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PROCEEDINGS

Editors

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Preface

It was our great pleasure to co-chair the 2015 North American Conference of the Association for Consumer Research in New Orleans, from Oct. 1 to 4. This volume reports the presentations made in special sessions, competitive paper sessions, working paper session, roundtables, the film festival, and the Forums program.

This year's conference theme was "**Advancing Connections.**" It was inspired by a desire to build better connections across different research paradigms and approaches and to facilitate connections among academics, practitioners, and public policy makers, as well as to consumers. We felt strongly that there is greater need for the ACR membership to engage across methodological and theoretical divides and to connect also with key constituencies outside academia.

In keeping with this conference theme, we opted to include invited sessions spanning a broad range of topics and perspectives that offered numerous opportunities for members to gain access to knowledge/ideas that are typically not represented at ACR.

In recent years, many members of the ACR community have expressed the desire for more research endeavors that take a broader perspective and have the potential to make greater impact on theory and practice. We hoped and believed that when we individually and collectively reach across research silos and make meaningful connections it will promote rigorous and relevant work that generates important insights about consumer behavior. This year's program was intended to facilitate many opportunities to advance such connections.

The 2015 ACR conference attracted 1275 participants, 114 special session proposals (49% of which were accepted), 510 competitive paper submissions (38% accepted), 369 working paper submissions (68% accepted), 10 roundtable proposals (90% accepted) and 16 film festival submissions (87% accepted).

A few things were new to ACR this year:

- Special Symposium: This offered a unique opportunity to learn about the latest advances in memory research by three experts: Lynn Hasher, Elizabeth Kensinger, and Donna Rose Addis.
- Data Blitz: Ten working papers were selected by Claudiu Dimofte and Anirban Mukhopadhyay to be presented as a talk instead of a regular poster. Each presentation in this session provided highlights of the research in a stimulating 5-minute talk.
- Starting times for presentations: All presentations in the regular paper sessions followed the same time schedule. This enabled audience members to attend a talk in one session and then a consecutive talk in another session without having to miss parts of either talk. No more entering in the middle of the talk you came to see! Each presentation had 20 minutes including Q&A. Starting times for each talk within a session were noted in the program to easily facilitate switching.

This conference would not have been possible without the tireless efforts of many dedicated, wonderful people. We are especially grateful to Executive Director Rajiv Vaidyanathan, Conference Manager Paula Rigling, and website manager Aleksey Cherfas. We also wish to thank Membership Executive Manager Praveen Aggarwal, Communication Executive Manager Ekant Veer, and administrative coordinator Anna Potrawiak.

A big thank you to co-chairs of various tracks, including Claudiu Dimofte and Anirban Mukhopadhyay (Working Papers), Hans Baumgartner and Rebecca Hamilton (Forum Program), Marylouise Caldwell and Paul Henry (Film Festival), Amber Epp and Page Moreau (Doctoral Symposium), Stefano Puntoni and Kate White (Pre-Tenure Mid-Career Mentorship Program), Tom Meyvis, Joe Nunes, and Leif Nelson (Post-Tenure Mid-Career Mentorship Program).

We are also deeply grateful to our Program Committee, Competitive Paper Associate Editors, Competitive Paper Review Board Members, Working Paper Reviewers, Film Reviewers, to faculty who volunteered time for the Doctoral Symposium and the Mid-Career Mentorship Program, Jonathan Levav for making connections to sponsors, and countless others who advised and helped us over the past year.

Many thanks to our sponsors who generously support the mission of ACR: AMA Consumer Behavior SIG, Journal of Consumer Psychology, Journal of Consumer Research, Journal of Marketing Research, Marketing Science Institute, Qualtrics, University of Maryland, University of Michigan, University of Southern California, and University of Wisconsin.

We wish to acknowledge the enthusiastic assistance from PhD student volunteers from the University of Michigan and the University of Southern California: Stephanie Carpenter, Rebecca Chae, Chaumanix Dutton, Kathrin Hanek, He (Michael) Jia, Jennifer Lee, Bora Min, Steve Shaw, Tatiana Sokolova, Megan Subler, Arianna Uhalde, Francesca Valsesia, and Tiffany Vu.

Special thanks go to the fabulous Marketing Department at Tulane University, in particular Janet Schwartz, Mita Sujjan, Harish Sujjan, Daniel Mochon, Joon Ro, Eric Hamerman, and Emily Rosenzweig for sharing their expertise and well-kept secrets about NOLA.

Thanks to everyone who submitted their best research ensuring we could come up with a stellar program. Finally, we wish to thank Amna Kirmani, 2015 ACR President, who entrusted us with the privilege of organizing this conference.

We sincerely hope you found the conference stimulating and packed with many opportunities to make connections!

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2015 ACR Presidential Address

Marketplace Morality

Amna Kirmani, University of Maryland, USA

Last year, Linda Price gave an inspiring presidential address about having fun while you engage in research. This year, I am going to go 180 degrees away from fun (though I hope not from inspiration). I am going to talk about Morality. (Yes, ACR, this is the year of the superego.)

I've been thinking about moral issues for a long time. The ideas I am presenting today are part of a conceptual paper that I am preparing with two collaborators: Ajay Abraham, who is Assistant Professor at Seattle University; and In Hye Kang, who is a doctoral student at the University of Maryland.

Let me start with a couple of vignettes from my own experience.

I was born in Lahore, Pakistan, where there is a large, beautiful mosque built by a Moghul emperor in the 17th century. The mosque can accommodate 10,000 worshippers, while another 100,000 can pray in the courtyard.

Next to the mosque is an area called the Diamond Market. This is the Red Light District of the city, where the diamonds refer to women. I was always fascinated by why the Red Light District was next to the largest mosque in the city. I used to think it was just convenience: killing two birds with one stone. But what drove men to engage in prayer and prostitution in close proximity? Now I know that it could be moral licensing or moral cleansing, depending on which of the two activities came first.

Fast forward to a couple of years ago at a research seminar at the University of Maryland. A fellow marketing faculty member was giving a lecture about his research on eye-tracking to an audience of university-wide faculty and doctoral students. At the end of the talk, a member of the audience raised his hand and asked, "How can you live with yourself? Marketing is so unethical. You manipulate people to do things that they wouldn't normally do so companies can make money." There was a moment of silence. My colleague maintained his poise and gave an answer that was quite reasonable. Later, we learned that the audience member was a professor in the math department.

Now I don't know about you, but I don't like being perceived as unethical. We could dismiss these types of comments as coming from people who don't know what we really do. But we also need to do some soul searching. If this is the popular perception of marketing and what we do, perhaps there is some truth in it. Perhaps we need to see how we can change this perspective. Or perhaps we need to change how we approach consumer research so that it is more transformative and less transactional.

Both these incidents concern the issue of morality; the first is about how people reconcile engaging in moral and immoral behavior. The second is about the perception that what we do is immoral.

We make moral decisions every day in all our roles: as children, parents, friends, workers, etc. The ones relevant here are the moral decisions we make as consumers and consumer researchers.

My talk is divided into two parts. The majority of the talk will be about the morality of consumers. Then, I will address the morality of consumer researchers.

THE MORALITY OF CONSUMERS

What do I mean by the morality of consumers? The Oxford English Dictionary defines morality as "principles concerning the distinction between right and wrong or good and bad behavior."

Consumer morality would be the principles consumers have concerning the distinction between right and wrong. But not in all contexts. What matters to us as consumer researchers is consumers' beliefs about what is right and wrong in the marketplace. I call this concept

"marketplace morality."

Marketplace morality is the consumer's views on what constitutes right and wrong or good and bad behavior in marketplace situations. These might be views about consumers' own behavior as buyers or sellers, the behavior of other consumers; the behavior of entities such as firms, the government or regulatory agencies as they impact the marketplace.

The term has its roots in discussions about the moral economy, which means an economic system that is fair and just. In his introduction to the *Journal of Consumer Research's* Morality curations last year, Kent Grayson (2014) refers to the tension between the "moral economy" and the "market economy." Marketplace morality acknowledges these tensions and how consumers resolve these tensions.

I feel that consumers have a different mindset when they are in the marketplace. This mindset licenses them to act in ways they would not in their personal lives. This mindset may be due to different reasons: the type of relationship; economic self-interest; a competitive orientation; or the salience of different goals, to name some. The result is that marketplace morality may cause consumers to feel that it is okay to cheat large corporations or the government. But it is not okay to cheat nonprofit companies, family-owned businesses or others in our in-group.

Marketplace morality guides our behavior in marketing contexts. It affects our emotional reactions and actions in the moral domain. Therefore, studying marketplace morality would entail not just beliefs, but emotions and behaviors that result from these beliefs.

Let me give you some examples of marketplace morality. The first is trade-offs.

TRADE-OFFS

Consumers often make trade-offs that involve morality. They decide whether to buy clothing that is attractive, but made in a sweatshop. Whether to buy a cheaper product or a more expensive, environmentally-friendly product. Consumers also make trade-offs between competence and morality.

If I'm selling my house, should I choose a real estate agent who sells houses quickly and for a high price, but is known to cut corners? Or should I choose one who is known to be completely honest, but the houses she sells stay on the market longer and don't fetch as high a price?

This is the type of trade-off that I examine with my co-authors Rebecca Hamilton and Debora Thompson, both at Georgetown University. Do consumers use the same moral values in marketplace

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contexts as in their personal contexts? It turns out they do not. In the psychology literature, which examines communal relationships among friends, family and strangers, morality concerns consistently trump competence concerns. For instance, we prefer to have friends who are honest and caring than friends who are clever and competent. In addition, we react faster to morality-related words than to competence-related words, demonstrating the primacy of morality over competence. The underlying reason is that we want to ensure that others don't harm us and that we can trust them.

What we found in the marketplace domain, however, was the opposite. In marketing contexts, such as consumers' hiring an auto mechanic, our respondents consistently preferred competent service providers over moral ones. And this was true even though they liked the moral provider more than the competent provider. Why might this be?

Consumers' goals differ in personal interactions and marketplace interactions. Whereas being moral and protecting ourselves from harm are important in the marketplace, so is achieving our purchase and consumption goal. And consumers are willing to overlook a service provider's immorality as long as the immorality does not harm them. In other words, the purchase goal subsumes the goal of behaving morally.

As reviewers pointed out when they rejected the paper (twice), you can explain all of this in terms of economic self-interest. Of course, they choose the competent service provider because they're satisfying their purchase goal. So, this is not interesting. End of story.

To fight the self-interest argument, we had to re-invent the paper. We had to come up with a situation in which people behave against their economic self-interest to favor the more moral service provider. We found that consumer preferences shifted to the less competent but more moral service provider when the provider elicited empathy. Empathy makes us more outwardly focused and less self-interested. And empathy is a moral emotion.

But I find it fascinating that so many people are willing to give up their moral conscience in the pursuit of an economic goal. Although they liked the moral agent more than the competent agent, they choose the competent agent. Purchase goals are temporary, but morality stays with you always. Why would you compromise it? What does it say about our marketplace morality? And why are we proud of it? These questions deserve further research.

CONSUMER CHEATING

The next area of marketplace morality that I want to discuss is consumer cheating. Psychologist Jonathan Haidt has done a lot of research on moral psychology. If you're interested in the topic, I recommend that you read some of his work. Haidt sees cheating as a violation of fairness or proportionality. In other words, people are entitled to the rewards of their labor, but not to undue rewards that might be obtained by others' labor (free-riding) or that might be obtained due to playing by a different set of rules from others.

According to the National Retail Federation, wardrobing (i.e., returning used clothing) cost \$8.8 billion in 2012 (Leibowitz 2013). In fact, Bloomingdales introduced a B tag to try to cut down on returns of used clothing. Other examples of cheating are false insurance claims; and consumers claiming to qualify for a benefit that they haven't earned, such as a student discount.

How do we get consumers to cheat less? In other words, how do we change their marketplace morality? Some research suggests that cheating may be reduced by making either moral identity salient or by making morality salient (Mazar, Amir, and Ariely 2008). For in-

stance, we could get people to sign an honor pledge. Or, based on my earlier research, we could induce empathy. But what else can we do?

My doctoral student at the University of Maryland, In Hye Kang, is examining consumer cheating. In Hye examines the role of construal level in cheating behavior. Prior literature on construal level and self-control has shown that abstract (vs. concrete) construal leads people to weight higher-level, longterm goals against immediate, comfortable temptations (Fujita, Trope, Liberman, and Levin-Sagi 2006). Thus, she predicts that abstract (vs. concrete) construal increases the importance given to the goal of acting honestly, which, in turn, decreases dishonest behavior. Initial studies using actual cheating behavior show support for this effect. When abstract construal was activated, consumers lied less to a firm to qualify for a paid survey, and lied less to another consumer to gain more money.

Another example of consumer cheating comes from Honest Tea. Honest Tea is a line of organic beverages positioned as healthy and honest. Each year, the company comes out with a National Honesty Index. In 27 cities in the United States, bottles of Honest Tea are sold on an honor system in kiosks like this. If you take a bottle, you put \$1 in the collection box. It appears that no one is watching, so it offers the opportunity for cheating without incurring legal consequences.

This year, 94% of the nation was honest. Atlanta was the most honest city; everyone who took a bottle paid \$1. Providence, Rhode Island was the least honest, with 17% cheating. In Washington, DC, the city of politicians who know something about being unethical, someone stole the collection box.

Actually, I was amazed at the amount of honesty shown by consumers in this situation. Until I looked at pictures of some of the kiosks and found that these kiosks are labeled as The Honest Store. Since making honesty salient tends to make us more honest, this experiment may overestimate honesty. I wonder how different the results would be if the product was Snapple, and the store was not labeled as honest.

It is clear from these examples that research on consumer cheating matters to firms (who are losing money). But it also matters to consumers (who may feel guilty or badly about themselves). Moreover, cheating hurts "Honest" consumers, who are penalized by paying more for products and services due to the costs attributable to consumer cheating behavior. Thus, doing research on this topic is beneficial to many parties.

SANCTITY/RELIGION

The next aspect of marketplace morality that I want to discuss is sanctity. In 1989, Belk, Wallendorf and Sherry made a distinction between the sacred and the profane in the consumption context. They suggested that many types of consumption have become sacralized, with rituals and meanings that go beyond the mundane and ordinary to something transcendent and extraordinary.

More recently, Jonathan Haidt and his colleagues (2009) asserted that sanctity, which refers to that which is sacred and pure, is an important moral foundation. The value on sanctity can be seen in research on contamination and moral cleansing. For example, Zhong and Liljenquist (2006) demonstrate a connection between moral purity and physical purity. Consumers who feel their moral purity is under threat are more likely to prefer cleansing products.

Purity is so important to consumers that we have marks that indicate that the product is kosher, halal, green, all natural, or vegan.

Sanctity can also be seen in recent work by McGraw, Schwartz and Tetlock (2012) on taboo trade-offs. They find that consumers disapprove of commercial practices by religious organizations and healthcare companies. In other words, consumers' marketplace mo-

rality says that sacred domains should not be commercialized. This tension between morality and money is seen in a wide variety of literature.

Increasing attention is also being paid to the role of religion in consumer behavior. In fact, there is a forthcoming review article on religion in the *Journal of Consumer Psychology*. In JCR, A fascinating paper by Sandikci and Ger (2010) describes how Turkish society is changing from secular to religious. Many Turkish women donned Islamic clothing because it gave them freedom, while outsiders saw it as a sign of oppression. Although the new clothing was associated with purity, it was also reactance against the move to ban veils. To the extent that Turkish society is becoming more religious, I wonder if the marketplace morality of Turkish society is also changing.

Thus far, I've discussed psychology, anthropology and sociology. Now let's turn to economics.

EXPERIMENTAL ECONOMICS

There is some evidence from experimental economics that market interaction lowers our moral values. In a 2013 article in *Science*, Falk and Szech ran some experiments intended to test moral behavior in markets. They asked participants to engage in a game in which they could kill a mouse to make money. The game had real consequences; participants could make 10-20 euros and a real mouse was killed.

The experiment had three conditions: individual; bilateral; and multilateral. In the individual condition, participants chose to either get 10 euros or save a mouse from being killed. In the bilateral trading market, there was one buyer and one seller in a double auction market. The seller was endowed with the mouse; the seller and buyer negotiated over how to divide up 20 euros. Either the buyer or the seller could make an offer; when the other party accepted, the mouse would be killed. The multilateral trading market worked the same way, except there were 7 buyers and 9 sellers.

The results were quite interesting. In the individual treatment, 46% of the participants chose to kill the mouse for 10 euros. In the two market conditions, however, the numbers went up to over 70%. The authors use this as evidence that markets make us behave less morally.

The question is why do people behave this way? Although the authors offer some ideas, I think this is a question that consumer researchers are ideally situated to address. This question gets to the heart of marketplace morality.

The choice between money and killing a mouse reminds me of two other markets in which morality would be interesting to understand: the human slavery market and the marriage market.

The marriage market is one of the biggest markets in South Asia. It is not a single market. It is multiple markets segmented by religion, socio-economic status, and geography. Men are in a position of power in this market, while women are bartered like commodities. Third party brokers, either for money or other payments, typically negotiate a match between two families. Money exchanges between the bride's family and the groom's family, though the flow is largely one-sided. In order to secure a husband for their daughter, the bride's family has to agree to pay a large amount of money as dowry—cash, jewelry, clothing, furniture, a house.

The exchange of money does not stop with the marriage. Sometimes, the groom's family demands more money or other resources after the marriage. If these are not forthcoming, the groom's family can send the girl back to her own home, which would bring shame and dishonor to her family. In many cases, rejected wives who do not have financial resources prefer being burnt or taking their own lives to being sent back home in dishonor.

What is the morality underlying these markets? What is the morality that forces poor people to go into a lifetime of debt in order to marry off their daughters? Is the dowry part of a fair trade? I think there is scope in consumer research to investigate these larger moral issues because they are in the context of a market of exchange and because they can be truly transformative.

Economists, psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, ... all these disciplines, along with others, are examining the issue of morality. As I have shown, consumer researchers have also been examining this question. But I think we end up being somewhat shallow in our explanations. Rather than diving in deeply, we tend to pass marketplace immorality off as self-interest.

To summarize, marketplace morality involves examining consumers' beliefs about what is right and wrong in their marketplace interactions. It includes not just beliefs, but also the emotions and behavior that accompany those beliefs. I've only scratched the surface of the topics that might be covered. Fairness, harm, loyalty, liberty, altruism—these are all moral issues that consumers encounter in the marketplace. Many of you have been working on these topics: Dan Ariely, Darren Dahl, Jen Argo, Kate White, Americus Reed, Deb Small, Karen Winterich, to name a few. I haven't even touched on the related emotions: gratitude, disgust, anger, hope, empathy, compassion, embarrassment, guilt and shame. My basic thesis is that we can do more, much more, from the perspective of the consumer.

RESEARCH ON MORALITY IS INTERESTING AND RELEVANT.

Doing research on marketplace morality is not just an academic exercise. Research on morality is both interesting and relevant. It is relevant to consumers, public policy makers, and companies. Companies are facing morality-related issues all the time. (Think Volkswagen.)

Here's another example of how companies deal with marketplace morality. The Baltimore Ravens overlooked the immorality of their star player Ray Rice when he told them that he punched his girlfriend. His competence was too high to worry about his immorality. Then a video emerged showing him punching his girlfriend, and the video raised a public outcry; all of a sudden, both the Ravens and the NFL found Rice's actions deplorable. How did consumers react? Within a few days, consumers burned or traded in thousands of Ray Rice jerseys because they did not want to be associated with him. The Ravens had to spend a lot of money buying back those jerseys. Thus, morality can have real consequences for both companies and consumers.

CONCRETE STEPS

So, where do we go from here? Besides this call for doing research on marketplace morality, I have a few other suggestions.

First, as Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, I am considering a special section or a special issue on Consumer Morality. I invite those of you who might be interested in editing such a special issue to talk to me or to SCP President Susan Broniarczyk.

My second call to action is for cross-disciplinary research on marketplace morality. One advantage of being an interdisciplinary field, is that we do not have to use a single lens to investigate a topic. As I've shown, marketplace morality can be studied with a variety of perspectives and lenses. We can look at it in a more micro fashion as well as a more holistic way. We can consider it from the view of the individual consumer as well as broader systems.

My call for multiple perspectives highlights the theme of this year's conference: Advancing Connections. This theme "was inspired by a desire to build better connections across different research paradigms and approaches." I strongly believe that multi-disciplinary research is necessary for consumer research to make significant advances. And it's our unique selling proposition. I urge you to work with someone who has a different perspective so that we can take advantage of the richness of our field. As a start, I would like to invite ethnographic researchers and empirical modelers to collaborate with me on the topic of marketplace morality.

My third call has to do with marketplace morality in the context of our profession. The marketplace for consumer research is one in which we buy and sell our ideas. This conference is one of the venues in which these ideas are exchanged. What are our moral values as we engage in the production and exchange of research? In other words, what is the morality of consumer researchers?

THE MORALITY OF CONSUMER RESEARCHERS

A few years ago, our field was hit by scandal and questions about the ethical conduct of research. Along with psychology, medicine, and the sciences, we were discovering that some researchers were not following ethical standards. Data were being fabricated; respondents were being dropped from studies; cells were being dropped from experimental designs. Some research papers were retracted from the journals; reputations of authors, co-authors, and universities were besmirched.

Conversations about ethics proliferated conferences and editorial board meetings. The Association for Consumer Research held a special plenary panel on ethics, at which leaders of the field discussed their point of view on what is and is not ethical. The American Marketing Association adopted a new set of reporting guidelines for its journals, as did the *Journal of Consumer Psychology*. Many of us raised these issues at doctoral seminars.

So, what is the current state of ethics in our field? The effect of the scandal has been increased awareness of the issues among authors, reviewers, and editors. Everyone has become more vigilant, and the bar is higher in order to publish your paper. At *JCP*, I see reviewers inquiring about details of studies they may not have asked for before. Underlying this scrutiny is the concern that the effects should be replicable.

Most of you have probably heard about the Reproducibility Project, which was an attempt to try to replicate the results of some articles published in psychology journals. As reported in *Science*, around 270 researchers attempted to replicate 100 articles in three psychology journals: *Psychological Science*; *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*; and the *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition*. The researchers worked with the original authors to get the stimuli, where possible, and to discuss the conditions under which the studies were run. They used larger sample sizes to enhance power. The results should be of concern to everyone: Only 36% of the replications showed a significant effect.

So, what should we do? In an editorial in the October issue of the *Journal of Marketing Research*, Editor-in-Chief Bob Meyer provides some guidelines for how authors should design and report studies to ensure transparency. I endorse these recommendations, and discuss some of them.

The first is the use of larger sample sizes if you are trying to show subtle, counterintuitive effects. If it's that counterintuitive, you need to have stronger evidence for it.

A second recommendation is one that many people in the field, including Michel Pham and myself, have urged: Reduce the insis-

tence on finding a single underlying process. As I have stated before, we need to embrace the notion that a single paper may not be able to identify a single best explanation. Life is messy, and so are the phenomena we study.

Another recommendation is to be more thorough in terms of what you report about studies. *JCP* has a Methodological Data Appendix, in which you can report all the study details that you may not have space for in the text. I suggest that you go beyond what is required so that reviewers don't reject a paper because there was insufficient information.

I think these are practical suggestions that should become the standard for our field.

The Association for Consumer Research has also experienced cases of ethical misconduct. Both last year and this year, we have received complaints from ACR members who have accused others of ethical misconduct, including plagiarism. This year, the ACR Board approved a policy for how to react to reports of ethical violations, and this policy has been put into practice. And yesterday, the Board considered other ethical proposals as well.

In conclusion, I hope my talk has made moral values salient to the ACR community. Next time someone says that marketing is unethical, I would like to be able to tell them how research on marketplace morality is making both consumers and consumer researchers more moral. As a result, society will benefit.

Thank you.

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Special Session Summaries

Advances in Pay-What-You-Want Pricing

Chair: Stephen A. Atlas, University of Rhode Island, USA

Paper #1: Shifting Mindset in Consumer Elective Pricing

Silvia Saccardo, University of California- San Diego, USA
Charis Li, University of Florida, USA
Anya Samek, University of Wisconsin- Madison, USA
Ayelet Gneezy, University of California- San Diego, USA

Paper #2: Because We're Partners: How Social Values and Relationship Norms Influence Consumer Payments in Pay-What-You-Want Contexts

Shelle M. Santana, Harvard University, USA
Vicki Morwitz, New York University, USA

Paper #3: Paper or Plastic?: How We Pay Influences Post-Transaction Connection

Avni Shah, University of Toronto, Canada
Noah Eisenkraft, University of North Carolina- Chapel Hill, USA
Jim Bettman, Duke University, USA
Tanya Chartrand, Duke University, USA

Paper #4: Rebate-What-You-Want

Stephen Atlas, University of Rhode Island, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Elective pricing strategies, commonly known as pay-what-you-want pricing, offer an intriguing domain of consumer behavior where people often freely pay nonzero amounts for a product they could obtain for free (Gneezy et al. 2010). This special session aims to contribute to the literature by exploring new frameworks for understanding how and when consumers feel sufficient connection with a firm to voluntarily endow it with privately held resources. This area has received increasing interest by the behavioral community in recent years (e.g. Kim et al. 2009; 2014; Riener and Traxler 2012; Mak Zwick and Rao 2010). This session includes four papers advancing our understanding of how contextual cues, private values, and socially constructed norms influence elective payments and customer-firm relationships.

In the first paper, Saccardo, Li, Samek, and Gneezy explore how elective pricing language influences exchange/communal mindsets. These mindsets influence relative regard for self and others and willingness to contribute to elective payment opportunities, a prospect that is tested across three studies.

In the second paper, Santana and Morwitz present a model for how values and norms combine to determine voluntary payments. Norms shift how much consumers express their economic or their social motives when determining a purchase price. Additionally, the difference in voluntary contributions of pro-social and pro-selfs is wider under exchange than communal norms. Four studies and a field experiment test the specific predictions of this model.

The third paper, by Shah, Eisenkraft, Bettman, and Chartrand, explores how payment form influences consumers' connection with the products they purchase. They find, across three studies (two involving elective payments) that painful methods of payment correspond with greater connection post-transaction connection. This work indicates that one bind facing elective pricing strategy is its relative lack of painfulness.

In the fourth paper, Atlas discusses a new approach that increases elective contributions by framing them as elective rebates. He finds that consumers are more reluctant to take an elective amount of money back from an organization than to give it money directly.

Together, these four interconnected papers provide new perspectives on elective payment arrangements. Each paper will advance the field's understanding of how people respond to social norms. Another theme uniting this session is the utilization of field studies, as self-reports in this domain often diverge from incentive-compatible choices. These perspectives yield insight into consumer choice across a wide range of settings, and carry theoretical as well as practical implications for consumer research.

This session will be relevant to researchers throughout consumer behavior. In particular, it advances connections between past research on mental accounting, framing, social preferences, and charitable giving. These topics—and elective payments in particular—have attracted considerable attention in recent years and we anticipate that this session will stimulate future research. Data collection in all papers is complete and all participants have agreed to present should the session be accepted. The chair will facilitate audience discussion drawing further connections between these perspectives as well as between elective pricing and other areas of consumer research.

Shifting Mindset in Consumer Elective Pricing

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Self-interest has been assumed to guide individuals' behavior in the marketplace. Yet, there is evidence suggesting that individuals' behavior can sometimes deviate from pure self-interest to accommodate the well-being of others (e.g. Kahneman et al., 1986; Andreoni and Miller, 2002).

Consumer elective pricing (CEP), in which consumers set their own prices for products and services, offers a unique opportunity to better understand the factors that determine the extent to which one's behavior follows market norms. Indeed, oftentimes consumers pay despite being able to get a product for free (Kim et al., 2009; Gneezy, et al. 2010; 2012; Jung et al., 2014). Notably, however, behavior under CEP doesn't always follow the same pattern. In particular, although sometimes guided by other-regarding concerns, there are occasions in which consumers' behavior is more consistent with self-interest (Leon et al., 2012), suggesting that response to CEP is context-dependent (Slovic, 1995).

In this paper, we test how a shift in mindset, shaped by contextual factors, influences payments. Building on past research on marketplace relationship norms (Fiske, 1993; Heyman and Ariely, 2004; Clark and Mills, 1993; Aggarwal, 2004), we propose that subtle changes in the presentation of a CEP offer influence the extent to which an exchange/money-market mindset is made salient. As a result, we predicted consumers would be more likely to pursue maximization of material goals (i.e., paying less) than when cued with a more communal mindset. We test our proposition in three field experiments in which we change the wording of a CEP offer to invoke self versus other-regarding mindsets.

Experiment 1 (N=525) tests mindset shifts in a charitable fundraising domain. We operated a donut stand in a Midwestern University and manipulated mindset by varying whether a CEP offer was presented as a purchase or as a donation. In one condition we sold donuts using PWYW and informed participants that we would donate all proceeds to charity. In the other, we asked customers to donate whatever amount they want (DWYW) to the charity in exchange for a donut. We expected the donation condition to make self-interested considerations less salient, increasing payments.

Among all people who made a payment for a donut, those in the DWYW condition paid more ($M_{DWYW} = \$2.05$, $M_{PWYW} = 1.65$, $t(444) = 3.02$, $p = .003$). In addition, purchase rates—the proportion of by-passers who approached the stand—was higher in the DWYW condition (DWYW=9.7%, PWYW= 7.9%; $z = 2.4$, $p = .016$). Finally, some customers (N=79) made a payment but declined to take a donut. This occurred more frequently with DWYW (77 % vs. 23%, $p < .001$, Fisher exact). These results suggest a shift in mindset led to less self-interested behavior when the transaction was framed as donation rather than as a (prosocial) purchase.

In Experiments 2a/2b we tested the proposed mindset shift and resulting behavior without coupling purchases with a charitable cause. To manipulate mindset, we used two variations of CEP: Pay-What-You-Want (PWYW) and Pay-What-You-Can (PWYC). While PWYW is more common, PWYC has been adopted by, e.g., some CEP restaurants, theatres and yoga studios. We expected individuals to follow a more self-interested mindset when asked to pay what they *want*, versus what they *can*. As a first step, we conducted a pretest in which we presented individuals (N=120) with a hypothetical scenario describing donuts offered under PWYW (PWYC), and measured the resulting mindset using two questions (adapted from Johnson and Grimm, 2010). Individuals presented with PWYC scored lower on the exchange/money-market measure (MPWYC=5.01, MPWYC=5.53, $t(118) = 2.25$, $p = .031$); the two groups did not differ on the communal/social-market measures.

Experiment 2a (N=207) tests the effect of mindset on behavior. We operated a stand in a southwestern university campus and sold donuts under CEP. We invoked mindset via signage and verbal communication, presenting customers with either a Pay-What-You-Want or a Pay-What-You-Can offer. Our results reveals that people paid more under PWYC (Exp2a: $M_{PWYC} = .82$, $M_{PWYW} = .64$, $t(205)$, $p = .002$); purchase rates were not measured.

Experiment 2b replicates this finding using a similar procedure (N=219, $M_{PWYC} = .80$, $M_{PWYW} = .65$, $t(217) = 3.03$). We did not detect differences in purchase rates (proportion of buyers out of all people who passed directly in front of the stand). After payment, participants completed a 3-question survey, which further revealed that PWYW customers viewed themselves as more selfish ($M_{PWYW} = 3.63$, $M_{PWYC} = 3.13$, $t(203)$, $p = .04$). Finally, in experiments 2a/2b the distribution of payments differed between conditions (Exp2a: $p = .004$; Exp2b: $p = .007$, Kolmogorov-Smirnov), and were shifted toward amounts smaller than \$1 (an indication of self-interested behavior) in the PWYW offer (Exp2a: 51% vs. 32%, $p = .006$; Exp2b: 57% vs. 36%, $p = .002$, χ^2).

Experiment 3 addresses two concerns. First, in experiments 2a/2b the nature of the transaction (who the seller is, what happens to profit) was not specified; subjects could have assumed the sale was associated to a charitable cause. Second, we investigate the role of identity and image concerns. Since participants paid the seller directly, their behavior could be driven by social image (Andreoni and Bernheim, 2009) or identity concerns (Bénabou and Tirole, 2006). If the high payments under pay-what-you-can are only driven by impression management considerations, we should observe no effect

in private. However, if the effects observed are due to self-signaling, the treatment effect should persist when payment is private, possibly leading to higher payments (see Gneezy et al. 2012).

Experiment 3 (N=339) took place in a for-profit context. We partnered with a business operating five coffee carts in a southwestern university, offered plain coffee under PWYW (PWYC), and crossed it with payment type (anonymous vs. seller). Our results reveal that individuals paid higher amounts under PWYC ($\beta = .289$, $p = .005$) both in private and public settings; we did not find an effect of payment type. We found no difference in the proportion of buyers out of the all of people who approached the cart across conditions. These results allow us to rule out impression management as the unique explanation for our effects.

Taken together, these studies are in line with our proposed mindset framework. Social mindset CEP offers produced higher payments, suggesting that subtle contextual cues (i.e. words) that shift mindset away from self-interest affect behavior.

Because We're Partners: How Social Values and Relationship Norms Influence Consumer Payments in Pay-What-You-Want Contexts

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Under Pay-What-You-Want (PWYW), the prices that consumers elect to pay often vary significantly. Sometimes the variance is small and clustered around a particular reference price, while other times the variance is much larger. In both of these cases, the average price paid may be significantly above zero, yet sellers who adopt PWYW pricing may have a preference for one type of distribution versus another.

In this paper we present a conceptual model of factors that explain systematic differences in how much consumers pay in PWYW contexts. We test its predictions both in the lab and in a field experiment with actual payments. We show that buyer payments are jointly influenced by individual differences in Social Value Orientation (SVO; McClintock 1972, McClintock and Allison 1989) and the degree to which exchange or communal relationship norms are salient (Mills and Clark 1982) for the buyer when the pricing decision is made. When exchange norms are salient, pro-selfs pay less than pro-socials, and are more likely to pay \$.00. However, when communal norms are salient, pro-selfs pay more than they do than when exchange norms are salient, are less likely to pay \$.00, and the difference in payment between pro-selfs and pro-socials is attenuated. Additionally, we show that this change in payment behavior is partially mediated by a shift between economic and social motives. Finally, we show that sellers can influence communal norm salience, and by extension, buyer payment behavior, in PWYW situations in very low-cost ways.

Study 1 tests whether individual differences in SVO affect prices paid in PWYW settings. Our results showed that it did. Forty eight study participants were offered the opportunity to pay any price they wanted to purchase a pair of chocolate chip cookies using their own money, and we measured participants' SVO after they made their purchase decision and paid (if applicable). A regression of SVO on payment amount showed that for those who chose to purchase cookies (N = 22), pro-socials paid significantly more than pro-selfs ($M_{\text{pro-self}} = \$.62$ vs. $M_{\text{pro-social}} = \$ 1.22$, ($\beta = .03$, $t(20) = 3.53$, $p < .01$).

Study 2 examines the relationship between buyers' social and economic motives on payment behavior. Twenty-eight undergraduate students were given the opportunity to purchase an organic candy bar for any price they wanted to pay. For those who wanted to purchase a candy bar (N = 23), we measured their economic and social

motives after they submitted a written payment amount. We then ran two separate regression analyses with economic motive and social motive as the independent variables and payment amount as the dependent variable. Social motives had a positive effect and economic motives had a negative effect on payment amount ($\beta = .32$, $t(21) = 2.05$, $p = .05$ vs. $\beta = -.35$, $t(21) = -1.77$, $p < .10$, respectively). Study 3 builds on these findings by examining how SVO and relationship norms jointly influence these motives, which in turn influence how much consumers pay under PWYW.

Five hundred thirteen mTurk participants were told to imagine that they decided to stop in at a local coffee shop. Approximately half of the participants read a description that reflected a communal norm with the seller and the other half read one that reflected an exchange norm. They were then told that they could pay whatever they want for a 16-ounce of coffee at the shop, and were then asked to submit their purchase price. A regression analysis revealed significant main effects of SVO ($\beta = -.13$, $t(509) = -3.1$, $p < .01$) and of relationship norm ($\beta = .17$, $t(509) = 4.05$, $p < .0001$), and both of these effects were qualified by the expected SVO x relationship norm interaction ($\beta = .11$, $t(509) = 2.46$, $p < .01$). Additionally, when relative motive was included in the payment model, it had a significant effect on payment ($\beta = -.17$, $t(510) = -12.91$, $p < .0001$), and the significance of the norm x SVO effect on payment was reduced ($\beta_{\text{no med}} = .0001$, $t(510) = 2.59$, $p < .01$ vs. $\beta_{\text{med}} = .0001$, $t(4510) = 2.11$, $p < .05$, 95% CI = .0000 – .0001), indicating partial mediation.

In Study 4, we test whether merely priming relationship norms can affect payment behavior in a subsequent PWYW task (Aggarwal and Zhang 2006). 334 mTurk participants completed an SVO task and were exposed to either a communal prime or an exchange prime. They were then told to imagine that they could pay any price they wanted for a breakfast special. The subsequent regression analysis showed that pro-selfs in the exchange norm paid less (\$2.81) than pro-socials (\$3.25); however, in the communal norm condition pro-selfs (\$3.21) and pro-socials (\$3.53) paid similar amounts. A spotlight analysis (Spiller et al. 2013) showed that the difference in payments along the SVO continuum differed under the exchange prime (95% CI = -.0002, -.0001), but not under the communal prime (95% CI = -.0001, .0000). Additionally, a mediation analysis showed that when relative motive was included in the payment model, it partially mediated the effect of SVO and relationship norm on payment ($\beta_{\text{no med}} = .00$, $t(336) = 3.13$, $p < .01$), $\beta_{\text{med}} = .00$, $t(336) = 2.24$, $p < .05$).

Finally, we ran a field study in which packets of gum were sold as PWYW at a student snack bar at a large, urban university. Relationship norm was manipulated via subtle changes in promotion messaging and imagery (communal = Because We're Partners, It's Your Turn to Set the Price Today; exchange = Special Promotion, It's Your Turn to Set the Price Today) and social value orientation was measured as part of a customer satisfaction survey. The resulting analysis showed a marginal SVO x relationship norm interaction ($\beta = -.02$, $t(75) = -1.73$, $p < .09$). A floodlight analysis showed that the effect of SVO on payment was significant in the exchange norm condition (95% CI = -.003, .0452, $t(75) = 1.73$, $p < .09$), but not in the communal norm condition (95% CI = -.0398, .0177, $t(75) < 1$, $p = ns$), as expected.

'Paper or Plastic': How We Pay Influences Post-Transaction Connection

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When you pay for something, can how you pay—e.g., whether it is by cash, credit card, or debit card—change how much you value the product that you buy or how committed you feel to the brand?

This question lies at the intersection of two fundamental shifts in consumer culture: 1) the decreasing use of cash for payment transactions, and 2) declining brand loyalty and product retention. In the 1970s, consumers could choose between about five payment forms for most transactions, with cash being the dominant form of choice (Foster, Schuh, & Zhang 2013). However, the financial landscape has changed dramatically. In today's marketplace, there are more than twenty potential methods of payment that people can use for payments (Foster, Schuh, & Zhang 2013). These payments all vary with respect to how psychologically distant they are from the consumer, and thus vary in terms of how much psychological pain an individual feels when spending with these various forms (Soman 2001, Raghuram & Srivastava 2008). Across field, laboratory, and archival studies, we examine whether payment form can influence post-transaction connection.

