control	46	47	47	47	47	51	50	49	49	48	481
	Consequentiality	44	47	47	47	47	48	47	48	48	48	471
	Cheap talk	47	47	47	47	47	48	47	47	47	48	472
	Cheap talk & Consequentiality	47	47	47	47	47	49	48	48	48	48	476
CVM then IVM	Control	48	48	48	49	46	50	49	49	49	49	485
	Consequentiality	46	47	47	46	48	50	49	49	50	49	481
	Cheap talk	46	47	47	47	47	49	49	49	49	49	479
	Cheap talk & Consequentiality	47	47	47	48	48	49	48	48	49	49	480
Total		371	377	377	378	377	394	387	387	389	388	3825

Notes: CVM stands for Contingent valuation; IVM stands for Inferred Valuation.

make the payment, they also consider that this money won't be available for other purchases. Therefore, when the question is hypothetical, it is easier to exaggerate their response.

Before answering the willingness to pay question, try to think whether you are really willing to pay this amount for strawberries and that this amount will no longer be available for other purchases."

The consequentiality script was adopted from [Vossler and Watson \(2013\)](#) and [Vossler and Evans \(2009\)](#) and reads as follows:

"We would like to inform you that the survey results will become available to producers, traders and retailers of agricultural products as well as to the wider general public of consumers. This means that this survey could affect the decision of producers, traders and retailers to adopt a Fair labour certification system for strawberries as well as the average price of strawberries."

After the script(s) was(were) read, the valuation questions followed. In the control (no script) treatment, the valuation treatments followed right after information about the fair labour label was given. The willingness to pay valuation measure was framed as:

"Assume you are given a pack of half a kilo of conventional strawberries without any certification [show picture 2]. Would you be willing to pay XX cents so that you can exchange it with a similar pack of strawberries certified with a fair labour label [show picture 3]?"¹²

¹²The pictures can be found in Appendix [A.2](#).

Conversely, the equivalent loss measure was framed as:

“Assume you are given a pack of half a kilo of strawberries certified with a fair labour label [show picture 3]. Would you be willing to pay XX cents so that you can avoid exchanging it with a pack of conventional strawberries without any certification? [show picture 2]”

Following the literature on certainty scales (Champ et al., 1997; Morrison and Brown, 2009), every CVM discrete choice question was followed by a question asking respondents to state how certain they were about their response on a 10-point scale anchored with the labels “Not certain at all” and “Very certain” .

Similar to the CVM questions, the IVM questions were formatted to elicit the willingness to pay measure:

“Assume that an average consumer is given a pack of half a kilo of conventional strawberries without any certification [show picture 2]. Do you think s/he would be willing to pay XX cents so that s/he can exchange it with a similar pack of strawberries certified with a fair labour label [show picture 3]?”

or the equivalent loss valuation measure:¹³

“Assume that an average consumer is given a pack of half a kilo of strawberries certified with a fair labour label [show picture 3]. Do you think s/he would be willing to pay XX cents so that s/he can avoid exchanging it with a pack of conventional strawberries without any certification? [show picture 2]”

A consequentiality question was also included to allow us to test for differences in responses between respondents with different consequentiality perceptions of the survey. The

¹³ One of the reviewers pointed that the equivalent loss valuation measure, where subjects are asked their willingness to pay for avoiding an exchange, places subjects in a very artificial situation. Although the situation presented to subjects is not aligned to their everyday shopping, we argue that this is a credible exchange situation. To reiterate the example given before, consider a person that thinks that food products are produced following what the law mandates; i.e., only green card holders work in farms, they are paid the minimum wage and extra compensation for working overtime, they have decent housing conditions etc. For these consumers, the introduction of a fair labour certification system would induce an extra-cost for goods which are the same with the ones they are already consuming. As a result, the new product offer is seen as a loss; a downgrade in their consumption of a good; i.e., paying more for a certified product that is not seen as a higher quality product. Our script tries to mimic this situation. The particular wording was constructed with the intention to be as close as possible to the wording of the WTP question so that there are no other nuisance factors in the effect we are trying to isolate. Furthermore, placing consumers in situations unfamiliar to them is sometimes necessary for studying economic phenomena. Think about any experimental study of risk preferences, for example, where researchers typically ask subjects to choose between well defined lotteries with specific probabilities and monetary outcomes. Consumers are not really familiar with choosing between lotteries in their everyday life. Yet, not many economists would argue that studies of lottery choice are not useful for studying risk preferences.

question was adopted from [Vossler and Watson \(2013\)](#) and [Vossler et al. \(2012\)](#). Participants had to indicate the indirect consequences of the survey on a five point likert scale anchored by “not at all” and “very much”. The question was framed as:

“To what extent do you believe that your answers in this survey will be taken into account by producers, traders and retailers?”

The questionnaire also elicited respondents’ beliefs about the likelihood of hypothetical bias and social desirability bias (using the social desirability scale (SDS) of [Stöber \(2001\)](#)). Recently, research in the area of non-market valuation has identified political affiliation and means of provision of the good; i.e., privately or collectively, as a determinant of willingness to pay for public goods (e.g., [Dupont and Bateman, 2012](#)). This mainly originates from a body of research that has found significant differences in the degree of concern for environmental goods expressed by individuals with different political affiliations. While our valuation exercise does not concern a public good, aspects of the fair labour label may appeal to political ideology; e.g., the minimum wage provision. Therefore, a political ideology question was included, which we adopted from the European Social Survey. A set of demographic questions on age, gender, education, household size and perceived income position of the household was also asked as well as questions related to respondents’ price sensitivity with respect to grocery shopping and purchase frequency of strawberries.

4 Data collection methods

A pilot questionnaire was pre-tested in February-March 2014 in the city of Athens with 160 subjects, after which several adjustments were made. The full scale survey was then launched on April 1, 2014 and questionnaires were filled in until June 11, 2014. The period of data collection was predominantly dictated by the fact that strawberries are mainly traded during April, May and early June. Consumers were randomly intercepted in front of the main entrance of various supermarkets. In all, 11,510 subjects were intercepted in the cities of Athens and Ioannina and 3,825 agreed to take part in the survey resulting in a cooperation rate of 33.23%. Of course, several subjects walked out during an interview or opted not to respond to certain questions, which further reduced the available number of subjects for statistical analysis.

Regarding the demographic profile of our sample, [Table 2](#) shows that the vast majority of respondents were females (66.36%). This is not as problematic as it may seem given that the primary shoppers in Greece, as in many other countries, are typically females. For example, one study estimates that 75% of principal household shoppers in the US are

females (Mediamark Research and Intelligence, 2009). Therefore, the gender composition of our sample is not representative of the population of the two cities but it might better represent the grocery shopping population. Since we also asked respondents to report on the age and gender composition of their household, we can also compare the demographic profile of respondents’ households with that of the 2001 census (which is the latest available census for which basic demographic information are available). The comparison (see Table 2) shows that discrepancies with the 2001 census are small.