First, we use a field experiment selling mugs to determine whether payment method can influence post-transaction connection. The experimenter approached employees ($N=63$) of a private Southeastern university, asking each if they would like to purchase a mug. Individuals were informed that the mug normally sold for \$6.95, but was discounted to \$2 as part of a promotion. Individuals were randomly assigned to either the 'Pay by Cash' condition (a more painful form of payment) or the 'Pay by Plastic' condition (e.g., debit/credit card). Two hours following their purchase, the experimenter approached participants and asked them a series of questions. First, the experimenter asked the willingness to accept (WTA) for the mug, the amount necessary to give up their mug (i.e., the endowment effect). Participants were also asked how attached they felt to the mug and how painful it was to purchase the mug. Paying with cash increased the endowment effect ($M_{\text{Cash}} = \$6.71$, $SD_{\text{Cash}} = \$1.63$, $M_{\text{Plastic}} = \$3.83$, $SD_{\text{Plastic}} = \$1.79$, $t(60.1) = 6.67$, $p < .001$). Paying with cash also led to greater attachment to the mug ($M_{\text{Cash}} = 3.28$, $SD_{\text{Cash}} = 1.52$, $M_{\text{Plastic}} = 2.45$, $SD_{\text{Plastic}} = 1.17$, $t(58.1) = 2.42$, $p = .019$). *Pain of paying* fully mediates the relationship between payment form and post-transaction connection.

In Study 2, we used a laboratory experiment, randomly varying whether individuals donated a \$5 bill (a more painful form of money) versus a \$5 voucher to one of three charities of their choice, using someone else's money. By having individuals donate money that wasn't their own, we ruled out the possibility that wealth and income effects are driving the results. After making the donation, individuals were asked to rate how connected they felt to their chosen charity. Following their completion of the experiment, each participant was also given a ribbon lapel pin that signaled support for their chosen charity, as a thank you for the donation. We found that donating the \$5 bill led to higher post-transaction connection rating in comparison to making a donation by \$5 voucher ($M_{\text{Cash}} = 5.81$, $SD_{\text{Cash}} = 0.88$, $M_{\text{Voucher}} = 5.32$, $SD_{\text{Voucher}} = 1.29$, $t(81.0) = 2.15$, $p = .034$). One week following the completion of the experiment, individuals were asked whether they had worn the lapel pin during the week. Individuals who paid by cash were more likely to wear a lapel pin, publicly signaling support for their chosen charity ($\chi^2(1) = 8.66$, $p = .003$; $M_{\text{Cash}} = 51.3\%$, $M_{\text{Voucher}} = 13.8\%$).

In Study 3, we replicate our findings using real-world using archival donation data in which we could determine whether paying with a more (versus less) painful form of payment in a given year would increase (decrease) the probability of donating in the subsequent year. Using data from business school donations over a nine-year span, we found that paying by check (a more painful form of money) increased the likelihood of making a donation in the following year by 9.9% (i.e., 62.3% likelihood to donate in year $t + 1$ by check versus 56.7% by credit/debit card; (62.3%-

56.7%)/56.7%=9.9%, $p < .001$). Thus, Study 3 demonstrated the robustness of payment form effects on organizational commitment, even over a one-year period.

Our findings suggest that psychological pain can influence how much individuals value their chosen product, how connected they feel to it, and how committed they are over time. Our work demonstrates the potential downstream benefits of increasing the psychological pain of payment for both organizations and individuals. Individuals are more financially, psychologically, and behaviorally committed to an organization and value products more when they pay with more painful forms of payment.

Rebate-What-You-Want

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As a strategy, elective pricing has experienced mixed success compared with fixed pricing. On one hand, elective pricing strategies allow companies to reach segments that would not pay the firm's fixed price (Mak, Zwick and Rao 2010), resulting in resulting in equal or greater profits compared with fixed pricing (Gneezy et al 2010; Riener and Traxler 2012). Yet in practice, each individual customer tends to contribute less revenue than the fixed price (Kim et al. 2009). For example, marketing research firm comScore reported that when the band Radiohead released its 2007 album, *In Rainbows*, with elective pricing, in its first month only 2 out of 5 downloaders paid a nonzero amount, netting overall only \$2.26 per record (Lipsman 2007). This project tests a simple, but novel and previously unused approach that could help make elective pricing more sustainable for firms.

Under the new strategy, customers decide how much from a fixed price to receive back, rather than choosing how much to pay. For example, under the proposed strategy, a customer would choose how much change to receive after giving \$5 for a sandwich, rather than choosing how much to pay for a sandwich with a \$5 menu price. This is analogous to choosing a rebate amount rather than paying a voluntary price amount, and accordingly it is termed Rebate-What-You-Want (RWYW).

The behavioral and economic literature provides several reasons to expect why RWYW would be more effective than traditional elective pricing. Insights from prospect theory and past research on rebates suggest RWYW may encourage customers to be more willing to pay once they have already given the money to the firm. Prospect theory suggests people tend to overvalue prospective losses to prospective gains (Kahneman and Tversky 1979; Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler 1990), so they may value the dollars more if it is out of their pocket (a loss) than when it is in the form of change or rebate (a gain). Similarly, taking money back from the business also involves losses in psychological satisfaction from having contributed to a social good. Consequently, voluntary payments may seem more desirable when people set the amount of money to take back than when they set the amount to pay directly. Such framing effects have not been previously tested in the domain of voluntary pricing.

A second account for why RWYW increase contributions is the rebate requires additional action beyond the purchase. Previous research suggests people intend to use rebates, but do not follow through, a phenomenon known as breakage (Pechmann and Silk, 2013). Other possible explanations include that the framing change may affect social norms, the customer's identification with the firm, or the strength of the reference price strength. This project tests the effectiveness of RWYW pricing relative to traditional elective pricing and assesses the relative strength of each explanation.

Study 1 tests the effects of RWYW framing on voluntary contributions. 127 undergraduate students imagined that they had an overdue university library book, and were asked how much they would be willing to pay in late fees. Half ($n=63$) were asked how much of a \$10 bill in their pocket they would pay with while the other half ($n=64$) were asked how much change they would want back. Participants always selected a number between 1 and 9, and for comparability, the responses in the change condition were subtracted from 10. The change group paid 46% (nearly \$2) more than the payment group ($M_{pocket} = \$3.67$, $SD = 2.57$; $M_{change} = \$5.35$, $SD = 2.48$; $F(1, 125) = 14.04$; $p < 0.001$). This result suggests that in at least one domain, RWYW pricing may be more effective than PWYW pricing.

Study 2 tests whether a rebate frame increases elective payments while controlling for several alternate explanations including for reference price, product liking, goal strength, as well as the personal traits altruism and price consciousness. 235 students were asked how much to pay or how much change to receive for a sandwich (which was again reverse-coded.) Participants reported that they were more willing to pay for the sandwich when they selected the amount to receive back ($M_{change} = \$5.02$, $SD_{change} = \$1.72$, $M_{payment} = \$4.57$, $SD_{payment} = \$1.61$, $F(1, 233) = 5.34$, $p = 0.02$), a result that also persisted after controlling for the other factors ($p < 0.01$).

Taken together, these studies suggest that framing elective payments as a rebate can increase total contributions. From one perspective, the RWYW approach offers a more sustainable model for practitioners than rebate pricing. Viewed from another perspective, this paper explores framing effects in the rebate domain, and in particular enables comparisons of the effect sizes of framing effects and rebate breakage, which are typically disconnected domains governing consumer behavior. This inquiry into why RWYW is effective provides insights to other domains of consumer choice such as framing, mental accounting, and time discounting.

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It Ain't All Positive: Frictions between Consumers and Brands

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Paper #1: Interpersonal Influences on Consumer-Brand Relationships: Exploring the Effect of Providing Relationship Reminders on Brand Evaluations

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Matthew Thomson, Ivey Business School, Western University, Canada
Allison R. Johnson, Ivey Business School, Western University, Canada

Paper #2: Who Blames but Forgives When Brands Err? Applying Attachment Theory to Explain Consumer Responses to Brand Failures and Recovery Efforts

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Vanitha Swaminathan, University of Pittsburgh, USA
Zeynep Gürhan-Canli, Koç University, Turkey

Paper #3: The Devil You Know: Service Failures, Self-Esteem and Behavioral Loyalty

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Stijn M.J. van Osselaer, Cornell University, USA

Paper #4: The Category Spillover Effects of Brand Hatred

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Anne-Kathrin Klesse, Tilburg University, the Netherlands
JoAndrea Hoegg, University of British Columbia, Canada
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SESSION OVERVIEW

How consumers connect with brands remains at the forefront for consumer researchers and managers alike. A substantial body of research examines positive consumer-firm connections manifested in consumer-brand relationships (e.g., Fournier 1998), brand engagement in consumers' self-concept (e.g., Sprott, Czellar and Spangenberg 2009), attachment (e.g., Park, Eisingerich and Park 2013; Park et al. 2010), and love (e.g., Batra, Ahuvia and Bagozzi 2012; Yim, Tse and Chan 2008). On the contrary, work on negative consumer-brand connections is comparatively scarce, possibly reflecting a "positivity bias in brand relationship research" (Fournier and Alvarez 2013, p. 260). The focus on positive consumer-brand experiences and connections is somewhat surprising given that negative experiences, connections, and emotions tend to be more impactful than their positive counterparts (Baumeister et al. 2001).

Consequently, the central purpose of this session is to shed light on 'negatives' in consumer-brand connections. To this end we have collected four exciting papers that look at frictions in consumer-brand relationships from different perspectives: first, this session highlights that consumer-brand relationships are not as positive as portrayed in prior research once measurement of these consumer-brand connections accounts for the social context which they are embedded in (Khamitov, Thomson, and Johnson). Second, this session shows that individual differences predict whether, how, and why consumers may remain in negative and troublesome brand relationships (Dommer, Swaminathan, and Gürhan-Canli; Consiglio and van Osselaer). Third, the final paper in the session shows that negative experiences and feelings towards one specific brand are likely to affect competing brands as well (Boegershausen, Klesse, Hoegg, and Dahl).

All four papers provide multifaceted insights into the negative spectrum of consumer-brand connections. Collectively, they address the following questions: (i) which types of consumers are most likely to remain in negative consumer-brand connections and (ii) whether and why do negative consumer-brand connections affect competing brands. In addition, this session reinforces the need to overcome the prevalent positivity bias in measuring and studying consumer-brand connections. A full appreciation of the potential frictions between consumers and brands can enrich our theories about consumer-brand relationships. This session is of interest to a diverse audience as it appeals to those interested in brands, consumer-brand relationships, and service failures.

Interpersonal Influences on Consumer-Brand Relationships: Exploring the Effect of Providing Relationship Reminders on Brand Evaluations

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The current standard approaches of measuring consumer-brand relationships (CBRs) strength involves some variant of asking consumers to provide evaluations of researcher-identified brands (e.g., "To what extent do you feel personally connected to Apple iPod?", Park et al. 2010, p. 6), self-selected brands with no category constraint (e.g., "Think about a brand to which you have some degree of emotional attachment", Thomson, MacInnis and Park 2005, p. 7), or self-selected brands within a particular category (e.g., "brand you love" in the consumer electronics category, Batra, Ahuvia and Bagozzi 2012, p. 7). Yet, consumers are typically involved in an array of relationships, many involving interpersonal dyads such as with friends and family. It has been argued that only by looking at the "broader context of the consumer's life" (Fournier 2009, p. 5) can a marketer accurately gauge the functioning and importance of brand relationships. But the standard measurement approaches outlined above do not do this: they assess CBR strength in a vacuum and provide no acknowledgement of this relational array. We argue this approach may systematically overstate the vitality and meaningfulness of CBRs. To this end, we propose that contextualizing CBRs by providing interpersonal relationship reminders will lead consumers to rate CBRs as less agentic and strong. We argue this effect will be driven by the activation of relational schemas and will result in weakened consumer ratings of brand performance.

Study 1 establishes the phenomenon that providing interpersonal relationship reminders reduces consumer ratings of brand performance by lowering perceptions of agency (i.e., proximal mediator) and CBR strength (i.e., distal mediator). This study uses self-selected brands and manipulates relationship reminders both explicitly and implicitly. We find that providing relationship reminders reduces brand performance (attitudes, WOM, price premium, and willingness to defend) through our hypothesized mediators.

Study 2 replicates this effect with a different means of eliciting brands and a different measure of CBR strength. Instead of using self-selected brands, study 2 asked respondents about two pretested brands (Apple and Abercrombie & Fitch). The results of Study 2 generally replicate study 1, offering additional support for the hypothesis that respondents who receive an interpersonal relationship reminder perceive brands to be have less agency, resulting in weaker CBRs and ratings of brand performance.

Study 3 demonstrated that the effect operates with interpersonal but not other types of relationship reminders (e.g., other brands, celebrities), thus replicating the mediational pathway observed in studies 1 and 2. In addition, Study 3 reinforced the role interpersonal relationship reminders play in influencing perceptions of CBR strength by revealing an important asymmetry: interpersonal relationship strength is not affected when immediately preceded by brand questions but the reverse is not true. This result helps allay concerns that the prior results are confounded by a perceptual contrast effect.

Study 4 showed that the weakening effects of interpersonal relationship reminders on CBR strength are not driven by reduced materialism or enhanced perceived social support (alternative explanations). It also investigates if the negative effects of relationship reminders on CBR strength can be mitigated by prompting consumers to think about brands as people (Aggarwal and McGill 2012). We expect that consumers who are made to think about brands in human-like terms will be more likely to integrate the brand into their relational schemas, thereby mitigating the effect of providing interpersonal relationship reminders on perceived brand agency and CBR strength. Replicating results of previous studies, consumers who received (vs. did not receive) an interpersonal relationship reminder reported weaker scores on brand agency and strength. However, among consumers who were situationally induced to think of brands as people and thus integrate brands into relational schemas, the reminders had no little effect.

This work contributes to the CBR literature by answering the call of relationship theorists to investigate the role played by consumer's social connections in influencing CBRs (Fournier 2009), helping to draw a finer line between brand and interpersonal relationships (Swaminathan and Dommer 2012) and enhancing understanding of the way interpersonal relationship reminders operate in a branding context (Cavanaugh 2014).

To the best of our knowledge, our research is the first to demonstrate how and when reminding consumers of their interpersonal relationships impacts CBRs. While previous research referencing consumers' interpersonal relationships has suggested that marketers should improve ratings of brand performance by appealing to consumers' interpersonal relationships, such as through use of nostalgic advertising (Muehling and Pascal 2011; Zhou et al. 2012), friendship-driven brand communities (Bagozzi and Dholakia 2006), brands as facilitators of interpersonal relationships (Goode, Khamitov and Thomson 2015) and community appeals (Cutcher 2008), our results appear divergent and show that this is not necessarily the case. Our results offer insight into the role of agency in CBRs and extend a more nuanced understanding of the relationship metaphor into the brand domain (Fournier 1998), suggesting a more pervasive and complex psychological phenomenon whereby brand relationships can become affected by placing them in the broader context of consumers' lives. Indeed, this is consistent with an increasing body of social psychological research on relational schemas that finds that activating interpersonal relational schemas exerts influence on subsequent perceptions of other social experiences (Andersen and Chen 2002; Baldwin 1992; Chartrand, Dalton and Fitzsimons 2007). Thus we contribute to this research by showing that the influences of relational schemas activation extend to perceptions of consumer-brand interactions.

Who Blames but Forgives When Brands Err? Applying Attachment Theory to Explain Consumer Responses to Brand Failures and Recovery Efforts

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In 2010, after Toyota announced a recall of cars due to a faulty gas pedal some customers swore off the brand entirely, while others went to dealerships to express their support for the brand (Audi 2010). Although transgressions weaken the consumer-brand relationship for some, others may forgive and forget.

Using a framework built on attachment theory (Bartholomew and Horowitz 1991), we examine how consumers' attachment styles affect attributions following a transgression and subsequently responses to transgressions and recovery efforts. Attachment styles refer to internal working models of interpersonal relationships based on two dimensions: anxiety and avoidance (Bartholomew and Horowitz 1991). Anxiety represents an individual's fear of abandonment in an interpersonal relationship due to a negative view of self. Avoidance represents a fear of abandonment because of a lack of trust in the relationship partner. We believe the avoidance dimension will affect consumers' stability attributions, and subsequently their brand attitudes, following a brand transgression. Because high avoidance individuals believe relationship partners are untrustworthy, they should believe in the stability of brands' transgressions and consequently lower brand attitudes.

A desire to punish the brand by spreading negative word-of-mouth (WOM) following a transgression is likely associated with both severity and controllability perceptions (Folkes 1984; McCullough, Fincham and Tsang 2003). Among individuals low in avoidance, those low in anxiety have a positive view of the self, which they can protect by attributing more control to the brand following a transgression (Burger 1981). In contrast, low avoidance-high anxiety individuals tend to blame themselves following interpersonal rejections because doing so allows them to maintain their positive views of others (Bartholomew and Horowitz 1991). High avoidance-high anxiety individuals perceive greater severity in relational transgressions (Horan 2012). High avoidance-low anxiety individuals, however, avoid relying on relationships to define who they are (Collins 1996) and likely simply withdraw from the relationship rather than punish the brand. In sum, we believe that both low avoidance-low anxiety and high avoidance-high anxiety individuals will demonstrate a greater willingness to spread negative WOM following a transgression. Furthermore, we expect controllability attributions to mediate the effect of anxiety on likelihood of spreading negative WOM among low avoidance individuals, but severity perceptions to mediate the effect of anxiety among high avoidance individuals.

In study 1, participants ($n = 198$) completed manipulations of anxiety and avoidance (Swaminathan, Stilley and Ahluwalia 2009) before reading information about a recall from GAP and responding to measures of brand attitude and likelihood of spreading negative WOM. Participants in the high avoidance conditions had significantly lower brand attitudes compared to those in the low avoidance conditions ($ps < .06$, one-tailed test). Those in the high avoidance-high anxiety and low avoidance-low anxiety conditions were more willing to spread negative WOM than those in the high avoidance-low anxiety and low avoidance-high anxiety conditions ($ps < .03$, one-tailed test). Study 2 began with participants ($n = 185$) completing Brennan et al.'s (1998) measures of anxiety and avoidance before reading information about a recall by Nike. We measured brand attitude and likelihood of spreading negative WOM as well as severity, control, and stability (Folkes, Koletsky and Graham 1987). Avoid-

ance significantly predicted brand attitude ($b = -.32$; $t(181) = 3.08$, $p < .01$) and stability mediated this effect (bootstrapped confidence interval: $-.1003$, $-.0026$). The interaction of anxiety with avoidance significantly predicted likelihood of spreading negative WOM ($b = .27$, $t(181) = 3.59$, $p < .001$). The Johnson-Neyman point estimate (Spiller et al. 2013) indicated that when avoidance (anxiety) scores averaged at or above $.7678$ ($.8020$) from the mean or at or below $-.8841$ (-1.0841) from the mean, the effect of anxiety (avoidance) was significant. Severity mediated the effect of anxiety at high levels of avoidance (indirect effect at +1 SD of avoidance: $.0595$, $.2658$) and controllability mediated the effect of anxiety at low levels of avoidance (indirect effect at -1 SD of avoidance: $-.2564$, $-.0243$). In study 3 we considered two types of recovery efforts: apology and blame redirection. Apologies are associated with interpersonal bonds (Mikulincer and Florian 1998) and thus likely unappealing to highly avoidant individuals. Blame redirection is seen as a way of shifting responsibility for the transgression incident to external causes and subsequently reducing stability and controllability attributions. While we believe a blame redirection will be successful in getting high avoidance-low anxiety individuals to restore their brand attitudes, we do not believe this will be the case for high avoidance-high anxiety individuals. Forgiveness requires a decrease in motivation to maintain estrangement from the offender (Mikulincer and Florian 1995), which these individuals are unlikely to have because they tend to avoid getting close to others (Bartholomew 1990). Participants ($n = 405$) completed the measures of anxiety and avoidance and then read a Nike transgression scenario before reporting brand attitudes. One week later 176 participants returned to complete the second study and were exposed to a recovery effort and reported their brand attitudes again. Greater avoidance was again associated with lower brand attitudes before the recovery effort ($b = -.21$; $t(172) = 2.17$, $p < .04$). The effect of recovery effort was significant among those with high avoidance-high anxiety ($b = .64$, $t(168) = 3.39$, $p < .001$) and marginally significant for those with high avoidance-low anxiety ($b = -.69$, $t(168) = 1.67$, $p < .10$). High avoidance-high anxiety individuals lowered their brand attitudes even further when the brand redirected blame compared to when they offered an apology. When high avoidance was coupled with low anxiety, a blame redirection increased brand attitudes.

This research examined how interpersonal attachment styles affect responses to brand transgressions. By illuminating the role of stability, severity, and controllability as processes governing these effects, we provide a more nuanced understanding of how interpersonal relationships of consumers impact their relationships with brands. Although recovery strategies have been shown to be influential in guiding consumer-brand relationships following transgression, our research sheds light on the moderating role of consumers' attachment styles in enabling such a recovery.

The Devil You Know: Service Failures, Self-Esteem and Behavioral Loyalty

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Why do some consumers switch to available alternatives following service failures whilst others do not? In this research, we investigate one of the factors that might explain behavioral loyalty in face of service failures. Research suggests that individuals with low self-esteem who experience relational transgressions develop an avoidant attachment style, which impairs their interpersonal functioning and their willingness to take further interpersonal risks (Park and Maner 2009), and in particular to engage in other long-term relationships (Walker 2009). Drawing on this research, we propose

that low self-esteem (LSE) consumers who experience service failures become unwilling to commit themselves to alternative brands, even when they have the opportunity to do so, thus – paradoxically – they remain trapped in their current brand relationship. High self-esteem (HSE) consumers, instead, are more likely to switch to other available service providers when they experience service failures, as compared to when they do not experience failures. We also predict that LSE consumers who experience service failures tend to avoid new commitments *in general*, thus favoring transactions relative to long-term contracts, even in consumption domains that are unrelated to the service failure. We tested these predictions in one survey and three experiments.

In study 1a, participants completed a measure of self-esteem (Rosenberg 1989; e.g., “I have a number of good qualities”), and reported the quality of their internet connection (“Considering your Internet usage over time, what percentage of the time does your Internet connection work perfectly?” 0% = *Internet never works perfectly*, 100% = *Internet always works perfectly*.) These questions were interspersed among others in order to disguise the purpose of the study. Finally, participants indicated how likely they would be to switch to a competitor of their current Internet provider, if canceling their current contract were free of charge and the new provider did all the paperwork. As the quality of their internet connection decreased, HSE consumers were more likely to switch to a different provider. However, frequency of failures did not have an effect on LSE consumers' likelihood to switch. In study 1b, we replicated these findings in an experimental setting: HSE consumers who imagined to use an extremely faulty Internet connection were more likely to switch to an available provider as compared to their counterparts who imagined to use a perfectly functioning Internet connection; LSE consumers did not express different switching intentions between conditions.

Since we had hypothesized that the loyalty of LSE consumers in face of service failures is driven by their avoidance of new long-term relationships, in study 2 we manipulated the length of the contract offered by an alternative Internet service provider. When an alternative service provider offered a long-term contract (1 year) we replicated previous results: the two-way interaction between self-esteem and service quality was significant—HSE consumers were more likely to switch to this alternative service provider as the quality of their internet connection worsened, but LSE consumers were not. Instead, when an alternative service provider offered a short-term contract (1 month, renewable) LSE consumers were as likely as HSE consumers to switch to this provider, as revealed by the absence of an interaction between self-esteem and service quality in this condition. In fact, following a service failure, LSE consumers seemed to prefer a short-term contract relative to a long-term contract, which suggests an increased fear of committing to alternative brands. In study 3, we demonstrate that the fear of new commitments induced by service failures extends to unrelated domains. LSE consumers who imagined to use an extremely faulty Internet connection expressed a greater preference for buying a magazine at the newsstand relative to subscribing to this magazine, as compared to their counterparts who imagined to use a perfectly functioning Internet connection and participants in a negative mood condition. The preferences of HSE consumers, instead, were not affected by service failures.

In sum, these studies suggest that following service failures, HSE consumers are more likely to switch to a competitor compared to their counterparts who do not experience failures, whilst LSE consumers are not (studies 1a, 1b, and 2). Consistent with the hypothesis that service failures (vs. no failures) make LSE consumers wary of relational risks, thus rendering them avoidant of commitment with

alternative brands, LSE consumers increase their preference for low-commitment offers from competitors and decrease their preference for high-commitment offers (study 2), even in unrelated consumption domains (study 3).

This research has significant practical import for marketing and policy-making. Consumers who experience service failures can more easily escape a negative brand relationship if low-commitment alternatives are available; thus, marketers who wish to lure dissatisfied consumers from their competitors should consider diversifying their offerings and include short-term/low-commitment offers in their portfolio. Moreover, our results suggest that service failures might create generalized distrust in long-term relationships that extends to different consumption domains. In the long run, this could hurt marketing efforts to build trust and committed relationships. Finally, policy makers should take into account that behavioral loyalty is not determined only by switching costs or apathy. Lowering switching barriers to favor competition might not be enough to protect consumers' rights, but motivating brands to right their wrongs – for example by broadening the scope of class actions – might be an important additional protection for LSE consumers.

The Category Spillover Effects of Brand Hatred

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In a recent campaign by the budget airline Spirit Airlines, more than 30,000 consumers expressed their hatred for Spirit and other American airline brands (Spirit 2014). The likely managerial motive behind Spirit's campaign is that a brand benefits when consumers hate competing brands. Such category spillover effects of brand hatred are the focus of this paper. We examine how hatred for a brand affects other brands that are close competitors (i.e., competitors in the same category such as other budget airlines) or distant competitors (i.e., competitors in a different category such as traditional full-service airlines).

Brand hatred is an extremely negative and stable emotional attitude towards a brand “including intense feelings of dislike, animosity, hostility and aversion [...]. [Brand hatred] may result from the combination of repeated experiences of anger [, contempt,] and disgust toward the hated object” (Matsumoto 2009, p. 230; cf. also Sternberg 2005; Sternberg and Sternberg 2008). Consistent with the intuition of the Spirit's managers, researchers have suggested that hatred can motivate individuals to destroy and annihilate the hated object (Ben-Ze'ev 2001; Rempel and Burris 2005). In order to do so consumers may take revenge by purchasing from the closest competitor rather than a more distant competing brand from a different category in order to maximize the harm to the hated brand. The proverb “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” resembles this logic and spillover effects of this kind have been documented in prior work on consumer revenge (e.g., Nasr Bechwati and Morrin 2003).

In contrast to this revenge-based account, hatred of a brand may activate a fundamental, evolutionary evolved self-protection motive (Griskevicius and Kenrick 2013). This motive is triggered when individuals experience threats to their physical safety or valued resources (Kenrick et al. 2010; Lisjak and Lee 2014). Once activated, the self-protective system focuses on evading potential dangers in one's social environment and makes consumers particularly vigilant and susceptible to cues signaling that they might be in danger (Griskevicius and Kenrick 2013). An active self-protection motive increases the likelihood of engagement in risk-reduction behaviors (Lisjak and Lee 2014). In the context of brand choice, if a consumer hates a particular brand, brands that are perceived as direct competitors to the hated brand (i.e., from the same category) may be viewed as more

threatening and risky than brands that are more distant. To protect themselves, consumers should thus be more inclined to purchase from a competitor from a different category than from the same one. We conduct four studies to test the competing revenge-based versus self-protection-based predictions and produce unequivocal support for the self-protection account.

Study 1a (n = 95) provides initial evidence that brand hatred spills over to shift consumers' preference away from same-category towards other-category brands. In this study, participants wrote about why they hate, love, or feel indifferent towards a specific budget airline brand (i.e., Ryanair). After completing the writing task and some manipulation check items, participants entered a lottery for a 20€ travel voucher. Our dependent measure was participants' choice of airline for the voucher: a same-category (EasyJet) or an other-category brand (British Airways). Consistent with the self-protection account, in the hatred condition, 75% of participants chose the other-category brand versus 38% of those in the indifference condition and 42% in the love condition. Study 1b (n = 136) replicates this effect and shows that the negative spillover effects to same-category brands emerge not only when consumers hate a budget brand, but also a premium brand (Lufthansa). Study 2 (n = 125) replicates the effect using fictitious brands. Moreover, to address a potential confound of studies 1a and 1b, in study 2 the same- and other-category brands in the choice set do not differ in value and price positioning. Participants imagined a detailed story about indifference- versus hatred-evoking experiences with a hotel (branded either as an independent or a chain hotel). Subsequently, participants envisioned returning to the same city and reported their willingness-to-pay for two different hotels, one same-category and one other-category brand. Willingness-to-pay (independent vs. chain) is the within-subject factor and dependent variable, and category (independent vs. chain) and emotional attitude (indifference vs. hatred) are between-subjects factors. We find a three-way interaction between category, emotional attitude, and willingness-to-pay: participants in the hatred condition were willing to pay significantly more for the chain (independent) brand when their initial hatred-evoking experience was with an independent (chain) hotel. In contrast, willingness-to-pay did not differ significantly in the indifference conditions. As the first three studies provide unanimous support for the spillover effects of brand hatred, we explicitly test the underlying self-protection mechanism of this effect in study 3 (n = 154). Building on the paradigm used in study 2, we show that brand hatred shifts perceptions of the relative safety of same- versus other-category brands: whereas participants in the indifference conditions perceive the same- and other-category brands as equally safe, participants in the hatred conditions perceive the other-category brand as significantly safer. Moderated mediation analyses reveal that the conditional indirect effect of emotional attitude (i.e., indifference versus hatred) via brand safety perceptions on the relative preference for the chain over the indifference hotel (displayed in consumers' intentions and willingness-to-pay) is significant and positive (significant and negative) when the focal brand was an independent (chain) branded hotel.

In summary, across our four studies we find consistent support that brand hatred shifts preferences away from same-category towards other-category brands in line with the self-protection hypothesis. In line with the tenets of Griskevicius and Kenrick (2013) we show that 1) reflecting on a hated brand acts as an external cue that activates the self-protection motive, 2) the activation of this fundamental motive shapes consumers' perceptions and preferences, which consequently 3) guides their choices towards favoring (safer) other-category over same-category competing brands.

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Data Quality in Online Research: Challenges and Solutions

Chairs: Neil Brigden, Miami University, USA
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Paper #1: Beyond the Turk: An Empirical Comparison of Alternative Platforms for Crowdsourcing Online Research

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Sonam Samat, Carnegie Mellon University, USA
Laura Brandimarte, Carnegie Mellon University, USA
Alessandro Acquisti, Carnegie Mellon University, USA

Paper #2: Using Nonnaive Participants Can Reduce Effect Sizes

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Gabriele Paolacci, Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands
Eyal Peer, Bar-Ilan University, Israel
Pam Mueller, Princeton University, USA
Kate Ratliff, University of Florida, USA

Paper #3: Research Design Decisions and Their Effects on Task Outcomes: An Illustration Using Free-sorting Experiments

Simon J. Blanchard, Georgetown University, USA
Ishani Banerji, University of Texas at San Antonio, USA

Paper #4: Interactivity and Data Quality in Computer-Based Experiments

Neil Brigden, Miami University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumer researchers are increasingly relying on online samples to conduct their empirical investigations. While crowdsourcing markets and online panels (e.g., Amazon Mechanical Turk) have improved the efficiency of behavioral research, they also introduced unique and novel challenges for data quality (for recent reviews see Gosling & Mason 2015; Paolacci & Chandler 2014). In particular, both the recruitment and execution stages of research are inherently less controllable when they happen online than offline (e.g., in a physical laboratory). As a result, several questions arise that directly impact the reliability of online behavioral investigations and ultimately the trustworthiness of research findings: Is there such thing as an “online population”, or are some online samples more reliable than others? What are the consequences of research participants self-selecting into research studies as they wish? How can researchers ensure that unsupervised participants will truly engage in the tasks they perform? This session brings together four papers that assess these concerns, and suggest practical solutions for consumer researchers to ensure high data quality in their online investigations.

The first two papers focus on the recruitment stage of online research. Peer and colleagues compare a variety of online panels, finding vast differences in data quality as well as participant demographics and psychometrics. Chandler and colleagues investigate how participating twice in the same study—a phenomenon which previous research documented as prevalent—affects results, and find that including non-naive participants consistently reduces observed effect sizes. The last two papers focus on how features of the research execution can be changed to increase data quality in online research. Blanchard and Banerji comprehensively examine free sorting tasks in online research and find evidence that researcher decisions (e.g., topic, number of items, pre-task video tutorials) substantially affect both participants’ experience and the quality of

the data they provide. Brigden examines the effect of interactive study elements on participants’ attentiveness, and finds that participants’ attentiveness is significantly improved in presence of interactive elements. Altogether, the four papers highlight specific data quality concerns for online researchers, test the effectiveness of attempts to address these concerns, and identify important avenues for future research in this area.

The Internet democratized science by lowering the barriers to its consumption and dissemination. Recently, opportunities to conduct research online have allowed for a more democratic *production* of scientific knowledge. However, online data collection also has many undetected pitfalls, that this session uncovers and examines. Prior ACR sessions on crowdsourcing and online research (e.g., Goodman & Paolacci, 2014) demonstrated great interest in the community for a more thorough understanding of the consequences of relocating empirical investigations online. We expect this session to be equally successful, and to contribute substantially – by providing attendees with actionable methodological implications – to improve the practices of online data collection.

Beyond the Turk: An Empirical Comparison of Alternative Platforms for Crowdsourcing Online Research

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In recent years, a growing number of researchers have been using Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) as an efficient platform for crowdsourcing online human-subjects research. A large body of work has shown MTurk to be a reliable and cost-effective source for high-quality and representative data, for various fields and research purposes (e.g., Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Chandler, Mueller, & Paolacci, 2014; Crump, McDonnell, & Gureckis, 2013; Fort, Adda, & Cohen, 2011; Goodman, Cryder, & Cheema, 2013; Litman, Robinson, & Rosenzweig, 2014; Mason & Suri, 2012; Paolacci, & Chandler, 2014; Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010; Peer, Vosgerau, & Acquisti, 2013; Rand, 2012; Simcox, & Fiez, 2014; Sprouse, 2011). In parallel, several other alternative platforms now offer similar services, with distinct differences from MTurk: they offer access to new and more naïve populations than MTurk’s, and have fewer restrictions on the types of assignments researchers may ask participants to do (see Vakharia & Lease, 2014, for an overview). These alternative services for crowd-sourced research could be highly beneficial for researchers interested in conducting online surveys and experiments, as long as these new sites prove to provide high-quality data. We conducted an empirical investigation of the data quality (in terms of response rates, attention, dishonesty, reliability and replicability) of several alternative online crowdsourcing platforms, and compared those to both MTurk and a university-based online participants pool.

At first, we focused on six services that we found by searching for crowdsourcing websites on the web, which are similar in purpose and general design to MTurk. These services included CrowdFlower, MicroWorkers, RapidWorkers, MiniJobz, ClickWorker and ShortTask. However, we were able to run our study only on the first three sites due to various problems with the other sites (MiniJobz rejected our

study with no explanation or response to our questions; ClickWorker required a high set-up fee of about \$840 for 200 participants; and ShortTask failed to process our payment method several times and no support could be reached). In addition to the above three sites and MTurk, we also ran our study on a university-based online participant pool (CBDR) as another comparison group. We aimed to sample 200 participants from each site using a week for sampling. We obtained 200 responses from MTurk and CrowdFlower in less than 2 hours (101.01 and 108.55 responses per hour, respectively). With a considerable difference, CBDR showed the third fastest response rate (1.42 responses per hour), followed by MicroWorkers (1.08 responses per hour) and RapidWorkers (0.63 responses per hour) – from which we could only sample 105 completed responses in a week. Eventually, we obtained a total sample of 890 participants.

Our online study included several parts designed to examine different aspects of data quality. For brevity, we describe these parts here alongside their results. In one part, participants completed several validated questionnaires to examine differences in reliability between the sites: the Internet User Information Privacy Concerns scale (Malhotra, Kim, & Agarwal, 2004), the Need For Cognition scale (Cacioppo, Petty, & Kao, 1984) and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979). Overall, we found that MTurk participants showed the highest reliability scores on all three scales, followed by CrowdFlower participants, CBDR and Microworkers, all of whom performed adequately well on all scales (except a somewhat lower score for CrowdFlower participants on the NFC scale). RapidWorkers participants showed high reliability on the IUIPC scale, but very low reliability on the NFC and mediocre reliability on the RSES scales. We used Hakistan & Whalen's (1976) method to compare between independent reliability coefficients and found no statistically significant differences between the samples (using all participants from each sample) for the IUIPC, $\chi^2(4) = 6.63, p = .17$, but we did find statistically significant differences for the NFC and the RSES, $\chi^2(4) = 127.07, 75.69, p < .01$.

Two attention-check questions (Peer et al., 2014), embedded at different points of the study, checked participants' attention and compliance with written instructions. Whereas only 14% of MTurk participants failed both questions, almost half of the CBDR participants failed them, and the majority of the participants in all other sites failed them as well. Interestingly, CrowdFlower participants (who showed the fastest response rate) had a failure rate of almost 75%.

Another part of the study examined replicability of known findings using tasks from the judgment and decision-making literature (following Chandler et al., 2010): the Asian-disease gain vs. loss framing, the sunk-cost fallacy, and four anchoring-and-adjustment questions. We found the expected effects in both CrowdFlower and MicroWorkers, in levels comparable to MTurk, whereas RapidWorker's results were less than adequate. In another part, which used a die-throwing task, we found no differences in the propensity for dishonest behavior between the different sites.

To conclude, we found that, at the time of writing, both CrowdFlower and MicroWorkers sites, but not the RapidWorkers site, could be potential alternatives to MTurk. Additional examinations revealed that there was a very small overlap between participants from the different sites, and some individual differences between the sites. The most pronounced, and probably most practical, of those was that CrowdFlower's participants included much more Asian participants and non-U.S. citizens than MicroWorkers or MTurk. We believe additional research is required to understand the origins of these differences between the sites, and to further explore other aspects of data quality between these sites in comparison with MTurk, as well as in comparison with other, more traditional samples.

Using Nonnaive Participants Can Reduce Effect Sizes

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When conducting a study, researchers often assume that participants are naive to the research materials, either because the pool of participants is large (e.g., Internet samples) or because participants' prior exposure to research is limited (e.g., in the case of first year college students). This assumption, however, is often violated. People can belong to a participant pool for several years, and some members are disproportionately likely to be sampled (Chandler, Mueller, & Paolacci, 2014). Moreover, researchers with overlapping interests rely on the same undergraduate subject pools, and participants may easily share information with each other (Edlund et al, 2009). People may also gain knowledge of research materials through college courses or media coverage.

Some research suggests that familiarity with research materials might impact findings. Prior knowledge may increase the likelihood of hypothesis guessing and potentially lead to demand effects (Weber & Cook, 1972). Relatedly, earlier conditions in within-subject experiments inform subsequent conditions, causing effects observed in between-subjects designs to be inflated, attenuated, or reversed (see Charness, Gneezy, & Kuhn, 2012). Recently, researchers have noted that responses to psychological measures correlate with proxies of prior participation in similar experiments, such as memory of prior participation (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001), chronological order of studies themselves (Rand et al., 2014), measures of the total number of completed experiments (Chandler et al., 2014), or naturally varying levels of prior experience with a task (Mason, Suri & Watts, 2014). Although these findings suggest that non-naivety may influence observed effect sizes more generally, this possibility has not been directly tested. To address this gap, we examine how prior exposure to study materials affects responses.

Method

We conducted a two-stage study on Amazon Mechanical Turk (for a review see Paolacci & Chandler, 2014). One thousand participants completed a set of eleven two-condition experiments in Wave 1 (W1), testing phenomena such as anchoring, framing, retrospective gambler's fallacy, etc. (full details about W1 are reported in Klein et al., 2014). In Wave 2 (W2), these participants were invited to participate in a study including the same experiments with the exclusion of two (that were not successful in W1). For each experiment, participants were randomly assigned to the same condition as in W1 or in the alternative condition. Additionally, we manipulated two factors that that should affect whether participants recall previous materials and potentially moderate the effect of non-naivety. *Visual similarity* was manipulated by randomly assigning participants to complete the experiments on the same platform as W1 or on a different, visually distinct platform. *Time Delay* was manipulated by re-contacting participants a few days, about a week, or about a month after W1. This resulted in a 3 (Time Delay) X 2 (Visual Similarity) X 2 (Condition) between-participants design.