Table 2: Comparison of gender and age groups between survey respondents, their household members and the 2001 census (percentages)

	Males	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	≥ 70
Respondents	33.64	0.00	3.47	24.07	22.37	23.50	17.29	7.13	2.18
Households	48.24	8.22	11.89	20.77	15.39	16.61	16.96	7.05	3.03
Census	48.45	9.22	11.46	16.37	16.06	14.54	11.93	10.45	9.96

5 Data analysis and results

As in every experiment, it is critical to explore whether randomization to treatment was successful by testing if the observable characteristics are balanced across the between subjects treatments. Table 3 shows the basic descriptive statistics for a set of observable characteristics. With respect to demographic variables, there is no significant difference between treatments for gender (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 5.132$, p-value=0.644), education (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 20.168$, p-value=0.979), income (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 39.326$, p-value=0.076), age (Kruskal-Wallis $\chi^2 = 5.599$, p-value=0.587) and household size (Kruskal-Wallis $\chi^2 = 3.341$, p-value=0.852).

We also find no difference between treatments with respect to the Social Desirability score (Kruskal-Wallis $\chi^2 = 6.128$, p-value=0.525), political ideology (Kruskal-Wallis $\chi^2 = 8.036$, p-value=0.329), purchase frequency of strawberries (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 30.800$, p-value=0.671), price sensitivity in purchasing decisions (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 22.302$, p-value=0.767), perceived likelihood of hypothetical bias for the respondent (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 31.952$, p-value=0.276) and perceived likelihood of hypothetical bias for other respondents (Pearson’s $\chi^2 = 23.605$, p-value=0.702). Thus, we can safely conclude that the randomization to treatment on a wide set of observable characteristics was successful.

Table 3: Descriptives statistics of subjects' observable characteristics

Variable name and description	Variable levels	N	Mean	S.D.
Gender: Male dummy		3763	0.34	0.47
Age		3721	39.97	13.77
Hsize: Household size		3708	3.40	1.25
Shopper: Dummy for major grocery shopper		3754	0.78	0.41
SDS: Social Desirability Scale		3636	11.35	2.68
Political: Political ideology scale		3312	4.66	2.14
Educ: Education level	Up to primary school	3708	3.61%	
	Up to Junior Hi-school		4.75%	
	Up to Senior Hi-school		22.92%	
	Some college or university student		21.90%	
	University graduate		37.30%	
	Post-graduate studies		9.52%	
Income: Household's economic position	Bad or Very bad	3702	5.73%	
	Below average		11.16%	
	Average		47.41%	
	Above average		19.75%	
	Good or Very good		15.96%	
HBiasOwn: Perceived likelihood of hypothetical bias for the respondent	Not likely at all	3725	40.70%	
	Unlikely		31.03%	
	Neither likely, nor unlikely		15.09%	
	Likely		11.49%	
	Very likely		1.69%	
HBiasOther: Perceived likelihood of hypothetical bias for other respondents	Not likely at all	3709	4.26%	
	Unlikely		20.22%	
	Neither likely, nor unlikely		32.27%	
	Likely		33.67%	
	Very likely		9.57%	
PurchFreq: Purchase frequency (when strawberries are available)	Never	3707	14.32%	
	Once a month		25.06%	
	2-3 times a month		21.12%	
	Once a week		28.16%	
	2-3 times a week		9.55%	
	More than 2-3 times a week		1.78%	
PriceSens: Price sensitivity	Not important at all	3695	1.14%	
	Not important		3.82%	
	Neither important, nor unimportant		15.21%	
	Important		42.14%	
	Very important		37.70%	

Notes: S.D. stands for standard deviation. For variables with levels, the percentage of each level is denoted instead of the mean. For each variable the sample was restricted to observations for which subjects gave responses to both the CVM and IVM.

5.1 Descriptive data analysis

Before we proceed with the econometric analysis, we can gain interesting insights by looking at the raw data. Figure 1 graphs the percentage of Yes/No responses elicited with the CVM in the discrete choice question for each of the four script treatments. Two observations are noteworthy. First, it appears that in all treatments, the elicited values are responsive to prices (bid amounts); we observe a decline of ‘Yes’ responses when the bid amount increases. The 40 cents bid yields statistically significantly lower proportion of ‘Yes’ responses as compared to the 20 cent bid ($p\text{-value}<0.001$); the 70 cent bid yields significantly lower responses than the 40 cent bid ($p\text{-value}=0.001$); the 100 cent bid is also lower and statistically different than the 70 cent bid ($p\text{-value}=0.015$) while the 120 cent bid does not differ with respect to the 100 cent bid ($p\text{-value}=0.829$). In addition, a significant percentage of subjects states a high value for the fair labour certification label even when the bid is up to 120 cents. This is interesting since the amount of 120 cents represents a 171% increase in the price of strawberries (with respect to a price of 70 cents/500 gr). Appendix A.5 also lists probit estimates in Table A2 with price amounts as the independent variables (70 cents is the base level), which shows significant price sensitivity for the CVM format. For the IVM format price sensitivity halts after the amount of 70 cents which means that although the IVM may be mitigating one kind of bias, data could still suffer from other kinds of biases (Morkbak et al., 2010).

Second, it appears that the different scripts are not effective in changing response patterns with respect to the control (no script) treatment. This is confirmed by proportion tests where we find that the proportion of ‘Yes’ responses in the Control treatment is not significantly different from the Consequentiality script treatment ($p\text{-value}=0.225$); or the Cheap talk script treatment ($p\text{-value}=0.720$); or the Cheap talk & Consequentiality script treatment ($p\text{-value}=0.082$). We reconfirm these findings in the conditional analysis below and so to save space we’ll confine attention to these results in Appendix A.4.

Figure 2 graphs the proportion of responses in the discrete choice question for the IVM. The findings are similar to those in the CVM: we find no effect of the scripts on responses ($p\text{-value}=0.285$, 0.413 and 0.866 when we compare the Control treatment with the Cheap talk script, Consequentiality script and Cheap talk & Consequentiality script treatments, respectively). In addition, while proportion of ‘Yes’ responses declines for the first two bid amounts, it is flat after 70 cents. Proportion tests indicate that the 40 cents bid amount yields a significantly lower proportion of ‘Yes’ responses when compared with the 20 cents bid ($p\text{-value}<0.001$), while the 70 cents bid yields lower ‘Yes’ proportion than the 40 cents bid ($p\text{-value}<0.001$). However, the 100 cents and 120 cents do not yield different responses when compared with the 70 cents bid ($p\text{-value}=0.443$ and 0.672, respectively).

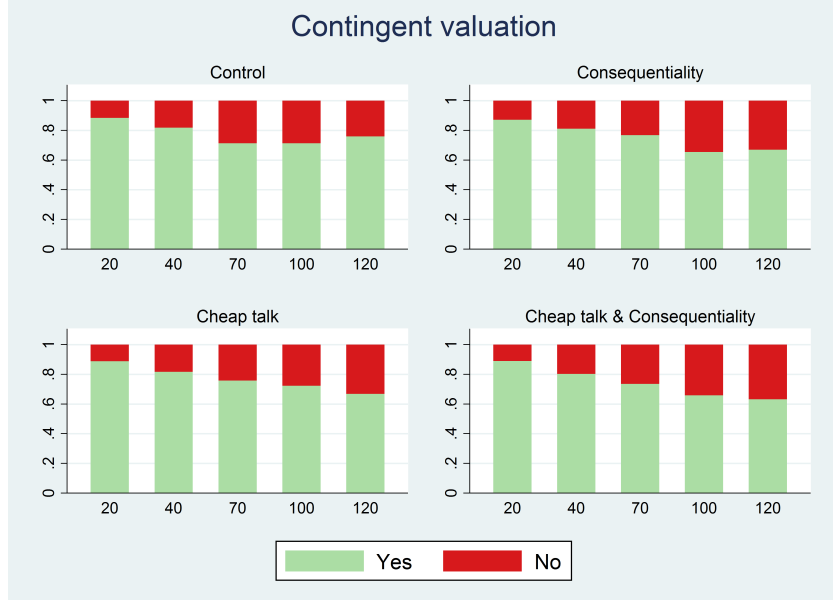


Figure 1: Percentage of Yes/No responses in the CVM per treatment

What is even more interesting is that the IVM seems to work as advertised. Figure 2 shows that for all bid amounts, the IVM yields a significantly lower proportion of ‘Yes’ responses when compared with the CVM shown in Figure 1. Proportion tests show that differences are highly significant for all bid amounts (p-values<0.001 in all cases). The difference in the proportion of ‘Yes’ is larger than 30% for all bid amounts. This is an indication that the IVM may be more valid for predicting market outcomes.

Figures 3 and 4 compare the elicited value measures (Equivalent loss vs. Willingness to pay) for the CVM and the IVM, respectively. It is obvious that since the proportion of ‘Yes’ responses is higher for WTP than EL, then it is implied that values elicited under WTP are larger than values elicited under EL. Proportions tests confirm the insight that the proportion of ‘Yes’ for WTP is larger than EL under the CVM (p-value=0.017) and under the IVM (p-value<0.001).

5.2 Econometric analysis

To check whether the results obtained above hold under conditional analysis, we estimated interval regression models with clustered standard errors at the individual level to account for the fact that each person provided responses under both CVM and IVM.¹⁴

¹⁴In the interval regression the upper and lower limits are set to the price if the answer is a ‘No’ and ‘Yes’, respectively. This set up of the interval regression model is completely equivalent to a probit model with price as one of the independent variables (Cameron and James, 1987; Cameron, 1988). We chose to estimate interval regression models because the estimates from these models are easier to interpret and the