Results

We tested the effect of non-naivety on the responses of participants who participated in both W1 and W2 (N = 638; 55% women; $M_{age} = 36, SD = 12.8$). Overall, effect sizes declined from W1 (weighted $d = 0.82$) to W2 (weighted $d = 0.63$) by $d = 0.19$, a drop of about 25%. Only one effect size increased from W1 to W2 (low vs. high scales task; Schwarz et al., 1985) and all others showed 17% to 83% declines. 9 of the 12 effects (we analyzed the four anchoring tasks separately) exhibited declines, and 5 of these declines were statistically significant.

To examine whether the attenuation of effects was stronger when recalling information from previous participation was easier, we regressed W2 effect sizes on same vs. different Condition, Visual Similarity, Time Delay, and on dummy variables for experiment (accounting for differences in attenuation across experiments). There was a significant effect of Condition, reflecting that participants exposed to different conditions demonstrated greater decline of effects from W1 to W2. There were no main effects or interactions.

After study completion, participants reported for each experiment whether they remembered participating in it. Memory for participation in each experiment depended on Time Delay and ranged between 35% and 80% of participants. We regressed W2 effect sizes on whether they represented those who did or did not report remembering the prior experiment, same vs. different condition dummy, and dummies for the different experiments. There was a significant effect of being assigned to a different condition, and neither memory of prior participation nor its interaction with same vs. different condition were significant. This suggests self-reported memory for prior participation is at best a poor indicator of whether participants will display attenuated effect sizes because of prior participation.

Our findings show that prior exposure to research materials can reduce the effect size of true research findings. Effect sizes decreased of 40% on average, although the reduction was different for different experiments. Future research should examine whether and how some paradigms (e.g., those that require participants to generate numerical estimates) are more susceptible to non-naivety. Effects were particularly attenuated when participants were exposed to alternative conditions of an experiment, highlighting that decreased might be a function of information. However, they were also attenuated among participants exposed to the same condition twice, which might be explained by repeated exposure leading to more elaboration and decreased reliance on intuition (Sherman, 1980). Self-reported participation does not identify all prior participants, or even those who demonstrated a particularly large non-naivety effect. This may be explained if participants quickly forget the source from which the information was learned, but do not forget the information itself (Johnston, Hashtroudi & Lindsay, 1993).

Non-naivety is a serious concern for behavioral researchers that cannot be solved controlling for self-reported previous participation. When directly monitoring prior participation not possible, researchers should design procedures and stimuli that differ from those known to the tested population (Chandler et al., 2014), or increase their sample size to offset the anticipated decrease in power.

Research Design Decisions and Their Effects on Task Outcomes: An Illustration Using Free-sorting Experiments

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Numerous research areas within psychology and marketing have relied on free-sorting tasks, wherein participants allocate a set of objects into groups of their own choosing to study the natural cognitive processing of information that consumers encounter in their lives (e.g., Blanchard 2011; Ross & Murphy 1999). Unfortunately, there is little systematic empirical research that provides guidance on how researchers should design sorting tasks in order to minimize unwanted consequences such as contaminated process data, and depleted or dissatisfied participants. As different studies have provided differing recommendation, we provide an empirical investigation of sorting task researcher-driven design decisions on a variety of outcomes.

To do so, we created an experimental design that systematically varies the decisions that a researcher may face when adopting a sorting task using a fractional factorial design to test the main effect of each factor (i.e., researcher decisions) on various dependent measures (Collins, Dziak, & Runze, 2009). We then provide guidance as to best practices and potential pitfalls. The factors, along with the final design (involving 36 orthogonal tasks), are presented in a table that can be downloaded here: <http://tinyurl.com/blanchardtable>

Participants & Procedure

We requested 720 participants (20 per task) from Amazon Mechanical Turk (mTurk) for a “consumer perceptions study.” Participants were paid \$0.50 and were allocated evenly/sequentially using Qualtrics’ quota functions.

Once a participant clicked the survey link on mTurk, each participant was randomly assigned to one of the 36 task configurations via an initial Qualtrics survey whose sole purpose was to randomly assign participants. If the participant was assigned to a task design for which pre-task examples were to be provided (*Using pre-task tutorials; yes/no*), Qualtrics displayed a short video that demonstrated musical instruments being sorted along (adapted from Lickel et al., 2000). Participants then proceeded to the online sorting task interface (Cardsorting.net), which affords researchers the ability to present a varying number of objects to be sorted (*Number of objects; 20, 40, 60*), to customize instructions (*Providing a criteria for the sorts; similarity/dissimilarity*), to use either a single or a multiple cards sorting task (*Type of sorting task*), to require that participants sort all the objects at least once (*Requiring to use all the cards at least once*), and the option to ask participants to label the piles during the task, after the task, or not at all (*If and when to ask for pile labels*). After submitting their sorts, all participants proceeded to the same post-task Qualtrics survey, which contained additional dependent measures.

Results

For our analyses, we use mixed-effect linear models where the task number is a random effect and all researcher decisions are fixed effects. We provide the following recommendations:

Researchers should keep the number of objects manageable, but there is no need to severely constrain the number of objects. Although participants prefer tasks with fewer objects (20), we find no evidence that participants cannot properly follow instructions that require them to sort 40 or even 60 objects. As the number of objects increases, the biggest impact seems to be on completion time, perceptions of the effort required, and the extent to which the task was enjoyable.

Researchers should be mindful of what they are asking participants to sort. The type of objects being sorted has a significant impact. Using “groups types” instead of food objects led to a significant increase in dropout rates, completion time (for an equivalent number of objects), and participant depletion.

There’s no harm in allowing participants to sort objects into multiple piles. Even when given the option, participants were assigned objects to multiple piles only when their perceptions dictate it. Allowing participants to do so when it will not negatively impact research goals and may result in less attrition.

If researchers want labels for the piles, they should ask participants to do so after they have submitted their sorts as complete. Asking participants to name the piles during the task led to significantly greater dropout rates, a greater number of cards left unused, and higher completion times.

If researchers are trying to increase the frequency at which participants assign objects to multiple piles, they should consider providing pictures along with the objects' names. Doing so allows participants to visualize the objects, and tends to lead to a greater number of objects used more than once in the sorts.

Requiring participants to use all the cards has little effect on task and satisfaction measures. If you suspect that participants will be familiar with the majority of the objects to be sorted, then requiring they sort all objects is more likely to result in fully complete data without any detrimental effects on the sorting process or participants' experience.

Sorting interfaces are sufficiently intuitive. Expansive instructions may not be necessary. We found that participants followed the instructions, and providing them with videos that illustrated the features of the sorting interface (e.g., adding/removing objects from piles, labeling, etc.) did not have much of an impact other than to speed up the sorting process once participants got started.

General Discussion

Free-sorting is a popular data collection methodology. With online panel data and computerized platforms for free-sorting becoming more readily available, it is now possible to conduct these experiments even more easily than before. Nevertheless, researchers have many decisions to make regarding how the task should be presented to the participants and the present research shows that some of these decisions can have important consequences on the task's outcomes, and participants' perceptions of the experience.

In general, we suggest that researchers who have been wary of using sorting tasks thus far consider using online interfaces that provide a great deal of flexibility and feasibility to the researcher, while simultaneously providing participants with a reasonably pleasant and interesting task. Moreover, online interfaces allow rapid data collection thus making it possible to collect large amounts of data cheaply and quickly via online panels such as mTurk. Our findings also suggest that it may be worthwhile to revisit existing finding while varying the researchers' decisions thus introducing theoretically interesting nuances to extant literature.

Interactivity and Data Quality in Computer-Based Experiments

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research participants are often not as diligent and engaged as researchers would like. Instructional manipulation checks – IMCs (Oppenheimer, Meyvis, & Davidenko 2009), allow researchers to detect respondents who are not being attentive, but these checks do not address the underlying issue. Having detected inattentive respondents the researcher can discard their responses, likely reducing noise and improving statistical power, but reducing the sample size and possibly skewing the sample in the process. As an alternative, we propose that researchers might improve participant engagement by making studies more engaging, reducing the need to discard data after the fact.

The need to validate new online research pools has led to several studies examining the problem of inattentiveness among research participants. Some have suggested that the problem is comparable in magnitude (Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010), or worse among MTurk workers (Goodman, Cryder, & Cheema, 2013), while two recent studies have suggested that it is now less severe among MTurk workers than among other subject pools (Hauser & Schwarz, 2015; Klein et al., 2014).

The higher performance on IMCs among MTurk workers has multiple causes. IMCs are commonly used as a criterion for worker payment on MTurk (Chandler, Mueller, & Paolacci, 2014). Also, MTurkers in general are more experienced with these checks (Peer, Vosgerau, & Acquisti, 2013). Lastly, researchers tend to only include high reputation workers on MTurk, whereas undergraduate student samples tend to be more unfiltered (Hauser & Schwarz, 2015).

While MTurk workers generally perform better than undergraduates on IMCs, there remains room for improvement, with pass rates as low as 26% on novel IMCs (Hauser & Schwarz, 2015). Such low pass rates on these novel IMCs suggest that MTurk workers may be scanning for familiar IMCs rather than diligently reading all instructions.

Studies that are more interactive are, almost by definition, more engaging for participants. They may feature motion, sound, and choices that meaningfully change the participants' experience. These interactive elements were predicted to significantly improve participant attentiveness as measured by IMC pass rates.

Method

To assess the impact of interactivity on participant attentiveness, a meta-analysis was run on a set of 17 prior studies (total N=2384). The analysis compared IMC pass rates between studies that were either interactive or not, across three subject pools (MTurk, undergraduate students, and an in-house online panel). For the purposes of the analysis a study was only classified as interactive if it met two criteria: It had to contain audio or video and it had to feature some consequential choices. All studies included the same IMC, which asked participants to scroll down and click on a button off screen if they were reading the instructions, rather than clicking a "continue" button already visible on screen. For the MTurk studies, participation was limited to workers who had previously completed a minimum of 100 HITs with a minimum 95% approval rating.

Results

The effect on interactive elements on the pass rate for the IMC was assessed separately within each subject pool, as prior research has found dramatic differences in IMC pass rates between different subject pools. The largest difference in IMC pass rates between interactive and non-interactive studies was in the in house online subject pool, where interactive studies had a significantly higher IMC pass rate (87.3% than non-interactive studies (59.5%), $\chi^2(1, N = 415) = 229.8, p < .001, \phi = .27$). The difference was also significant in the undergraduate subject pool, where again the interactive studies had a significantly higher IMC pass rate (94.1% than non-interactive studies (78.2%), $\chi^2(1, N = 1035) = 56.8, p < .001, \phi = .24$). However, in the MTurk subject pool there was no difference in IMC pass rates between interactive studies (91.2%) and non-interactive studies (93.9%) $\chi^2(1, N = 934) = 2.1, p = .15$.

Discussion

The results indicate that more interactive studies may motivate participants to read instructions more carefully leading to better compliance. Interestingly, the improvement in attention appears to generalize to parts of the study that are not interactive. The IMC, in all studies, occurred outside of the interactive portion of the experiment.

Interactive studies were no better than non-interactive studies on MTurk. However, it may be difficult to improve on the high IMC pass rate this panel generally exhibited for this particular IMC. Further research using a novel IMC or a less restricted pool of MTurk workers may reveal differences in this subject pool as well.

Interactive elements are appealing from the researchers perspective as they increase engagement without necessarily requiring additional payments to participants. This keeps research costs down and can also avoid the issue of creating a productivity mindset, which may be counter to the objective of studying many consumption experiences that are not typically accompanied by this mindset. Interactive computer based experiments may also offer new avenues of examining consumption experience, an area with great potential for significant new discoveries within consumer research (Janiszewski, 2010).

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The Value of Consumer Values: Explaining Value-Motivated Cognition and Behavior

Chair: Troy H. Campbell, University of Oregon, USA

Paper #1: How Beauty Work Affects Judgments of Moral Character

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Adriana Samper, Arizona State University, USA
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Paper #2: Cultural Diversity in Advertising and Representing Different Visions of America

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Tanya L. Chartrand, Duke University, USA
Gavan J. Fitzsimons, Duke University, USA

Paper #3: Global Character and Motivated Moral Decoupling Among Liberals and Conservatives

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Jonathan Z. Berman, London Business School, USA
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Paper #4: Introducing the Implication Model of the Motivated Cognition

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Values matter. Value conflicts trigger international wars and shape political discourse. In hopes to strategically use values' powers, firms craft value statements and design value-laden advertisements to attract employees and brands. For instance, Coca Cola's 2014 Super Bowl commercial sought to bridge the gap between the values of diversity and patriotism. Additionally, Dove's continuing #RealBeauty and #RealStrength campaigns aim to update traditional values to increase inclusiveness and authenticity. However, though policymakers, practitioners, and researchers across disciplines know the motivating power of values, more work is needed to achieve a nuanced and comprehensive understanding, and to thus ultimately effectively wield the value of consumers' values.

Currently, consumer research has only begun to connect with perspectives from neighboring disciplines that highlight values and ideologies, and integrative models unifying findings on value-motivated cognition remain scarce and nascent. Besides deepening our understanding of fundamental political values and certain under-researched values related to essential character and true self, this work can help illuminate how and when values lead to attitude change versus steadfast denial, and thus help marketers navigate value conflicts from political macro pro-social issues to personal choices on the beauty isle. This session seeks to advance connections with these outside perspectives, build an integrative theoretical foundation around values, and broaden the scope of consumer research within this key area.

The first two papers examine how values shape consumers' judgments of individuals and firms. Yang and colleagues reveal how greater effort in enhancing one's appearance threatens values about truthfully representing one's essential self. Shepard and colleagues find that diversity appeals, such as the 2014 Coca Cola ad, may have polarizing effects based on consumers' values, provoking negative reactions from those who ideologically support the current American system. Both papers demonstrate the malleability of these effects, developing message framings that affirm these values and minimize threats.

The final two papers provide perspective on how and when values lead to motivational biases in cognition. Bhattacharjee and colleagues show that due to differences in values emphasizing essential character, conservatives selectively separate immoral behaviors from professional performance less than liberals, providing one of the first demonstrations that conservative ideology can in some circumstances reduce motivated reasoning. Finally, Campbell and Kay present a parsimonious model to unify ideas from the recent explosion of research on value-based motivated cognition across fields. This integrative model provides insight into the often hidden source of motivated cognitions, the multiple paths they often take, and how to reduce these biases.

Together, these papers explore novel territory, lay a theoretical foundation in an underexplored, growing area, and stimulate deeper questions. Namely, which sorts of values are most susceptible to threat, and which tend to motivate moderation rather than polarization? When and how can values conflicts be resolved and thus reduce interpersonal conflict? Given the fundamental role values play in our lives, we expect this session to interest researchers of value and preference, motivated reasoning, culture, identity, and moral and social judgment. We hope this audience can help us ponder these questions, engage in a fruitful dialogue, further advance connections, and collectively broaden our perspectives.

How Beauty Work Affects Judgments of Moral Character

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS

Consumers devote countless hours and billions of dollars on appearance and beauty practices (i.e., beauty work, Kwan and Trautner 2009) because physical attractiveness leads to numerous positive outcomes (Langlois et al. 2000). However, an odd paradox exists: attractive people are generally perceived more favorably, but people who put a lot of effort in pursuing attractiveness are generally viewed negatively.

We propose that this occurs because an individual's appearance holds symbolic, informative value in person perception. Attractiveness is perceived as a reliable indicator of fitness, health, and reproductive value, which is largely predetermined genetically (Langlois et al. 2000). Furthermore, people tend to use attractiveness as a global, general indicator of how good or bad an individual's "true nature" is – something people are born with that they cannot change (Dion et al. 1972). Thus, by engaging in high levels of effort to upgrade or change one's appearance, one may also be perceived as masking who they truly are. We posit that extensive beauty work is perceived as indicative of poor moral character because such effort implies that one is misrepresenting one's "true essence" in order to acquire undeserved benefits. We test this effect and downstream consequences across 4 studies, focusing on the beauty work of women since they face the greatest pressure to conform to beauty standards (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997).

In study 1, we show that effort in beauty work influences judgments of moral character and perceived effectiveness in various roles. Female undergraduates were told that "Jenna" spent either 10 minutes or 2 hours getting ready to go out for an evening. When Jenna spent 2 hours getting ready, participants expected her not only to have poor moral character (moral, ethical, $r = -.70$), but also to be a worse student, friend, sister, daughter, athlete and artist (all p 's <

.01). Ratings of moral character also mediated the effect of effort on participants' judgment of Jenna, consistent with prior research finding that judgments of moral character are perceived as relevant to various domains (Blasi 2005).

In study 2, we show that the effort-morality link is unique to the beauty domain. Female undergraduates ($N=101$) read that Jenna put high or low effort into her beauty or academic work. A 2(effort: low vs. high) x 2(domain: beauty vs. academic) ANOVA revealed a two-way interaction ($p < .01$) where Jenna was rated as having poorer moral character (moral, ethical, genuine, sincere, $\alpha = .88$; Walker and Hennig 2004) when she exerted high relative to low effort on beauty work ($M_{High} = 4.11$ vs. $M_{Low} = 4.70$, $p < .05$) but not on academic effort ($M_{High} = 4.90$ vs. $M_{Low} = 4.61$, *ns*). Given that individuals also serve to gain personally with academic success, the null effect in the academic domain rules out the possibility that negative perceptions of high effort for personal gain drove our effects.

In study 3, we examine the underlying mechanism, testing whether perceptions of misrepresenting oneself drive our effects on judgments of moral character. We also examined whether this effort-morality link exists in consumers' expectations for how they themselves would be perceived by others. Female undergraduates ($N=92$) were told that they heard that a new friend spent 10 minutes or 2 hours getting ready (third person) or that a new friend learned the same information about them (first person). We measured moral character (same items as in S2, $\alpha = .90$) and misrepresentation with two items (e.g., to what extent would you believe that she is trying to put forth an image of someone she is not, $r = .83$).

A 2(effort: high vs. low) x 2(perspective: third vs. first) ANOVA found only a main effect of effort on both ratings of moral character ($p < .01$) and perceptions of misrepresentation ($p < .01$). High effort garnered more negative ratings of moral character in both the third person ($M_{High} = 4.19$ vs. $M_{Low} = 5.30$, $p < .01$) and first person condition ($M_{High} = 3.73$ vs. $M_{Low} = 5.18$, $p < .01$). High effort also led to higher ratings of misrepresentation in both the third ($M_{High} = 4.17$ vs. $M_{Low} = 2.09$, $p < .01$) and first person condition ($M_{High} = 4.55$ vs. $M_{Low} = 2.06$, $p < .01$). A bootstrapping moderated mediation analysis revealed misrepresentation mediated the effect of effort on moral character ratings in both the third (95% CI: $-.94$, $-.22$) and first person conditions (95% CI: -1.10 , $-.34$). Thus, these negative perceptions of high effort hold regardless of whether one is evaluating others or anticipating being evaluated by others.

In study 4, we use an advertising context to identify a boundary condition for our effects. We posit that extensive beauty work signals poor moral character because such behavior is perceived as misrepresenting one's "true essence." This suggests that if we can reframe the meaning of beauty work from reflecting one's true self to reflecting one's desire to enhance one's best qualities that one *already* possesses, the effect of effort should be mitigated. To test this prediction, female Mturk participants ($N=140$) were presented with an ad for "PerfectSkin" foundation that required high or low effort to use and emphasized that the product would allow their "true self" or "best self" to shine through.

A 2(effort: high vs. low) x 2(message: true self vs. best self) ANOVA found two-way interactions on both ratings of one's moral character (same items as prior studies, $\alpha = .90$, $p < .05$), and willingness to purchase PerfectSkin ($p < .05$). Participants felt that purchasing PerfectSkin would hurt their moral character more when the product required high relative to low effort, but only in the "true self" ($M_{High} = 3.23$ vs. $M_{Low} = 4.22$, $p < .01$) and not the "best self" condition ($M_{High} = 3.60$ vs. $M_{Low} = 3.71$, *ns*). Similarly, effort influenced participants' willingness to purchase PerfectSkin in the "true self" ($M_{High} = 4.19$ vs. $M_{Low} = 5.28$, $p < .05$) but not "best self" condition

($M_{High} = 4.57$ vs. $M_{Low} = 4.52$, *ns*). Further analysis confirmed that ratings of moral character mediated the effect of effort on purchase interest but only in the "true self" (95% CI: -1.09 , $-.25$) and not the "best self" condition (95% CI: $-.37$, $.55$).

Taken together, our studies provide support for the notion that high effort spent in enhancing one's attractiveness is indicative of poor moral character because such beauty work implies that one is misrepresenting oneself and preventing others from accurately judging one's "true essence."

Cultural Diversity in Advertising and Representing Different Visions of America

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS

It is important for brands to reflect the growing diversity of America in their advertising, particularly brands that reflect American culture and values. Despite this, little research has sought to understand how consumers respond to diversity in advertising. Past work has investigated how ethnic minorities respond to ads depicting individuals from their cultural group (Brumbaugh and Grier 2006; Lee, Fernandez, and Martin 2002; Ueltschy 2001). However, ads depicting cultural diversity also have the potential to reflect American society and how different cultures view America, and so consumers may respond to these ads differently depending on their views of America in general.

System justification theory (Jost & Banaji 1994) posits that there are individual differences in how satisfied one is with the current state of society and the values that it stands for. Those who are high in system confidence are satisfied with their society and its dominant ideology, whereas those low in system confidence are less supportive of their society and the values it represents. Higher system confidence predicts a preference for brands that show explicit support for one's social system (Banfield et al 2011; Cutright et al. 2011) and brands that reflect the values of the society's dominant ideology (Shepherd, Chartrand, and Fitzsimons 2015).

Hypotheses

Cultural diversity in advertising has the potential to reflect American society and embody a view of America that is either consistent or inconsistent with a consumer's beliefs and values. One way to interpret diversity in an ad is that minorities are changing America, which those high in system confidence should respond negatively to (H1). However, cultural diversity in ads may also communicate the idea that different cultures love America and American brands (e.g., Coca-Cola's "America the Beautiful" ad from the 2014 Super Bowl). Ads with culturally affirming messages such as this should be particularly appealing to consumers high in system confidence, who have favorable impressions of America and its global power and influence (H2). Finally, depicting cultural diversity in ads in the service of selling American brands to foreign countries and exporting American values should also be appealing to those high in system confidence (vs. those low in system confidence, or when the ads are for a domestic audience).

Research

In Study 1, 180 American participants first rated their level of confidence in their social system using the system justification scale (Kay and Jost 2003). They then viewed a series of ads created by the researchers (matched as closely as possible) which depicted either white and/or heterosexual actors vs. non-white or homosexual actors (i.e., cultural diversity). We found that those who were higher in system confidence (i.e., those who subscribe to America's dominant

ideology and its values) liked ads that contained cultural diversity less than the ads that did not (H1). This was in part due to their perception that minorities threaten traditional American values. The reverse was found for those lower in system confidence.

In Study 2, 200 American participants were then randomly assigned to either a baseline “no ad” condition, or our experimental condition where they viewed Coca-Cola’s “America the Beautiful” ad from the 2014 Super Bowl, depicting people from various cultures singing “America the Beautiful” in different languages (“ad condition”). The study was run shortly after the commercial aired. Participants then rated their attitude toward Coca-Cola (reflects ideal values, ethical, likeable; $\alpha = .90$). We predicted that those high in system confidence would rate Coca-Cola more favorably in the ad condition because it affirms their view of America and depicts the world as loving America (H2). First those high in system confidence rated Coca-Cola more favorably in the ad condition compared to the no ad condition, and compared to those lower in system confidence. Second, Study 3 ($n = 152$) presented participants the same ad, and found that those higher in system confidence were more likely to perceive the ad as affirming America’s greatness and that world loves America, which in turn predicted their more favorable evaluations of the brand. Thus, Studies 2 and 3 in combination provide support for H2.

Another way that cultural diversity in ads may affirm America and its values is when the ad is for a foreign (as opposed to domestic) market, thus exporting American culture and exposing the rest of the world to American brands. This should be particularly appealing to those high in system confidence (H3). We explore this in Study 4 ($n = 186$) by measuring system confidence and then presenting participants with ads that cater to different ethnic/cultural groups. Critically, the ads were presented as being for an American audience (“domestic” condition) or for a foreign audience (“foreign” condition). Consistent with H3, those higher in system confidence significantly preferred the ads in the foreign condition vs. the domestic condition. No such effect was found among those low in system confidence.

In short, cultural diversity in advertising has the potential to reflect a view of America that is either desirable, or undesirable to consumers, depending on how those consumers view America in general. We find that those who are satisfied and confident in America respond negatively to cultural diversity in ads, but respond positively to ads with cultural diversity content when the ad suggests that (i) the world loves America, or (ii) when diversity is in the service of exporting American culture and brands to other countries. Implications are discussed.

Global Character and Motivated Moral Decoupling Among Liberals and Conservatives

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS

From preferences for public policies to personal consumption decisions, political ideology is a pervasive influence on individual behavior (Khan Misra & Singh 2013).

Political issues are deeply enmeshed with powerful motivational forces like individual identity, morality, and values (Haidt 2012). Motivational biases are thus essential to understanding how consumers process information related to moral or political issues (Ditto, Pizarro and Tannenbaum 2009; Kahan et al. 2012). An influential stream of prior research suggests that political conservatism is associated with greater motivated reasoning in general (Eidelman 2012; Jost et al. 2003). Nevertheless, it may be important to investigate reasoning in specific contexts.

The current research examines how ideology affects the prevalence of consumer reasoning processes that often arise in the wake of public scandals. From Chris Christie to Brian Williams, the list of scandals involving public figures is varied and continually growing. Recent research finds that such situations can lead motivated consumers to engage in *moral decoupling*, a reasoning process by which they selectively dissociate immoral actions from judgments of professional performance (Bhattacharjee, Berman and Reed 2013).

We investigate ideological differences and motivational biases in how people judge the professional relevance of immoral personal behaviors by public figures. Three studies show that political liberalism is associated with greater moral decoupling, an effect rooted in conservatives’ greater belief that global character drives behavior across contexts. We also find clear evidence of motivational bias across the political spectrum in these judgments, and this evidence appears more robust among liberal respondents.

Study 1 examined the association between political ideology and general beliefs about the professional relevance of personal morality. On three items assessing beliefs about moral decoupling (e.g., “Judgments of job performance should remain separate from judgments of morality.”), agreement declined with individual political conservatism ($r(207) = -0.14, p = .008$). This association held in regressions controlling for demographic factors such as age, gender, and education.

To examine more contextualized judgments in Study 2, we presented a scenario (described as an excerpt from a news article) about a Democrat versus Republican governor. The article reported that the governor had been popular and effective in office, but recently admitted to either having an ongoing extramarital affair with a campaign worker or implementing legislation that increased profits for companies in which he was invested. As a proxy for ideology and a means of manipulating motivation, we recruited registered Democrat and Republican voters. Results revealed a main effect of participants’ party affiliation on judgments of professional relevance: Democrats were more likely than Republicans to decouple both types of immoral acts from performance ($M = 4.44$ vs. $3.58, F(1, 1012) = 37.41, p < .001$). A two-way interaction between participant and governor party affiliation indicated motivational bias in decoupling judgments: participants from both parties advocated separating immorality from performance more strongly when the governor’s affiliation matched their own ($F(1, 1012) = 35.09, p < .001$). In these scenarios, Democrat voters exhibited significantly greater motivational bias than Republicans ($F(1, 1012) = 4.61, p = .032$).

These results persisted when controlling for participants’ judgments of the immorality of the governor’s actions. Hence, these patterns do not seem to be driven solely by ideological variation in caring about moral violations, and judgments of professional relevance and immorality appear to be distinct. Our third study assessed this possibility more carefully and examined what drives these effects.

Prior research demonstrates that liberals tend to care relatively more about moral violations related to harm and fairness, while conservatives tend to care relatively more about violations related to ingroup loyalty, authority, and purity (Graham, Haidt and Nosek 2009). Accordingly, in Study 3 we examined violations pretested to relate to each moral foundation: harm (abusing pets, harassing overweight people), fairness (rigging art competitions, discriminating against minorities), ingroup loyalty (divulging friends’ secrets, disowning family members), authority (disrespecting parents, disrupting political ceremony), and purity (drinking urine in a performance art piece, eating a dog that died naturally). To investigate ideological variation in moral decoupling outside the political domain, we

examined how Democrat and Republican voters responded to these personal transgressions being committed by a high school principal.

As before, Democrat voters decoupled these immoral acts from professional performance more readily than Republicans ($F(1,530)=29.43, p<.001$). This effect was directionally consistent within each moral foundation, with no two-way interaction. On the contrary, party affiliation had only a marginal main effect on judgments of immorality and interacted significantly with moral foundation ($F(4,530)=5.96, p<.001$). Across the three moral foundations associated with conservatism (ingroup, authority, purity), Democrats both judged violations as less severe ($M=5.34$ vs. $6.30, p<.001$) and decoupled them more readily from performance ($M=6.09$ vs. $4.91, p<.001$). More notably, even on the two foundations associated with liberalism (harm, fairness), for which Democrats judged violations as more severe ($M=7.07$ vs. $6.48, p=.037$), they exhibited greater moral decoupling than Republicans ($M=5.08$ vs. $4.49, p=.035$). Mediation analyses found that the effects of political ideology on the extent of moral decoupling were mediated by individual belief in global character (indirect effect = $-0.029, SE=.013, 95\% CI[-0.060, -0.008]$). There were no indirect effects related to the importance of role models, moral rationalization of violations, judgments of immorality, or judgments of moral character.

While ideology affects judgments of immorality inconsistently across different sorts of violations, we find consistently greater moral decoupling among liberals compared to conservatives in both political and apolitical contexts. Our findings suggest that conservatism may not always translate to greater motivated reasoning. Emphasizing essential global character may increase motivational biases in some contexts but reduce them in others.

Introducing The Implication Model of Motivated Cognition

EXTENDED ABSTRACTS

Recently, motivated cognition research (Kunda 1990) has seen an influx of value and important belief based motivated cognition (Haidt, 2007, Jost, 2006). Conducted in fields other than consumer research, this work shows how deeply people engage in biased thinking to maintain their cherished values and important beliefs and how this can strongly influence consumer behavior and reactions to marketing appeals, such as pro-social appeals (Feygina, Jost, & Goldsmith 2010).

Though value and non-value based motivated cognition is both prevalent and important, all research literatures currently lack a parsimonious meta-level-model to explain when motivated cognition will occur, what direction it will take, and by what means (e.g. denial of fact v. denial of implication). Without such a model we problematically may often miss the true source of motivated cognition and the manner it takes.

To address this gap and need, we present for first time the Implication Model of Motivated Cognition (IMMC). The model distinctively includes a focus on the implications of a fact, not only the characteristic of the fact. For instance climate change has factual characteristics such as weather dangers but also implications beyond fact, such as the need for political solutions, of which both may bias cognition.

The following is the IMMC's "belief narrative" three-part structure: 1) a fact 2) implies 3) conclusion. In the model the "fact" doesn't necessarily need not be true, the "implies" logical, nor the "conclusion" correct. These are placeholders for information, of which alterations can greatly affect acceptance of other parts of the chain.

To illustrate, consider further the case of climate change where the dominate narrative chain is that 1) the fact: dangerous climate change exists 2) which implies 3) the conclusion: danger and enacting liberal policies to fight the danger. Here the implied conclusion may motivate certain individuals to deny the fact more. In this conservatives may deny the fact more because the solutions are particularly antithetical and threatening to their values. Note that a simple model of motivated cognition would only focus on the aspects of climate facts (e.g., the dangerous weather consequence). Such a "fact only model" would not predict differential motivations for conservatives and liberals. However, the IMMC does predict such and these predictions are support by recently published experiments from our lab (Campbell & Kay, 2014).

Next, we explain published and unpublished findings from our lab and other labs, to illustrate contribution of the IMMC framework.

Solution Aversion

As shown above in the climate change and similar climate change experiment conducted outside our lab (Feygina et al., 2010), the IMMC predicts that the associated solutions to problems can motivate denial of fact beyond the severity of the problem, in a sub pattern of the IMMC we call "solution aversion" (Campbell & Kay, 2014). Conceptually related, Ditto and Liu (2013) experimentally find people deny the factual efficacy of capital punishment, the more they see execution as deontologically aversive. *Problem Exaggeration*

The IMMC also predicts that especially desirable solutions may lead to exaggeration of problems. In a series of recent unpublished experiments conducted on Reddit.com, we find evidence of this prediction, such that when a problem (e.g. the common cold) is said to be in part solved by one's important beliefs (e.g. using one's personal scientific discipline) versus a neutral set of beliefs (e.g. another scientific discipline), people exaggerate the severity of the problem. Here, the exaggeration of the fact implies a more self-aggrandizing conclusion that one's important beliefs (values, skills, and group) are important and this accordingly motivates exaggeration.

Denial of Implication

Past work has found people will accept facts they are strongly motivated to deny when factual evidence is strong. However, we argue such "de-biasing" is not always a great cause for celebration. This is because though people may accept the fact, they may deny the implication, e.g. denying stage two in the case of a narrative we experimentally examined 1) fact: gay parents can be just as good parents, 2) this implies, 3) the conclusion: gay marriage should be legal. In a recent set of published (Friesen, Campbell, & Kay 2015) and a new line of unpublished experiments, we find people motivated to maintain certain beliefs from God to politics to consumer electronics, take a "flight from fact" and transform their beliefs to be more unfalsifiable when potentially falsifying facts seem more likely to endanger the narrative belief chain.

Accepting Conclusions

For completeness, we present another untested prediction of the IMMC: people will be more likely to accept the logical validity of a belief narrative with an undesirable conclusion, if they feel it lacks factual validity (e.g. accepting the idea that climate change *would* imply government policies, but believe the evidence does not support the fact climate change exists).

The IMMC's Future – Advancing Connections With Affirmation

Affirmation (Sherman & Cohen 2006) research has received a high level of attention in the psychology literature but less attention so in the consumer literature, especially when considering practical consumer applications. Particularly, we see affirmation as a force that can manage people's sensitivity to implied conclusions of facts.

For instance, those wishing to persuade system justifiers that America needs to be more environmental and motivated, may find success when they also emphasize that America is already quite environmental or generally a fine country, a different strategy that derogates America may work better for anti system Americans.

In sum, we encourage researchers and practitioners to be more aware of the implications of their communications and present the IMMC as a parsimonious but rich and ubiquitous model to help predict, understand, and alter motivated interpretation of fact-implication-conclusion narrative belief chains.

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When, Why, and How People Advocate

Chairs: Lauren Cheatham, Stanford University, USA

Zakary Tormala, Stanford University, USA

Paper #1: Finding vs. Receiving: How Content Acquisition Affects Sharing

Zoey Chen, University of Miami, USA

S. Jonah Berger, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #2: When is Saying Believing? Sharing Sensations after Tasting New Products

Salvador Ruiz de Maya, University of Murcia, Spain

Inés López López, University of Murcia, Spain

Sarah Moore, University of Alberta, Canada

Paper #3: The Curvilinear Relationship between Attitude Certainty and Attitudinal Advocacy

Lauren Cheatham, Stanford University, USA

Zakary Tormala, Stanford University, USA

Paper #4: The Power Matching Effect: The Dynamic Interplay of Communicator and Audience Power in Persuasion

Derek Rucker, Northwestern University, USA

David Dubois, INSEAD, France

Adam Galinsky, Columbia University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Although considerable research has explored the psychological antecedents and consequences of persuasion, very little attention has been paid to when, why, and how consumers choose to advocate on behalf of their own beliefs regarding issues or products. In this session, we define advocacy as either: (A) sharing or expressing one's opinion about an issue or product, or (B) making an explicit effort to persuade others toward one's opinion about an issue or product. Across four papers, we attempt to answer when, why, and how people choose to share their opinions, make recommendations, or persuade others, and we explore how those exposed to such advocacies react in a variety of contexts.

The current session will provide insight into the fundamental drivers of consumer advocacy and the myriad ways in which consumers respond to information sharing and persuasion attempts. Chen and Berger focus on sharing and word of mouth. They find important differences in the effects of receiving content from others versus finding it themselves: When people receive content from others, they share interesting but not boring content; however, when they find the content themselves, they do not discriminate and end up sharing both interesting and boring content. Moore, López, and De Maya focus primarily on how learning others' opinions influences consumers' product evaluations. Specifically, they investigate when and why consumers are influenced by others' opinions. They show that exposure to others' opinions impacts subsequent evaluations and purchase intentions of products, even when a participant has direct experience with the product and shows initial dislike. Interestingly, they also find that the type of information consumers receive shapes these effects: receiving more information in the form of an explanation reduces reliance on others' opinions compared to receiving relatively little explanation. Cheatham and Tormala explore the curvilinear relationship between attitude certainty and advocacy. Their findings suggest that being very high or very low in certainty can foster advocacy relative to having moderate certainty. The unexpected relationship between uncertainty and advocacy is attenuated by self-affirmation, suggesting that consumers express advocacy intentions as a way to compensate for feeling threatened by a lack

of certainty. Finally, Rucker, Dubois, and Galinsky demonstrate a power-matching effect in message generation and recipient responsiveness. Participants induced to high/low power are more convincing in their argument generation – and also more persuaded by others – when source-recipient power matches rather than mismatches. Their results offer a framework for understanding how power affects the communication and reception of persuasive messages.

Taken together, these papers provide deeper understanding of the specific experiential and social drivers of consumer advocacy. In so doing, this session offers new insight into an extremely important yet understudied topic. Consumer advocacy is a crucial component of the marketing mix and we expect that this session will attract a diverse audience, including researchers interested in persuasion, influence, advocacy, word of mouth, and power, among other topics. In addition, each paper will discuss practical applications, giving the session both theoretical and managerial importance.

Finding vs. Receiving: How Content Acquisition Affects Sharing

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People often share online content with others. They email videos, forward new stories, and post status updates. Consistent with the importance of this phenomenon, a great deal of recent research has begun to examine what people share and why (Berger and Milkman 2012; Chen and Berger 2013). But might how people acquire content also influence whether or not they share it? Sometimes people find content themselves (e.g., coming across it while browsing a website), while other times people receive content from others (e.g., email forwards and retweets). Might these different methods of content acquisition impact sharing, and if so, how?

We theorize that one way acquisition method impacts sharing is by affecting how people evaluate content. People tend to associate found content with themselves and received content with others. Further, people tend to hold themselves in positive regard (e.g., high self-esteem, positive illusions about themselves) and tend to be less critical of things associated with the self. Consequently, compared to received content, people should be less likely to critically process found content and thus be less attuned to underlying content characteristics (e.g., whether it is interesting or well-written). Taken together, this suggests that when people find (vs. receive) content, characteristics of the content itself should have less of an impact on whether it gets shared.

In Study 1, participants were randomly assigned to either find or receive a more or less interesting article (2x2 between subjects design). Those in the receiving condition were told to "Imagine that someone emailed you the following article." Those in the finding condition went onto a mock online news website and flip through the newspaper by clicking the Next button located on the bottom of the page. After flipping through a couple of filler pages (which only displayed the messages "Article A/[B/C]"), participants were shown either a low or highly interesting article (pretested). After reading the content, participants indicated (1) how likely they would be to share the article and (2) how interesting they found the article.

Participants said they would be more likely to share the more interesting article, but this was moderated by acquisition method. While receivers were much more willing to share the high than the

low interest article, finders were less discriminating between the two. Moderated mediation confirms that this is driven by sensitivity to underlying content quality (interestingness in this case): While receivers were highly sensitive to content interestingness, and were thus more likely to share the high than the low interest content, finders saw less of a difference between the articles and their willingness to share was driven less by the content itself.

Study 2 provides further evidence for our theorizing in a more controlled setting. We selected one article and created high and low quality versions by adding typos. Participants followed the same finding versus receiving procedures used in study 1. Instead of rating the article on interestingness, participants indicated how well-written they found the article. Consistent with study 1, receivers were more likely to share the article without typos than the one with typos, finders were less discriminating and were equally likely to share the two. Moderated mediation shows that this is driven by finders being less sensitive to how well-written the articles were and thus making sharing decisions that are less dependent on underlying content characteristic. If our results – that finders are less sensitive to content characteristics – are indeed driven by people being less critical of things associated with themselves as we have theorized, then this effect should be attenuated among people who are more self-critical. Studies 3 and 4 test this idea.