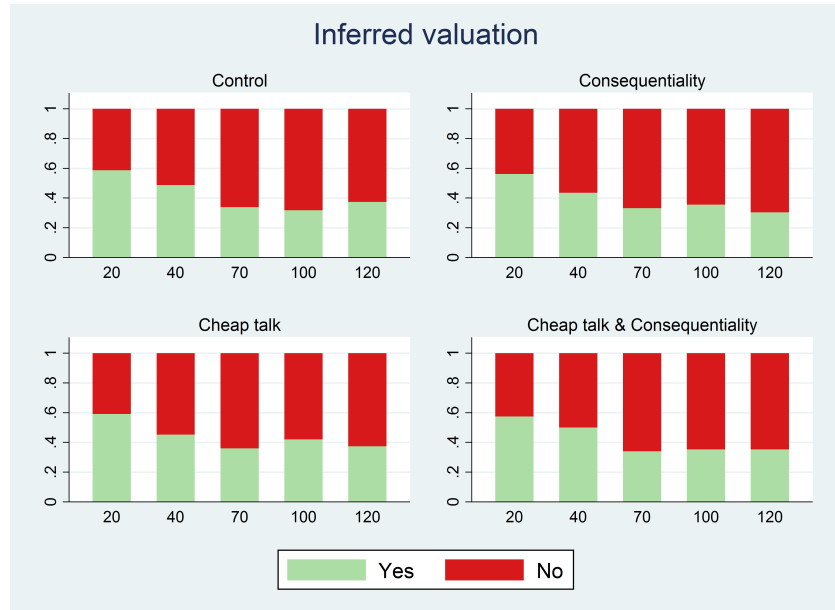


Figure 2: Percentage of Yes/No responses in the IVM per treatment

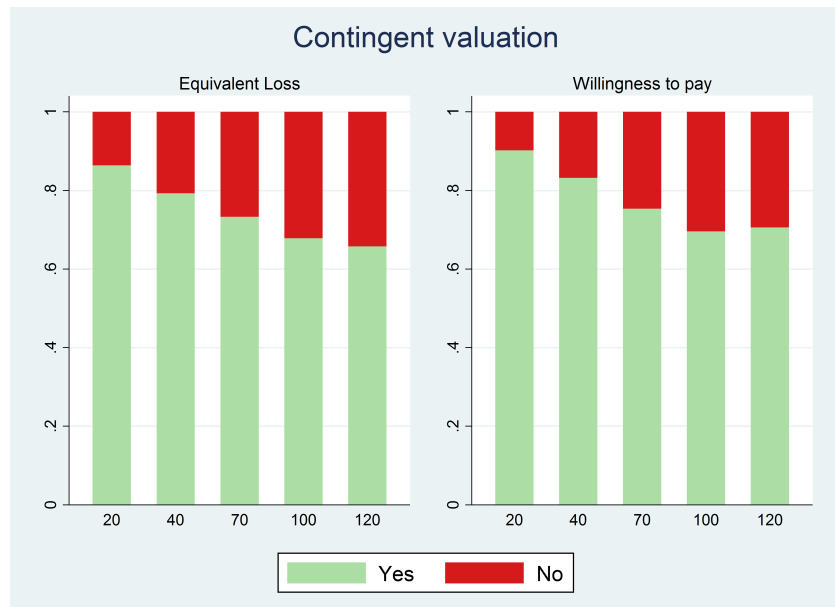


Figure 3: Percentage of Yes/No responses in the CVM per value measure

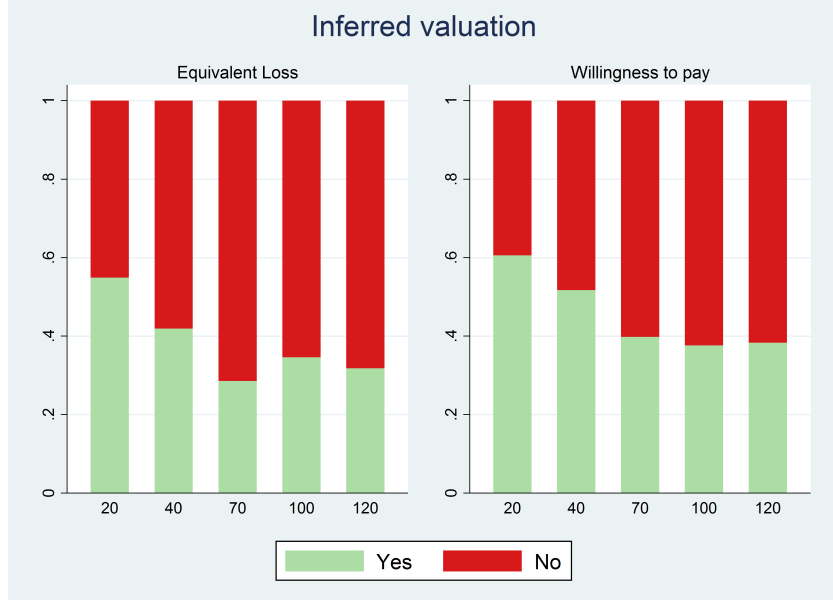


Figure 4: Percentage of Yes/No responses in the IVM per value measure

Table 4 shows the coefficient estimates from several specifications. Model (1) is our basic specification where only the treatment variables are included in the regression. We confirm that none of the scripts (Cheap talk, Consequentiality or their combination) has any effect on elicited valuations.¹⁵ We provide a more detailed discussion about the script treatment effects in Appendix A.4.

On the other hand, the IVM dummy is highly significant indicating that subjects under the IVM are stating lower valuations, which is likely an indication that this method successfully mitigates social desirability and hypothetical bias. The WTP dummy is also highly significant indicating that elicited valuations are higher when the valuation question is framed as a WTP question rather than as an EL question. Our result supports the [Tversky and Kahneman's \(1991\)](#) ‘no loss in buying’ hypothesis which states that buyers do not value the money they give up in a transaction as a loss. To understand why, one needs to consider that if agents are loss averse and the money given for an upgrade is perceived as a loss, then when the upgrade *per se* is framed as loss avoidance, WTP cannot be higher

variance of WTP is directly estimated ([Hanemann and Kanninen, 2001](#)).

¹⁵Since hypothetical and social desirability bias are not entirely distinct, one might reasonably expect the effect of a treatment to vary by context. As an example, we might expect the consequentiality script to mitigate hypothetical bias and its effect to be more pronounced in the CVM format than in the IVM format, since the IVM format mitigates social desirability bias. However, when we test for interaction effects between the treatment dummies and the IVM dummy, none of the interaction terms crosses conventional statistical significance levels. In addition, since all scripts were read in the beginning of the questionnaire and our data revealed a significant order effect, we also interacted the order dummy with the treatment dummies. However, none of the interaction terms was significant as well.

than EL.¹⁶ Another possible explanation is that the framing of the EL and WTP questions induced expectations that were opposite to current endowments; that is, subjects in the WTP treatment expected to upgrade while those in the EL treatment expected to downgrade. This latter explanation, combined with the model of [Kőszegi and Rabin \(2006\)](#) where expectations, and not the status-quo, act as endowments, would cause WTP to be higher than EL. Finally, there is evidence of significant order effects indicating that when the IVM question was asked first, then subjects tended to align their response in the CVM question. This could be due to the fact that answering the IVM question first and the CVM second, made subjects think about their own biases.

In an effort to improve the credibility of values elicited with hypothetical methods, certainty corrections in the form of follow up questions after value elicitation questions have often been used. The process involves recoding uncertain ‘Yes’ responses as ‘No’ responses. The practical difficulty that arises, however, is the proper determination of the threshold value below which responses should be considered as uncertain. In studies for which both hypothetical and real valuations have been collected, there is a benchmark criterion that can be used. For example, in [Champ et al. \(1997\)](#) and [Blumenschein et al. \(2001\)](#) any person with a response of 9 or lower was classified as ‘uncertain’ and their WTP values were recoded accordingly. The cut-off of 9 was selected because this threshold produced a mean willingness to pay that was equivalent to actual willingness to pay. In [Morrison and Brown \(2009\)](#), the cut-off was set at 7 because this value aligned hypothetical values with real values. For similar reasons the threshold was set to 7 in [Ethier et al. \(2000\)](#) and [Poe et al. \(2002\)](#).

Given that in our study we did not elicit real valuations due to the hypothetical nature of the product, we utilized an idea discussed in [Beck et al. \(2013\)](#) that in order to decide if one model with a certainty correction is ‘better’ than another model with a different certainty correction, the researcher could use model fit statistics to arrive at a conclusion. The assumption behind this idea is that the model that better fits the data, is behaviorally representative of the decision making process. Therefore, we estimated interval regression models with thresholds varying from 6 to 9 and then calculated information criteria like Akaike’s IC and Bayesian IC. Table A4 in Appendix A.5 shows the estimated coefficients from these models and their respective IC. It is obvious that when compared to the basic model with no correction, a model with a threshold for certainty at a value of 8 is the best fitting model.

Given this, we recoded the ‘Yes’ responses in the CVM question using a rating of 8 in the certainty question as the cut-off. Column (2) in Table 4 shows the results. None of

¹⁶This claim is valid only if the money spent in EL do feel as a loss. To our knowledge, this assumption has not been questioned so far in the relevant literature.

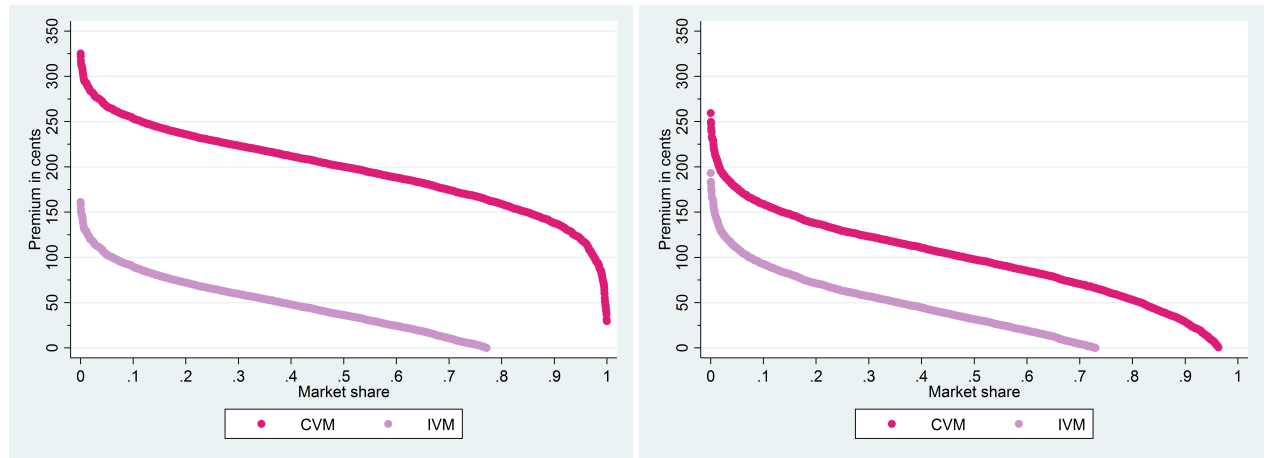
Table 4: Interval regression estimates

	Without certainty correction (1)	With certainty correction (2)
Consequentiality	-10.435 (7.976)	-2.806 (8.445)
Cheap talk	3.198 (8.008)	7.877 (8.492)
Cheap talk & Consequentiality	-6.995 (7.980)	-2.169 (8.430)
IVM	-153.459*** (12.278)	-63.284*** (6.965)
WTP	25.224*** (6.002)	22.584*** (6.307)
Order	-34.028*** (6.177)	-37.491*** (6.653)
Constant	197.542*** (12.053)	101.694*** (8.188)
$\ln(\sigma)$	5.091*** (0.077)	5.221*** (0.082)
N	7544	7544
AIC	8998.514	10086.223
BIC	9053.943	10141.651

Clustered standard errors in parentheses * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

our conclusions changes. The only difference we observe with the addition of demographics (estimates are shown in Table A3 in the Appendix A.5) is that for the inconsequential subsample, framing of the valuation question does not matter; i.e., we observe that willingness to pay equals equivalent loss.

We can then proceed in graphing the aggregate demand curves for strawberries with fair labour certification. Figures 5a and 5b do exactly that for valuations elicited with CVM and IVM.¹⁷ Given that IVM mitigates social desirability bias and the importance of certainty in elicited valuations, it would be advisable for producers and retailers to base their marketing decisions on the IVM curve of Figure 5b. Each point on this curve indicates the percentage of respondents that would buy half a kilo of strawberries with fair labour certification at the premium projected on the Y axis. The fact that the IVM curve intersects the X axis indicates that a percentage of consumers would not buy strawberries with fair labour certification even when these are offered at no premium at all.



(a) Derived from model (1) in Table A3 (w/o certainty correction) (b) Derived from model (4) in Table A3 (w/ certainty correction)

Figure 5: Aggregate demand curves for the CVM and IVM

¹⁷For graphing the aggregate demand curves we used predicted valuations from models (1) (without certainty correction) and (4) (with certainty correction) shown in Table A3. We use the models with demographics because these provide more variation in predicted values between subjects and avoids graphing a step function. We then sort the predicted valuations from lowest positive value to highest positive value. Note that the predictions are not precluded from being negative which are to be interpreted as cases for which subjects do not value the good offered as of higher quality. The lowest positive predicted valuation can be interpreted as a price point which all subjects with positive valuations would be willing to pay. The highest positive predicted valuation can be interpreted as a price point which none of the subjects would be willing to pay. A similar exercise can be performed for each individual prediction, achieving a one-to-one correspondence between predicted WTPs and the percent of subjects willing to pay that particular price (given a representative sample, this can be thought of as a market share). The points can then be plotted producing scatter graphs similar to Figures 5a and 5b.

6 Conclusions and discussion

There have been increasing calls around the world for urgent action to tackle widespread abuse of migrant workers in the agri-food sector. In addition, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, clearly states the promotion of full and productive employment and decent work for all, as one of its main goals (Goal 8).¹⁸ This paper sought to contribute to the debate regarding the controversy about the trade-offs between fair working conditions and the competitiveness of local agricultural products. To do so, we used a Contingent Valuation survey designed to uncover the underlying preferences of Greek consumers towards a food labeling system that certifies fair working conditions for the workers employed at all production stages of agricultural products. In addition to this important empirical objective, we also examined several methodological issues; i.e, how we can mitigate hypothetical bias, social desirability bias, and lack of consequentiality. We also examined predictions of reference dependent theory by testing whether framing the valuation question as an ‘Equivalent Loss’ (EL) differs from the classical ‘Willingness-to-pay’ elicitation.

Given the widely reported tendency for respondents to overstate their WTP in stated preferences studies, it seems reasonable to suggest that the IVM was more successful than using a short cheap talk script in mitigating social desirability bias. However, none of the scripts we employed (i.e., cheap talk, consequentiality and their combination) had any effect on elicited valuations. For the consequentiality script, this is surprising given that it has emerged as an important addition to standard CVM studies (Vossler and Evans, 2009; Vossler and Watson, 2013). For the cheap talk script, on the other hand, our finding is not uncommon given the mixed results obtained in the literature. However, we do not wish to downplay a well established strand of the literature which has identified the effectiveness of cheap talk scripts in mitigating hypothetical bias (e.g., Lusk, 2003; Morrison and Brown, 2009; Özdemir et al., 2009). One way to interpret our null result from the evaluation of these two scripts is that using scripts from previous studies is not a panacea that will work in every single study.

One of the reviewers of our paper offers another explanation for the ineffectiveness of the consequentiality script. S/he advances the argument that in other consequentiality studies there has been a clearly defined institution responsible for implementing certain manage-

¹⁸The Agenda is a universal plan, signed in 2015 by all 193 Member States of the United Nations that seeks to stimulate action over the next fifteen years in areas of critical importance for humanity and the planet. Responsible for the design and implementation of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) included in the agenda, is the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN) set up by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon in 2012. More information about the SDSN network can be found at <http://unsdsn.org/> and for the Greek chapter at <http://www.unsdsn.gr/>. Both were last accessed on August 11, 2016.

ment actions of laws. However, in our case there is no single institution that implements changes because the set of producers, traders and retailers is a very large one. As such, the consequentiality script might lack credibility and this could explain the ineffectiveness of the consequentiality script. The reviewer correctly notes that the context of the script we used is different from, for example, that of [Vossler and Evans \(2009\)](#) in which there was an actual referendum with binding consequences where they noted to voters that the experimenters would use their votes ‘... as advice on whether or not to pass the referendum’. However, for the survey to be consequential, it does not have to be that all producers should coordinate in producing fair labour labelled products or that the law mandates an action (we will discuss momentarily why the fair labour label should be looked at as a voluntary scheme). We could plausibly assume that if agents are profit maximizers and they find that they can make more money by certifying their products as fair labour products, then they would be better off using a fair labour label. That is, the survey could be seen as consequential if market forces could drive just a small part of the supply chain to demand a fair labour product due to consumer demand.