Study 3 employs a 2 (Content quality: low vs. high interest) x self-esteem (measured) design. All participants imagined finding content and followed the same procedures used in study 1 with the addition of an implicit self-esteem measure (Bosson, Swann Jr., and Pennebaker, 2000). Not surprisingly, participants (in this case, all finders) were more willing to share the high than the low interest content, but importantly this is moderated by self-esteem. Moderated mediation shows that as finders' self-esteem decreases (i.e., as they become more critical of themselves), they become more sensitive to the underlying content characteristic (interestingness in this case), which in turn drives sharing.

Our last study further tests the role of self-esteem using a 2 (self-esteem: high vs. low) x 2 (Acquisition method: receiving vs. finding) x 2 (Content quality: low vs. high interest) between-subjects design. We manipulated self-esteem by giving participants positive or negative feedback on their performance on an unrelated task (adapted from Baumeister and Tice 1985; Forgas 1991). The rest of the study is identical to study 1. For participants in the high self-esteem condition, results were the same as the prior studies: finders' willingness to share depended less on characteristics of the content itself. Inducing low self-esteem, however, made finders look more like receivers: both finders' and receivers' willingness to share was equally sensitive to underlying content characteristics. It's only when finders are primed to be self-critical do they become more sensitive to content characteristic.

Taken together, these four studies show that *how* people acquire content affects their subsequent sharing behavior. Compared to people who received content from others, the willingness to share of people who found content themselves depended less on the characteristics of the content. Further, this was driven by people's tendency to be less critical of things associated with the self (as long as the self is seen positively). More broadly, this research contributes to understanding why people share. It is not just characteristics of the content itself, but also *how* content is acquired, that determines sharing.

When is Saying Believing? Sharing Sensations after Tasting New Products

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Humans, as social beings and as consumers, have a strong motivation to share their understanding, emotions, beliefs, attitudes, and inner states with others—to create a shared reality (Echterhoff, Higgins and Levine 2009; Hardin and Higgins 1996; Higgins and Pittman 2008; Rimé et al. 1999). Such shared reality motivations lead individuals to communicate with others about referents such as people and products (Higgins 2005). Shared reality motivations underlie studies demonstrating the saying-is-believing effect, which show that “a message tailored to a particular audience influences a communicator's subsequent memory and impression of the message topic” (Hausmann, Levine and Higgins 2008). Such audience tuning (Higgins 1992) implies that consumers consider their audience's point of view when sending messages (Schlosser 2005), and shows that tuning messages to match the audience's point of view can impact consumers' memory and evaluations in the direction of the “tuned” message. Shared reality effects are stronger under conditions of ambiguity, where consumers lack a coherent interpretation of a situation or, conversely, are confronted with multiple plausible interpretations (Festinger 1950; Frish and Baron 1988). Consumers can deal with ambiguity by creating a shared reality with others, allowing them to construct an audience-congruent representation of the target and attain a greater sense of certainty about what the target is actually like (Kopietz et al. 2010).

The current research uses the context of new products to explore shared reality effects. In this context, ambiguity should play a significant role, since many new products are ambiguous with respect to the product categories that they belong to (Moreau, Markman and Lehmann 2001). In four studies, we examine when and how exposure to others' opinions influences consumers' evaluations and purchase intentions for new products. Theoretically, we extend previous work on shared reality and saying-is-believing to the consumer context; more importantly, we examine several marketplace-relevant variables that should increase or decrease the ambiguity of new products, and examine how these variables affect consumers' susceptibility to others' opinions. Practically, our results offer ways for marketers to understand and manage consumers' evaluations of new products.

Studies 1 and 2 used jellybeans with unidentifiable flavors to represent ambiguous new products. In both studies, undergraduates tasted the jellybeans. Some participants received information about others' opinions (95% of consumers like this flavor of jellybean), while others did not. In addition, in study 1, the timing of when participants received this information was manipulated to occur during or after the jellybean tasting. We predicted that even if participants received information after tasting, this would not be sufficient to eliminate their susceptibility to others' opinions because of ambiguity of the jellybean flavors. In study 2, the unidentifiable jellybean flavor was manipulated, based on pre-testing, such that participants tasted a liked or a disliked jellybean. We predicted that participants would show susceptibility to others' opinions' only in the disliked condition, because the desire to reduce ambiguity and increase understanding is greater for negative than for positive experiences (Wong & Weiner 1980).

Replicating prior work, both studies showed that participants “tuned” their opinions to others: receiving positive information about others' opinions increased participants' jellybean evaluations and purchase intentions. The timing manipulation in study 1 did not influence this tuning process: even when participants received

opinion information after tasting the jellybean, their evaluations were still influenced. However, the valence manipulation in study 2 revealed that participants were influenced by others' opinions only when they sampled disliked, rather than liked, jellybeans. This effect was so strong that participants' final, "tuned" evaluations of the disliked jellybean were equivalent to their evaluations of the liked jellybean. Thus, studies 1 and 2 suggest that shared reality effects in the marketplace are fairly robust. In contrast, studies 3 and 4 identify a variable that attenuates these effects and allows consumers to rely on their own evaluations rather than on others'.

Study 3 shows that explaining can decrease consumers' reliance on others' opinions. One might predict that receiving additional information—of any kind—about others' opinions should lead consumers to rely on them even more; however, we find the opposite. Compared to participants who received no information about others' opinions and to participants who received basic information about others' opinions (e.g., 95% of consumers like this muffin), those who received an explanation of others' opinions (e.g., 95% of consumers like this muffin because it is sugar free) did not "tune" their evaluations to others' opinions. We suggest that this is because the explanation decreases ambiguity enough to allow consumers to rely on—and to explain—their own experience with the product, without reference to others.

Study 4 (in progress) will further test the effects of explaining on shared reality by looking at hedonic versus utilitarian products (e.g., a gummy candy vs. a gummy vitamin) crossed with hedonic versus utilitarian explanations (I like this gummy because it's tasty vs. healthy). We predict an explanation by product type interaction (Moore 2012), where receiving hedonic reasons will reduce ambiguity for the hedonic product, and receiving utilitarian reasons will reduce ambiguity for the utilitarian product; this should decrease consumers' reliance on others' opinions and reduce the shared reality effect. We should find a shared reality effect only when others' explanations fail to reduce ambiguity—that is, when consumers receive a hedonic reason for liking a utilitarian product or a utilitarian reason for liking a hedonic product, they should still tune their evaluation to others'.

The current research provides a nuanced picture of when and why consumers are influenced by others' opinions in the marketplace. We find that shared reality motives have a strong impact on consumers' evaluations and intentions to purchase new products—even those that they have direct experience with, and even those that they dislike initially. However, these effects depend on what type of information consumers receive: ironically, receiving more information in the form of an explanation can reduce their reliance on others' opinions.

The Curvilinear Relationship between Attitude Certainty and Attitudinal Advocacy

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

From gun control to vaccinations to new product purchases, consumers are constantly advocating their beliefs. On Facebook, for example, friends bombard each other with countless posts commenting on current world events, exciting new products, or the hottest new bar. What drives a person to advocate on behalf of these beliefs? Despite a voluminous literature exploring the antecedents and consequences of persuasion more generally, surprisingly little is known about the determinants of attitudinal advocacy.

One factor that does appear to contribute to advocacy is attitude certainty. Attitude certainty refers to the subjective sense of confidence or conviction with which one holds one's attitude (Rucker,

Tormala, Petty, and Briñol 2014). Certainty traditionally has been viewed as a dimension of attitude strength in that it shapes an attitude's durability and impact. For example, attitudes held with certainty are more resistant to change and more influential over people's choices and behaviors (Tormala and Rucker 2007). Most relevant to the current research, it also has been shown to contribute to advocacy intentions and actual advocacy behavior—people generally advocate more on behalf of their own attitudes and opinions (e.g., share them with others and seek to persuade others to their views) when they hold those attitudes and opinions with certainty (Akhtar, Paunesku, and Tormala 2013; Barden & Petty, 2008; Cheatham and Tormala under review; Visser, Krosnick, & Simmons, 2003).

However, there is also reason to believe that states of low certainty can foster advocacy type behavior. According to Gal and Rucker (2010), when a consumer's confidence about a particular belief is undermined, he or she may feel threatened and engage in compensatory action that includes advocating more aggressively on behalf of the threatened belief. In a similar vein, Rios, Wheeler and Miller (2012) found that inducing people to feel *self*-uncertainty sometimes led them to express minority opinions more freely.

In short, based on past research there is potential controversy surrounding the role of attitude certainty in directing attitudinal advocacy. We propose that this difference might be explained by the fact that past research has examined attitude certainty at different points on the certainty continuum: moderate to high certainty in studies showing a positive relation between certainty and advocacy and low to moderate certainty in studies showing a negative relation. Our central hypothesis is that attitude certainty has a curvilinear relationship with attitudinal advocacy, such that people advocate more when they feel very uncertain or very certain, and advocate less when they are somewhere in between (i.e., moderate certainty). More specifically, we submit that high certainty fosters feelings of efficacy, which have been shown to promote advocacy in past work (Akhtar et al. 2013), whereas low certainty fosters compensatory motives, which lead people to advocate as a means of self-affirmation (Gal and Rucker 2010). We present 3 studies testing these relationships.

Study 1 used a correlational design to provide initial evidence of the proposed curvilinear relationship between certainty and advocacy. Participants were presented with several policy issues and asked about their attitudes, certainty, and advocacy intentions (i.e., their intentions to share their opinion with others and to persuade others to adopt their view). To test our hypothesis we conducted a hierarchical regression analysis. First, we observed a main effect of attitude certainty on sharing and persuasion intentions for each issue: the more certain people felt, the more likely they were to advocate. More importantly, we also uncovered a quadratic for both sharing and persuasion intentions, suggesting that both very uncertain and very certain participants expressed higher advocacy intentions than participants with moderate certainty.

Study 2 aimed to experimentally manipulate three levels of certainty to provide evidence of a causal role between certainty and advocacy. Participants were asked to think of an issue they were very uncertain, somewhat certain, or very certain about, followed by the same questions as in study 1 along with an open-ended behavioral question asking them to react to someone who disagreed with them. As predicted, we successfully manipulated attitude certainty at three levels. However, our core interest was in determining whether certainty had a curvilinear relationship with advocacy. Indeed, we continued to find significant evidence for the proposed curvilinear relationship between certainty and advocacy. Moreover, this pattern was replicated in our behavioral measure, such that participants actually advocated more at the low and high ends of certainty than

they did at moderate levels of certainty. Thus, study 2 provided experimental evidence of a causal role between certainty and advocacy.

Finally, in study 3 we aimed to provide evidence for the mechanism driving advocacy at low certainty. Specifically, if uncertain individuals express intentions to advocate because of a compensatory motivation to reduce feelings of threat or discomfort, their intentions to advocate should be attenuated following an affirmation manipulation. To test this hypothesis, we randomly assigned participants to a self-affirmation or non-affirmation control condition. Self-affirmation was manipulated using a procedure adapted from past research by Fein and Spencer (1997) and Martens, Greenberg and Schimel (2006). Participants were then exposed to a novel policy issue about lowering the national drinking age, followed by the same series of questions as in study 2. We found a main (linear) effect of certainty on advocacy intentions, and no main effect of affirmation condition. More importantly, there was also a significant curvilinear effect of certainty on advocacy intentions that was moderated by affirmation condition. The interaction indicated that the curvilinear relationship between certainty and advocacy was obtained in the no affirmation control condition but not in the affirmation condition. When participants were affirmed, the relationship between certainty and advocacy was linear and positive. These results suggest that uncertain individuals' advocacy is compensatory in nature, whereas highly certain individuals' advocacy is not.

In sum, 3 studies provide evidence for the proposed advocacy hypothesis: Attitude certainty has a curvilinear relationship with advocacy such that advocacy is fostered by very high and very low certainty (relative to moderate certainty), albeit through different mechanisms. Implications for understanding and eliciting advocacy in consumer contexts will be discussed.

The Power Matching Effect: The Dynamic Interplay of Communicator and Audience Power in Persuasion

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

How does power affect the type of persuasive messages communicators generate and message recipients are responsive to? Building on the proposition that high power increases individuals' tendency to be agentic and low power increases individuals' tendency to be communal (Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky forthcoming; Rucker, Galinsky, and Dubois, 2012), we propose that states of powerlessness and power systematically affect the types of arguments communicators use and recipients value along two foundational dimensions of social judgments: competence and warmth (Cuddy et al. 2008). Where competence refers to perceptions of efficacy, skillfulness and confidence attached to a message, warmth captures the helpfulness, sincerity and friendliness contained in a message. Importantly, agency has been linked to competence and communion has been linked to warmth (see Rucker, Galinsky, and Dubois, 2012).

Because high-power states are associated with agency, we predict that communicators in a high-power state will generate messages related to competence and recipients in a high-power state will be more receptive to messages that emphasize competence. In contrast, because low-power states are associated with agency, we anticipate that communicators in a low-power state will generate messages related to warmth and recipients in a low-power state will be more receptive to messages that emphasize warmth. Taken together, we predict a power-matching effect: high-power communicators will be more persuasive to high-power recipients, whereas low-power communicators will be more persuasive to low-power recipients.

Two initial experiments find support for these effects in both oral and written contexts, with different manipulations of power. A

third experiment demonstrates how this knowledge can be used to craft marketing messages to consumers based on knowledge of consumers' power. Analyses used ANOVAs and t-tests as appropriate.

Experiment 1: Testing the dynamic interplay

Participants were assigned to the role of boss (high power) or employee (low power; Lammers et al. 2008) for a future task in the session. Their position was unknown to other participants. Next, in a different task, participants took part in a persuasion game. Participants were given the name of a remote, fictional sounding city (e.g., Lalibela) and were instructed to craft a message aimed at convincing others that this city was in a particular location of their choice (e.g., Uruguay). Participants took turns to orally convince others, and alternated in the communicator and recipient roles. As recipients, participants were asked the extent to which they believed the city was in the location the speaker talked about.

High-power communicators were overall preferred to those generated by low-power communicators. Of central importance to the power matching hypothesis, high-power recipients found messages generated by high-power communicators to be significantly more persuasive than those generated by low-power communicators, while low-power recipients found messages generated by low-power communicators more persuasive than those generated by high-power communicators.

Experiment 2: Testing the underlying mechanism hypothesis

Experiment 2 tested whether differences in warmth and competence explained the dynamic interplay between communicators' and recipients' power. In addition, a written context, as opposed to an oral context, was used. Participants were assigned to a 3(communicators' power: baseline, low, high) \times 3(recipients' power: baseline, low, high) between participant design. Both communicators' and recipients' power was manipulated through an episodic recall task where they described a time they lacked power (low-power condition), possessed power (high-power condition), or did not write anything (baseline condition, Galinsky, Gruenfeld, and Magee 2003). Communicators wrote a persuasive message aimed at promoting their university at a local high school. These messages were then randomly presented to recipients whose task was to judge the message on three dimensions: persuasiveness; perceived competence of the message; and perceived warmth of the message.

Results replicated experiment 1: high-power recipients judged the messages generated by high-power communicators as more persuasive than those generated by low-power and baseline communicators. In contrast, low-power recipients judged the messages generated by low-power communicators as more persuasive than those generated by high-power and baseline communicators. Among baseline recipients, there was no effect of power on persuasion. Further, mediation analyses found that among high-power recipients competence but not warmth mediated the effect of communicator's power on persuasiveness. In contrast, among low-power recipients warmth but not competence mediated the effect of communicators' power on persuasiveness. Thus, experiment 2 replicated experiment 1 and introduced evidence for the mediating process.

Experiment 3: Using Knowledge of Warmth and Competence to Craft Messages to Consumers

Based on experiments 1 and 2, experiment 3 examined how a communicator could craft their own messages to resonate with recipient power. That is, rather than vary communicator power, we

examine how a communicator could select content in their own message to persuade an audience.

Participants were exposed to an ad for a charity project. The ad was similar across conditions, with one exception: The project was supported by a “.org” in the warm condition, and by a “.com” in the competent condition. This manipulation has been used successfully to manipulate warmth and competence, respectively (Aaker et al. 2010). To measure power, we asked whether participants considered themselves more of a boss (high-power) or an employee (low-power) at work. The dependent variable was the amount of time in minutes they would spend to help with the project.

Results revealed a significant interaction, such that individuals who self-reported themselves as bosses (i.e., high-power) were willing to donate more time when the ad emphasized competence (i.e., .com) than when it emphasized warmth (i.e., .org). In contrast, individuals who self-reported themselves as employees (i.e., low-power) were significantly more willing to donate more time when the ad emphasized warmth than when it emphasized competence. In addition, differences in perceptions of warmth and competence in the charitable organization mediated low- and high-power individuals’ willingness to donate time. This experiment demonstrates how messages can be effectively crafted based on knowledge of recipients’ power.

Conclusion and Contributions

Altogether, these experiments offer a framework for understanding how power affects the communication and reception of persuasive messages. The findings have important theoretical implications for understanding interpersonal communication and persuasion as they provide the first evidence of the dynamic interplay between communicators’ and recipients’ power.

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God, Luck and the World: Consequences of Consumer Beliefs On Judgment and Choice

Chair: Yimin Cheng, Hong Kong

Paper #1: How Symbolic Fusions with Religion Imbue Products with Increased Reliability and Safety

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Paper #2: Do Costly Options Lead to Better Outcomes? How the Protestant Work Ethic Influences Cost-benefit Heuristics

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Rom Y. Schrif, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #3: When Engaging in Luck-Rituals Reduces Risky Choice

Ping Dong, University of Toronto, Canada
Aparna A. Labroo, Northwestern University, USA

Paper #4: Self and the World: Implicit Self-Theory and Biased Motivation in Human Judgment and Decision Making

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers use different sources of information as inputs to judgment and decision-making. Some are stimulus-based, while others are drawn from memory (Lynch and Srull 1982). In both cases, consumers often recruit their beliefs to assess the available information (Wyer 2003). Previous literature has identified a number of important beliefs, such as implicit theories of essentialism (Molden and Dweck 2006) and the belief in a just world (Lerner 1980). In this session we investigate when and why consumers rely on different systems of beliefs, and the consequence of relying on such beliefs, especially on judgment and choice.

In the first paper, Shepherd, Kay and Eibach test whether belief in God influences consumer preferences for certain kinds of products. They posit that because religious consumers believe God is a source of order and stability, God can provide safety and security to their products by rituals such as blessing. Four studies find that the need for structure and personal control lead religious (but not non-religious) people to prefer blessed products.

In the second paper, Cheng, Mukhopadhyay and Schrif find that PWE, a belief system that was originally conceptualized to have its roots in religion (Weber 1905), influences consumer's tendency to apply cost-benefit heuristics in goal pursuit. Four studies show that people with high (vs. low) PWE are more likely to assume costlier means lead to better outcomes, regardless of their objective relationship.

People who subscribe to the Protestant Work Ethic believe that hard work leads to good outcomes, whereas some people may believe that desirable outcomes are equally a function of luck. However, while religious rituals may be beneficial for certain consumers, ordinary luck rituals may not always have desirable consumer consequences. In the third paper, Dong and Labroo find that luck rituals do not always make people feel lucky. Reconciling contradictory previous literature, they find that when losses (vs. gains) are highlighted, performing luck rituals makes people even less (vs. more) likely to engage in risky choice, but only among those who believe in luck.

A belief in luck is a belief about randomness. In the fourth paper, Kwon and Nayakankuppam investigate the extent to which consumers' beliefs about stability in the world impact their search for infor-

mation and choices. They find that entity (vs. incremental) theorists believe the nature of world is stable (vs. dynamic), and as a result entity theorists search for limited (vs. sufficient) information. Simulating the world using an innovative self-designed computer game, they find that entity (vs. incremental) theorists may outperform each other depending on the true nature of the world they inhabit.

This session discusses consumers' beliefs in God, luck, and how the world is organized, all important dimensions of an individual's worldview. We believe that it provides fresh perspectives on a high-impact area in consumer research. This session has the potential to be well attended by researchers interested in various aspects of decision-making, and we hope that a discussion held at the cross-roads of these areas will spark lively and productive debate.

How Symbolic Fusions with Religion Imbue Products with Increased Reliability and Safety

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Marketing often involves symbolically associating a culturally resonant source domain with a novel target. Within most cultures, religion provides a rich stock of symbols to draw from for persuasive purposes (familiar examples include Chick-fil-A and In-N-Out Burger). Fusing products with religious symbols is also initiated by consumers. Indeed, 24% of respondents in a survey had purchased religious jewelry or items (i.e., decals) in the past year to attach to themselves or their personal possessions (Baylor University 2005). Catholics can have their pets blessed in remembrance of St. Francis of Assisi (Sweeney 2011). In India, cars and other products are frequently blessed by a Hindu priest.

The present research draws on compensatory control theory (Cutright 2012; Kay et al. 2008), and research on cultural laws of sympathetic magic (Frazer 1925; Rozin et al. 1986; 1990) to test a novel hypothesis regarding the kinds of symbolic fusions mentioned above, with the potential to provide new insights into the effects of symbolic associations between the sacred and consumer goods.

Maintaining perceptions of personal control is a key means of protecting one's belief that events in life are not random (Lerner 1980). How then do people maintain belief in an orderly, non-random world even when personal control is low, or when the need to see order in the world is otherwise heightened? Compensatory control theory suggests that in such instances, people turn to *extrapersonal* sources of control and order to reassure themselves that *something* provides order and control in the world.

God is often seen as an ultimate source of order in the world. While products may also offer a sense of order (Cutright 2012; Cutright and Samper 2014; Shepherd et al. 2011), they can also be risky, unpredictable, or undermine personal control (i.e., automobiles). We propose that when compensatory control needs are high (either chronically or situationally), religious consumers may view products as more reliable sources of control and order in their lives (i.e., seeing them as more safe, reliable, and less subject to randomness) when they are symbolically linked to God. Likewise, they may also place increased importance on having consumer goods symbolically associated with God. This prediction follows from compensatory control research, as well as theory and research on the culturally universal laws of sympathetic magic, which suggests that secular objects assimilate the supernatural properties of sacred objects when they come into contact (Frazer 1925; Rozin et al. 1986; 1990).

In four studies (2 correlational, 2 experiments) across two cultural contexts, we test whether or not consumer goods are increasingly imbued with control-affirming properties when compensatory control needs are high; that is, the product will be seen as more reliable, predictable, and safe from random events.

In Study 1 we used the personal need for structure scale (PNS; Neuberg and Newsom 1993) to measure the chronic need for order and control in the world (Cutright 2012). Because we recruited a Hindu sample from India via MTurk, where English is a second language, we administered a single, face-valid, representative item from the PNS scale. Participants were then asked to rate 28 items (e.g., car, boat, bicycle, toaster, television, computer, cellphone, washing machine, etc.) on how important it is for someone to have it blessed (i.e., a puja performed by a Pujari). As predicted, those with a higher need for structure placed higher importance on having consumer goods blessed. Thus, when the (chronic) need for order in the world is high, there is an increased desire to have consumer goods blessed.

In Study 2, we explore whether or not goods that are most seen as being subject to randomness corresponds with placing increased importance on having that item blessed. The same 28 items from Study 1 were presented to 78 Indian Hindu participants. Participants were asked to rate the importance of having the item blessed and also the perceived tendency for each item to break down or stop working without warning. As predicted, products that were seen as most susceptible to random processes on average were more likely to be seen as needing to be blessed ($r = .39, p = .04$).

Is there a causal link between symbolic religious fusions and perceptions of product reliability, and does this fusion help fulfill the need to see the world as orderly and controlled? In Study 3, Indian participants (Hindu, $n = 148$; non-Hindu, $n = 65$) were recruited and randomly assigned to either complete a memory task that decreases participants' sense of personal control, or not. They were then presented with an ad for a used car. In the fusion condition, the ad stated and showed (via images) that a puja will be performed by a pujari upon purchase, as is common at many Indian car dealerships. This material was removed in the no fusion condition. Participants were asked to rate the car's safety and how much they trusted the car with their family's safety. The predicted two-way interaction was significant; participants saw the blessed car as more safe, but only when personal control was threatened. This effect was unique to Hindu participants.

Study 4 replicated Study 3 with an American sample (Christian, $n = 84$; non-Christian, $n = 82$). Here, the car incidentally had a Christian symbol attached to it (i.e., an ichthys, or "Jesus fish"), or not. Again, the predicted two-way interaction was significant. As in Study 3, this effect was unique to the target religious group, suggesting that ritual/symbol relevance is important to this effect.

Companies may align themselves with a particular religion. Likewise, consumers may attach religious significance to personal possessions, sometimes explicitly to have that item and its users protected by divine forces. By examining these phenomena through the lens of compensatory control theory, four studies supported the hypothesis that secular-religious fusions can boost confidence in the safety and reliability (i.e., control affirming properties) of consumer goods, particularly when concerns about order and control in the world are heightened, either chronically or situationally (e.g., via threats to personal control).

Do Costly Options Lead to Better Outcomes? How the Protestant Work Ethic Influences Cost-benefit Heuristics

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When people have multiple means available to achieve the same performance goal and these means differ in the level of cost involved, they often use the cost of the means to predict the benefit of the outcome. Kramer, Irmak and Block (2012) found that consumers judged a bad-tasting cough syrup to be more effective than a good-tasting one. Similarly, Labroo and Kim (2009) observed that people having an accessible goal evaluated a means more favorably if that means was more effortful (vs. easier) to process. Schriff, Netzer and Kivetz (2011) also found that when a goal was important, people proactively complicated the means as if this would ensure a better outcome. Despite the prevalence of cost-benefit heuristics in goal pursuit, their cause/origin is still unknown and little empirical work has investigated it. We propose that an individual's tendency to hold a cost-benefit heuristic may depend on the extent to which s/he subscribes to the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE).

The Protestant Work Ethic is a concept introduced by Max Weber (1905) to explain the historical rise of capitalism in Protestant countries. According to this theory, during the 16th-century Protestant reformation, Puritans deviated from the Roman Catholic Church and believed the true way of showing their faith to God was through asceticism and economic success. As a result, Puritans developed systematically stronger work ethics, which facilitated the accumulation of wealth and capitalism in Western Europe and North America rather than Mediterranean Europe. Although religion plays a less central role in modern society, the work ethic itself is still highly valued and passed on across generations through parenting, education, media, and popular culture (Giorgi and Marsh 1990; Kelvin and Jarrett 1985; McClelland et al. 1953). Hence the concept of the PWE has evolved over time. Psychologists today see it as a secular individual difference variable and have developed psychometric scales to measure it (Mirels and Garrett 1971). Research has shown, for example, that high-PWE (vs. low-PWE) people were more likely to engage in work-related activities while commuting (Greenberg 1978) and more likely to oppose taxation and blame the unemployed for their laziness (Furnham 1982, 1985).

The PWE has been regarded as one of America's core values and national character (Hsu 1972; Katz and Hass 1988), but it has largely been ignored in the Marketing literature. Because an essential component of PWE is a work-specific belief that "if you work hard, you will succeed" (Furnham 1990; Tang 1993) and people tend to protect their core beliefs and align their other cognitions to be consistent (Lerner and Miller 1978; Plaks, Grant and Dweck 2005), we propose that people with high (vs. low) PWE are (1) more likely to use cost-benefit heuristics in their consumer judgments, and (2) more likely to choose costlier means to achieve goals even in contexts where the costs do not objectively ensure better outcomes.

Study 1 measured PWE and manipulated cost as the pleasantness of taste in medicine. MTurkers ($N=152$) were shown a print ad of a cough syrup that claimed it tasted either awful or great. High-PWE participants judged the bad-tasting cough syrup to be more effective. However, low-PWE participants judged both syrups as being equally effective. Replacing PWE with need for cognition or trait self-control did not generate the same pattern.

Study 2 ($N=180$) was conducted on MTurk five days before Christmas. We manipulated high vs. low PWE in an ostensibly unrelated task (using a pretested manipulation) by asking participants to rank six quotes that either advocated or opposed the PWE. Then all participants named a person who lived far away and to whom they

would like to send a Christmas gift. Afterwards, we asked them to imagine that there were only two unfamiliar courier brands available, one charging 50% less than the other. Results showed that participants primed with high (vs. low) PWE expected that the more expensive brand was more likely to deliver their gift in time.

Study 3 (N=213) manipulated PWE the same way as in study 2. Then all participants made real choice between two filler tasks to do (one difficult and the other easy) before they worked on the main test in which they could earn money. When the filler tasks were framed as “training tasks”, priming high (vs. low) PWE made participants more likely to choose the difficult task. When the filler tasks were framed as “unrelated tasks” and hence not as means to the performance goal, priming PWE had no impact on choice. The results implied that high-PWE people’s choice of the costlier option was not driven by alternative mechanisms such as collecting special experience (Keinan and Kivetz 2011).

Study 4 (N=170) asked students to make a real choice between two health foods, of which one was sweet and the other bitter. Echoing study 3, people high (vs. low) in PWE were more likely to choose the bitter food, but only when its efficacy was ambiguous rather than ensured. Coding of open-ended protocols revealed that cost-benefit heuristics mediated the moderation effect on choice. Moreover, two self-reported behavioral cues related to PWE (i.e., how many hours do you work on the weekend; how much in advance of appointments do you set your alarm clock) predicted the same results as the PWE scale. This implies that marketers can customize their communications to high vs. low PWE consumers by identifying them through simple observation.

Work is a dominant feature of the daily life of most adults (Giorgi and Marsh 1990). This research shows that a person’s work-related core belief can spill over and influence consumption decisions. Four experiments showed that PWE is a parsimonious antecedent to the cost-benefit heuristics in goal pursuit, including taste-efficacy heuristic (study 1 and study 4), price-quality heuristic (study 2) and effort-outcome heuristic (study 3). Our results suggest that marketers may customize the strategy of using cost (e.g., high price, bitter taste) to signal quality depending on whether they target high or low PWE segments.

When Engaging in Luck-Rituals Reduces Risky Choice

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Risky choices might prompt consumers to engage in luck rituals. But might engaging in a luck ritual also impact risky choice? How? On the one hand, research shows that engaging in a luck-ritual enhances self-esteem (Damisch et al. 2010), provides illusory-control over outcomes, and increases positive-expectancies of success, which are known to increase risky choice (Anderson and Galinsky 2006). However, other findings show that engaging in a luck-ritual can make people more conservative (Boshier 1973; Vyse 2013), reduce self-esteem (Tobacyk and Milford 1983) and remind them of low-controllability over outcomes, which are known to reduce risky choice.

While neither set of findings directly investigates the effect of engaging in luck rituals on risky choice, both sets of findings do show effects on factors that predict opposing effects on risk-taking. Thus, it is still unclear whether and how self-engaging in luck rituals would affect risky choice. The goal of our research is to directly investigate whether luck rituals increase or reduce risky choice.

We posit that one reason why some studies appear to predict that luck rituals will increase risky choice but others the opposite is that the domains of former versus latter researchers may have dif-

ferentially highlighted gains versus losses. People usually attribute good outcomes to the self (Miller and Ross 1975), and attributing outcomes to the self can increase perceived controllability over outcomes. If engaging in a luck ritual in a gain domain increases focus on potential gains and the self as agency for these gains, then people are also likely to perceive greater controllability over these outcomes, which may increase risk seeking tendency. However, when potential losses are highlighted, bad outcomes are likely to become more salient (Neumann 2000). People associate bad outcomes with external agency and external locus of control (Miller and Ross 1975), and outcomes associated with external locus of control have lower perceived controllability. People who engage in a luck ritual when potential losses are salient may infer external agency is not working for them, perceiving lower controllability over outcomes, and inferring they can end up unlucky. They may, as a result, make less risky choice. Five studies tested our propositions, underlying mechanisms, and the boundary conditions.

In Study 1 (N = 149), participants first reported frequency of engaging in luck rituals and how unlucky they consider themselves to be (embedded within demographic items). Then participants responded to a six-item scale measuring general risk aversion tendency in loss situations. As the scale focuses on losses, we find engaging frequently in luck rituals is related to avoiding risky choice, and the effect is mediated by individuals inferring that they are unlucky (95% CI: [.01, .19]). To investigate causality, we ran Study 2.

In Study 2 (N = 75), participants were asked to either engage in their favorite luck ritual or hold a pencil for the duration of the study while completing an “unrelated” survey regarding their willingness to take financial risk, highlighting potential losses as verified in a pre-test. They also indicated to what extent they felt unlucky and bad things could happen to them. Replicating the findings of Study 1, Study 2 showed that those who engage in a luck ritual indicated lower willingness to take on financial risk in loss situations compared to the controls ($M_{\text{ritual}} = 1.68, SD = .63; M_{\text{control}} = 2.16, SD = .79, F(1, 73) = 8.56, p < .01$). And the effect is driven by “feeling unlucky” (95% CI: [-.22, -.01]).

Study 3 (N = 104) investigated the moderating role of belief in luck. Participants first completed an inventory of scale items including the belief in luck scale (Darke and Freeman 1997). Participants were then randomly assigned to either a luck-ritual or a control condition. Meanwhile, participants completed a real gamble, which again highlighted potential losses (risk of not getting extra compensation; verified through pre-test). Spotlight analyses yielded that the effect of engaging in a luck ritual on risk aversion in loss domain occurred only for people who believe in luck ($M_{\text{ritual}} = .92, M_{\text{control}} = .60, b = 1.04, SE = .38, t(100) = 2.69, p < .01$) and the effect disappears for those with low belief in luck ($p > .83$).

Study 4 (N = 204) followed a similar procedure as Study 3 and conceptually replicated the finding of Study 3 by demonstrating the moderating role of internal versus external locus of control. We find engaging in a luck ritual (vs. not) increased risk aversion (reflected in their greater inclination to purchase additional product warranty; a loss choice-frame as verified in a pre-test) among participants with external locus of control ($M_{\text{ritual}} = .34, M_{\text{control}} = -.18, b = .26, SE = .06, t(196) = 4.15, p < .01$). This difference disappeared for participants with internal locus of control ($p > .80$). A moderated mediation model confirmed that perceived luck in decision-making mediated the interactive effect of luck ritual and locus of control on willingness to buy warranty (95% CI: [.01, .06]).

Finally, Study 5 (N = 200) directly manipulated gain versus loss frame and assessed participants’ risk seeking tendency. As predicted, and tying to previous findings (Block and Kramer 2009; Jiang et

al. 2009; Kramer and Block 2008) we found that in a gain domain, engaging in a luck ritual increased subjective likelihood of winning a lottery ($M_{\text{ritual}} = 4.90$, $M_{\text{control}} = 4.30$, $b = .30$, $SE = .11$, $t(194) = 2.75$, $p < .01$). In a loss domain, engaging in a luck ritual increased subjective likelihood of losing a gamble ($M_{\text{ritual}} = 5.18$, $M_{\text{control}} = 4.53$, $b = .32$, $SE = .11$, $t(194) = 2.91$, $p < .01$). These effects only appeared for people who believe in luck.

Theoretically, our findings are the first to recognize and reconcile two opposing predictions in the literature regarding the influence of engaging in a luck ritual on risky choice. These findings are important practically – as consumers engage in luck-rituals facing uncertainty, it is useful to know when and why the same action can reduce or increase risky choice.

Self and the World: Implicit Self-Theory and Biased Motivation in Human Judgment and Decision Making

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People collect information before making judgments and decisions, the action that is accompanied by what is called search costs. Research documents that there is a great deal of heterogeneity among people with respect to search costs based on situational factors (Smith, Venkatraman, Dholakia 1999; Hauser, Urban, Weinberg 1993).

The current research examines whether there is also *chronic* motivational difference among individuals as to how much search would be necessary to make solid judgments and decisions; some individuals emphasize *efficiency* motives, while others emphasize *accuracy* motives in their judgments and decisions. We suggest that efficiency-oriented individuals, compared to accuracy-oriented individuals, are likely to desire constructing their judgments relatively quickly by processing less amount of information.

We propose that individual's implicit self-theory orientation may decide our motivations. Implicit self-theory refers to an individual's lay theory about the malleability of his/her personal traits. There are two distinct implicit self-theories identified—entity vs. incremental theory (Dweck, Chiu, and Hong 1995). Entity theorists believe that their personal traits are fixed, while incremental theorists view their personal traits as malleable. Research finds that people extend their implicit self-theories to other people and even to such non-human objects as brands/products (Park and John 2010; Yorkston, Nunes, and Matta 2010), when they are making evaluative judgments on those. We propose that beliefs in fixed traits (entity theory) reflect an efficiency motivation, whereas beliefs in malleable traits (incremental theory) reflect an accuracy motivation. We reason that given that individuals extend their beliefs about the malleability of the self to other people and things (presumably to the world), entity theorists are likely to see aspects of the world as relatively fixed and invariant, so that they may believe that relatively small amount of information can easily represent the core traits of things, which, in turn, induce efficiency motives in their judgments and decisions. In contrast, incremental theorists are likely to see aspects of the world as relatively volatile and dynamic, which, in turn, may induce accuracy motivation; consequently, they need to collect large amount of information to deal with these variant aspects of things and contexts.

Color-Tile Game: The Two Different Worlds

These lines of reasoning can yield different predictions on each theorist's search behaviors—more search for incremental theorists and less search for entity theorists. To test this idea, we designed a computer game, called the Color-Tile Game (<http://research3.its.iowa.edu/moneygame>). The game is designed as a world made up

of 100 tiles of 4 different colors. Under each tile is a certain payoff (negative or positive). Turning over a tile costs something. In addition to the cost of turning over a tile, one could also pay an amount to obtain some information about what is below the tile, which would then place one in a better position to decide whether to invest in turning over the tile or not (i.e., information cost). In the game, some colors are stable and predictable (they overwhelmingly pay well or overwhelmingly penalize the player). Other colors are unpredictable (they sometimes pay well and sometimes penalize the player). In other words, the stable colors reward efficiency motivations – the sooner an evaluative judgment is formed, the sooner one can avoid incurring the cost of information. The unpredictable colors reward accuracy motivations – you are well served by paying the cost of information because it lets you benefit from the subset of tiles that are rewarding and helps you avoid the lethal ones by paying a smaller cost (the information cost). We predicted that entity (incremental) theorists would 'do' better in the efficiency-rewarded (accuracy-rewarded) areas of the world rather than in the accuracy-rewarded (efficiency-rewarded) areas of the world.

Experiment

Ninety-six undergraduate students (Male = 63.5%, Average Age = 21.2) are participated in two (implicit self-theory: entity vs. incremental theorists) between-subjects design. Each participant was first primed with either entity or incremental theory (Chiu et al. 1997) and proceeded to Color-tile game. A one-way ANOVA on the number of the information options used confirmed that entity theorists hit less information options than incremental theorists ($M_{\text{Ent}} = 59.10$, $M_{\text{Inc}} = 79.00$, $F(1,95) = 10.81$, $p < .001$) across all colors, indicating that entity theorists were more likely to be efficiency-oriented whereas incremental theorists were more likely to be accuracy-oriented.

We predicted that as a result of these behavioral differences (i.e., number of information options used), there would be differences between entity and incremental theorists in the *sources* of earning. These effects should then emerge as a form of the interaction between implicit self-theory and the color of tiles. A 2 (implicit self-theory) X 4 (color of tiles) mixed ANOVA on rewards earned from each color demonstrated the significant interaction effect ($F(3,383) = 7.51$, $p < .001$), as well as the main effects of implicit self-theory ($F(1,383) = 3.97$, $p < .05$) and of color ($F(3,383) = 851.77$, $p < .001$). Planned analyses revealed that entity theorists earned more at red ($F(1,95) = 4.87$, $p < .05$) and yellow ($F(1,95) = 2.79$, $p = .098$) than incremental theorists, whereas incremental theorists did better at blue ($F(1,95) = 8.95$, $p < .01$) and green ($F(1,95) = 7.43$, $p < .01$) than entity theorists. These results confirmed our contention: entity theorists tried to *efficiently* earn money in the game (i.e., with less number of right-clicks), whereas incremental theorists tried to *accurately* earn money in the game (i.e. more number of right-clicks).