Furthermore, not all studies where there is a clearly defined institution for implementing changes have been successful in calibrating WTP based on perceived consequentiality. [Remoundou et al. \(2012\)](#) examined whether WTP estimates for the design and implementation of a forest restoration project were sensitive to the supervising authority (National government vs. European Commission) and found no effect despite the significant differences in the trust levels reported for the two institutions. [Oehlmann and Meyerhoff \(2016\)](#) elicit WTP regarding landscape externalities from renewable energy development in Germany using a discrete choice experiment. They implement a 2×2 experimental design where they vary the institution responsible for the implementation (State vs. Federal) and the provision of information about whether the results will be provided to decision makers. They do not find any significant differences between treatments in terms of the WTP estimates nor when they test for differences among those respondents who perceive their choices as consequential. [Oehlmann and Meyerhoff \(2016\)](#) note that although it is critical that respondents are convinced that their responses are consequential, this is not always under the control of the researcher since it could also be influenced by the social and political debate on the topic explored. They conclude that a consequentiality device is not a general tool to calibrate stated WTP since it can depend on certain conditions. [Oehlmann and Meyerhoff \(2016\)](#) note a point made in [Vossler et al. \(2012\)](#) that requirements for consequential choice may not be present when stated preference studies are conducted on a hotly debated topic where participants have entrenched political views. In this case, beliefs about the strategic value of non-truthful voting may be much stronger and could introduce bias in the measurement

of preferences. We agree with [Oehlmann and Meyerhoff \(2016\)](#) that more research is needed to further test the conditions of the effectiveness of consequentiality scripts in reducing hypothetical bias in different contexts.

Our results also show that values elicited under WTP are larger than values elicited under EL, which supports [Tversky and Kahneman’s \(1991\)](#) ‘no loss in buying’ hypothesis; i.e., that buyers do not consider the money they give up in a transaction as a loss or [Kőszegi and Rabin’s \(2006\)](#) as a model of expectation-based preferences, especially if our framing has reversed the perception of the status-quo. When social desirability is taken out of our estimates and we correct for uncertainty, we find that consumers are willing to pay an average premium of 53 cents per 500 gr, 95% CI [43.9, 62.3], of strawberries with fair labour certification¹⁹, which is equivalent to 72.6% of the average realized mode price for April-May 2014 (which was at €1.46/Kg). This can be valuable information for producers and retailers that seek to differentiate their products and who are wondering whether costs associated with product differentiation can be recouped from potential customers.

The fair labour label should not be looked at as a scheme that would force all farmers to offer better working conditions and hire only green card holders. We believe that a mandatory scheme would not be viable given that a law mandating the hiring of only green card holders could not always be enforced. In addition, enforcement of a labelling scheme could have all the unintended consequences that states like Georgia in the United States experienced after the mandatory introduction of E-verify. This drove illegal immigrants out of the state with devastating consequences for farmers. A voluntary scheme, on the other hand, would create the right incentives for some producers to differentiate their products, sell these at a higher premium, and avoid a market where only ‘lemons’ are sold ([Akerlof, 1970](#)). In addition, consumers are benefited if both types of products exist in the market since some consumers may not afford the price premiums that fair labour products would demand in order to be available in the market. This is for the same reason that not all consumers can afford fair trade products. For this segment of the market, a mandatory labelling scheme would likely create undesirable substitutions between local (subject to mandatory labelling) and imported (not subject to mandatory labelling) food products.

All in all, our study provides the first economic estimates in the literature of premiums associated with fair labour certification and shows that while fair labour certification is a road not yet taken, it might carry significant benefits for crop labourers, producers and consumers. The positive premiums that our respondents are willing to pay, suggest that people are aware of fair labour issues and value the better treatment of workers in the agricultural sector.

¹⁹This corresponds to the average predicted positive inferred valuation from model (4) shown in Table [A3](#).

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A Appendix

A.1 Questionnaire scripts

Information for the fair labor informational script was compiled from three relevant to the fair labor label websites: an auditing non-profit organization that formally measures and accredits best employment practices (<http://www.fairworkingconditions.ie>), the fair labor association (<http://www.fairlabor.org>) and the Food Alliance certification programme (<http://foodalliance.org>). The script read like this:

“The Fair Labor label [show picture 1]²⁰ can be certified by various organizations like the Fair Working Conditions.ie which is a non-profit international organization that aims in recognizing and improving employment conditions. Such a label ensures that the product is produced in a business farm that strictly follows the standards set by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). These standards concern the maximum number of working hours per week, the legal compensation and labor benefits required by state law for each activity sector as well as workers’ hygiene conditions in their working place. In addition, the standards prohibit child labor and bind the employer for no discrimination on the basis of race, nationality, or any other criteria.”

A.2 Pictures

²⁰The picture can be found in Appendix A.2.



Picture 1



Picture 2



Picture 3

A.3 Selection of bid amounts

To select the bid amounts for the discrete choice valuation question, we first examined historical data for strawberries from the Athens Central Market Organization S.A. which is one of the major markets for vegetable and meat wholesalers in Greece.²¹ The historical data show that the bulk of strawberry sales takes place between April and May (smaller quantities of strawberries are also traded in February, March and June) which also determined the data collection period of our survey-experiment. A simple linear projection of strawberry prices with data from April 2008 to May 2013, projected an average mode price for April-May 2014 at €1.458/Kg. This is remarkably close to the realized average mode price for April-May 2014 at €1.465/Kg. Given that our valuation product was selected to be a pack of 500gr of strawberries (corresponding projected price is €0.73/500 gr) and that the valuation question concerned an upgrade (or downgrade, depending on the elicited valuation measure), we decided that our price range would center around €0.70 taking also into account feedback from a pilot survey. Therefore, the full price range was selected as: 20 cents, 40 cents, 70 cents, 100 cents and 120 cents.

A.4 Cheap talk and consequentiality treatment effects

An explanation about why the consequentiality script does not appear to have a significant treatment effect can be provided by regressing the treatment dummies on the five point Likert consequentiality question by means of an ordered probit model. None, of the treatment dummies has any effect on the perceived consequentiality of the survey which is to be interpreted that the consequentiality script failed to change subjects' beliefs about whether their answers in the survey could potentially affect the decision of producers and retailers to adopt fair labour practices.

As we have discussed in previous sections, recent literature has argued that consequentiality is needed for incentive compatibility. We therefore explore differences in results for people who believe and do not believe their answers are consequential. Based on the five point Likert consequentiality question, we divided subjects into 'consequential' and 'inconsequential'. We defined the consequential sample as involving subjects that stated that they believed their answers will be taken into account by producers, traders and retailers on a medium or higher likelihood (3 or more on the 5-point Likert scale). The inconsequential sample was defined as those that perceived that the survey would have little or no effect to producers, traders and retailers.

Columns (2) and (3) in Table A1 show estimates from the consequential and inconsequential subsamples, respectively. The results are roughly similar with those from the full sample with one exception. A few script treatment variables are now statistically significant (albeit only at the 10% level). However, this is not likely a robust result. Table A3 in Appendix A.5 shows estimates of the consequential and inconsequential subsamples with the addition of demographic and attitudinal variables in the list of independent variables. As evident, the script treatment variables are no longer statistically significant. Thus, we

²¹The Athens Central Market Organization S.A. (<http://www.okaa.gr/>) is a public organization supervised by the Ministry of Rural Development and Food. It serves as an organized host of about 600 vegetable and meat wholesalers and operates in an area of about 26 hectares.

conclude that there are no differential effects with respect to the script treatment variables between the subsamples.

Regarding the cheap talk script, as mentioned in the methodology section, it is not the first time that it is found not to affect consumer responses. This may have happened for various reasons, such as that the bid amounts were very low compared to one's income and thus not salient enough (Brown et al., 2003; Murphy et al., 2005) or that we have turned all consumers into 'knowledgeable' or 'experienced' due to the extensive information we have provided beforehand about the fair labour certification system (List, 2001; Lusk, 2003). Overall, as we do not have access to real market or transaction data, we cannot claim that cheap talk or consequentiality scripts failed to reduce hypothetical bias but we can conclude that they did not alter the results.

A.5 Additional tables

Table A1: Interval regression estimates (over consequential/inconsequential subsamples)

	Without certainty correction			With certainty correction		
	Full sample	Consequential	Inconsequential	Full sample	Consequential	Inconsequential
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Consequentiality	-10.435 (7.976)	-4.026 (13.602)	-18.803* (9.624)	-4.415 (8.441)	-5.849 (14.622)	-7.180 (9.952)
Cheap talk	3.198 (8.008)	25.630* (13.981)	-12.628 (9.664)	3.028 (8.450)	18.645 (14.780)	-9.116 (9.962)
Cheap talk & Consequentiality	-6.995 (7.980)	9.162 (13.779)	-17.832* (9.702)	-7.820 (8.405)	-1.147 (14.508)	-12.793 (10.043)
IVM	-153.459*** (12.278)	-192.484*** (25.748)	-131.080*** (12.853)	-110.784*** (9.923)	-136.140*** (20.416)	-96.232*** (10.540)
WTP	25.224*** (6.002)	42.251*** (11.262)	11.736* (6.865)	25.759*** (6.332)	36.751*** (11.574)	16.171** (7.206)
Order	-34.028*** (6.177)	-46.103*** (11.427)	-30.629*** (7.206)	-36.804*** (6.601)	-52.501*** (12.674)	-31.413*** (7.522)
Constant	197.542*** (12.053)	256.788*** (27.148)	160.681*** (11.885)	151.317*** (10.063)	211.418*** (23.687)	114.259*** (9.893)
$\ln(\sigma)$	5.091*** (0.077)	5.309*** (0.130)	4.887*** (0.094)	5.191*** (0.081)	5.430*** (0.140)	4.966*** (0.097)
N	7544	4060	3484	7544	4060	3484
AIC	8998.514	4589.512	4189.506	9747.724	5116.717	4424.598
BIC	9053.943	4639.983	4238.754	9803.152	5167.189	4473.846

Clustered standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A2: Probit estimates

	(1) CVM	(2) IVM
20 cents	0.540*** (0.078)	0.616*** (0.066)
40 cents	0.235*** (0.073)	0.335*** (0.066)
100 cents	-0.166** (0.069)	0.052 (0.067)
120 cents	-0.180*** (0.069)	0.023 (0.067)
Consequentiality	-0.073 (0.065)	-0.060 (0.059)
Cheap talk	-0.020 (0.065)	0.052 (0.059)
Cheap talk & Con- sequentiality	-0.110* (0.064)	0.010 (0.059)
WTP	0.111** (0.046)	0.195*** (0.042)
Order	-0.023 (0.046)	-0.368*** (0.042)
Constant	0.661*** (0.071)	-0.330*** (0.066)
<i>N</i>	7544	7544
AIC	8018.884	9826.104
BIC	8088.170	9895.389

Clustered standard errors in parentheses * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A3: Interval regression estimates (with demographics)

	Without certainty correction			With certainty correction		
	Full sample	Consequential	Incosequential	Full sample	Consequential	Incosequential
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Consequentiality	-10.004 (8.860)	-5.011 (15.423)	-17.604* (10.702)	-1.454 (9.182)	-3.105 (16.683)	-2.717 (10.534)
Cheap talk	10.541 (8.969)	24.280 (15.901)	-0.598 (10.878)	14.388 (9.356)	25.652 (17.478)	4.918 (10.565)
Cheap talk & Consequentiality	-3.782 (8.732)	10.789 (15.578)	-14.183 (10.588)	1.119 (9.065)	9.900 (16.621)	-4.332 (10.441)
IVM	-163.861*** (14.479)	-205.998*** (31.089)	-142.361*** (15.618)	-66.158*** (7.856)	-75.862*** (15.615)	-61.834*** (8.722)
WTP	23.825*** (6.693)	41.896*** (12.883)	11.616 (7.751)	19.588*** (6.830)	31.131** (12.954)	11.599 (7.663)
Order	-36.990*** (6.997)	-49.069*** (13.214)	-34.703*** (8.305)	-39.681*** (7.360)	-54.481*** (14.701)	-35.468*** (8.257)
Age	-0.948*** (0.294)	-0.955* (0.518)	-0.902*** (0.350)	-0.700** (0.301)	-0.507 (0.538)	-0.800** (0.350)
Gender	-4.828 (7.031)	0.318 (12.669)	-0.649 (8.217)	2.293 (7.240)	8.625 (13.536)	5.143 (8.152)
Educ ₂	17.138 (24.906)	18.658 (42.467)	16.325 (31.642)	15.580 (24.716)	8.417 (44.026)	22.482 (29.231)
Educ ₃	22.888 (20.094)	45.385 (35.509)	20.961 (25.000)	35.582* (20.446)	43.566 (37.395)	44.645* (23.914)
Educ ₄	-2.374 (20.756)	1.097 (35.807)	2.225 (25.761)	1.369 (21.210)	-2.086 (37.974)	11.821 (24.833)
Educ ₅	10.546 (19.871)	13.154 (34.460)	18.559 (24.845)	25.120 (20.294)	17.675 (36.547)	40.664* (23.855)
Educ ₆	-10.343 (21.892)	-36.998 (38.326)	14.466 (26.859)	0.970 (22.472)	-31.209 (40.724)	29.688 (25.827)