Conclusion

The current research provides the evidence of a stable motivational bias between these kinds of individuals. Entity theorists are biased towards emphasizing efficiency motives and this results in a tendency to make quick judgments with less number of "search" for efficient judgments and decision-making, whereas incremental theorists are biased towards emphasizing accuracy motives and this results in a reluctance to make quick judgments and in more number of "search" for accurate judgments and decisions. If we extend these findings in the game (each theorist's different strategies employed and different performances) into their daily lives, we may expect that entity theorists would do better in relatively stable and invari-

ant environments, whereas incremental theorists would do better in relatively dynamic and volatile environments.

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Antecedents and Consequences of Psychological Ownership

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Paper #1: From Tragedy to Benefit of the Commons: Increasing Shared Psychological Ownership

Suzanne Shu, UCLA, USA

Joann Peck, University of Wisconsin – Madison, USA

Paper #2: Products as Self-Evaluation Standards

Weiss, Liad, University of Wisconsin – Madison, USA

Gita Johar, Columbia Business School, USA

Paper #3: The Consequences of Product Ownership: Performance Handicap in a Product-unrelated Task

Jaeyeon Chung, Columbia Business School, USA

Gita Johar, Columbia Business School, USA

Paper #4: Words Speak Louder: Conforming to Preferences More than Consumption

Yanping Tu, University of Chicago, USA

Ayelet Fishbach, University of Chicago, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

“Ownership” is both a legal concept and a psychological state. Legally, ownership is recognized by society and thus protected by laws. Psychologically, ownership is a feeling that “a product is mine” (Peck and Shu 2009), even in the absence of legal ownership. When a consumer feels psychological ownership for a product, the product is often experienced as closely connected to the self (Turk et al. 2011) supported by activation in ventromedial pFC. Recent evidence suggests that similar self-memory advantages can be obtained under nonevaluative encoding conditions, such as when object ownership is used to evoke self-reference. Using fMRI, the current study explored the neural correlates of object ownership. During scanning, participants sorted everyday objects into self-owned or other-owned categories. Replicating previous research, a significant self-memory advantage for the objects was observed (i.e., self-owned > other-owned, or as part of the self (Weiss and Johar 2013). People experience mental synthesis between the psychologically owned object and the self because they feel that the product is part of the self (Weiss and Johar 2013).

This session aims to contribute to the growing body of research on psychological ownership by exploring antecedents and consequences of this construct. Four papers explore how feeling (vs. not feeling) psychological ownership for a product affects the way people (1) behave towards and form preference for the product as well as (2) evaluate themselves and behave in product-related and product-unrelated domains.

The **first** paper by Shu and Peck explores factors that facilitate psychological ownership over shared resources (e.g., rental cars, hotels). Two correlational studies and one field study demonstrate that increasing psychological ownership over a shared resource can increase preservation of shared resources, and reduce the “tragedy of the commons.” The **second** paper by Weiss and Johar focuses on consequences of feeling product ownership for self-judgment along product-traits, such as physical dimensions (e.g., height) or brand personalities (e.g., sincerity). Two experiments show that feeling ownership (lack of ownership) for a product leads people to judge their personal traits in assimilation (contrast) to respective product traits. The experiments demonstrate downstream implications for overall self-esteem and behavior. The **third** paper by Chung and Johar identifies consequences of feeling product ownership for behavior in product-unrelated domains. Many products (e.g., calculator) are relevant for some domains (e.g., algebra) but not for others.

Four studies show that feeling ownership over a product may impair people’s task performance when the task is portrayed as product-irrelevant compared to when it is portrayed as product-relevant. The **fourth** paper by Tu and Fishbach shows that people may experience feelings of ownership vicariously through others. Such implicit feelings of ownership for a product that others acquire was found to reduce an individual’s preference for that product, as if that individual already owned that product herself. This subsequently decreased their likelihood of choosing the same product.

These four papers raise several overarching research questions pertaining to the antecedents and consequences of psychological ownership. For instance, what is the interplay between shared feeling of ownership and personal feeling of ownership? What are the unique consequences and antecedents of each? Can the type of factors that induce such feelings affect the types of consequences that such feelings have for behavior? Comments and suggestions from the audiences will be sought so as to enhance the session’s quality and interactivity.

From Tragedy to Benefit of the Commons: Increasing Shared Psychological Ownership

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Whenever resources are shared among multiple individuals, there is a risk that individuals will put self-interest ahead of common interest and fail to preserve those resources, an issue known as the tragedy of the commons. Recent research on psychological ownership has shown that peoples’ perceptions of ownership can increase resource valuation, even for items not legally owned. Building upon this idea, we propose that increases in psychological ownership for shared and/or not legally owned resources can lead to behaviors that better care for such resources.

We begin by examining three antecedents of psychological ownership; investing the self in the target, controlling the target, and coming to intimately know the target (Pierce, Kostova & Dirks 2001) and their relationship to psychological ownership. In the first two studies, we find that all three antecedents are correlated with psychological ownership. In our third study, we test how increases in psychological ownership affect behavior by conducting a field experiment with a hotel. We find evidence that when guests have more control (choosing their room), their feeling of ownership increases, as does their satisfaction with the hotel, their likelihood of returning, and whether they will tell others. We also find that people feeling more ownership take better care of the resource by leaving the room cleaner. Thus, efforts to increase psychological ownership do appear to increase care for non-owned resources.

Study 1: Investing the Self antecedent

Our initial two studies focus on antecedents to psychological ownership for shared resources in order to guide our creation of interventions for later studies of subsequent behavior. In Study 1, we asked 500 people to identify 3 shared objects or spaces (1,413 observations). For each item we asked: customization (investing the self), cleaning/maintenance (investing the self), number of people who shared the object/space, legal ownership, and psychological ownership. We found that, as expected, customization ($\beta = .13, p < .001$) and cleaning/maintenance ($\beta = .20, p < .001$), both requiring investing the self, were positively and significantly related to psychological ownership. Not surprisingly, legal ownership was also positively

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related to psychological ownership ($\beta = .53, p < .001$). With psychological ownership as a dependent measure, all predicted antecedents were significant ($F(6, 2,455) = 321.60, \text{Adj } R^2 = .44$).

Study 2: Controlling the Target and Intimately Knowing the target antecedent

Our second exploratory study used natural variations in car rental procedures as a manipulation of psychological ownership. Some car rentals allow consumers to select their own car, while others assign a car. We expected that when a consumer can choose their own car, they would feel more psychological ownership compared to when the car is assigned, since the consumer has more control. We also hypothesized that if a person rents a car for a longer period of time, they will more intimately know the car and will feel more psychological ownership compared to a consumer who rents for a shorter time.

We administered a questionnaire ($n = 566$) in the context of a car rental. We asked each respondent if they had rented a car recently, whether they were allowed to select the car (control) and the length of the rental (intimately knowing). As expected, both selection of the car ($r = .30$) and length of rental ($r = .16$) were positively correlated with psychological ownership. With psychological ownership as the dependent variable, selection of the car and length of rental predicted ownership $F(3, 499) = 22.08, \text{Adj } R^2 = .11$. Whether a consumer was able to select a car was positively related to their feeling of ownership ($\beta = 1.21, p < .001$), as was the length of time that they rented the car ($\beta = .018, p < .001$).

Study 3: Hotel field study-Control antecedent

While the first two studies lend support to the relationship between the antecedents of psychological ownership and the feeling of ownership, we wanted to conduct an experiment to determine causation by directly manipulating an antecedent of ownership. This study also allows us to measure subsequent behavior and care of the shared resource. The context for this study was a hotel in a university town.

This study had two conditions: guests were either assigned a room as usual ($n = 42$) or they had a choice between 2 different rooms ($n = 39$). A survey was left in the room for the guests to fill out and return. As expected, having a choice of room resulted in a greater feeling of psychological ownership compared to not choosing ($M_{\text{choice}} = 5.49, M_{\text{no choice}} = 4.74, F(1, 79) = 7.52, p = .008$). Similarly, having a room choice resulted in significantly greater satisfaction with their hotel ($M_{\text{choice}} = 6.13, M_{\text{no choice}} = 5.76, F(1, 79) = 3.83, p = .054$) and a greater likelihood of staying at the hotel in the future ($M_{\text{choice}} = 6.15, M_{\text{no choice}} = 5.57, F(1, 79) = 5.68, p = .02$). Guests who could choose also indicated that they were more likely to tell others about the hotel in the future ($M_{\text{choice}} = 6.28, M_{\text{no choice}} = 5.64, F(1, 79) = 10.61, p = .002$). Finally, and very importantly, the hotel cleaning staff noted how clean the room was when guests checked out. The scale was 1-5 with 1-very messy, 2- messy, 3 average, 4=clean, and 5-very clean. Guests who felt more ownership left the room cleaner ($M_{\text{choice}} = 4.00, M_{\text{no choice}} = 3.57, F(1, 79) = 4.18, p = .04$).

Thus, results indicate that a subtle manipulation such as having guests choose between two hotel rooms increases both ownership and consumer behavior that preserves the resource. We propose that this relationship between greater psychological ownership for a shared resource and increased effort to preserve the resource offers a solution to the tragedy of the commons. Our ongoing work continues to test manipulations that can increase ownership for shared resources and also considers the public policy implications of such efforts.

Products as Self-Evaluation Standards

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The self is a malleable concept and consumers frequently re-evaluate the self on different aspects relative to standards set by other people. By affecting consumers' self-evaluation, self-standards can shape consumer preferences (Aaker 1999) and thus understanding self-standards in consumption settings is a key interest for marketers.

Extending research on self-evaluation standards (Festinger 1954), the present research examines whether, when people evaluate aspects of themselves (e.g., how thin am I?), they use not only standards set by other people (e.g., how thin is this model?), but also standards set by products (e.g., how thin is this MacBook Air?). Although this idea is consistent with findings that people can use product traits as inputs for self-evaluation (Belk 1988; Park and John 2010), previous research do not suggest nor test our prediction that people may compare and contrast themselves to objects similarly to how individuals judge themselves vis-à-vis others.

It is hypothesized that products-as-standards affect consumers' self-evaluation in a direction that is modulated by product ownership: a consumer is predicted to judge her own traits in assimilation with traits of products she owns, but in contrast with traits of products she interacted with but does not own. For example, seeing an ad for a MacBook Air may lead a consumer to compare her own thinness to the slim product she does not own, and thus feel fatter and unattractive (contrast). However, receiving the Mac as a gift may make that consumer feel unity with the thin product and thus feel thinner and attractive (assimilation).

Why should products as self-standards affect how people evaluate themselves and why should ownership modulate the direction of the effect? Research on Egocentric Categorization (EC, Weiss and Johar 2013) shows that consumers spontaneously classify owned (unowned) objects as "self" ("not-self"). Once classified in this way, consumers are likely to judge the category "self" in assimilation to items that the category includes but in contrast to items the category excludes (Bless and Schwarz 2010). Thus, consumers may judge themselves in assimilation to owned products, which they classify as "self", but in contrast from unowned products, which they classify as "not-self." Notably, categorization principles predict this pattern not only for self-selected items that gained meaning over time (Belk 1988), but also for recently and arbitrarily acquired items, where the decision whether or not to own was not made by the consumer (Turk et al. 2011).

Two experiments supported the prediction that owning a product leads people to judge themselves in assimilation to that product, but interacting with an unowned product leads people to judge themselves in contrast from that product, and began testing EC as process. In Experiment 1, as part of a marketing study, participants assessed a 16oz traveling mug that was either short or tall. Participants randomly assigned to the "owned" condition received the mug they assessed as gift. Participants randomly assigned to the "unowned" condition received a different mug as a gift, and so did not own the mug they assessed. To capture participants predisposition to classify owned objects as "self" and unowned objects as "not-self," participants responded to a previously established "Mine-Me" sensitivity measure (Weiss and Johar 2013). As a first DV, participants responded to the Twenty Statement Task, where participants complete 20 self-descriptive statements ("I am ____"). Next, participants reported how they feel about their physical height between "very short" and "very tall," and subsequently completed the "Appearance" subscale of the State Self-Esteem Scale. Finally, participants coded each of their responses to the Twenty Statement Task (1) by whether they referred

to their physical appearance and (2) by whether they were relatively positive, neutral or negative.

An analysis controlling for gender and actual height in inch revealed that, consistent with our predictions, participants in the “owned” condition who assessed the short (vs. tall) mug felt shorter (assimilation). By contrast, participants in the “unowned” condition who assess that same short mug felt taller (contrast). Further, consistent with EC as the underlying process, although the effect was significant on average, this pattern was driven by participants who are predisposed to classify owned products as “self” and unowned products as “not-self,” namely “Mine-Me” sensitive individuals. Finally, a bootstrap mediation analysis revealed that feeling taller (vs. shorter) increased, in-turn, overall physical self-esteem, as manifested in both the close-ended appearance self-esteem scale, and in a physical appearance index created from the responses to the open-ended “I am...” questions.

Experiment 2 tested (1) the prediction that the pattern observed in Experiment 1 is mediated by the extent people classified owned products as “self” and (2) the generalizability of the results beyond physical traits to brand personality characteristics. As part of a marketing study, participants assessed headphones that were positioned as either sincere—authentically reproducing sound—or insincere—artificially improving sound. Participants were assigned either to own or not to own the headphones similarly to Experiment 1. As a DV, participants responded to the Social Desirability scale, which allows people to respond either honestly or in a socially desirable manner. To test whether innocuous expected effects on whether people respond in a socially desirable manner can manifest in a consequential behavior, subjects participated in a trivia contest with incentive and opportunity to artificially inflate their performance. Then, to test EC as process, participants reported the extent they classify the headphones they evaluated as “self.”

A bootstrap mediation analysis revealed that, consistent with our predictions, participants assessing the insincere (vs. sincere) headphones in the “owned” condition classified these headphones as “self,” and, in-turn, demonstrated greater social-desirability (assimilation). By contrast, participants assessing the same insincere headphones in the “unowned” condition classified these headphones as “not-self,” and, in-turn, exhibited lower social-desirability (contrast). A second bootstrap mediation analysis with two mediators operating in serial revealed that greater social-desirability predicted, in-turn, insincerity in the trivia contest.

We discuss (1) consequences for bridging literatures on self-judgment and product-judgment and (2) implications for the modern consumer, who often acquires objects without intention to do so (e.g., inheritances, gifts) and is frequently exposed to unowned products through ads.

The Consequences of Product Ownership: Performance Handicap in Product-unrelated Tasks

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

From gifts that we receive and items that we purchase from stores, we often feel that products that we own define who we are. In fact, consumers perceive themselves to share common characteristics with their products (McCracken 1986; Solomon 1983). These consumers tend to exhibit product-consistent behaviors (Belk 1988; Wheeler et al. 2007). If the feelings of psychological ownership lead these consumers to identify themselves with characteristics of the products, how would these feelings of psychological ownership affect consumers’ behaviors in product-unrelated tasks?

The present work investigates potential downstream effects of psychological ownership. Specifically, we propose that the ownership increases the feeling that the product trait is an important part-of-the self, subsequently activating product-consistent aspects of the self (Wheeler et al. 2007). Consequently, we argue that this impairs consumers’ ability to perform well in product-unrelated tasks. Past research shows that different situations and contexts can activate a certain self-concept while deactivating other aspects of the self (Hugenberg and Bodenhausen 2004). Because consumers activate the self by assimilating with the product traits, we predict that this may deactivate product-inconsistent traits of the self. We, therefore, expect that consumers who feel psychological ownership to a product may perform worse in product-unrelated tasks.

In Experiment 1, eighty students were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions: (psychological ownership: ownership/baseline × quiz: relevant/irrelevant). Half of the participants in the ownership condition saw a Google Maps app logo and described how the icon looks like to someone who has never seen it (a pre-test revealed that this increases the feelings of psychological ownership). Participants in the baseline condition summarized a short article. Next, all participants solved a quiz set (e.g., figuring out a color pattern of a 3-D cube and fitting a block into the cube) that was either framed as measuring people’s navigation skills (relevant) or visual art skills (irrelevant). The results showed that within the ownership condition, participants who solved the visual art quiz performed worse than those who solved the navigation quiz ($M_{\text{visual-art}} = 3.72$, $M_{\text{navigation}} = 5.56$; $p = .002$). Meanwhile, there was no difference between the navigation and visual art quiz scores within the baseline condition ($M_{\text{navigation}} = 4.41$, $M_{\text{visual art}} = 4.86$; $p = \text{n.s.}$).

Experiment 2 conceptually replicated the findings from Experiment 1 using another product, Play-Doh. One hundred one students were randomly assigned to one of the four conditions: (psychological ownership: ownership/baseline × quiz: relevant/irrelevant). We used the same psychological ownership manipulation identical to Experiment 1, but used Play-Doh as the product stimuli. After the manipulation, all participants solved the same quiz that was either framed as measuring individuals’ hand-crafting skills (relevant) or navigation skills (irrelevant). As expected, participants who felt psychological ownership to Play-Doh performed worse in the navigation quiz than in the hand-crafting quiz ($M_{\text{navigation}} = 3.26$, $M_{\text{hand-crafting}} = 4.64$, $p = .006$). Participants in the baseline condition did not differ in their scores across the two quiz types ($M_{\text{navigation}} = 4.21$, $M_{\text{hand-crafting}} = 4.12$; $p = \text{n.s.}$).

However, one may argue that priming a product may automatically activate prime-related contents while inhibiting prime-irrelevant contents in one’s mind. The inhibited accessibility to prime-irrelevant content may have impeded participants’ performance in product-unrelated tasks. In order to rule out this alternative explanation, we added the usage-recall condition, one of the frequently used priming methods referenced in the priming literature (Gillund and Shiffrin 1984; Neath and Saint-Aubin 2011). In Experiment 3, 117 lab participants were randomly assigned to one of the six conditions (psychological ownership: ownership/baseline/usage-recall × quiz: relevant/irrelevant). After one of the three manipulation tasks, all participants solved either the navigation skills quiz (relevant) or the pattern-recognition quiz (irrelevant). Consistent with our hypothesis, participants in the ownership condition performed worse in the pattern-recognition quiz than in the navigation quiz ($M_{\text{pattern-recognition}} = 4.12$, $M_{\text{navigation}} = 5.14$; $p = .049$) However, there was no difference in the performance within the baseline condition ($M_{\text{pattern-recognition}} = 5.63$, $M_{\text{navigation}} = 4.75$; $p = \text{n.s.}$), nor in the usage condition ($M_{\text{navigation}} = 4.82$, $M_{\text{pattern-recognition}} = 5.50$; $p = \text{n.s.}$). If the performance was im-

paired due to priming, people in the usage-recall condition should have performed well in the navigation quiz and worse in the pattern-recognition quiz. However, it was only the people in the ownership condition who showed such tendency. Therefore, this finding rules out the priming explanation, which argues that lower accessibility to the prime-irrelevant content leads to worse performance.

Experiment 4 uses a more direct way to manipulate the feelings of psychological ownership. Furthermore, we again rule out the priming explanation by exposing participants to the same product in all the conditions. M-turk participants ($N = 104$) were assigned to one of four conditions: (psychological ownership: ownership/no-ownership \times quiz: relevant/irrelevant). First, all participants described how they would find a calculator software on the desktop of their personal computer (ownership) or a public library computer (no-ownership). Next, all participants solved a quiz set (e.g., see boxes filled with arithmetic signs (+, ?, \times , =) and predict the composition of the signs in the next box), that was either framed as an algebraic quiz (relevant) or a visual sensitivity quiz (irrelevant). We also measured their involvement, effort and confidence in the quiz. The results showed that participants in the ownership condition performed worse in the visual sensitivity quiz than in the algebraic quiz ($M_{\text{algebraic}} = 4.19$, $M_{\text{visual-sensitivity}} = 3.00$; $p = .015$) but there was no difference within the no-ownership condition ($M_{\text{algebraic}} = 3.13$, $M_{\text{visual-sensitivity}} = 4.00$; $p = n.s.$). Moreover, we did not find any difference in their level of effort, involvement or confidence across the four conditions.

This research suggests that people who experience psychological ownership tend to have a biased active-self account, which may negatively affect their performance in product-irrelevant tasks. This project contributes to the current literature by introducing the downstream effect of psychological ownership and by highlighting the symbolic role of products.

Words Speak Louder: Conforming to Words More Than Consumption and the Role of Mentally Shared Consumption

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Information on like-minded consumers' choices is readily available and engenders conformity (e.g., people buy popular products). Others' consumption choices convey two types of information: stated preference (others like it) and consumption/ownership (others already consumed/owned it). Which information engenders more conformity? Conventional wisdom suggests that actions (i.e., consumption) speak louder than words (i.e., stated preference); economic theory assumes that revealed preference (i.e., consumption) is closer to the "true preference" than stated preference. By contrast, we show lower conformity to others' consumption than preference. This is because consumers are mentally connected to each other and share each other's experiences (Ackerman et al. 2009; Wegner, Sparrow, and Winerman 2004). Whereas sharing others' preference increases one's own preference for the target item, thus increasing choice of it; sharing other's consumption makes people feel that they partially consumed/owned the target product and they do not need to consume it "again", thus decreasing choice of it. Six studies support our hypothesis.

Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated the basic effect. Study 1 recruited dyads and asked one person (1st mover) in each dyad to indicate his/her preferred chewing gum flavor (wintermint or sweetmint), and then fill out a survey on the preferred flavor without tasting it (preference condition) or after tasting it (consumption condition). The other person (2nd mover) then chose a flavor to taste. Results show that 2nd movers were less likely to choose the same flavor as 1st movers (i.e.,

conform) in the consumption (24%) than in the preference (53%) condition, $\chi^2(1) = 6.14$, $p = .013$. We conceptually replicated this effect in study 2 in a different domain: household items (e.g., hangers, lamps).

We propose that mentally sharing others' consumption/ownership underlies this effect and offer three types of evidence. First, mentally sharing other's consumption means that people would recall greater past consumption of products consumed versus merely preferred by others. In study 3, we showed participants popular food items (e.g., Lay's chips) and described them as either most-liked (preference condition) or most-consumed (consumption condition) by other consumers. We asked participants to report their purchase intention towards these products. They further rated how and how recently they consumed these products. We find lower purchase intention (i.e., lower conformity) ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.17$) but greater recalled past consumption (collapsed consumption frequency and recency; $r = .82$, $p < .001$) ($M = 2.97$, $SD = .91$) in the consumption condition than in the preference condition ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 1.11$, $t(143) = 2.35$, $p = .02$; $M = 2.60$, $SD = .93$, $t(143) = 2.37$, $p = .019$, respectively). Recalled past consumption further mediated the effect of information type on purchase intention.

Second, if mental sharing underlies the effect, we should expect it to be stronger for close others. Accordingly, study 4 employed a 2 (information type: preference vs. consumption) \times 2 (degree of mental sharing: high-with a friend vs. low-with a random customer) design. We asked participants to imagine choosing between two mugs after learning that their friend versus a random customer in the store likes versus intends to buy one mug. An ANOVA on purchase intention yielded the predicted interaction, $F(1, 122) = 5.25$, $p = .024$. When learning about close other, participants conformed to that person's preference ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 2.17$) more than consumption ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 2.20$), $t(60) = 3.12$, $p = .003$; whereas for distant others, there was no significant difference ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 2.17$; $M = 3.31$, $SD = 2.18$; respectively).

Third, mentally sharing others' consumption/ownership suggests that people should choose something different only if the new item complements, rather than contradicts with, the others' choice, because owning (in reality and mentally) two contradictory items is undesirable. Study 5 used a 2 (information type: preference vs. consumption) \times 2 (product relation: complementary vs. contradictory) design. We showed dyads two luggage tags that were described as having complementary or contradictory colors. Participants then indicated "which luggage tag do you like better?" (preference condition) or "Which luggage tag do you want to get for yourself as a parting gift of this study?" (consumption condition). We regressed conformity (1 = 2nd mover chose the same as 1st mover; 0 = different) on information type, product relation, and their interaction, and found an interaction, $b = 1.68$, $SE = .69$, $Wald(1) = 6.03$, $p = .014$. In support of our hypothesis, in the complementary condition, participants conformed more to their partners' preferences (74%) than consumption (39%), $\chi^2(1) = 9.05$, $p = .003$; whereas in the contradictory condition, there was no difference (41%; 46%, respectively).

Finally, in study 6, we explored choices in the online consumption domain (product choice on Amazon.com and video choice on YouTube) and found that when information on others' preferences ("ratings" and "number of likes") and consumption ("sales" and "number of views") was simultaneously available, the former had a greater impact on one's own choices than the latter.

Taken together, these results suggest that words speak louder than action—consumers conform more to other's preferences than consumption, and mentally sharing other's consumption underlies

this effect. We discuss the implications of these findings on conformity research and marketing practices.

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Expectancy and Placebo Effects of Marketing Actions

Chair: Yann Cornil, University of British Columbia, Canada

Paper #1: How Counterfeiting Contaminates the Efficacy of Authentic Products

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Ziv Carmon, INSEAD, Singapore
Dan Ariely, Duke University, USA

Paper #2: Expectancy Effects of Alcohol-Energy Drink Cocktail Labeling on Subjective Intoxication, Risk-Taking, and Sexual Self-Confidence and Aggressiveness

Yann Cornil, University of British Columbia, Canada
Pierre Chandon, INSEAD, France
Aradhna Krishna, University of Michigan, USA

Paper #3: The Taste of a Bad Deal: The Effect of Transactional Utility on Experiential Utility

Jayson S. Jia, The University of Hong Kong
Taly Reich, Yale University, USA
Baba Shiv, Stanford University, USA

Paper #4: Individual Differences in Marketing Placebo Effects: Evidence from Brain Imaging and Behavioral Experiments

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Bernd Weber, University of Bonn, Germany

SESSION OVERVIEW

Expectancies are beliefs about future feelings, events or outcomes. A large body of literature in consumer research has shown that expectancies, shaped by marketing actions such as branding, labeling or pricing, influence consumers' sensory perception and enjoyment of products independently of their physical properties (e.g. Allison and Uhl 1964, McClure et al. 2004, Lee, Frederick and Ariely 2006). More recently, consumer research has shown that marketing-based expectancy effects operate as "placebo" effects and modify neural representations of experiences (Plassmann et al. 2008). Marketing placebo effects influence not only sensory perception, but also the actual efficacy of products claimed to trigger a specific behavioral response: the pricing of energy drinks influence drinkers' mental acuity (Shiv, Carmon and Ariely 2005), or the pricing of pills influence patients' resistance to pain (Waber, Shiv and Carmon 2008).

The four papers in this session—all in advanced stages of completion—aim to present novel findings on the psychological and neurological underpinnings of marketing placebo effects. These papers also present a large scope of marketing placebo effects in domains with high relevance for consumers, firms, policymakers and health authorities. **Amar, Ariely, Carmon and Yang** demonstrate how expectancies make counterfeiting particularly harmful from consumers' perspective: labeling products as fakes (counterfeit) decreases their actual efficacy. For instance golf players perform worse when playing with a club labeled as counterfeit. **Cornil, Chandon and Krishna** contribute to the debate on Alcohol Mixed with Energy Drinks by showing the critical role of expectancies: consuming a cocktail labeled as "Vodka Red Bull" (rather than "Vodka" or "Exotic Fruits") influences perceived intoxication and may trigger harmful behavioral responses such as sexual aggressiveness. Whereas most previous research on marketing placebo effects has examined how quality signals (such as price) can influence expectancies, **Jia, Reich and Shiv** show that transaction utility (for instance, the feeling of making a good or bad deal) can also shape consumers' expectancy and enjoyment of purchased products, independently of quality sig-

nals. Finally, **Plassmann and Weber** use a novel automated structural brain imaging approach to better understand individual differences in marketing placebo effects on a behavioral and neural level, and show that people high in reward-seeking, high in need for cognition, and low in somatosensory awareness are more responsive to such effects.

This session brings together leading scholars and uses diverse methods (field experiments, lab experiments, neuroimaging trials) to address important theoretical questions about marketing placebo effects such as the role of involvement and awareness, and the identification of personality traits and neural circuits involved in these effects. They also provide evidence of domain-specific placebo effects with substantive implications for business, consumer satisfaction and public health. We expect this session to have a broad appeal among consumer researchers interested in the psychology of expectancies, branding and labeling, public and health policy, and neurosciences.

How Counterfeiting Contaminates the Efficacy of Authentic Products

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Counterfeiting is a rampant global phenomenon. The value of counterfeit and pirated products globally is estimated to be up to \$1.77 trillion in 2015 (ICC, 2015). Sales of counterfeit products have grown by 1700% in the past decade (Economist, 2010), affecting a remarkably broad range of industries (e.g., apparel, consumer electronics, beverage, food, pharmaceutical, tobacco, and even cars and heavy machinery) in both developing and developed countries around the world. While a number of studies have shed light on how counterfeits affect consumers' preference for authentic products (e.g., Gino, Norton, & Ariely, 2010; Grossman & Shapiro, 1988; Wilcox, Kim, & Sen, 2009), how counterfeiting may impact the consumption experience is not well understood. For example, might knowing that the Nike's golf clubs they have may be counterfeits impair expert golfers' game performance? Might knowing that there are counterfeit Parker ink pens on the market reduce how well one can write when she is using an authentic (non-counterfeit) Parker mechanical pencil?

This research aims to fill this gap in the literature. We argue and show in the lab and the field that counterfeiting can engender moral disgust—in a manner similar to the disgust aroused by exposure to physical contaminants (cf. Chapman, Kim, Susskind, & Anderson, 2009). Because moral disgust triggers repulsion and rejection responses (Chapman & Anderson, 2012), it can contaminate the consumption experience, dampening perception and even actual product efficacy. We further argue and demonstrate that, just like that disgusting substance can transfer infectious essence to another object (Rozin, Millman, & Nemeroff, 1986), moral disgust experienced towards a counterfeited product can contaminate the counterfeited brand in general, and thus harming the efficacy of authentic products in other categories of the brand.

In Study 1, we investigated whether perceiving that the golf club they used is a counterfeit could impair the performance of expert golfers, even though that club was an authentic product and those golfers were certified experts in the sport. Consistent with our proposition, the golfers were more successful at driving the balls into the holes when they thought they were using the authentic putter than the supposedly counterfeit one; even when they missed, they drove the balls closer to the holes. That these results emerged in the field,

with expert golfers, and manifested in objective performance differences, demonstrated the external validity of the effect.

In Study 2, we sought evidence of the psychological mechanism we proposed—whether moral disgust towards counterfeiting mediates the negative effect of counterfeiting on product efficacy, and whether exposure to a counterfeit can contaminate the efficacy of authentic products in other categories of the target brand. They were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. Those who in the authentic condition, were provided an authentic Parker pen. Those who in the counterfeit condition were given the same pen but were told that the product was a counterfeit. Participants were instructed to draw a line connecting the entrance and the exit of a small maze printed on paper, without touching the “walls” of the maze. Next, participants completed a word fragment task that unobtrusively assessed the level of moral disgust participants experienced (adapted from Jones & Fitness, 2008). After a short break, participants were asked to complete a second task that examined the infectious effect of counterfeiting on other product of the target brand. Participants were given an authentic Parker branded mechanical pencil and asked to work on the same maze task as they did with the pen. Consistent with our propositions, even though participants in both conditions used an identical pen, those in the counterfeit condition made significantly more errors on the maze task than those in the authentic condition. A mediation analysis established that the moral disgust participants experienced mediated the effect of counterfeiting on product efficacy. Further, consistent with the notion of contamination we proposed, prior exposure to the counterfeit pen significantly impacted participants’ performance when they switched to the pencil to work on the maze task; those in the counterfeit condition made significantly more mistakes on the maze task. A mediation analysis also established that the moral disgust participants experienced towards the first, counterfeit product (i.e., the pen) mediated the effect of counterfeiting on the efficacy of the second product (i.e., the mechanical pencil).

In Study 3, we directly probed whether counterfeits illicit physical repulsion, probing whether the effect we found could not be simply explained by the alternative account that consumers have lower quality expectation about counterfeited products. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: Whereas those in the authentic condition were asked to complete the session using the club they identified as authentic, those in the counterfeit condition, the one they thought was the counterfeit. The rest of the procedure was identical in both conditions. A laser pointer was attached to the handle end of the club. Participants were asked to hold the club head and point the laser beam (emitting from the pointer attached to the handle) at the bull’s eye of a round target with ten rings. The target was pinned to a vertical wall. Participants were asked to keep the laser beam on the bull’s eye as much as possible for 30 seconds. A high-resolution video camera was discretely set up in the lab room, recording the movements of the laser beam on the target area.

The overall distance the laser point ‘traveled’ on the target area—a measure of the extent to which participants were willing to firmly grip and control the club head—was used as the dependent measure. Supporting our proposition that counterfeiting triggers moral disgust and hence physical repulsion, participants in the authentic condition exhibited behavior consistent with tighter grip than those in the counterfeit condition—the former group’s laser beam traveled a shorter distance than did that of the latter group. Further, when we used the total distance the laser point traveled below the center line as the dependent measure, a significant difference was found. However, when we used the total distance the laser point traveled above the center line as the dependent measure, no signifi-

cant difference was found, indicating that the downward movements, which reflect the frequency at which participants loosened their grip, drove the effect we obtained with the total-distance-travelled measure. These findings thus suggest that the counterfeit effect we observed in this research cannot be simply explained by consumers’ lower expectation about a counterfeit’s product quality—this alternative account would not predict the difference in downward movements of the laser beam.

Taken together, the findings of the three studies provide converging support for our proposition that the notion of counterfeit engenders moral disgust towards the victimized brands, which, in term, can result in reduced product efficacy of authentic products.

Expectancy Effects of Alcohol-Energy Drink Cocktail Labeling on Subjective Intoxication, Risk-Taking, and Sexual Self-Confidence and Aggressiveness

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

More than 50% of American and European college students report consuming alcohol mixed with energy drinks (AMED), raising major public health and safety concerns. The US Food and Drug Administration has argued that mixing energy drinks with alcohol has a causal effect on risky behaviors because the caffeine in these drinks masks the effects of alcohol, decreasing perceived intoxication without actually reducing the effects of intoxication (Ferreira et al. 2006). This concern has prompted the FDA to ban premixed AMEDs in supermarkets in 2010.

In the last years however, new evidence has emerged refuting the masking hypothesis, the central argument used by the FDA. As summarized in review papers, “there is no consistent evidence that energy drinks alter the perceived level of intoxication” (Verster et al. 2012), and “the underlying mechanisms of action of alcohol–caffeine co-administration remain unknown” (Benson and Scholey 2014).

We argue that the current research on AMED, which has only investigated pharmacological effects in blind experiments, has overlooked psychological effects created by cocktail labeling. Research in consumer behavior has shown that brands or categorization labels can influence perceptions and actual behavior through expectancy (or placebo) effects (Ariely and Norton 2009; Irmak et al. 2011; Plassmann et al. 2008). Two studies have focused on the expectancy effects of energy drinks. Shiv et al. (2005) have shown that people solve more puzzles after drinking energy drinks believed to increase mental alertness. Brasel and Gips (2011) have shown that mere exposure to the Red Bull brand increased aggressive driving in video games. However, no research has, to date, examined whether AMED consumption can influence perceived intoxication and harmful behavioral responses through expectancy effects shaped by cocktail labeling.

We hypothesize that highlighting that a cocktail contains vodka and Red Bull (vs. vodka alone and vs. soft drinks) *increases* perceived intoxication through expectancy effects. This sharply contrasts with the FDA’s masking hypothesis that energy drinks *decrease* perceived intoxication through pharmacological effects. We argue that this happens because people generally believe that AMED consumption is more (rather than less) intoxicating than alcohol consumption alone (Marczinski et al. 2011; Peacock et al. 2013). We also hypothesize that higher perceived intoxication increases behaviors which are culturally associated with alcohol intoxication (MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969), such as sexual self-confidence and aggressiveness and general risk-taking. Conversely, we hypothesize that it also makes people compensate for the anticipated decrease in motor or cognitive capacities associated with alcohol intoxication

(Testa et al. 2006) and makes them take less risks in domains where risk-taking can be dangerous, such as driving. Finally, we hypothesize that these effects should be stronger among people who are less experienced with alcohol intoxication, because experienced drinkers are better able to estimate their actual level of intoxication (Monk and Heim 2013).

After prescreening heterosexual men with no alcohol disorders and at least some experience of social drinking (measured with the AUDIT test), we recruited 154 participants in Paris, France (Mean age=22.3). All participants were asked to drink the same cocktail containing 6cl of 40% Vodka (two standard drinks), 8cl of Red Bull and 16cl of a mix of exotic fruits for a target blood alcohol concentration (BAC) of 0.045g/dL. Depending on the experimental condition, participants were told it was a “vodka-Red Bull cocktail,” (high level of transparency) a “vodka cocktail,” (medium level of transparency) or an “exotic fruit cocktail” (low level of transparency).

We administered the Balloon Analogue Risk Task (BART) (Lejuez et al. 2002), a measure of general risk taking in which participants pump a virtual balloon to earn money while increasing the risk of losing money if the balloon explodes. We next measured sexual self-confidence by showing photos of attractive women and asking participants how likely they would chat these women up, and how likely it was that women would accept their advances. Then, we measured sexual aggressiveness with a validated scale (Ariely and Loewenstein 2006). We also asked participants how long they would wait before driving across different scenarios. Then, we measured perceived intoxication with a questionnaire, and actual intoxication with an electronic Breathalyzer. Before releasing participants (when their actual intoxication reached a low point), we measured participants’ beliefs that energy drinks increase or decrease alcohol intoxication.

As predicted, the level of manipulated transparency linearly increased perceived intoxication ($p < .001$), general risk-taking ($p = .02$), sexual self-confidence ($p = .01$) and sexual aggressiveness ($p = .04$): all these measures were highest when the cocktail was labeled “Vodka Red Bull”, lowest when labeled “Exotic fruits”, and in-between when labeled simply “Vodka”. Conversely, transparency increased linearly intentions to wait before driving ($p = .005$), with participants in the “Vodka-Red Bull” condition willing to wait the longest time.

To rule out mere priming effects of exposure to the Red Bull brand or Vodka label (Brasel and Gips 2011), we tested a moderated mediation model, which showed that perceived intoxication fully mediated the effect of “vodka-Red Bull” label on behavioral responses, and that this mediation was conditional upon people’s beliefs in the intoxicating effect of AMED consumption (i.e. the mediating effect of perceived intoxication significantly increased when participants more strongly believed that AMEDs increase intoxication compared with alcohol only). Another moderated mediation model showed that the mediation was stronger among participants with lower AUDIT score, that is, people with less drinking experience.

To conclude, while past research has investigated the non-pharmacological effects of energy drinks consumption (Shiv et al. 2005) or of alcohol consumption (Hull and Bond 1986), our research is the first to examine whether and how AMED consumption influences perceived intoxication and harmful behavior through expectancy. Our findings also suggest that it is important to distinguish between different risky behaviors, such as driving risk and sexual aggressiveness—which have often been bundled together. From a policy perspective, this research contributes to the current debate about the public health impact of mixing alcohol with energy drinks. Our results support the need for public authorities to regulate the branding

and advertising of AMED drinks, based on psychological rather than pharmacological mechanisms.

The Taste of a Bad Deal: The Effect of Transactional Utility on Experiential Utility

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Can getting a bad deal on a bar of chocolate make the chocolate taste worse? Can accidentally paying twice when buying music online make a song sound worse? Our findings suggest “yes” on both accounts. This paper explores the notion that transactional utility, or enjoyment derived from the transaction or acquisition phase prior to actual consumption, can directly affect how much hedonic utility is derived from the consumption experience itself¹. This phenomenon is intuited by research from the past decade showing that that pre-experiential factors (i.e., factors that affect consumers before consumption occurs) such as price cues can change experiences’ hedonic and neurological reward values (e.g., Plassmann et al. 2007; McClure et al. 2004; Shiv, Carmon, & Ariely 2005; Tsai & Lee 2013). For example, wines with a higher price tag can trigger greater activation of reward centers of the brain (Plassmann et al. 2007); the same energy drink with a higher price tag can also improve cognitive performance in puzzle solving tasks (Shiv et al. 2005). The cognitive science behind such ‘mind over body’ effects stems from variations of the placebo effect, which relates to how our biology responds to cognitive expectations which go on to distort experiences (Shiv et al. 2005).

Whereas most previous research on marketing placebo effects has examined how factors such as price can influence expectations (e.g., price signals quality), which then affects the reward value of experiences, we explored the pure carry-over impact of transaction utility independent of such factors. In a similar vein, Tsai and Lee (2013) have shown that price promotions and getting a discount can influence post-purchase hedonic consumption experience via the improvement of mood, reduction of pain of payment, and change in consumption approach. Although price-discounts are one possible means of *increasing* transaction utility, the full extent of transaction utility’s relationship with experiential utility remains relatively unexplored. This paper, which tests the impact of *decreased* transaction utility, investigates the general effect of transaction utility on experiential utility by exploring how perceived goodness-of-deal affects motivational factors such as *wanting* which then affect the *liking* of consumer experiences (Berridge and Robinson 1998).

The challenge of this research and our experimental design was to find ways of manipulating transactional utility while keeping final price and perceived value of the products constant. Experiment 1 served as an initial exploration of the basic effect and explored how an incidental decrease in transactional utility that was independent of the product itself could affect experiential utility. In an online shopping simulation, participants ($N = 90$) were double-charged for the purchase of a music video in the treatment condition (and charged once in the control condition). These participants felt that the song’s listed price (\$2.99 in both conditions) was more expensive and reported lower transactional utility from their purchase, p ’s $< .05$. They subsequently reported (marginally) lower wanting and motivation to listen to the song, $p = .07$ and less enjoyment during the actual listening experience $p = .09$.

¹ Experiential utility should not be confused with overall satisfaction; it is not surprising that lower transactional utility can decrease overall satisfaction from the purchase, but traditional economic models do not consider that satisfaction from a purchase can change experiential factors such as enjoyment or taste perception.

Experiment 2 extended the findings to a wider range of products (chocolate chip cookies, dessert biscuits, and orange juice) in an in-lab shopping simulation that involved physical transactions (paying with tokens). All participants ($N = 130$) were endowed with both high quality tokens and low quality tokens which were ostensibly worth \$1 (participants were endowed with both to induce relative value for the money). By random assignment, participants were asked to spend either the high quality or low quality chips. Although the monetary values of the chips were equal (prices and other quality cues were also the same), the apparent disparity in quality of chips made it more painful to give up the higher quality tokens (higher quality tokens were more valued, $p < .05$, and spending them reduced transactional utility $p < .05$, although perceived objective costliness was no different, $p > .1$). This manipulation was akin to asking participants to spend an old, crumpled bill or a new, crisp bill. When tasting foods, participants who gave up the nicer token (lower transaction utility) reported reduced relative desire (wanting) for the foods, lower experiential utility, and less desire for repeat consumption or future purchases (p 's $< .05$). Furthermore, we found that the overall relationship between transaction utility and experiential utility for all three products was mediated by wanting for the products (Sobel = 5.55, $p < .01$). In other words, lower transaction utility reduced the relative desire for the products, which then reduced how much they were enjoyed.

Experiment 3 explored the mechanism of reduced wanting and tested a latitude of acceptance model of utility whereby lower transaction utility increased the 'standards' of taste (captured by a disjointed, piecewise utility function) – consumption experiences that were above that standard were unaffected by the increased scrutiny, while consumption experiences that were below the standard were negatively affected. Employing the same basic experimental paradigm as Experiment 2, we also randomized low (Hershey's) versus high quality (Ghiradelli's) branded chocolate. In the low transaction utility condition, participants liked the Hershey's chocolate less, were less interested in eating more, and less interested in future purchases (p 's $< .05$). However, there were no differences in ratings of liking, desire, or future interest for the Ghiradelli chocolate. The results supported a latitude of acceptance model (driven by differences in scrutiny at different thresholds) that is consistent with both the product quality moderation found in Plassman et al. (2007) and involvement mechanism intuited by Tsai and Lee (2013). Overall, our findings not only contribute to the understanding of how placebo effects operate in marketing and the downstream effects of pricing on consumer behavior, but also reveal intuitions on the basic understanding of reward and how cognitive and affective motivational forces can interact to change the processing of reward value.

Individual Differences in Marketing Placebo Effects: Evidence from Brain Imaging and Behavioral Experiments

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Recent research has studied whether marketing-based expectancies such as price quality beliefs influence the consumption experience and subsequent behavior, but almost no research has examined individual differences in "marketing placebo effects" (MPE, see Plassmann & Wager 2014 for a review). In this paper, we suggest three moderators of MPE based on previous findings from the neuroscientific literature investigating traditional pain placebo effects. These are (1) dopaminergic processing linked to reward-seeking, (2) prefrontal activity linked to cognitive regulation and appraisal of emotional states and experiences (i.e., a top-down cognitive process-

ing), and (3) attention to or away from somatosensory experiences encoded in somatosensory brain areas (i.e., a bottom-up somatosensory processing linked to processing in the posterior insula and somatosensory cortices).

We tested in this paper whether individual differences in these three processes moderated MPE with a variety of different MPEs (price, brand labels, health claims) and sensory experiences (food and aesthetic consumption) following a two-step procedure: In the first step, we tested the neural predictions of our model using a structural imaging approach from neuroscience to study individual trait-related differences (study 1).

More specifically, we used automated structural Magnetic Resonance Imaging analysis to detect whether differences in gray matter volume (GMV, Ashburner & Friston 2000) can be linked to individual differences in MPE ($N = 90$). We found that the size of GMV in the ventral and dorsal striatum ($b_{\text{striatum}} = 2.38$, $SE_{\text{striatum}} = 0.9$, $p < .01$), the dorsal medial pre-frontal cortex (dmPFC, $b_{\text{dmPFC}} = 5.35$, $SE_{\text{dmPFC}} = 1.55$, $p < .001$) and the posterior insula ($b_{\text{posIns}} = -10.55$, $SE_{\text{posIns}} = 3.58$, $p < .005$) moderated the expectancy effects of price (high vs. low) and health claims (healthy vs. regular) on the experienced taste pleasantness for wine and milkshakes.

In a second step, we relied on existing evidence linking each of these brain areas with personality traits (i.e., the striatum with reward-seeking, the posterior insula with somatosensory awareness, and the dorsal medial prefrontal cortex with need for cognition) to further test the implications of our model for how personality traits moderate the placebo effects of price in behavioral experiments of wine tasting (studies 2a, 2b, and 2c) applying a similar design as done by Plassmann et al. 2008.

In study 2a ($N = 88$), we investigated whether reward sensitivity, measured using the reward-seeking subscale of the behavioral activation scale (BAS), predicts MPE and found that the BAS subscale scores amplified the effect of price on experienced utility ratings ($T(1, 87) = 2.98$, $p = .004$). In study 2b ($N = 85$), we investigated whether somatosensory awareness, measured using the private body consciousness subscale of the Body Consciousness Questionnaire (Miller, Murphy, and Buss 1981), predicts MPE and indeed found that somatosensory awareness moderated MPE ($T(1, 84) = -2.83$, $p = .006$). In study 2c ($N = 78$), we investigated whether a consumer's need to focus on cognitive cues might play an important role for MPE using the Need for Cognition Scale (Cacioppo, Petty, and Kao 1984). We found that the NFC scores in line with our hypothesis amplified the effect of price on experienced utility ratings ($T(1, 78) = 2.40$, $p = .019$).

Taken together, studies 2a, 2b, and 2c provided further evidence that participants high in reward-seeking and high in need for cognitive processing were more responsive to MPE, whereas subjects high in somatosensory awareness were less responsive to MPE.

In the last study, we tested the robustness and generalizability of our effects by studying whether reward responsiveness, somatosensory awareness, and need for cognition also jointly moderate the effects of the perceived expertise of artists (known artist vs. the experimenter, taken from Kirk et al. 2008) on subjective aesthetic experiences (study 3, $N = 492$). We found that the BAS ($T(1, 491) = 6.53$, $p < .001$) and NFC ($T(1, 491) = 2.44$, $p = .015$) scores indeed amplified expectancy effects on experienced utility ratings, whereas PBC moderated expectancy effects on experienced utility ratings ($T(1, 491) = -2.75$, $p = .006$).

To conclude, in this paper we investigated individual differences in MPE. We found converging evidence using different methodologies (brain imaging and behavioral experiments) that for a variety of marketing-based expectancies (process, brand labels, and

health claims) and different sensory consumption experiences (food and art) consumers high in reward-seeking and high in need for cognitive processing were more responsive to MPE, whereas subjects high in somatosensory awareness were less responsive to MPE. Understanding individual differences of marketing placebo effects is important for marketing researchers, public policy makers, and practitioners alike.

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Putting One's Best Foot Forward, and Falling: Consumers Fail to Understand How They are Perceived

Chairs: Clayton R. Critcher, University of California, Berkeley, USA
Jonah Berger, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #1: The Psychology of Humblebragging

Ovul Sezer, Harvard Business School, USA
Francesca Gino, Harvard Business School, USA
Michael I. Norton, Harvard Business School, USA

Paper #2: Posting Posed, Choosing Candid: Photo Posters Mispredict Audience Preferences

Jonah Berger, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Alixandra Barasch, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #3: Passing (On) Judgment: Others Judge Us Less Extremely Than We Think

Alice Moon, University of California, USA
Muping Gan, University of California, USA
Clayton R. Critcher, University of California, USA

Paper #4: First Impressions and Consumer Mate Preferences in Online Dating and Speed-Dating

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers make decisions not merely to please themselves, but to prompt pleasing impressions in others. Saving up money for a designer purse, editing (and reediting) a witty tweet, or trying a couple dozen times to capture the perfect selfie all reflect the lengths consumers will go to in order to be viewed well by others. Although much previous research has examined how the motivation to impression manage influences consumer behavior, comparatively little research has examined whether consumers truly know what impressions they have encouraged. In this session, the papers converge in addressing a series of related questions: Do consumers realize how their actions are viewed by others? Might consumers' attempts to manage impressions ironically backfire? If consumers often err in these ways, why is this the case, and what actually does drive such social impressions?

The first two papers identify two ways that consumers fail at strategic impression management. Sezer, Gino, and Norton examine a sociocultural phenomenon that has been much discussed, but little researched: the *humblebrag*. Instead of directly touting one's own achievements (e.g., "Just published in *JCR!*"), people will hide them within a supposedly negative pronouncement (e.g., "so embarrassing...my phone keeps ringing and bothering everyone—reporters always call when I've just published in *JCR!*"). But given one's ulterior motive is so transparent, humblebrags can prompt more negative impressions than would more straightforward self-promotion. Berger and Barasch examine a failure of impression management in a different domain—on-line profile pictures. Although users of social networking and dating websites tend to post posed photos, those who peruse such profiles draw more positive inferences from candid pictures. Much like humblebrags, posed photos fail because they come across as contrived, disingenuous, and insincere. Consistent with

this account, candid photos no longer prompted an impression boost when they were known to be staged.

The final two papers examine impression management that is less deliberate, but that still reflects a disconnect between the signals consumers think they send and what others infer. In some cases, events simply befall consumers, who may then try to guess how others' impressions react. Moon, Gan, and Critcher show that focal evaluative episodes (e.g., winning or losing at a game show, being accepted or rejected by a peer) loom larger in the actor's mind than in social observers'. Although actors think they will then be judged as a genius or a dunce, a social favorite or an outcast, observers tend to see less information in these events. Olivola and colleagues complement these findings by examining situations in which observers pick up on a surprising amount of signal. In particular, they show that dating profile pictures convey not merely looks, but also personality. The latter is an important incrementally-valid predictor of the behavioral interest people receive on the dating market. Moreover, that so many consumer post photos conveying negative personality characteristics suggests they fail to appreciate these effects.

In total, session attendees will leave with a stronger understanding of what drives social impressions of consumers and consumers' (mis)estimates of those impressions.

The Psychology of Humblebragging

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People are frequently confronted with a new type of self-praise: "Hair's not done, just rolled out of bed from a nap and still get hit on, so confusing!" "Two master degrees and I can't make a tablet work!" Such statements convey a complaint, an expression of dissatisfaction, or an unfavorable attitude (Alicke et al., 1992; Kowalski, 1996, 2002), yet simultaneously allow speakers to highlight their wonderful qualities. This kind of *humblebragging*—masking success in the guise of complaint—is increasingly common.

In this paper, we explore the psychology of humblebragging. Although humblebragging is ubiquitous, our results suggest that humblebragging fails to leave a favorable impression, and can even be worse than simply bragging—because people do not find it sincere.

Why do people brag in the first place? An extensive body of research has documented that people are motivated to manage the impressions that others form of them (Jones & Pittman, 1982; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Schlenker, 1980). People desire to be viewed positively (Baumeister, 1982; Jones & Wortman, 1973; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992) and pay attention to how they present themselves in any given social interaction (Goffman, 1959). A commonly used impression management strategy is self-promotion, which allows individuals to bring their good qualities to others' attention (Tedeschi & Norman, 1985).

Certainly, successful impression management requires a balance. Because modesty is also a highly valued quality (Eagly & Aksen, 1971; Wosinka, Dabul, Whetstone-Dion & Cialdini, 1996), efforts to self-promote can backfire, causing the individual to be perceived as conceited or a braggart (Powers & Zuroff, 1988; Schlenker & Leary, 1982). Thus, people often seek to present their qualities and accomplishments indirectly (Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). For

instance, individuals may glorify accomplishments of their associates (Cialdini, Finch & DeNicholas, 1990), or may make modest attributions by giving credit to others (Tetlock, 1980). We suggest that humblebragging is an understudied yet ubiquitous indirect strategy that attempts to mask a brag in the guise of a complaint: to brag without seeming to be bragging.

Yet, humblebragging may not be an effective indirect way of self-promotion. Prior research has shown that the success of an impression management strategy depends on whether the person is able to hide his ulterior motive to be viewed positively (Giacalone & Rosenfeld, 1986; Jones & Pittman, 1982). If the desire to make a favorable impression seems to be the main goal of the person, the person's attempt to be viewed positively backfires, given people do not perceive the person to be genuine or sincere (Nguyen, Sears & Hartman, 2008; Turnley & Bolino, 2001). In short, perceived sincerity is one of the key ingredients that determine whether the individuals are successful in their attempt to be seen in a favorable light (Bolino, 1999; Eastman, 1994). Given these findings, we predicted that humblebragging would fail to leave a favorable impression, because masking bragging in complaint would seem insincere.

We started our exploration of this phenomenon by looking at social media. Prior research has shown that individuals share content online to communicate desired impressions (Dellarocas, 2003; Kollock, 1999; Lampel & Bhalla, 2007). This desire to signal favorable aspects of the self has given rise to a wide array of strategies for constructing a positive image online (Schau & Gilly, 2003). Thus, we started our investigation of humblebragging by analyzing a dataset of statements that are categorized as "humblebrags" on Twitter (Wittels, 2012). In Study 1, two independent raters judged 740 tweets from <https://twitter.com/humblebrag> on liking, perceived sincerity and perceived competence, and the extent to which they felt the person was humblebragging. All three metrics were negatively correlated with ratings of humblebragging, offering initial evidence for the danger of humblebragging.

In Study 2, we compared the effectiveness of humblebragging to "regular" bragging. In Study 2a, two hundred and one participants viewed either brags (e.g., "I have got so many internship offers." or humblebrags (e.g. "So many internship offers give me a headache."), and rated how much they liked the target, how competent the target seemed, and how socially attractive they found the target to be. In addition, they rated the target for their level of sincerity. Not only are humblebraggers liked less and seen as less competent and socially unattractive than braggers, but they are also seen as less sincere than braggers. In Study 2b, two hundred and one participants evaluated either a brag ("I get hit on all the time.") or a humblebrag ("Just rolled out of a bed and still get hit on all the time"). Again, humblebraggers are liked less and seen as less sincere than braggers, and also found to be less attractive than braggers. Humblebragging leads people to infer that the target possesses the trait less than regular bragging. In short, people do not like braggers, but they acknowledge that at least braggers are being straightforward. The effort to mask bragging in complaint is seen as disingenuous; moreover, these decreased ratings of sincerity are what drive lower levels of liking.

In Study 3, we examine how humblebragging compares to complaining. Prior research suggests that complaining can be used as a self-presentation tool (Kowalski, 1996). Individuals may complain to induce similarity and liking (Brehm, 1992) or to signal specific knowledge and selectivity (Alicke et al., 1992). Because bragging, complaining and humblebragging are all used in the service of creating desired impressions, we tested the relative efficacy of the three.

In Study 3, three hundred and two participants rated targets who engaged in complaining (e.g. "I am so bored."), bragging (e.g. "People

mistake me for a model."), or humblebragging (e.g. "I am so bored of people mistaking me for a model.") As in Study 2, targets who engaged in straightforward bragging were liked more than those who humblebragged; in addition, targets who engaged in straightforward complaining were also liked more than those who humblebragged. While people do not love braggers or complainers, they at least see them as more sincere than humblebraggers, and these ratings of sincerity drive liking ratings.

Posting Posed, Choosing Candid: Photo Posters Mispredict Audience Preferences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Photos are a ubiquitous channel of social communication. They are used to make inferences about the personalities of others and to facilitate decisions in a variety of domains. Changes in technology have only increased such reliance. Today, Web and App users share 1.8 billion photos a day. Such images allow people to keep in touch with existing social ties and generate new ones.

But do people pick correctly? That is, do people choose the photos that will lead to the most favorable impressions by others?

We examine this question in the context of posed and candid photos. Posed photos capture people in a particular position to present themselves in a certain way, usually looking directly at the camera. Candid photos, in contrast, don't involve posing, and capture people acting naturally or spontaneously.

We suggest there is an important disconnect between what people post and what observers prefer: while posters choose posed photos of themselves, observers may actually be more favorably disposed to candid ones (e.g., want to be friends with or date the person).

The notion that posters prefer posed photos is rather intuitive; posed photos allow people to shape how they come across and more effectively manage impressions.

Observers, however, may respond more favorably to candid photos because they seem more genuine. Genuineness or sincerity is a valued feature of people's personalities and interactions (Campbell & Kirmani, 2000; Tuk, Verlegh, Smidts, & Wigboldus, 2008). Seeming genuine can have positive effects on how much others like or are persuaded by an individual because they are less likely to think that person has ulterior motives. Along these lines, because candid photos capture people acting naturally or spontaneously, observers should see them as more genuine, which should elicit more favorable responses.

Twelve studies test this possibility in the lab and in the field.

Study 1a-1d examined various websites to test whether people post candid or posed photos. We coded over 2500 photos from different sources: Facebook profiles (Study 1a), OKCupid (Study 1b), the activity site Meetup.com (Study 1c), and Facebook newsfeeds (Study 1d). Across all four contexts, people overwhelmingly posted posed photos ($M_s = 87-93\%$).

To examine posters' preferences more directly, Study 2a had the same person submit both posed and candid photos and choose which one they would post as their Facebook profile picture. As predicted, participants were more likely to choose the posed photo than the candid one ($M = 85\%$ vs. 15% , $\chi^2(1) = 22.26$, $p < .001$). We find the same results when people chose which photo to post on an online dating site (Study 2b), which photo would lead people to want to date them (Study 2c), or which photo would lead people to want to be friends with them (Study 2d).

The first two studies demonstrate that people post posed photos, and think posed photos will generate desired responses. But are they correct?

Study 3a and 3b focused on observers. All participants were shown the same 30 photos (randomly chosen from Study 1a): half candid, half posed, but rated as equally attractive. As predicted, observers were more interested in being friends with ($F(1, 58) = 7.83, p = .007$) or dating ($F(1, 65) = 34.01, p < .001$) people who used candid photos rather than posed ones.

Study 4 measured the hypothesized underlying process while providing an even cleaner test of our theory by using a yoked design. Each participant was yoked to one Study 2 participant and viewed either that participant's posed or candid photo before rating how interested he or she was in getting to know that person. This allowed us to examine whether candid photos generate more positive responses while perfectly controlling for the individual pictured.

As predicted, observers were more interested in getting to know someone if that person used a candid rather than posed photo ($F(1, 91) = 5.42, p = .02$). Further, perceived genuineness mediated the impact of photo type on desire to get to know the person better (total indirect effect = .38, 95% CI [.04, .85]). Another study found similar results even when observers were considering photos of people they already knew.

A final study provided further evidence for the underlying process through moderation. Authenticity perceptions are shaped not only by a photo's image, but also by the underlying intent. Learning that someone knew a seemingly candid photo was being taken should make it seem less genuine. It might seem like the individual had ulterior motives when taking the photo and was thus not sincere (e.g., Campbell & Kirmani, 2000). As a result, intent should moderate the positive effect of candidness, and lead otherwise candid-looking photos to have the same effect as posed ones.

Study 5 found exactly this. Observers were more interested in getting to know someone when their photo was candid rather than posed ($t(110) = 2.73, p < .01$). But telling participants that the person in the photo was aware that the seemingly candid photo was being taken decreased observers' interest in getting to know that person ($t(108) = 3.51, p = .001$) to the level of the obviously posed photo ($t(111) = -.81, p = .42$). These effects were mediated by perceived genuineness.

Taken together, the present research demonstrates an important disconnect between photo posters and observers. People tend to post posed photos of themselves (Study 1a-d) and think that posed photos will generate more favorable responses (i.e., get them more dates or make them more friends, Study 2a-d). Observers, in contrast, actually respond more favorably to candid photos (Study 3-5), in part because they seem more genuine (Study 4-5).

These findings have important implications for self-presentation. People often assume that a curated, polished version of the self will generate the most favorable responses – that by smoothing rough edges and presenting one's best side will make others like them more. But as these results demonstrate, this assumption is not always correct. In some cases, observers may actually prefer an unvarnished perspective because it seems more genuine.

Passing (On) Judgment: Others Judge Us Less Extremely Than We Think

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers are interested in managing their social identities. They buy cars to be seen as higher-status, attend high-profile social occasions to be seen as popular, or recount recent visits to cultural

events to signal sophistication. But people are also thrust into situations in which the impressions they make are less controllable, but where the evaluative stakes remain (or seem) high. Company meetings, cocktail parties, or team trivia games are all circumstances in which people's competence, likeability, and intelligence feel on display. In light of people's interest in and concern with how they are viewed by others, it is natural to ask whether people are accurate in such meta-perceptions—perceptions of how others view them.

Previous research on the *spotlight effect* (Gilovich, Medvec, & Savitsky, 2000) has demonstrated that people often overestimate the extent to which their actions are *noticed*. People are sensitive to the hard-to-see coffee stain on their sleeve or the two hairs that keep moving out of place, even as others notice nothing amiss. The present work builds on this work in three ways. First, we examined if people understand how impressions of them change even when people unambiguously notice their actions. Second, we examine people's meta-perceptions not merely in circumstances when people might present poorly, but in cases when they present well. Third, we distinguish between mechanistic accounts of when and why meta-perceptions are in error.

The first three studies each test whether actors' meta-perceptions would be more reactive to focal successes or failures than observers' actual perceptions were. We tested this hypothesis in three evaluative domains: intelligence (Study 1), desirability as a dating partner (Study 2), and likeability (Study 3). In each study, actors were yoked to observers, meaning that the actors' behavior was publicly observable. They then went through a situation in which we could rig things to go well (*success* condition) or poorly (*failure* condition). We measured observers' social perceptions and actors' meta-perceptions at two times: before the focal event (*baseline*) and after it (*final*). All analyses were at the level of the dyad, such that we used a 2(Role: actor or observer) X 2 (Focal Event: success or failure) X 2(Time: baseline or final) mixed design, with the final factor measured within-subjects. In each study, we predicted a significant 3-way interaction indicating that actors' meta-perceptions (their assumptions of how the observers would view them) would be more reactive to the focal event (in a positive or negative direction when they succeeded or failed, respectively) than observers' impressions actually were.

In Study 1, 99 actor-observer pairs were contestants or viewers of a mock game show. Actors were videotaped, and observers watched the actors' experience on tape. In order to provide a context for baseline impressions, actors answered 10 dichotomous-choice trivia questions (e.g., "Which city is larger: San Antonio or Detroit?"), reasoning through their answers out loud. Actors and observers then offered baseline meta-perceptions and social perceptions of the actors' intelligence. Actors then went through the focal event—a single question that would allow the actors to double their prize or lose everything. Random assignment determined whether they were told they succeeded or failed. Actors and observers then offered their final meta-perceptions and social perceptions along the same intelligence dimension. The predicted 3-way interaction was significant, $F(1, 97) = 4.25, p = .04$. Actors assumed that observers' impressions would be more responsive to the focal success or failure than the observers' impressions actually were.

Did Study 1's asymmetry result from actors not appreciating how "sticky" observers' prior impressions are, or did actors overestimate the evaluative implications of the focal event? To disentangle these possibilities, Study 2 tested whether actors' meta-perceptions were inaccurate only concerning general impressions of the actor, or even for narrow interpretations of the focal event. If Study 1's results were driven merely by the unanticipated stickiness of observ-

ers' priors, we should not observe an actor-observer asymmetry on these more narrow measures. If instead the evaluative significance of the focal event differs for actors and observers, we should observe an actor-observer asymmetry even when (and perhaps especially when) judging the focal event.

In Study 2, 89 actor-observer pairs completed a study ostensibly about dating profiles. Actors began by introducing themselves and answering questions about their life. At this point, actors and observers offered their baseline meta-perceptions or social perceptions of the actors' dateability. Actors then went through a focal event. They answered what was supposedly a relationship IQ question, which (based on random assignment) they were said to have answered correctly (*success*) or incorrectly (*failure*). Actors and observers then offered their final impressions. But in this case, actors guessed (and observers indicated) not only how observers would judge the actors' dateability based on all they had observed, but how they would judge the actor merely based on the relationship IQ question in particular. Even when judging the focal success or failure in isolation, we observed the predicted 3-way interaction, $F(1, 87)=9.76, p=.002$. In other words, actors assumed that the same behavior would have more extreme evaluative implications for observers than observers indicated it did.

In Study 3, 114 actor-observer pairs went through a "friend date" paradigm. Actors were interviewed by someone who had to determine whether to include them or exclude them from a subsequent social interaction based on a short "get-to-know-you" interview. Actors were randomly assigned to be included (success) or excluded (failure). Baseline and final judgments focused on actors' likeability. The same 3-way interaction was significant, $F(1, 113)=10.94, p<.001$. Mediation analyses showed that actors thought that the act of being included or excluded strongly signaled their likeability to observers, whereas observers were less influenced than expected by the social acceptance or rejection.

Discussion will focus on implications for consumer welfare. Unnecessary efforts to rectify inaccurately negative meta-perceptions exact an unnecessary cost on consumers. But coasting on inaccurately positive meta-perceptions may lead to future disappointment. We will conclude by discussing a fourth study that outlines an intervention for correcting actors' meta-perceptions, that in so doing, identifies the origin of the judgment error.

First Impressions and Consumer Mate Preferences in Online Dating and Speed-Dating

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We are all familiar with the old adage warning us not to "judge a book by its cover." And, yet, we often find ourselves forming opinions about others based on first appearances—the first thing we see when (or even before) we meet them (Todorov, Olivola, Dotsch, & Mende-Siedlecki, 2015). In today's increasingly visual media age, appearance is often the very first piece of information we receive about other people. Consequently, these first impressions can significantly impact our subsequent interpersonal judgments and decisions (Olivola, Funk, & Todorov, 2014).

Here, we examine the impact of appearance-based personality trait inferences on an important class of real-world decisions: consumer mate preferences (i.e., romantic partner choice). Today's consumers have at their disposal a variety of new ways to find romantic partners: the popularity of online dating sites remains one of the Internet's greatest success stories, and speed-dating events are now commonplace throughout the US and many other parts of the world. Using real-world data on user profiles and interactions obtained from

a major online dating site (Study 1) and from speed-dating events (Study 2), we measured the relationship between appearance-based personality trait inferences and consumers' dating success.

In our first study, we used data from a popular online dating service. The initial data consisted of a record of the self-reported characteristics and the interactions of 23,000 users in two major U.S. cities who used the service during a three-and-a-half-month period. Each user posted a personal profile to the dating site in order to provide potential partners with information about his or her characteristics. Our final target sample consisted of 729 users (380 males, 349 females). We had these users' dating profile photos rated according to the personality traits that they conveyed (e.g., how competent, likeable, etc., a person appeared to judges, based on their profile photo). We then examined whether these appearance-based trait inferences predicted users' overall dating success. Specifically, we looked at two measures of dating success for each user: (i) the number of people who contacted the user during the three month period, and (ii) the number of people who sent the user a message that indicated strong interest (e.g., by providing contact information or including certain key words).

In our second study, participants were a collection of people who participated in a speed-dating event. As with our first study, we had judges rate the speed-daters' photos on the same set of personality traits. We then examined whether these personality trait inferences—gleaned solely from the photos—predicted speed-dating success. Specifically, we defined success by two metrics: (i) the number of dating partners who, after the speed-dating event, indicated an interest in that person, and (ii) the number of dating partners with whom the speed-dater achieved *reciprocal* interest.

A similar methodology was used to obtain ratings of the daters' photos in both studies: Mean photo-based trait inferences for each target-user were measured by having judges provide independent ratings of the photos on physical attractiveness (a control variable) and ten different personality traits: ambition, competence, emotional stability, extraversion, likeability, openness to new experience, promiscuity, self-discipline, sympathy, and trustworthiness. We tried to equalize the number of male and female judges assigned to each trait. The photos were presented on a computer screen, one at a time, in the same form (identical dimensions and colors) they took on the dating site. However, they were presented in isolation, without the rest of the information in the dating-user's profile. The ordering of the photos was randomized for each judge and photos of male and female target-users were presented in separate blocks. Judges provided a rating for each photo using either the keyboard or mouse. Ratings were standardized within judges (across targets) before being averaged across judges to produce mean standardized ratings of physical attractiveness and personality traits for each target-user. The resulting attractiveness and personality trait scores were used in our analyses.

Although judges did not know the targets and all were blind to both the origin of the photos and the purpose of the study, we found that the photo-based personality trait inferences significantly—and substantially—predicted dating success (according to both measures of dating success, and in both studies). Appearing extraverted, open to new experience, emotionally stable, and likeable was positively related to success for both male and female users. In contrast, while appearing more ambitious, competent, self-disciplined, and trustworthy, was positively related to success for male users, this relationship was reversed for female users. Most of these relationships remained significant when we controlled for attractiveness, ruling out the possibility that our results can be explained simply as halo-effects of beauty. Furthermore, even after controlling for the infor-

mation provided in their profiles, appearance-based personality trait inferences still significantly predicted users' dating success. These results suggest that photo-based first impressions may influence a decision to contact a potential mate, even after learning other relevant information about the person. Moreover, the fact that consumers often post photos that convey undesirable personality characteristics suggests that they fail to anticipate how much negative impact this will have on their dating success.

We conclude by discussing the implications of our findings: what it means for consumers' social decisions to be influenced by appearances, why this "face-ism" is detrimental to optimal decision making, and why consumers may be naturally inclined to draw inferences from faces and therefore have difficulty inhibiting these tendencies.

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It's a Material World: Revisiting Established Consumer Behavior Theories From Neomaterialist Perspectives

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Paper #1: Ontological Flattening, Vibrant Matter and Consumption: Sending Canonical Theories Back to School

John W. Schouten, Aalto University, Finland and University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Diane M. Martin, Aalto University, Finland
Beth Leavenworth DuFault, University of Arizona, USA

Paper #2: Maven 2.0: The Newly Assembled Interactive Ex-Pat Market Maven

Hope Jensen Schau, University of Arizona, USA
Beth Leavenworth DuFault, University of Arizona, USA
Yan Mandy Dang, Northern Arizona University, USA
Yulei Gavin Zhang, Northern Arizona University, USA

Paper #3: Practice Interrupted: When Fatal Disruptions and Irreconcilable Distortions Erode Mutual Understanding and Destroy Social Order

Paul Connell, Stony Brook University, USA
Hope Jensen Schau, University of Arizona, USA

Paper #4: Understanding Dynamism in Consumers' Relationships with Brands through Assemblage Theory

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Those who live along the San Andreas Fault in Southern California are jolted periodically by the movement of the Pacific plate and the North American plate as the two outer shell pieces slide over the Earth's mantle into new positions. Strain against resistance and release of pressure toward movement result in earthquake shock waves. This change is inexorable and even predictable. The geographical landscape is changed. But largely, residents in this fault zone stand upon what feels like stable ground, as the plates maintain their relative places until the pressure of moving in different directions builds to a breaking point. Scientific paradigms, like tectonic plates, move against each other and reach the breaking point periodically as well, and the jolts change the research landscape. We may experience small magnitude tremors and readjust our research accordingly. Rarely, "The Big One" knocks us for a loop and we have to rebuild our ontologies large scale. Frequently cited scientific philosophers Lakatos (1970), Kuhn, (1970a, b, c), Popper (1992 [34]; 88 [56]; 1970) and Laudan (1986) had differing opinions on progressions in scientific paradigms. We argue from Laudan's standpoint that different paradigms can function side by side, like tectonic plates, albeit in tension. Indeed, in the social sciences we see multiple paradigms co-existing and maintaining an uneasy stability (Laudan 1986; Walker 2010). We argue that the field at large benefits from open-mindedness toward these insights, and cooperation in reaching them, as researchers from multiple ontologies discover competing insights about the world of consumer behavior.

In the spirit of ACR 2015's theme "Advancing Connections" and breaking down paradigmatic silos, this session brings together and connects a neomaterialist ontological view (Coole and Frost 2010; DeLanda 2006; Deleuze and Guattari 1988; Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012; Bryant 2011) with a re-envisioning of classic and

established consumer behavior theories. "Neo"—or "new"—materialism is a reinterpretation of the debate between idealism and materialism that has unfolded in sociology since Hegel Vs Marx. Thus we begin with a conceptual paper to outline the theoretical understanding of neomaterialism, as it relates to other paradigmatic studies. This paper looks at seminal papers in the interpretive vein, such as "Possessions and the Extended of Self" (Belk 1988), to see what might be gained by reexamining foundational works while holding a neomaterialist ontology. The result is a call for re-inquiry on a larger scale. What follow are three empirical papers that reexplore classic theories within an ontological framework embracing materiality, assemblages, and practices. The second paper reinvestigates the market maven concept (Feick and Price 1987) in the context of Chinese expatriotes living in the United States and acculturating to a complicated retail system. It specifically examines the active agency of language and the interactive web on mavens and "newbies." The third paper revisits practice theory with an emphasis on practices as emergent phenomena. The last paper explores the almost ubiquitous concept of consumer-brand relationships (McAlexander et al 2002; Fournier 1998) within an assemblage-theoretic framework. It reveals a more nuanced understanding of the way consumer-brand relationships evolve. The first question this session raises is: what can be gained by re-investigating seminal contexts (e.g. self) with new ontologies? The over-arching question, however, is: how can co-existing ontologies and epistemologies benefit consumer research? We expect a lively session as the values of diverse theoretical and methodological frameworks for research are discussed.

Ontological Flattening, Vibrant matter and Consumption: Sending Canonical Theories Back to School

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A cursory examination of cultural research in the pages of marketing and consumer behavior journals in the last few years reveals a growing concern for understanding the roles of materiality in such basic areas as consumer experience and market dynamics. This same trend, fostered in part by scientific developments that have called into question our understanding of the most basic aspects of matter and existence, is sweeping through other social sciences as well (Coole and Frost 2010). Neomaterialist thinkers, although by no means completely unified in their views, agree that the idealist cultural turn in social sciences and philosophy has run out of steam. They tend to agree on other principles as well. Matter is vibrant, they say, not inert. The boundaries of bodies are porous; systems are open, not closed, and they are characterized more by complexity than by linear cause and effect. Objects have agency that resists, shapes and even defies human will. Every phenomenon is emergent, becoming, and constantly materializing. Finally, the vibrancy of matter and the agency of objects naturally lead to what DeLanda (2006) calls a flat ontology—flat in that it is non-hierarchical, flat in that it refuses to automatically prioritize human agency over that of objects or nature or other actors in a system.

This paper brings the flat ontology and object agency of neomaterialist thought to bear on key, even canonical, theories and

constructs from marketing and consumer behavior, and it poses the question: What might we gain by bringing materiality to the forefront? For example, consider the seminal article "Possessions and the Extended Self" (Belk 1988). From an ontologically flat perspective it would make just as much sense to discuss "Selves and the Extended Possession." In neomaterialist terms the reality lies somewhere in between. To plot the actual path between social construction and material structure we would begin by construing the self not as an extension of some agentic and essential individual into and through inanimate objects, but rather as an assemblage of vibrant matter of all kinds, of which the human consumer is but one (mostly) conscious manifestation and organizing force. We might argue for an alternative conceptualization along the lines of "The Assembled Self," as Belk begins to (2014)—a constantly emergent constellation of the individual consumer and all of the various other materialities and meanings with which the consumer intersects in a meaningful way. Any perceived essence of self would emanate from the assembled self's relative stability due to territorialization (Deleuze and Guattari 1988) through meanings produced by the consumer in conjunction with the consumer's cultural context, which itself is a territorialized socio-technical assemblage in a constant state of becoming.

Considering an assembled versus an extended self we might pose certain hypothetical questions. Does a consumer, for example, extend her capabilities, her power, and her public persona into the world through her choice of an automobile? Certainly, she does. But does not the automobile also choose the consumer and thus extend its power into the social world? We answer yes, for the automobile is a vibrant assemblage, not only of artfully combined materials but also of all the meanings, communications and representations focused, through a logic of market segmentation, on the consumer. The consumer's potential is enhanced by the automobile, and the automobile's potential is unleashed by the consumer — differently, we would add, than it was by the dealer or would be by subsequent owners. The consumer-plus-automobile constitutes a new assemblage that is different in both function and meaning than either of the assemblages that comprise it, or even than their sum, and it is different in every social context through which it rolls.

One specific neomaterialist epistemology, actor-network theory (ANT), would conceive of the assembled self as an actor-network, that is, as a techno-social assemblage of both humans and non-humans acting in relation to one another to co-constitute identity. Normally ANT scholars, with their background in science and technology studies, don't engage in individual identity-level research. They do however consider every actant in an assemblage to be a black box, which is itself an actor-network (Latour 1987), which opens the door to examine identity as an actor-network. Taking Callon's (1986) view of an actor-network as the product of translation, the individual would problematize identity and then enroll and mobilize identity resources in the identity construction project. The individual's consciousness would act as an obligatory point of passage for other relevant actants, including possessions broadly construed, but also ideologies and entertainment, food and drink, and all the technologies, toxins, viruses, flatteries and other forces visible and invisible, bidden or otherwise, that act upon the individual. The individual's agency would not automatically prevail, however, over the agencies of other actants in the assemblage. It would, rather, attempt continually to achieve a stable, albeit contextual, identity assemblage in the face of destabilizing actants.

Maven 2.0: The Newly Assembled Interactive Ex-Pat Market Maven

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The market maven construct, introduced by Feick and Price in 1987, has been examined for retail markets (Abrat and Nezer 1995), for couponing (Price and Feick 1988), and in industry (Natarajan and Angur 1997). It has been tested across product categories (Slama and Williams 1990), extended into Internet activities for teen internet mavens and others (Belch et al. 2005) and looked at in WOM (word of mouth) and "what goes viral" studies (Ho and Dempsey 2010). These studies and more on the maven construct yield different findings in different retail, institutional, and especially changing media contexts. Yang and Zhou (2012a; 2012b) and Yang (2013) examine the market maven concept online for Chinese consumers. They show cultural differences further complicate this variation. When more and more extensions have to be made to fit a construct to developing trends, it may be fruitful to look at the phenomenon with a new ontology. In this paper, we examine the market maven construct with the ontology of neomaterialism, to uncover the effect of the actors, including technology, upon each other in an interactive online community of Chinese retail experts and newbies in the U.S.