Hsize	-1.189 (2.642)	-4.211 (4.549)	-0.449 (3.333)	-2.495 (2.738)	-8.946* (5.099)	0.656 (3.270)
Shopper	-1.481 (8.195)	0.915 (14.532)	-4.325 (9.920)	12.480 (8.436)	13.377 (15.628)	11.631 (9.619)
Political	-0.130 (1.485)	3.786 (2.582)	-4.183** (1.903)	0.584 (1.532)	2.879 (2.768)	-2.464 (1.859)
SDS	8.564*** (1.480)	3.314 (2.452)	9.657*** (1.790)	8.959*** (1.556)	3.877 (2.613)	9.721*** (1.785)
HBiasOhter ₂	41.399** (18.235)	64.628** (32.145)	20.406 (22.881)	38.922** (18.591)	56.068 (34.350)	23.938 (21.431)
HBiasOther ₃	33.055* (17.669)	58.042* (31.311)	14.626 (22.280)	32.665* (18.100)	46.854 (33.479)	24.046 (20.989)
HBiasOther ₄	29.447* (17.713)	57.144* (31.582)	12.700 (22.148)	29.791 (18.156)	52.691 (34.051)	18.366 (20.721)
HBiasOther ₅	9.804 (19.516)	-1.102 (34.341)	18.791 (24.331)	12.639 (20.178)	4.112 (37.729)	23.327 (22.896)
HBiasOwn ₂	-5.541 (7.758)	-13.870 (13.870)	2.963 (9.184)	-31.336*** (8.512)	-49.179*** (16.981)	-18.610** (9.186)
HBiasOwn ₃	8.750 (9.863)	-14.284 (16.892)	19.246 (12.584)	-30.126*** (10.565)	-64.911*** (20.970)	-15.267 (12.378)
HBiasOwn ₄	2.014 (11.196)	-10.565 (18.890)	4.007 (14.243)	-32.455*** (11.807)	-49.704** (21.772)	-30.036** (14.347)
HBiasOwn ₅	17.096 (26.693)	65.579 (54.842)	-1.705 (28.976)	-14.725 (27.914)	20.781 (54.053)	-30.732 (30.740)
PurchFreq ₂	66.967*** (11.784)	58.716*** (21.651)	62.158*** (13.129)	58.963*** (12.142)	50.960** (23.056)	52.897*** (12.818)
PurchFreq ₃	57.546*** (11.773)	48.908** (21.250)	48.179*** (13.327)	59.693*** (12.512)	49.139** (23.013)	49.452*** (13.415)
PurchFreq ₄	66.355*** (11.825)	66.010*** (21.826)	49.550*** (12.960)	69.068*** (12.491)	67.736*** (23.533)	51.076*** (12.993)
PurchFreq ₅	88.770*** (15.408)	91.399*** (26.859)	58.107*** (18.588)	104.134*** (16.406)	109.581*** (29.949)	71.052*** (18.336)

PurchFreq ₆	94.388*** (28.220)	96.559** (44.987)	75.980* (39.386)	116.244*** (28.428)	148.404*** (50.073)	63.232* (35.285)
PriceSens ₂	8.923 (32.211)	21.046 (71.787)	-9.842 (33.943)	13.128 (32.009)	-4.823 (76.334)	-0.201 (30.419)
PriceSens ₃	3.648 (28.887)	0.217 (67.031)	-6.608 (29.036)	6.602 (28.952)	-36.810 (71.693)	6.492 (26.210)
PriceSens ₄	-9.928 (28.181)	-2.609 (66.145)	-26.281 (27.967)	-7.215 (28.216)	-44.029 (70.896)	-9.758 (24.993)
PriceSens ₅	-23.441 (28.448)	-25.563 (66.414)	-32.436 (28.386)	-16.124 (28.410)	-64.295 (71.441)	-9.884 (25.219)
Athens	-4.480 (6.906)	5.315 (12.287)	-6.847 (8.323)	1.485 (7.072)	6.951 (12.996)	2.272 (8.141)
Constant	71.128 (46.364)	156.537 (95.490)	71.715 (52.442)	-57.906 (47.743)	84.232 (100.539)	-78.357 (50.703)
$\ln(\sigma)$	5.105*** (0.086)	5.344*** (0.147)	4.902*** (0.106)	5.217*** (0.089)	5.516*** (0.161)	4.944*** (0.104)
N	6346	3416	2930	6346	3416	2930
AIC	7405.604	3863.316	3437.730	8312.091	4548.620	3678.024
BIC	7655.561	4090.356	3659.092	8562.047	4775.661	3899.386

Clustered standard errors in parentheses * p<0.1, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A4: Interval regression estimates with uncertainty corrections at different thresholds

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	No correction	Cut off=6	Cut off=7	Cut off=8	Cut off=9
Consequentiality	-10.435 (7.976)	-7.215 (8.406)	-4.415 (8.441)	-2.806 (8.445)	-7.061 (8.760)
Cheap talk	3.198 (8.008)	0.533 (8.407)	3.028 (8.450)	7.877 (8.492)	6.784 (8.723)
Cheap talk & Consequentiality	-6.995 (7.980)	-8.202 (8.356)	-7.820 (8.405)	-2.169 (8.430)	-2.293 (8.758)
IVM	-153.459*** (12.278)	-132.709*** (11.437)	-110.784*** (9.923)	-63.284*** (6.965)	9.277* (5.283)
WTP	25.224*** (6.002)	26.210*** (6.317)	25.759*** (6.332)	22.584*** (6.307)	27.514*** (6.653)
Order	-34.028*** (6.177)	-36.358*** (6.570)	-36.804*** (6.601)	-37.491*** (6.653)	-43.588*** (7.128)
Constant	197.542*** (12.053)	174.992*** (11.322)	151.317*** (10.063)	101.694*** (8.188)	28.970*** (8.819)
$\ln(\sigma)$	5.091*** (0.077)	5.169*** (0.081)	5.191*** (0.081)	5.221*** (0.082)	5.274*** (0.085)
N	7544	7544	7544	7544	7544
AIC	8998.514	9471.348	9747.724	10086.223	9985.281
BIC	9053.943	9526.776	9803.152	10141.651	10040.709

Clustered standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$