With the advent of Web 2.0 (O'Reilly 2005), the Internet has become a new medium for community-based social interaction, where people share information, exchange opinions, and discuss ideas about various topics (Kozinets et al. 2010). Therefore, this medium can play an important role in maven behavior by providing a two-way communication platform to acculturation agents and new entrants. Tracing posts on a widespread Web 2.0 social vehicle (Abbasi and Chen 2008), our study focuses on a Web forum platform, where different people can initialize or join discussions to learn from, or teach others about, the American retail environment. The US marketplace is governed by a host of contradictory situational norms that can confuse even the savviest American consumers. For example, depending on the retail circumstances, consumers pay full asking price (i.e., grocers, clothing boutiques, and department stores), haggle (i.e., automobiles, and bundled goods and services), bid (i.e., antiques and eBay), barter (i.e., co-operatives), and tip (i.e., restaurants and bars). Consumers may pay in advance, pay at the time of purchase, pay in installments, pay a third party over time, or even lease. A consumer is unlikely to have perfect market information, therefore, the most favorable price or "best deal" on a given product across stores is virtually unknown (Urbany, Dickson and Sawyer 2000). Those consumers less familiar with the rules and norms of the American retail environment (e.g., immigrants, temporary residents and tourists) are at a severe disadvantage, and often use Web 2.0—that is, interactive web platforms—to understand the markets. Here, within forums and other interactive platforms, they can correspond with, or lurk and watch, online market mavens sharing their knowledge, and grow their capacities to work with the US retailing system.

Our study site is the largest, most popular and most active Web forum among the hundreds of thousands of Chinese students and professionals scattered throughout the U.S. and living elsewhere abroad. The forum is not accessible within China. The forum has a dynamic set of approximately 400 different sub-boards across many topics ranging from legal residency to child care and education. On these platforms, newbies ask questions, and experts offer help, guidance, and advice. With longitudinal archived data, we use empirical qualitative and quantitative data, including linguistic analysis, to analyze a large database of specific sub-forum posts focused on explaining the US couponing system. We demonstrate that the online forum, MITBBS (<http://www.mitbbs.com/>), serves not only as an ac-

culturation platform where Chinese immigrants and foreign nationals interact to discuss the rules and norms of American retailing, but that it also serves as a place where market mavens act as acculturation agents.

Most importantly, we revisit the market maven concept with a neomaterialist ontology to show the agency of the material as it acts upon the consumers. Web 2.0, the mavens, the couponing systems, the retailers, the newbies, and the lurkers act upon and co-create each other. By focusing on the materiality of the system, including the actant nature of language and the Web and Internet forums themselves, we find the agency of language as a collective phenomenon as it appears on the site, the agency of Web 2.0 as its features both constrain and free mavens, newbies and lurkers in their actions, and the agency of couponing bundles as their force shapes the types of interactions. We find that the medium and agency of Web 2.0 has been undertheorized in the literature of either acculturation or the market maven phenomenon. We argue that bringing a neomaterialist lens to the maven construct reveals previously hidden social dynamics by foregrounding the materiality inherent in what is a complex and emergent system.

Practice Interrupted: When Fatal Disruptions and Irreconcilable Distortions Erode Mutual Understanding and Destroy Social Order

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Neomaterialist ontologies share the perspective that all social phenomena are emergent, in a constant state of becoming. Within studies of practice, however, there exists an assumption of stability as practices reproduce themselves through human carriers. In general, theories of practice “account poorly for change” (Southerton et al. 2012, 240) and most empirical studies do not capture temporal or cultural changes in practices (Warde 2005). This study revisits practice theory with an ethnomethodological emphasis on practices as emergent phenomena highlighting production cohort responses to breaches and replication trajectories.

Marketing scholars have historically focused on individual consumers’ brand experiences (e.g., brand loyalty), however, research revealing the complex nature of collective brand relationships has evolved (Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Muñiz and O’Guinn 2001; Cova, Kozinets and Shankar 2012; Diamond et al 2009; Arsel and Bean 2013; Canniford and Shankar 2013; Epp and Price 2010; Epp, Schau and Price 2014; Schau, Muñiz and Arnould 2009; Thomas, Price and Schau 2013). Specifically, the application of social practice theories to the marketplace has gained traction within marketing and consumer research in the last two decades. From Holt’s (1995) formative research illuminating a typology of consumption practices that explain how consumers consume, market researchers have been fascinated by practice theories as products and brands are implicated by, and in many cases embedded in, practices (Warde 2005; Schatzki 1996; Schau et al 2009; Epp et al 2014). In fact, consumers’ experience of products and brands is almost wholly comprised of practices (Brakus, Schmitt and Zarantonello 2009), especially those related to use.

Using Reckwitz’s (2002) definition of practices as manifest behaviors consisting of interconnected bodily enactments, mental activities, materials, and contextual knowledge, we affirm Warde’s (2005, 131) assertion that the basic assumption of practice theory is that “consumption occurs as items are appropriated in the course of engaging in particular practices and that being a competent practitioner requires appropriation of the requisite services, possession of appropriate tools, and devotion of a suitable level of attention to

the conduct of the practice.” For example, Thanksgiving is a practice, that is enacted annually according to broad cultural action templates within local production cohorts that involve objects (heirloom dishes), recipes (blueprints for use), brands (recipe inputs) and social norms (who participates and what their role is) (Wallendorf and Arnould 1991). Practice theorists stress practice continuity, where practices are routinely carried out by cohorts (Halkier et al. 2011; Schatzki, Cetina, and Savigny 2001; Warde 2005).

Previous literature on practice replication within kinship collectives primarily addresses intergenerational transfer of holiday and occasion rituals (Belk 1990; Escalas 1993; Wallendorf and Arnould 1991), family meals (DeVault 1991; Moio, Arnould and Price 2004), recipe transfers (Baker, Karrer, and Veeck 2005; Arnould and Epp 2006), literacy (Wagner and Spratt 1988), and obesity (Grier et al. 2007). This research is biased toward practices that replicate with minor treatment of practice interference. Moio et al (2004) discuss how meanings of practices shift between generations, and also how physical distance between family members of different generations can inhibit transmission of practices. Epp et al (2014) employ assemblage theory to understand the continuation of family practices despite physical separation and address briefly non-replication scenarios. Here, we focus on practice replication in dynamic production cohorts loosely based on kinship, not specifically intergenerational transfer, and explicitly allow for non-replication of practices.

Drawing on Garfinkel’s (1967) ground-breaking work asserting the significance of everyday taken-for-granted actions that constitute social order, we employ ethnomethodology, and specifically the focus on breaches, or disruptions, to examine the flexibility of practices and the boundary conditions that enable and inhibit practice replication among production cohorts. Here, we examine a specific form of production cohort, collectives loosely based on kinship. We focus on practices that have been replicated at relatively predictable intervals across dynamic production cohort memberships and highlight the breaches that define the boundary conditions for practice replication.

Linking ethnomethodology and practice theory, Lynch (2001, 141) treats ethnomethodology as both a “praxiology... to investigate the logic or logics of ordinary practices” and the inscribed logics themselves. Likewise, in conversation analysis, Sacks (1992) proposed that a term can be both “a general analytic concept and a contingently produced phenomenon” (142). Hilbert (1990) cites this tacking between the macro and micro levels of phenomenon (abstract and contingent) to be a key strength of ethnomethodology. Here, we wield this strength in the service of understanding the breaches when a practice failed to happen (Lynch 2001, 141) or practice non-replication.

Our data consists of 62 informants within 15 loose kinship collectives where it was possible to interview two or more members of each production cohort. Our long interview protocol was designed to access the lived experience of replicating practices, as well as those that fail to replicate. From our dataset, we were able to identify three broad practice trajectories (replication, revised replications, and non-replications) based on practice flexibility, or the elasticity of the practice to sustain mutual understanding in the face of changing circumstances and improvisation. Practice flexibility is strongest in replication, appears in a weaker form in revised replications and is stretched beyond the limits of coherence in non-replication. We find these trajectories are not static. A practice can move along one trajectory but reverse path and move along a different trajectory based on patterns of disruptions and distortions that erode mutual understanding and destroy the current social order. We identify fatal disruptions (e.g., production cohort quorum, consumption material access, and

venue) and irreconcilable distortions (e.g., competing logics regarding authenticity, performance standards, and outcomes) that erode mutual understanding, the central necessary condition for practice replication, and result in practice abandonment and/or production cohort disbandment.

Understanding Dynamism in Consumers' Relationships with Brands Through Assemblage Theory

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumer-brand relationships (CBRs) are prevalent in individuals' lived experiences. Research acknowledges variations in the types of CBRs, and identifies certain trajectories within them. Prior research treats these relationships as dyadic, governed by interactions between a consumer and a brand with less consideration given to other influences that may affect them. Such a narrow focus may not provide a complete understanding of CBRs; a more systemic view is warranted. In contrast to prior research on CBRs, which privileges communications between a consumer and a brand, we explore a broader complement of influences that support the initiation, transformation, or dissolution of consumer-brand relationships.

Fournier's (1998) seminal work on CBRs employed interpersonal relationship theory to explain consumers and their relationships with brands. That groundbreaking research changed how CBRs were understood, yet that theorizing provides a limited view. We employ assemblage theory as a lens to explore aspects of consumer-brand relationships that are invisible to interpersonal relationship theory. We focus on changes in CBRs. Assemblage theory takes the stance that all social phenomena result from the relationships among the agentic actants, or forces that generate them. All assemblages are emergent; that is, everything is relational, everything changes, and change is constant—a perspective that is especially conducive to studying relationship dynamics.

In any given assemblage there are periods of greater and lesser stability. Relatively stable assemblages may be deterritorialized by new actants and relationships, leading to reterritorialization and new assemblages. Consumer brand relationships, as assemblages, inevitably change as consumers' lives, contexts and needs evolve. Brands also evolve due to factors such as the competitive environment, consumer preferences, and the needs and actions of firms. As an example, consider Meredith's relationships with brands of digital camera:

My first one or two digital cameras were [by] Kodak and I think they were good for introducing me to the world of digital photography. But then they were a little too 'beginner' for me is what I ultimately concluded. They are just a little bit bulkier and a little bit less fancy and stuff... and so I decided that I was ready to try a more heavy-duty one... I researched them online to find out what brand I was most interested in, and what-not, and then I went to the store, because they have them out, and actually felt how they felt in my hand and got an insider's perspective, I guess, from the people working there, and then went back to the internet after writing it down, and then looked at customer reviews and then ultimately decided on [a Canon] and then purchased it in-store. ~ Meredith

This single, short narrative recounts how a reasonably stable relationship with Kodak becomes deterritorialized through a complex set of interactions—among a consumer, her goals and expertise, brand messaging, product designs, competitor offerings, merchandising, retail staff and other camera users in both on- and off-line contexts—and reterritorialized as a relationship with Canon.

This study examines many such CBR assemblages with a sharp focus on the shifting relationships that shape them. We identify factors that both increase and decrease territorialization or stability. In the example cited above, the Kodak CBR was deterritorialized in part by Meredith's own growing competencies. If Kodak had participated in that growth, the brand may have been able to lead Meredith through product upgrades within a brand family where she already felt comfortable.

Other findings also promise to enhance our understanding of CBR dynamics. It seems clear that limiting analysis to the consumer-brand dyad ignores the importance of other actants in the assemblage. Meredith's relationship with Kodak, once deterritorialized, opened itself to a world of information and gave that information room to percolate. It also appears that change trajectories in CBRs are more nuanced than previous research has suggested. A CBR is embedded in a life context, and movement in that context opens many possible lines of flight for the consumer to redefine or exit the relationship. Whether that happens or not may depend on how stable or territorialized the assemblage is as well as the influence of forces upon it.

Further, brand loyalty can be conceptualized as a highly territorialized and therefore stable CBR assemblage. This is consistent with the conceptualization of McAlexander et al. (2002) of brand loyalty as integration in a brand community by way of a network of relationships among human and non-human actants, that is, with other consumers, with institutions, with branded objects and with brand symbols and narratives. Another highly territorialized type of CBR assemblage occurs in what Coupland (2005) describes as brands being sufficiently embedded in consumer rituals as to be completely taken for granted. If consumers accept brands unreflectively as natural parts of their lives, they are less likely to seek replacements.

Through this research, we advance the present understanding of CBRs through the lens of assemblage theory as we explain the means by which CBRs may change through time. Finally, we discuss implications for research and practice.

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For the Love of the Game: New Perspectives on Intrinsically Motivated Behavior

Chair: Jordan Etkin, Duke University, USA

Paper #1: Inspired to Create: How Awe Enhances Openness to Learning and Desire for Experiential Creation

Melanie Rudd, University of Houston, USA
Kathleen Vohs, University of Minnesota, USA

Paper #2: Curiosity Kills the Cat

Chris Hsee, University of Chicago, USA
Bowen Ruan, University of Wisconsin at Madison, USA

Paper #3: The Experience Matters More Than You Think: Weighting Intrinsic Incentives More Inside Than Outside of an Activity

Kaitlin Woolley, University of Chicago, USA
Ayelet Fishbach, University of Chicago, USA

Paper #4: The Cost of Quantification: Measurement Undermines Intrinsic Enjoyment

Jordan Etkin, Duke University, USA
Jonah Berger, The Wharton School, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Motivation – the drive to act – is a persistent feature of human nature. Whether to work or play, to approach or avoid, to change or stay the same, people’s behavior is often energized toward some valued end. Yet while motivation may look the same from an observer’s perspective, it can arise from very different underlying sources. Generally speaking, motivation is intrinsic if a course of action is autonomously chosen and self-determined, but extrinsic if imposed by external forces (Deci and Ryan 1985; Ryan and Deci 2000). Specific behaviors can also be intrinsically motivated if done for their own sake (i.e., the inherent pleasure they bring), but extrinsically motivated if done for the instrumental benefits they provide (Fishbach and Choi 2012; Laran and Janiszewski 2011). Compared to extrinsically motivated behaviors, intrinsic motivation has many positive consequences, including enhanced performance, persistence, and creativity (Sheldon et al. 1997) heightened vitality (Nix et al. 1999), self-esteem (Deci and Ryan 1995), and general wellbeing (Ryan, Deci, and Grolnik 1995). But beyond identifying its consequences, many important questions remain about intrinsic motivation processes. This session provides new perspectives on this topic.

Four papers explore consumers’ engagement in intrinsically motivated behaviors. The first two papers focus on classic intrinsic pursuits – learning, exploration, and curiosity – examining behaviors arising from each drive. Rudd and Vohs identify a novel factor (awe) that enhances intrinsic motivation to learn and create. Four experiments demonstrate that experiencing awe increases consumers’ desire (and willingness to pay) for experiential creation. Hsee and Ruan investigate people’s innate curiosity. Their findings identify a pernicious consequence of curiosity and the intrinsic drive to resolve it: curiosity makes people seek out information with negative hedonic repercussions.

The last two papers explore factors influencing the enjoyment of intrinsically motivated behaviors. Woolley and Fishbach examine the role of timing (i.e., whether consumers evaluate an experience while they are having it versus before or after). Six studies demonstrate that intrinsic incentives matter more inside (versus outside) an activity. These incentives increase persistence by enabling a positive experience, yet people outside pursuit do not anticipate this effect. Finally, Etkin and Berger investigate how measurement shapes motivation, testing how quantification affects the enjoyment of intrinsi-

cally motivated behaviors. Three experiments show that measuring how much of an intrinsically valuable activity people do (e.g., the number of steps taken or number of pages read) leads them to enjoy the activity less.

Together these papers connect classic research on intrinsic motivation processes with modern-day phenomena, using the former as a lens to help understand the latter. Further, by identifying factors that encourage intrinsically motivated behaviors, as well as ones that thwart their enjoyment, the findings shed light on what consumers can do to enhance and protect the activities they enjoy. This session should have broad appeal to scholars interested in motivation, enjoyment, experiential consumption, and wellbeing, as well as connections between them.

Inspired to Create: How Awe Enhances Openness to Learning and Desire for Experiential Creation

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

From birth, humans are endowed with an intrinsic drive to learn and explore (Harter 1978). However, this drive is easily disrupted (e.g., by time pressure, distractions, and depletion; Ryan and Deci 2000), transforming consumers into cognitive misers (Fiske and Taylor 1984). In this research, we identify a novel remedy for consumers’ lack of intrinsic motivation to learn, demonstrating that a particular emotion—awe—can enhance consumers’ openness to learning and, consequently, increase their intrinsic desire to partake in behaviors involving experiential creation.

Awe experiences are thought to have two defining features: perceptual vastness and a need for accommodation (Keltner and Haidt 2003). This need for accommodation refers to the belief that awe experiences are overwhelming and difficult to grasp, challenging existing mental structures (Fiedler 2001). Building upon this theoretical definition of awe, we predicted that those who experienced awe would exhibit greater openness to the prospect of learning (in hopes of satisfying their need for accommodation). We also predicted this effect would have consequences for consumer behaviors involving experiential creation.

Though prior work has largely focused on how competence and autonomy motivate the undertaking of creative tasks and behaviors (Dahl and Moreau 2007; Moreau and Herd 2010; Mochon et al. 2012), learning may also be an intrinsic incentive (Dahl and Moreau 2007). Moreover, play, construction, and working with one’s hands—all common aspects of experiential creation—are primal ways of learning (Cabrera and Colosi 2010; Kendall and Sproles 1986; Piaget 1964). Therefore, we predicted that, by enhancing openness to learning, awe would increase people’s intrinsic desire to partake in experiential creation.

Our theory that openness to learning mediates awe’s effect on experiential creation led us to predict that need for closure would moderate it. When facing uncertainty or a lack of confidence in existing mental structures, individuals high (vs. low) in need for closure are more motivated to resolve this uncertainty (Kruglanski et al. 1991, 1993) and achieve the “coveted state of ‘knowledge’” (Kruglanski 1988, 122). Since awe is theorized to shake people’s confidence in their existing mental structures (Keltner and Haidt 2003)—something that should make those high (vs. low) in need for closure especially motivated to learn (Kruglanski 1988)—we predicted that

awe's ability to heighten experiential creation desires would be stronger for those high (vs. low) in need for closure.

Experiment 1 (which was conducted shortly before Valentine's Day) tested whether awe increases one's desire to partake in experiential creation. To manipulate emotions, participants watched a 60 second awe-eliciting, happiness-eliciting, or neutral commercial for an LCD television (Rudd, Vohs, and Aaker 2012) and responded to filler items. Then, as a "thanks for participating" gift, they chose to receive either "a recipe for Valentine's Day chocolates [they] could make and give to a loved one" (something involving experiential creation) or "a coupon for pre-made Valentine's Day chocolates [they] could buy and have delivered to a loved one" (something not involving experiential creation) and reported their emotions. Manipulation checks confirmed the target emotions were successfully manipulated and, as predicted, logistic regression analyses revealed those in the awe (vs. happiness or neutral) condition more frequently chose the experiential creation option: the recipe.

Experiment 2 conceptually replicated experiment 1's results using a different operationalization of experiential creation desire: willingness to pay for products with experiential creation elements. To manipulate emotions, participants watched either an awe-eliciting or happiness-eliciting slideshow. Participants subsequently reported their willingness to pay for 16 products from different categories (i.e., furniture, food, and art)—eight of these products involved experiential creation and eight did not. Importantly, although the products within each category differed in whether they did or did not involve experiential creation, they were matched on other key features. Last, participants reported their emotions. Manipulation checks confirmed the target emotions were successfully manipulated and a mixed-measures ANOVA revealed that, as predicted, those in the awe (vs. happiness) condition were willing to pay more for products that involved experiential creation. As a test of specificity, participants in the awe and happiness conditions were equally willing to pay for the control products.

Experiment 3 tested our mediation hypothesis. Emotions were manipulated as in experiment 2 and participants subsequently responded to a 7-item experiential creation desires index (e.g., "I want to create something"), five hypothetical choices between comparable meal options that either required or did not require experiential creation (e.g., make homemade soup vs. eat canned soup), a 4-item openness to learning index (e.g., "I am curious"), and reported their emotions. Manipulation checks confirmed the target emotions were successfully manipulated and one-way ANOVAs revealed that those in the awe (vs. happiness) condition reported stronger experiential creation desires, stronger preferences for experiential creation meals, and were more open to learning. Mediation analyses revealed that, as predicted, those in the awe (vs. happiness) condition exhibited greater desire for experiential creation (via both the index and the meal preferences) because they were more open to learning. (Note: A subsequent study conceptually replicated these mediations.)

Experiment 4 tested our moderation hypothesis. After completing the Need for Closure Scale (Roets and Van Hiel 2011) and the emotion manipulation from experiment 2, participants responded to the experiential creation desires index from experiment 3 and reported their emotions. Manipulation checks confirmed the target emotions were successfully manipulated. Regression and spotlight analyses also revealed a significant main effect of emotion (i.e., those in the awe vs. happiness condition expressed stronger experiential creation desires) that was qualified by the predicted interaction between need for closure and emotion. Specifically, those who experienced awe (vs. happiness) exhibited greater desires to create

things if they had a high need for closure, but not if they had a low need for closure.

In sum, our findings theoretically contribute to and connect the literature on learning, emotions, and experiential creation, offering evidence that awe is a novel way to enhance consumers' openness to learning and incentivize experiential creation. Moreover, from a practical perspective, this research highlights awe's ability to influence consumer behavior and the need for further research on this emotion.

Curiosity Kills the Cat

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Let us start with a stylized and provocative example. Suppose you know for sure that your beloved significant other recently had an affair with your neighbor and you have decided to break up with him/her. Their intimate activities were captured vividly on a surveillance camera and you have acquired a copy of the video. The video is in front of you. The question is: Will you watch it?

The "rational" answer is probably no, because watching the video will not give you additional useful information, given that you know for a fact they had sex, and you have made up your mind to break up the relationship. Watching the video will only make you more miserable.

Yet we predict that many people under such situations will watch the video. Why? Because of curiosity.

Curiosity is one of the most deeply-rooted human desires, but relative to other basic desires, such as those for food and achievement, it is understudied (for notable exceptions, see Berlyne 1960; Golman and Loewenstein 2012; Litman 2005; Loewenstein 1994).

Curiosity is a double-sided sword. On one hand, curiosity can motivate people to explore and make important and beneficial discoveries, and give people pleasure when their curiosity gets resolved. Indeed, in another line of work, we have been examining and found such beneficial hedonic effects of curiosity. On the other hand, curiosity can drive people to seek "detrimental information" – information that they know has no functional benefits to them and will even make them unhappy. The current research explores this latter proposition.

We have conducted and completed a series of experiments showing this "perverse" side of curiosity. In one such experiment, we presented participants with the opportunity to view 24 pictures. At the beginning of the experiment, each picture was covered and had only a label on it. Participants were told that if they turned a picture labeled "DP," they would view a picture of a dog poop (pretested to be highly negative); if they turned over a picture labeled "ST," they would view a picture of a stone (pretested to be neutral), and if they turned over a picture labeled "??," they would view either the dog poop picture or the stone picture.

The experiment consisted of four between-subjects conditions: (1) Unknown Mixed: All pictures were labeled "??"; (2) Known Mixed: Some pictures were labeled "DP" and some "ST"; (3) All Dog Poop: All pictures were labeled "DP"; (4) All Stone: All pictures were labeled "ST".

The dependent variable was how many pictures Ps decided to turn over and view. The result: Those in the Unknown Mixed condition turned over and viewed more pictures (including the negative pictures) than those in any of the other conditions ($M_s = 16.4$ (Unknown Mixed) vs. 11.5 (Stone), 10.0 (Known Mixed), 3.8 (Dog Poop); all $p_s < .05$). Notably, this result cannot be attributed to variety-seeking, because if participants simply wanted variety, those in the Known-Mixed condition should have opened as many pictures.

Also notably, the result could not be attributed to wishful-thinking either, because wishful-thinking could not explain why participants in the Unknown Mixed condition viewed even more pictures than participants in the All Stone condition. It seems that curiosity, or rather, the desire to resolve curiosity, drove participants to experience what they knew was negative, in this case, the image of a disgusting dog poop.

In another experiment, we showed participants 48 buttons on a computer screen, and they could choose to click any number of them. Each button was labeled either “Water,” “Nails,” or “??.” Ps were told in advance that if they clicked a button labeled “Water,” they would hear the sound of water pouring into a jar (pretested to be neutral). If they clicked a button labeled “Nails,” they would hear the sound of nails scratching chalkboard (pretested to be highly negative). If they clicked a button labeled “??,” they would hear either the Water sound or the Nails sound.

The study consisted of two between-participants conditions: (1) Unknown Mixed: Most of the buttons were labeled “??,” with only a couple of buttons labeled as “Water” or “Nails”; (2) Known Mixed: Most of the buttons were labeled “Water” or “Nails,” with only a couple of buttons labeled as “??.”

The primary DV was how many buttons participants clicked (i.e., how many sounds they listened to). The secondary DV was their hedonic experience, which we measured every 30 seconds throughout the study.

The results: Those in the Unknown condition pressed more buttons, and hence heard more of the excruciating Nails sound, than those in the Known condition ($M_s = 39.3$ vs. 28.2 ; $p < .01$), and they also felt worse throughout the experiment ($M_s = 3.8$ vs. 4.6 ; $p < .001$). Again, curiosity drove people to expose themselves to things which they knew were unpleasant.

We have replicated these findings in other domains, and are in the process of running additional experiments to identify the boundary of these effects. This research joins a still-thin yet growing body of literature by showing the power and hedonic consequences of intrinsic desire to resolve curiosity.

The Experience Matters More Than You Think: Weighting Intrinsic Incentives More Inside Than Outside of an Activity

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People rely on their present evaluation of future actions when making decisions that influence these actions. For example, people make travel plans or evaluate products based on what they value in the future at the moment of choice. We examine whether people differ in what they value when choosing and pursuing actions, predicting people give greater weight to intrinsic incentives during pursuit than outside pursuit of an activity.

Whereas incentive theory traditionally explores extrinsic incentives, the positive outcomes outside an activity that result from pursuing it, we focus on intrinsic incentives, which are internal to the activity and cannot be separated from it (e.g., the positive experience delivered as part of pursuing an activity; Fishbach and Choi 2012; Laran and Janiszewski 2011; Ryan and Deci 2000). For example, jobs provide salaries (extrinsic incentives) and can be challenging and interesting (intrinsic incentives).

Across six studies, we examine whether people care more for intrinsic incentives inside pursuit of an activity than outside pursuit. We predict this shift occurs because outside pursuit, people are in a cold state and do not experience intrinsic incentives as much (Loewenstein and Schkade 1999; Metcalfe and Mischel 1999; Van Boven

and Loewenstein 2003; Van Boven et al. 2012), and therefore weight them less heavily. Further, self-control research predicts immediately experienced incentives (intrinsic ones) are most salient when they are available (inside pursuit) than from a distance (outside pursuit; Ainslie 2001; Rachlin 2000).

Study 1, surveyed gym goers on the importance of intrinsic incentives (e.g., having a fun workout) and extrinsic incentives (e.g., staying in shape) during and before a workout. We find intrinsic incentives were more important during pursuit of a current workout than outside pursuit ($M_{\text{inside}} = 4.37$; $M_{\text{outside}} = 4.08$), $t(53) = 2.47$, $p = .017$, while there was no difference in importance of extrinsic incentives.

Study 2 again demonstrates intrinsic incentives are more important in the present than the future, and also finds they are more important in the present than the past. Employees rated the importance of intrinsic (e.g., being treated well at work) and extrinsic incentives (e.g., compensation) for a current, previous, or future job. Intrinsic incentives mattered more in the present ($M = 4.92$) than in the past ($M = 4.56$), $t(118) = 2.02$, $p = .046$, and in the future ($M = 4.38$), $t(118) = 2.95$, $p = .004$. However, extrinsic incentives were rated similarly in the present compared with the past or future.

Study 3 documented a shift in weighting intrinsic incentives in a more controlled experimental task. Participants completed a reading task comprised of 30 trials that they could stop at any time, but were paid based on the total trials completed. We asked about the importance of intrinsic incentives (having fun) and extrinsic incentives (getting paid) either during (inside pursuit) or before the task started (outside pursuit). Intrinsic incentives mattered more during pursuit ($M = 4.00$) than outside pursuit ($M = 2.76$), $t(100) = 3.11$, $p = .002$, with no difference in importance of extrinsic incentives.

Using the paradigm from Study 3, Study 4 examined whether intrinsic incentives increase task persistence for pursuers inside pursuit, in contrast with predictors' expected persistence outside pursuit. Assigned tasks were either high or low on intrinsic incentives (reading jokes vs. an instruction manual) and high or low on extrinsic incentives (paying more or less for each trial). While predictors did not anticipate intrinsic incentives would influence persistence, pursuers persisted longer on a high (vs. low) intrinsic incentive task, completing more trials, $F(1,195) = 21.41$, $p < .001$, and spending more time on the task, $F(1,195) = 13.67$, $p < .001$. There was no effect of extrinsic incentives on pursuers' persistence.

Study 5 provides evidence for the process underlying the impact of intrinsic incentives on persistence. Participants completed the task from Study 4, pursuing either a task high versus low on intrinsic incentives and high versus low on extrinsic incentives. Those pursuing a high intrinsic incentive task had a more positive experience ($M = 3.90$) than those pursuing a low intrinsic incentive task ($M = 1.78$), $F(1,195) = 98.38$, $p < .001$, with no effect of extrinsic incentives. Meditational analyses revealed increased persistence on an intrinsic task was driven by increased positive experience (β indirect = 1.77 , $SE = .61$; 95% C.I. = $(.67, 3.07)$).

Study 6 examined an affective marker of the shift in weighting intrinsic incentives. We predicted those outside pursuit choosing to forgo intrinsic incentives would regret this decision later, inside pursuit. We created a choice dilemma with tasks trading-off incentives (fun, low-paying task vs. boring, high-paying task). Some participants made a free choice between tasks, while others were randomly assigned a task using a forced-choice paradigm persuading them to choose one over the other. While the majority (73.33%) with free-choice opted for the extrinsic task, forgoing intrinsic incentives, those persuaded to choose this extrinsic task had a worse experience, $t(56) = 3.49$, $p < .001$, and regretted their choice more than those

choosing the intrinsic task, $t(56) = 2.52, p = .015$. A meditational analysis highlighted the role of positive experience; those persuaded to choose the intrinsic (vs. extrinsic) task had a better experience and regretted their choice less (β indirect = $-.62, SE = .24$; 95% C.I. = $(-.1.21, -.25)$).

Six studies support our theory that people value intrinsic incentives more inside than outside pursuit, and that this pattern influences evaluation, behavior and choice regret. One implication is for people to pay more attention to intrinsic incentives when making decisions outside pursuit. For example, when choosing a workout regimen, aspiring athletes should realize the positive experience of the workout will seem more important inside pursuit than outside, and can influence how long they actually persist on their workout. To increase persistence, they should choose a workout activity they will enjoy pursuing. Similarly, dieters should realize that while taste may not matter before initiating a diet, to actually persist on a diet they should choose to have a fulfilling and enjoyable (though low-calorie) eating experience.

The Cost of Quantification: Measurement Undermines Intrinsic Enjoyment

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The era of the quantified self is upon us. From sleep, reading, sex, and energy use to devices that track exercise and monitor health, people have access to more information about their behavior than ever before. The value of personal quantification seems clear. By better understanding our behavior, we can make the necessary changes to live happier, healthier lives. But might measurement undermine how much activities are enjoyed?

By helping people see how they are doing, measurement can facilitate performance (Amir and Ariely 2008). People value being productive (Hsee, Yang, and Wang 2010; Keinan and Kivetz 2011; Reis et al. 2000) and tend to maximize measured dimensions of behavior (e.g., the number of miles earned in a frequent-flyer program; Hsee et al. 2003). Consequently, feedback on how much of something one has done (i.e., "measurement") can increase output (Hsee et al. 2013). Knowing how many steps one has accumulated during the day, for example, can encourage people to walk more.

In contrast, we argue that measurement can decrease enjoyment by transforming intrinsically valuable activities into vehicles for achievement. People often engage in activities like exercising, walking, or reading a book because they are fun to do (Fishbach and Choi 2012). These activities are pleasurable in and of themselves, so people do them for their own sake.

But because measurement provides feedback on performance, we argue that it can undermine enjoyment. Providing external rewards can reduce an activity's intrinsic value (DeCharms 1968; Deci 1971; Higgins et al. 1995). Classic research on overjustification (Lepper, Green, and Nisbett 1973), for example, found that giving children awards for coloring decreased how much they colored in the future. Even in the absence of explicit rewards, measurement *itself* may have similar effects. Focusing on what an activity achieves (i.e., its instrumentality) can make the activity less enjoyable (Fishbach and Choi 2012). By giving people feedback on how much they have done, measurement should have an analogous impact, highlighting what an activity achieves and making it seem more instrumental.

Importantly, rather than being instrumental to the specific benefits of the activity, measurement should make activities instrumental to achievement itself. Walking can be instrumental to health, for example, but it can also be instrumental to achievement more generally (i.e., how many steps can one take in a day). Merely measuring

output should transform activities once pursued for their own sake into vehicles for achievement. As a result, while measurement may encourage people to walk further or read more, it may decrease the enjoyment of engaging in those activities.

Three experiments test our predictions. Experiment 1 explored how measurement impacts enjoyment of coloring, an intrinsically rewarding activity (Lepper et al. 1973). Participants spent 10 minutes coloring simple figures, and half were assigned to receive information about how many shapes they had colored. After 10 minutes had elapsed, we measured how much participants enjoyed coloring (five items: enjoyable, boring (reverse-scored), interesting, a waste of time (reverse-scored), fun; 1 = *Not at all* to 7 = *Very much*; $\alpha = .89$). As expected, compared to those who were not measured, measured participants colored more shapes ($F(1, 103) = 6.87, p = .010$). However, at the same time, measured participants enjoyed coloring less ($F(1, 103) = 3.55, p = .062$).

Experiment 2 tested measurement's impact in the field. We gave participants pedometers to wear for a day and assigned them to either look at how many steps they walked or simply wear the pedometer (the lid was taped). To see whether the effects persist even when measurement is optional, a third group was told that they could look at the number of steps taken, but it was not a necessary part of the study. At the end of the day, we measured enjoyment ($\alpha = .81$) using the measures from Experiment 1. In addition, to test the proposed underlying process, participants indicated whether they perceived walking as instrumental (1 = *Definitely work* to 7 = *Definitely fun*). As expected, measured participants walked more than those in the control ($F(1, 97) = 11.74, p = .001$), and the same effect emerged when attending to measurement was optional ($F(1, 97) = 7.24, p = .008$). However, measured participants enjoyed walking less ($F(1, 97) = 11.01, p = .001$), even when attending to measurement was optional ($F(1, 97) = 8.73, p = .004$). Further, as predicted, perceived instrumentality drove the effect on enjoyment ($ab = -.43, 95\% CI [-.77 \text{ to } -.16]$), such that measurement reduced enjoyment by making walking more instrumental (i.e., like work). People thus voluntarily access measurement information when it is available, even though it makes the activity less intrinsically enjoyable.

Experiment 3 examined reading. Participants read an excerpt from a book, and half were assigned to view the number of pages completed. To further explore the underlying process, we manipulated how the reading task was framed. Participants either read that "reading is a useful and educational activity" (instrumental frame), "reading is a fun and relaxing activity" (enjoyable frame), or received no additional information (control). If measurement reduces enjoyment by making activities seem more instrumental, then making an activity seem instrumental to begin with should attenuate the effect. Supporting our theory, in the control condition, measured participants enjoyed reading less ($F(1, 304) = 8.89, p = .003$), and this same effect emerged when reading was framed as enjoyable ($F(1, 304) = 5.33, p = .022$). When reading was framed as instrumental, however, this effect was attenuated ($F(1, 304) = 1.59, p = .208$). Thus it is not measurement per se that makes activities less enjoyable; rather, measurement undermines the enjoyment of previously intrinsically valuable activities by making them seem instrumental.

Measurement is a powerful tool. But in addition to influencing output, it also impacts how we see and relate to various activities. Does this mean we should stop measuring our behavior? No, but it does highlight the importance of considering why people engage in a behavior before deciding whether to measure it. For intrinsically valuable activities, it's better not to know.

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Motivation in a Social World: Interpersonal Influences on Self-Regulatory Processes

Chair: Jordan Etkin, Duke University, USA

Paper #1: Off My Chest and At It Again: Is Confession a Prelude to Repentance or Relapse?

Michael L. Lowe, Texas A&M University, USA

Kelly L. Haws, Vanderbilt University, USA

Paper #2: Persuasion by Proxy: Vicarious Self-Control Use Increases Decision Compliance

Joshua Ackerman, University of Michigan, USA

Paper #3: In Good Company: Managing Interpersonal Resources that Support Self-Regulation

Michelle vanDellen, University of Georgia, USA

James Shah, Duke University, USA

N. Pontus Leander, University of Groningen, USA

Julie Delose, University of Georgia, USA

Jerica Bornstein, University of Georgia, USA

Paper #4: The Downside of Winning: Self-Regulatory Consequences of Competitive Standing

Szu-Chi Huang, Stanford University, USA

Jordan Etkin, Duke University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Self-regulation has historically been viewed as an intrapersonal process, influenced by factors such as delay of gratification, strength of will, and self-efficacy (e.g., Baumeister, Schmeichel, and Vohs 2007). However, people do not live in a social vacuum, and a growing number of articles attest to the role of interpersonal influences in self-regulatory behaviors (Finkel and Fitzsimons 2011; Fitzsimons and Finkel 2010). For example, early research found that reminding people of significant others led them to automatically activate goals associated with those others (Fitzsimons and Bargh 2003) and that merely observing another person's behavior can trigger goal-related action (Aarts, Gollwitzer, and Hassin 2004). More recent research demonstrates that social others play a role in motivational processes. Others can have deleterious effects on self-regulation by depleting self-regulatory resources (Ackerman et al. 2009) and allowing people to outsource their efforts (Fitzsimons and Finkel 2011). They can also have positive effects through providing social support (Brunstein, Dangelmayer, and Schultheiss 1996; Uchino 2004) as well as instrumental help (Fitzsimons and Shah 2008).

While recent research highlights the critical role that interpersonal influences plays in self-regulatory processes, many questions remain. Building on these recent findings, this session provides new insight into how interpersonal influences shape motivational processes. Four papers tackle two key questions: How do other people influence individuals' self-regulatory efforts? When do social others promote versus detract from individuals' self-regulatory success?

First, Lowe and Haws examine how confessing a personal self-regulatory failure to another person influences the likelihood of repeating the same behavior. The findings show that whereas major confessions reduce the likelihood of subsequent transgressions, minor confessions license similar behaviors. Second, Ackerman takes the perspective of the observer, and explores how perceiving another person's use of self-control affects personal self-regulatory efforts. Four experiments demonstrate that vicarious self-regulation can deplete self-regulatory resources, making consumers more vulnerable to subsequent persuasion attempts. Third, vanDellen and colleagues investigate the strategies used by successful self-regulators to navigate the social environment. Five experiments show that successful

self-regulators exhibit stronger preferences for goal-supportive environments, choosing to interact and receive information from others who are also effective self-regulators. Finally, Huang and Etkin examine how others impact self-regulation in competitive contexts. The findings show that early on in a competition, receiving positive competitive feedback (i.e., that one is "winning") increases subsequent self-regulatory efforts, but later on, the same feedback reduces self-regulatory efforts.

Together these papers connect ongoing research in both marketing and psychology to inform how other people shape personal motivation processes. We hope these papers further conversations and collaborations among scholars interested in research at the intersection of motivation/self-regulation and social factors. This session should have broad appeal to scholars interested in connections between motivation, self-regulation, self-control, social influences, and interpersonal processes.

Off My Chest and At It Again: Is Confession a Prelude to Repentance or Relapse?

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Confession is an age-old practice, and in some ways is more common than ever. Social media and other dedicated "confession" websites serve as venues for individuals to publicly disclose their various faults and failures. Confession is a common religious practice, an integral part of addiction recovery programs, a regular part of law enforcement, and a popular topic of tabloids and daytime talk shows. Across this span of contexts, confessions are an almost daily encounter for many consumers. This research examines the role of confession as a response to lapses in self-control in consumption-related contexts as it impacts future goal-directed behaviors. That is, is confession licensing, reinforcing or simply a social act without consequence?

Confessing one's missteps could serve as an act of public commitment, which could heighten goal commitment and behavioral consistency (Cialdini et al. 1993). For example, smokers who publicly committed to quit smoking were more likely to successfully adhere to that goal (Altman et al. 1987). Confession may also influence the self-view of a confessor. If confession serves as a personal reminder of high goal commitment or a lack of goal progress, it could further motivate goal adherence (Koo 2008). On the other hand, confession may serve as a way to reaffirm one's moral identity, which could have a licensing effect and actually lead to more indulgent decisions in the future (Sachdeva, Iliciev and Medin 2009). For example, social transgressions are often followed by an increased willingness to help (Tedeschi and Riordan 1981), but when confession follows a social misstep it can reduce the perceived need to make amends (Wallace and Sadalla 1966). Confession helps confessors to make sense of the event in question (Kelly and McKillop 1996) and can decrease feelings of stress regarding the event (Pennebaker 1989, 1990), which may liberate confessors to relax their standards again.

We suggest that confession may result in either licensing or reinforcement depending on the severity of the trespass being confessed, such that confessing high-guilt infractions reinforces future goal-directed behavior, while confessing a low-guilt indiscretion creates a licensing effect. In the context of prosocial behavior, Gneezy et al. (2012) find that the costliness of a prosocial behavior moderates whether the prosocial act is licensing or reinforcing, such that

“costly” or difficult prosocial actions are reinforcing while relatively “costless” prosocial behaviors create licensing effects. Similarly, Lowe and Haws (2014) find that the guilt associated with shared self-control decisions moderates the impact of that decision on social relationships. Confessing a guilt-laden self-control failure may feel very costly, and therefore heighten commitment, while a less-guilty confession would be somewhat costless and therefore lead to licensing. We test these predictions in a series of three studies, with additional studies already in progress.

In study 1, participants (87 undergraduate students) imagined coming across a personally desired item (either “major” (\$100) or “minor” (\$0.75)) and feeling tempted to secretly charge it to the company credit card. In both conditions, participants imagine dishonestly purchasing the item with the company card. Participants were then randomly assigned to either a “confess” condition in which they wrote a confession to a roommate or a control condition where they wrote about an unrelated topic. After writing, participants were asked how likely they would be to do something similar in the future. An ANOVA revealed a two-way interaction ($F(1, 81) = 4.84, p < .05$), such that confessing the major indiscretion decreased the likelihood of repeating the dishonest act in the future, whereas confessing the more minor indiscretion *increased* the likelihood of repeating the behavior.

Study 2 entailed an online panel of 83 individuals who were asked to recall an actual occasion that they spent money in a somewhat wasteful manner. Then, participants were asked to rate how guilty they felt about this occasion. Participants were then randomly assigned to either the confession or control condition. Before writing anything, participants in both conditions provided the name of an individual that would ostensibly be emailed their written responses to heighten the perceived consequences of the confession. Next, participants were asked to imagine coming across a tempting but unnecessary item costing around \$40-\$50. After listing a personally tempting item, participants were asked how likely they would be to splurge and purchase that item. The assessment of guilt was crossed with confession/control conditions in a linear regression predicting each participant’s likelihood of splurging again on the item they imagined. The interaction between level of guilt and confession was significant ($\beta = .808, t = 2.87, p < .01$) again demonstrating that, relative to the control condition, confessing incidents of major guilt was reinforcing, while confessing events of minor guilt was licensing.

Study 3 examined real behavior over time following a confession. Participants were 176 undergraduate students participating in a 2-part study. In part 1, all participants were asked to recall some of their recent unhealthy behavior. After recalling some specific instances, participants were asked how guilty they felt about the behavior. Participants were then randomly assigned to a confession or control condition. In the confession condition, participants confessed the details of their unhealthy behavior, while in the control condition, participants wrote about their current musical preferences. Two weeks later, participants were asked to recall and rate their health-related behaviors over the previous two weeks on an “extremely unhealthy” to “extremely healthy” scale. A linear regression showed a significant interaction between guilt and confession on health-related behaviors, such that confessing high-guilt indiscretions led to better health-related behavior relative to the control condition, whereas confessing low-guilt indiscretions undermined future health-related behavior relative to the control condition ($\beta = .650, t = 3.16, p < .01$).

Overall, our studies revealed a consistent pattern such that whether the severity of the indiscretion was externally manipulated (study 1) or internally perceived (studies 2 and 3), the same pattern emerged such that minor confessions (vs. keeping the behavior to

oneself) led to licensing whereas major confessions were reinforcing for goal behavior.

Persuasion by Proxy: Vicarious Self-Control Use Increases Decision Compliance

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research on the depleting effects of self-control has spawned a substantial literature focusing primarily on intrapersonal causes and consequences of self-regulatory failure (Baumeister 2002). For instance, people who use self-control for one purpose subsequently suffer deficits in their ability or willingness to resist especially persuasive messages (Burkley 2008). However, work on topics relating to mental connection suggests that interpersonal contexts may offer unique settings in which self-control actions could affect not only those people using self-control, but others in the social environment as well. For instance, during a group shopping trip, a friend with a sweet tooth may avoid temptation by intentionally looking elsewhere while walking by a mall chocolate shop. This simple action has implications for the friend’s subsequent self-control behavior, yet very little is known about how such actions affect an *observer’s* ability to regulate his or her behavior.

The mental connection literature establishes the possibility that, under certain conditions, perceiving another’s use of self-control can either inspire or deplete the self-control of perceivers. To test the role of self-control in social settings, I contrast predictions derived from three types of mental processes. First, perceiving others may automatically prime similar cognitions and behaviors through the process of mimicry. From this perspective, seeing a person resist a food indulgence is likely to lead an observer to resist food indulgences as well, though this may have little effect on unrelated forms of resistance (such as resisting a persuasion attempt). Second, the goal of using self-control may spread to observers through a goal contagion process. From this perspective, the observer of food resistance may be more likely resist any outcome relevant to self-control (because the underlying self-regulatory goal, and not the behavior itself, has been transmitted). Finally, mentally simulating the food resistance actions of another may evoke the entire experience of resistance, including its downstream consequences (see Decety and Grèzes 2006). From this perspective, an observer would likely feel the consequences of the other’s self-control use—depletion—even though the observer has not actually used self-control.

Four studies investigate these ideas by manipulating and measuring the degree of mental connection between actors and observers. Each study tests whether closer connection to actors results in lowered persuasion resistance within observers. In study 1, student participants either simply read about, or actively took the perspective of, a waiter who came to work at a high quality restaurant without having eaten recently and thus had to exert self-control in order to resist eating food on the job (or else risk being fired). In a second task, participants read an essay advocating changing the school grading system to one that the participants initially disliked. Simulating the perspective of the hungry waiter in the first task completely eliminated negativity towards the grading change and led to a doubling of support for this previously disliked system.

Study 2 used a similar first paradigm but measured rather than manipulated mental connection. Subsequently, participants viewed an advertisement for a shaving razor that featured either strong or weak messages. Automatically taking the perspective of the waiter was associated with increased favorability to the product. This occurred primarily when the ad messages were strong, suggesting that

participants were no longer able to effectively resist these persuasion attempts.

Study 3 expanded on these ideas by using visual observation of another's self-control use and by subtly manipulating mental connection with the actor. Participants learned that they either shared or not the same birthday as a person who, in a video, pushed himself to eat a radish rather than a tempting cookie (or the cookie instead of the radish). They then evaluated an unrelated food advertisement and performed a shopping task with several products. Participants viewing someone with whom they shared a birthday eat a radish (but not someone who ate a cookie) later expressed more favorability to the ad and purchased somewhat more products. Interestingly, having a different birthday increased resistance to the ad when the actor exhibited self-control by eating the radish, suggesting some presence of a goal contagion effect.

Finally, study 4 tested the role of self-control expectancies in a vicarious context. Participants were led to believe that self-control is either limited in capacity or not (Job, Dweck, and Walton 2010), and then they actively took the perspective or not of the actor in the radish-eating video from study 3 (only purchasing was measured as an outcome here). Taking the self-control user's perspective while also believing that self-control was a limited resource reduced advertisement resistance as indicated by an increase in purchasing of snack foods. This was not the case when participants believed that self-control was unlimited, suggesting that self-control expectancies, and not ability, drop when simulating the self-control experience of others.

In summary, the results of four studies indicate that vicarious self-regulation can deplete resistance to persuasive messages in a manner most consistent with a mental simulation account rather than mimicry or goal contagion (save for one finding from study 3). These findings raise important theoretical questions for models of depletion that rely on the exhaustion of physical resources. They also help to deepen our understanding of social consumption experiences and the situations in which consumers are likely to benefit (or not) from the presence of other consumers.

In Good Company: Managing Interpersonal Resources that Support Self-Regulation

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Researchers increasingly recognize goal pursuit involves not only reacting to constraints and affordances as they arise but also anticipating them. Effective self-regulation involves proactively ensuring one is in the right place at the right time and with enough resources to effectively respond to those situations (e.g., Gollwitzer 1993; Moskowitz and Li 2011). Given recent work suggesting that self-regulation extends to interpersonal processes (Fitzsimons and Finkel 2011; Fitzsimons and Shah 2008), we posit that effective self-regulators marshal interpersonal resources to ease the ongoing burdens of self-regulation—that is, they look beyond themselves to consider the affordances of their social environment for goal pursuit. Thus, we propose that effective self-regulation could involve not only managing *internal* resources for goal pursuit but also the often-fleeting *interpersonal* resources that can support goal pursuit. Just as effective self-regulators are probably apt to approach goal-supportive and avoid goal-unsupportive environments (Fishbach and Shah 2006) and to preemptively manage their exposure to temptations (Hofmann et al. 2012; Imhoff, Schmidt, and Gerstenberg 2014); successful self-regulators may similarly manage the goal support they receive from others.

We propose that effective self-regulation involves more than simply rising to meet the challenge of temptations and obstacles are they are encountered; it also involves positioning oneself in social environments that make it easier to pursue goals and resist temptations in the first place. In five studies, we tested a theory of social positioning—that people who are effective self-regulators tend to position themselves in social environments that best afford self-regulatory success. We tested three hypotheses aimed at understanding dynamics behind these expected preferences for supportive social environments. First, we examined a *perceptual sensitivity* hypothesis—asking whether effective self-regulators better detect self-control in others or are simply more sensitive to others' goal-directed motivation. Second, we examined a *targeted support-seeking* hypothesis—asking whether effective self-regulators simply seek more support from anyone or whether they focus their searches for help from specific people. Third, we examined a *strategic positioning* hypothesis—expecting these stronger preferences to emerge strategically rather than incidentally (e.g., because of greater liking or similarity to others).

In all studies, participants completed measures of self-regulatory effectiveness and then evaluated friends or potential collaborators. In Study 1, participants reported how much time they wanted to spend with a new acquaintance they perceived to have either high or low self-control. In Study 2, participants interacted with confederates who displayed either high or low self-control. Participants then chose a collaborator for an upcoming task that they learned would require effort. In Study 3, participants worked on an individual word task and were asked to evaluate potential sources of help (i.e., advice or information about how a person had scored) from high or low self-regulators. In all three studies, preferences were higher to spend time with (Study 1), collaborate with (Study 2), or receive information from (Study 3) the target with high self-control/self-regulation. However, in each study, participants' own self-regulatory effectiveness moderated this effect such that preferences for the more supportive target were stronger among participants who were effective at self-regulation.

In Study 4, we examined whether evaluations of goal-supportive friends might be sensitive to changing fluctuations in need for help. Participants evaluated goal-supportive and goal-interfering friends in the context of a particular goal pursuit, performance in a statistics course. Again, effective self-regulators demonstrated stronger preferences for goal-supportive (vs. goal-interfering friends), but only when they reported a need for help (i.e., nervousness about course performance). Finally, in Study 5, we examined self-regulatory mechanisms of these effects, focusing particularly on how task-specific motivation might be driving interpersonal preferences. Again, participants evaluated potential collaborators for a joint task. Participants' self-regulatory effectiveness predicted their motivation to perform well on this task. Personal task-specific motivation predicted perceiving the collaborators as differentially motivated, and subsequently predicted preferences for the collaborator with high self-control over the collaborator with low self-control.

Across the five studies, results supported our idea that effective self-regulators show stronger preferences than less effective self-regulators for goal-supportive environments. We found limited support for a perceptual sensitivity mechanism. Participants' self-regulatory effectiveness predicted perceptions of targets' task-specific motivation (Study 5) but not targets' self-control (Studies 1 & 2). Thus, perceptual sensitivity may be related to stronger preferences to the extent that it is focused on a specific goal pursuit rather than perceiving general self-regulatory skills in others. We found consistent support for a *targeted support-seeking* hypothesis. Effective self-

regulators did not rate all support as more useful, rather they rated support from high self-regulators as more useful than support from low self-regulators. Our results also appear to support a *strategic positioning* hypothesis; the preferences of effective self-regulators were not simply explained by greater liking of supportive others who may be similar to them. In Study 2, participants reported equally liking confederates appearing to have high and low self-control. In Study 4, effective self-regulators (who reported on their friends and should therefore have equally liked them generally) reported more positive evaluations of instrumental over anti-goal friends only when they also reported feeling nervous about pursuing the relevant goal. Finally, in Study 5, task-specific motivation played a meditational role in connecting trait self-control to stronger preferences for supportive versus unsupportive collaborators.

The present research expands notions of effective self-regulation to consider not only how individuals regulate their internal resources but how they regulate their social environments to take advantage of external resources that may support their own self-regulation. In doing so, these findings support recent evidence that self-regulation involves social processes (Fitzsimons and Finkel 2010; Fitzsimons and Fishbach 2010; Vohs and Finkel 2006). Our research suggests effective self-regulators are more likely to position themselves in social environments that further their likelihood of successful outcomes and highlights a proactive component of social relationships and self-regulation that has not yet received much empirical attention. That effective self-regulators look to their social environments for potential support suggests they may be more aware of the processes that affect their success at self-regulation.

The Downside of Winning: Self-Regulatory Consequences of Competitive Standing

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Competition - contexts where an individual can attain his ends only at the expense of others not attaining theirs (e.g., Johnson and Johnson 1974; Deutsch 1962) - is prevalent in our everyday lives. As children, we compete for better grades in school, for starting roles on sports teams, and for the lead in the school play; in business, colleagues compete for promotions, teams compete for bonus compensation, and firms enter bidding wars to earn contracts (Campbell and Furrer 1995; Deci and Ryan 1985; Epstein and Harackiewicz 1992). Competition is so pervasive in Western culture that the very language of business, politics, and education is filled with “win-lose” terms. For instance, a person “wins” a promotion, “beats” the other candidate, and “outsmarts” her peers (Stanne, Johnson, and Johnson 1999).

As prevalent as competition is, recent years have witnessed little advancement to our theoretical understanding of self-regulation in competitive contexts. In the current research, we adopt a longitudinal perspective (Gaudreau et al. 2002; Louro, Pieters, and Zeelenberg 2007) to explore the dynamic self-regulatory effects of competition-based feedback. Specifically, we propose that being ahead in a competition can both enhance and detract from subsequent self-regulation effort. Which effect emerges depends on the stage (early vs. late) of the competition in which competitive feedback is received.

A defining feature of competition is the inherent uncertainty about the outcome (Johnson and Johnson 1989). This uncertainty should be particularly pronounced at the early stages of a competition. When people first join a competition, they have little information about their opponent, which limits their ability to judge their likelihood of success. As a result, they should seek signals to help alleviate uncertainty surrounding whether they will win. Because

competitions make social comparison salient (Johnson and Johnson 1989), competitors should rely on their current standing (i.e., whether they are ahead or behind) to infer their ultimate chance of winning. Therefore, receiving feedback that one is ahead at the early stages of a competition should increase the perceived likelihood of success, thereby enhancing subsequent self-regulation.

Notably, whereas concerns about whether winning is possible should be pronounced at early competition stages, later on, the focus on what one needs to do to win would dominate. Unlike individual pursuits, in competitive contexts, successful goal attainment (i.e., “winning”) depends on one’s own and one’s opponent’s performance (Locke et al. 1981). To assess what ground remains to be covered, competitors should thus refer to the discrepancy between their current standing and their competitor’s standing. As a result, receiving feedback that one is ahead at the later stages of a competition signals a positive discrepancy, reducing the perceived amount of effort required to win, thereby reducing subsequent self-regulation.

Four experiments demonstrate that whereas positive competitive feedback enhances self-regulation effort when received early on in a competition, the same feedback received later on reduces self-regulation. All experiments involved one-on-one competitions between a participant and an opponent. We employed competitive feedback discrepancies of moderate size, given concerns that too small of a difference would fail to produce a meaningful signal and too large of a difference would suggest winning is ensured (or impossible), precluding the necessity of subsequent efforts.

Experiment 1 examines how competitive feedback impacts subsequent self-regulation at different stages of the competition. Participants ($N = 294$) competed in a five-round dice game. After two (early stage) or four (late stage) rounds, they received feedback about their current standing in the competition. Half received feedback that they were ahead of their competitor, and the remaining half received feedback that they were behind their opponent. Then, participants were given a bonus roll, in which the longer they waited to roll the dice, the more points they could earn. The time they spent waiting served as our measure of self-regulation. Results revealed the predicted interaction ($F(1, 286) = 8.65, p < .01$). After two rounds, being ahead led to greater self-regulation ($M_{\text{ahead}} = 68.33$ vs. $M_{\text{behind}} = 42.90$). After four rounds, however, being ahead led to lower self-regulation ($M_{\text{ahead}} = 50.39$ vs. $M_{\text{behind}} = 76.98$).

Experiment 2 replicated this effect and tested the underlying process. The procedure was similar to Experiment 1. After receiving competitive feedback, participants reported the perceived difficulty of winning (1 = *Not difficult at all*, 7 = *Very difficult*), as well as the number of points they needed in order to earn, and then entered the next round of the game (time spent in this round again served as our measure of self-regulation). Results revealed the predicted interaction ($F(1, 138) = 6.53, p = .01$). At the early stage, being ahead led to greater subsequent self-regulation ($M_{\text{ahead}} = 82.79$ vs. $M_{\text{behind}} = 65.27$) because of the lower perceived difficulty of winning, but at the later stage, being ahead led to lower subsequent self-regulation ($M_{\text{ahead}} = 61.22$ vs. $M_{\text{behind}} = 84.34$) due to a lower estimated discrepancy/amount of effort required.

Experiments 3 and 4 provide additional support for the underlying process through moderation. Experiment 3 focused on the early stage, manipulating the relevance of competitive feedback to the likelihood of winning; experiment 4 focused on the later stage, manipulating the presence of definitive information about the remaining discrepancy. The experiments utilized different competitive contexts (a sales competition and a memory competition) to increase the generalizability of our findings.

In sum, we adopt a dynamic, longitudinal approach to examine the self-regulatory consequences of temporary standing during a competition. Whereas being ahead increases self-regulatory efforts when a competition first begins, the same feedback conversely decreases efforts towards the competition's end. The findings connect research on social psychology, educational psychology, athletic motivation, and business management to inform how competition can help or hinder self-regulation.

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Time, Money, and Motivation: The Interplay between Goals and Personal Resources

Chair: Jordan Etkin, Duke University, USA

Paper #1: Pressed for Time? Goal Conflict Shapes How Time is Seen, Spent, and Valued

Jordan Etkin, Duke University, USA

Ioannis Evangelidis, Bocconi University, Italy

Jennifer Aaker, Stanford University, USA

Paper #2: Impatient to Achieve or Impatient to Receive: How the Goal Gradient Effect Underlies Time Discounting

Oleg Urminsky, University of Chicago, USA

Indranil Goswami, University of Chicago, USA

Paper #3: How Budgeting Helps Consumers Achieve Financial Goals

Christina Kan, Texas A&M University, USA

John Lynch, University of Colorado-Boulder, USA

Philip Fernbach, University of Colorado-Boulder, USA

Paper #4: Resource Slack: A Theory of Perceived Supply and Demand

John Lynch, University of Colorado-Boulder, USA

Stephen Spiller, UCLA, USA

Gal Zauberman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers' goals and personal resource are inextricably intertwined. Our goals should determine how we spend our time and money, as well as how much "slack" (Zauberman and Lynch 2005) remains. Conversely, personal resource availability should determine how we go about pursuing our goals, including what goals seem to be in conflict. Despite these apparent connections, research on goals and research on personal resources have developed relatively independently to-date. Research on goals, for instance, has explored why consumers adopt and pursue goals (e.g., Heath, Larrick, and Wu 1999; Locke and Latham 1990) as well as factors that affect the level and intensity of motivation (e.g., Bonezzi, Brendl, and Angelis 2011; Etkin and Ratner 2012; Fishbach and Dhar 2005; Kivetz, Urminsky, and Zheng 2006; Zhang and Huang 2010). Research on perceived resource abundance has identified personal and situational factors that influence how much time (e.g., Mogilner, Chance, and Norton 2012; Rudd, Vohs, and Aaker 2012; Shu and Gneezy 2010; Vohs and Schmeichel 2003; Zhao, Lee, and Soman 2012; Zhang and DeVoe 2010) and money (e.g., Shah, Mullainathan, and Shafir 2012; Sharma and Alter 2012; Sussman and Alter 2012) people feel that they have, as well as psychological consequences of focusing on time versus money (Gino and Mogilner 2013; Mogilner 2010; Vohs, Mead, and Goode 2006). While emerging work is beginning to explore how goals and personal resources relate (Fernbach, Kan, and Lynch 2014; Jhang and Lynch 2014; Spiller 2011), many open questions remain. Helping to address this gap, this session explores the interplay between goals and personal resources.

Four papers tackle the following questions: How do people's goals shape perceptions of resource abundance? How do people's judgments of resource supply influence the goals they pursue? The first two papers explore the relationship between goals and time. First, Etkin, Evangelidis, and Aaker examine the role of subjective perceptions of goal conflict in making people feel pressed for time. Four experiments demonstrate that perceiving more conflict between goals affects how time is perceived, spent, and valued. Second, Urminsky disentangles the relationship between goal gradient and temporal discounting effects. The studies show that goal gradient-like ef-

fects uniquely explain some classic time discounting findings. Next, turning to the relationship between goals and money, Kan, Lynch and Fernbach explore how and why budgeting helps people pursue financial goals. The findings show distinct effects of budget setting and budget tracking in managing financial constraints. Finally, Lynch, Spiller, and Zauberman offer a comprehensive framework for understanding interconnections between goals, time, and money resources. They discuss how people perceive resource demands and resource supplies as a function of active goals and opportunity costs.

Together, these papers further understanding of the interplay between goals and personal resources. We hope this session stimulates further exploration of the connections between resource perceptions and goal pursuit. This session should have broad appeal to scholars interested in goal pursuit, time, money, and scarcity more generally.

Pressed for Time? Goal Conflict Shapes How Time is Seen, Spent, and Valued

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People rarely feel that they have enough time. Yet, despite growing interest in the consequences of feeling time constrained (Darley and Batson 1973; Mogilner, Chance, and Norton 2012; Robinson and Godbey 1998; Roxburgh 2004; Rudd, Vohs, and Aaker 2012; Van Boven and Gilovich 2003), little is known about what affects people's subjective sense of time in the first place. Why do people feel so pressed for time? And what consequences might this have for how consumers spend and value their time?

In this research, we propose that consumers' perceptions of goal conflict shape how time constrained they feel. We argue that, aside from the number of goals that people pursue and the objective amount of time required to pursue these goals, simply *perceiving* greater conflict between goals should make people feel that they have less time.

Goal conflict refers to the sense that pursuing one goal interferes with pursuing others (Riediger and Freund 2004). Although some goals naturally conflict more than others (Emmons and King 1988; Hofmann, Vohs and Baumeister 2012), perceptions of goal conflict are largely subjective. For example, conflict between the same goals may seem higher on some occasions than others. When missing dinner to stay late at the office, for example, one may feel more conflict between goals to succeed at work and be a good parent than when working from home.

Why would perceiving conflict between goals reduce feelings of time affluence? We argue that perceiving greater conflict between goals has an impact on experienced emotions. Prior work shows that perceiving conflict between goals is often accompanied by negative affect (Emmons and King 1988); particularly, stress and anxiety (Lazarus and Folkman 1984). Stress and anxiety, in turn, are linked to people's subjective sense of time (Lehto 1998; Robinson and Godbey 1998; Roxburgh 2004). Integrating these findings, we hypothesize that perceiving more conflict between goals should increase stress and anxiety, and consequently, make people feel more pressed for time.

Note, one might expect that perceiving more conflict between goals would decrease perceived time affluence only when goals compete for time – for example, when one has a goal to perform well at work, but also spend quality time with family. However, we reason that even when goal conflict is unrelated to time (e.g., money), per-

ceiving more of it should have a similar impact on stress and anxiety. Greater perceptions of goal conflict – both related and unrelated to demands on time – should thus make consumers feel that they have less time.

Four experiments test these predictions. Experiment 1 examined how perceiving more conflict between goals, both related and unrelated to time, affects consumers' subjective sense of time. We asked participants to consider two personal goals that either competed for their time, money, or conflicted more generally. A fourth group simply listed two of their goals. Then, we measured subjective time perceptions (5-item scale adapted from Rudd et al. 2012; 1 = *Not at all* to 7 = *Very much*; $\alpha = .89$). As expected, perceiving more conflict between goals made people feel more pressed for time ($F(3, 119) = 4.42, p < .05$), and this effect emerged regardless of whether the conflicting goals competed for time, money, or conflicted in a more general sense. Compared to the control ($M = 2.29$), participants perceived greater goal conflict in the time ($M = 5.15$), money ($M = 5.34$), and general conflict conditions ($M = 5.15$).

Experiment 2 tested the proposed underlying process. Participants considered one of the following goal-pairs: “do well at work” and “spend time with loved ones” (time conflict), “save money” and “buy nice things” (money conflict), and “be healthy” and “eat tasty foods” (non-resource conflict). To manipulate goal conflict, participants described at time when they did versus did not feel conflict between the goals. Then, we measured stress and anxiety (1 = *Very little*, 7 = *A lot*; $r = .81$) and time perceptions ($\alpha = .89$). As expected, across goal conflict types, perceiving more conflict made people feel that they had less time. Further, it also increased reports of stress and anxiety, and these heightened emotions explained why goal conflict reduced people's sense of time ($ab = -.28$; 95% CI: $-.48$ to $-.13$).

Experiment 3 examined consequences for how time is spent. Participants considered the goals “be healthy” and “have meaningful social relationships” and half also read that people often experience conflict between these goals. To assess how people spend time, we invited them to read a short popular press article and recorded how long they spent on it (Zhong and DeVoe 2010). Finally, we measured subjective time perceptions ($\alpha = .81$). As expected, perceiving more conflict between goals reduced subjective time perceptions. Further, it also reduced the amount of time participants spent reading.

Experiment 4 examined consequences for how time is valued and tested a simple intervention to mitigate goal conflict's effects. Participants listed two goals and then described a time when they did versus did not conflict. Next, some participants completed an anxiety reappraisal exercise from prior research (Brooks 2014). They repeated the statement “I am excited” three times out loud. Remaining participants either repeated the statement “my name is X” (matched control) or moved directly to the dependent measures. To assess the value of time, we measured participants' willingness to pay to expedite shipping on a recent purchase (Malkoc and Zauberan 2006). Finally, we measured subjective time perceptions ($\alpha = .89$). As expected, in the (combined) control reappraisal conditions, perceiving more conflict between goals reduced subjective time perceptions. Further, it also increased willingness to pay to expedite shipping. Reappraising anxiety as excitement, however, attenuated these effects.

In sum, despite trends documenting an increase in time pressure, little is known about what makes consumers feel pressed for time. This research demonstrates a novel pathway – perceived conflict between goals – that decreases how time affluent consumers feel and consequently, how they spend and value their time.

Impatient to Achieve or Impatient to Receive: How the Goal Gradient Effect Underlies Time Discounting

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research on both the goal gradient (Kivetz et al 2006) and intertemporal choice and discount rates (Frederick et al 2002, Zauberan and Urminsky 2015) has shown that outcomes are more valued when they are closer in time. While intertemporal choices have been linked to goal conflict (Urminsky and Kivetz 2011), the goal gradient and time discounting have generally either been studied separately or integrated by assuming that goal gradient effects are due to time discounting (Jain 2012). In this paper, we separate what is usually confounded in goal gradient and intertemporal choices research, the timing of achieving task completion and the timing of receiving the associated outcome. This approach allows us to separate the effects of the goal gradient (distance to completing the task needed to earn a reward) from the effects of intertemporal preferences (time until actually receiving the reward). Across eight studies, we find that choices involving tradeoffs between smaller soon and later larger goals, holding reward timing constant, parallel time discounting findings, but are not explained by the time discounting of received benefits.

In the first study (N=406), participants allocated non-substitutable resources between two hypothetical projects (10 hours of access to research resources needed for two papers). Across four between-subjects conditions, we varied when the papers were due (i.e., the goal timing: the first in three weeks and the second in three or five weeks) and when the papers would be graded (i.e., the temporally discounted outcome: both in three weeks, one in three weeks and one in five weeks, or both in five weeks). Allocations were significantly higher for the first project when the first deadline was sooner ($b = .11, p = .002$), consistent with the goal gradient, but the timing of the outcome did not have a significant effect (receiving the grade, $b = .038, p = .283$), suggesting minimal time discounting in this context. These results were replicated in two similar studies.

In Study 2a (N=380), participants allocated 10 tickets between two hypothetical lotteries with equal probabilities of winning: Lottery A, which paid \$10, or Lottery B, which paid \$14. Participants would find out whether they won in either 1, 3 or 5 weeks, and winners would receive the prize in either 1, 3 or 5 weeks, yielding nine between-subjects conditions. Thus, the two lotteries could differ in the timing of the drawing (or not) and in the timing of the payment (or not). This design allowed us to separately quantify the effect of goal completion timing (goal gradient) and prize receipt timing (time discounting), in a regression analysis predicting allocation between the two lotteries based on the differences in timing.

Participants generally split their tickets, allocating 5.7 vs. 4.3 tickets to Lotteries A vs. B, averaging across the conditions. However, for each additional week that Lottery B's drawing occurred later than Lottery A's drawing, participants allocated .26 fewer tickets to Lottery B ($p = .001$), controlling for the timing of the payoffs. In contrast, for each additional week that Lottery B's payoff was later than Lottery A's payoff, participants only allocated .15 fewer tickets to Lottery B ($p = .04$), controlling for the timing of the drawings. Thus, we found significantly stronger goal gradient effects than time discounting effects. Estimating a traditional time discounting model (which ignores the timing of goal outcomes) for the data, yielded an overly impatient estimate of the weekly time discounting factor (.89 instead of .95). Study 2b (N=379) replicated these findings, using the same nine lottery scenarios but eliciting binary choices rather than allocations.

In Study 3 (N=171), participants read a scenario about choosing between plane tickets and thereby earning points in one of two dif-

ferent frequent flyer programs. We elicited their indifference point, via a series of choices, between one program in which they earned fewer points but also needed fewer points to earn a reward and another program in which they earned more points but had a higher point requirement to earn the same reward. We found that the way people made tradeoffs involving the timing of outcome resolution (e.g., completing the requirement for a free ticket) paralleled prior findings of hyperbolic time discounting, even when the timing of receiving the reward benefit was fixed. For example, earning 500 points in the first program was equivalent to earning more points in the second program when it was the last 500 needed than when it was 500 out of 1000 ($p < .01$), even if the free flight would have been used at the same time in either case.

Lastly, in Study 4, participants ($N=72$) allocated tickets between two real lotteries, which differed by a week in the timing of the drawing, but both paid a \$50 prize at the same time. Participants varied in how far in the future the sooner drawing would be held (from 11 days away to 1 day away). Because both lotteries paid the prize at the same time, a time discounting account would predict no difference between the two lotteries. In contrast, the closer the drawings were when the participants made their choice, the more tickets they allocated to the lottery with the sooner drawing ($r=-.29, p=.01$), a goal gradient finding that parallels, but cannot be explained by, hyperbolic discounting.

In summary, in those situations where people learn about earning a reward at one time but actually receive the reward at another later time, we observe separate disassociated larger goal gradient and smaller time discounting effects. While time discounting may explain some goal gradient findings, our studies primarily find that goal gradient effects provide a substantial explanation of time discounting. Estimated discount rates are inflated when not separately accounting for goal gradient effects.

How Budgeting Helps Consumers Achieve Financial Goals

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many consumers experience financial constraints and struggle to achieve their financial goals, such as limiting spending, saving adequately and avoiding excessive debt. Budgeting can help people manage their financial constraints and avoid dysfunctional behaviors (Fernbach, Kan and Lynch, 2015), and a Gallup poll finds that a third of Americans do keep a household budget (Jacobe 2013). But how and why does budgeting help? Successful budgeting consists of both setting a budget and then tracking that budget. We suggest that setting budgets and tracking budgets each contribute uniquely to helping people achieve their financial goals. Budget setting increases the clarity of financial goals, while budget tracking increases pain of paying.

We hypothesize that budget setting decreases ambiguity surrounding what one can or cannot afford and increases the clarity of financial goals. An important part of successful self-regulation is having clear and specific goal standards (Baumeister 2002; Vohs, Baumeister and Tice 2008). Budgets provide numerical representations of intended expenditures that serve as concrete reference points and translate abstract goals into clear standards (Heath, Larrick and Wu 1999; Krishnamurthy and Prokopec 2010). We therefore suggest that the goal specificity provided by budget setting helps people to alleviate overspending; the more a budget clarifies one's spending goals, the more it will help to minimize overspending.

Study 1 investigated the role of goal specificity in how budget setting impacts spending behavior. Participants from mTurk com-

pleted a two-phase study over the Black Friday shopping weekend (Nov 28th to Dec 1st, 2015). During the week prior to Black Friday, participants were asked to budget for their gift shopping for each of five people for whom they planned to purchase gifts during the Black Friday shopping weekend. Depending on random assignment, participants budgeted in a manner such that the total cost of the five gifts was either clear or ambiguous. In the clear total spending condition, participants budgeted for all five gift recipients on a single page, and the total cost was automatically summed up and provided back to the participant. In the ambiguous total spending condition, participants planned for each gift recipient on a separate webpage, and total cost was not provided back to the participant. After Black Friday, participants were asked if they had finished purchasing their gifts for each recipient. If they had finished, they reported the total cost incurred for each recipient, and if not, they reported the amount spent to date plus the intended additional spending. Both groups reported spending and planning to spend more after Black Friday than they had anticipated before Black Friday, but the magnitude of overspending was significantly less for consumers whose gift spending budgets provided clear total expenditures (Interaction: $F(1, 251) = 5.873, p = .016$). This study suggests that the goal clarity provided by budget setting is a key factor in why budgeting is beneficial.

Another important component of budgeting is tracking one's expenses. In addition to providing more frequent feedback on one's goal progress, expense tracking may also serve to increase the pain associated with making payments, thus helping to curb expenditures. Purchases can vary in the extent to which costs and benefits are psychologically linked (Gourville and Soman 1998; Soman and Gourville 2001), and procedures that increase this linkage have been found to exacerbate pain of paying, and decrease subsequent purchases (Soman 2001). We propose that the explicit logging of purchases that occurs as part of expense tracking facilitates the allocation of costs to benefits, resulting in higher pain of paying and decreased enjoyment from spending, particularly under conditions of high constraint.

Study 2 explored the role of budget tracking in how financial constraints impact people's enjoyment from spending money. A different set of mTurk workers completed this two-phase study over the Black Friday shopping weekend. Prior to Black Friday, participants began by reporting their perceived level of financial constraint (1=low constraint, 11=high constraint). Next, they were randomly assigned to one of four budget setting and expense tracking conditions. Participants either 1) set a budget for their Black Friday shopping and tracked expenses for their Black Friday shopping, 2) set a budget for their Black Friday shopping and tracked expenses for their regular shopping over the weekend, 3) set a budget for their regular shopping over the weekend and tracked expenses for their Black Friday shopping, or 4) set a budget for their regular shopping over the weekend and tracked expenses for their regular shopping. After the Black Friday shopping weekend, participants listed the purchases they made in both the Black Friday and regular shopping categories, and rated their enjoyment, satisfaction and pain associated with making each purchase.

We created two new variables that represent spending enjoyment for 1) the category that is tracked versus 2) the category that is untracked. For example, the tracked spending enjoyment variable represents enjoyment for Black Friday spending for people who were told to track their Black Friday spending, and represents enjoyment for regular spending for people who were told to track their regular spending. Higher constraint was associated with less enjoyment, but the relationship was stronger for tracked than untracked spending (Interaction: $F(1, 328) = 4.89, p = .028$). Tracked spending

enjoyment decreased as constraint increased ($b = -.068, t = -2.15, p = .032$), but untracked spending enjoyment did not ($b = -.008, t = -.286, p = .775$). Taking the simple effects the other way, a floodlight analysis found that the simple effect of expense tracking was significant for all values of constraint above the Johnson-Neyman point of 8.67. For people facing higher financial constraint, tracking expenses decreased the enjoyment they derived from spending. Budget setting did not affect enjoyment, nor did it interact with constraint. This study suggests that budget tracking differs from budget setting to uniquely impact the pleasure that people receive from spending money.

Taken together, these studies provide evidence for the processes by which budgeting helps people manage monetary constraints and achieve their financial goals. Budget setting clarifies financial goals, while budget tracking limits temptations by increasing pain of paying.

Resource Slack: A Theory of Perceived Supply and Demand

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We provide a parsimonious framework that explains a range of intertemporal phenomena, from opportunity cost consideration to different forms of planning, to discounting, procrastination, the planning fallacy, and properties of financial decision-making. Our theory explains the relations among cognitive and motivational factors that determine when one will accept a given proposal P requiring the use of some resource. We also explain why one might be more open to the same proposal for the future than for now.

Resource slack is a perception of an absence of constraint, ranging from abundance to deficit. We account for perceived slack by cognitive and motivational factors that affect recruited supply of the resource and recruited competition for the same resources. Slack perceptions are affected by how one feels about the goals associated with some proposed activity and how one feels about competing goals that make use of the same resource.

Critically, slack determines whether one engages in memory-based augmentation of the consideration set when an explicit proposal P is on the table. When a single yes or no proposal is on the table, the explicit choice is a yes or no choice ($\{P, Pnot\}$), with a yes response if P clears a sufficiently high utility threshold. When people realize P might interfere with attaining competing goals attached to competing resource use C , they transform the choice to picking one or more from the set $\{P, C\}$. If there is sufficient slack, however, even an ongoing goal may not be considered as competition C , and so the decision remains one of $\{P, Pnot\}$. Our resource slack theory explains when people spontaneously consider competition when evaluating a proposal.

When available slack seems insufficient to allow pursuit of both P and C , one sometimes spontaneously generates a counterproposal P' that involves some mutation of the original proposal P that might allow both P' and C to fit within the resources available, such as delaying the proposal. We explain the slack processes that lead this delay to be repeated, producing procrastination (Shu and Gneezy, 2010).

Sometimes a counterproposal does not involve delay, but rather involves some other form of what Fernbach et al. (2014) call efficiency planning. Here, one mutates P to P' or C to C' in order to stretch one's resources to avoid having to choose. When a perceived slack deficit is dire and slack seems clearly insufficient to cover both the proposed P and the salient competition, C , one must consider priority planning. Priority planning entails explicit consideration of

opportunity costs, sacrificing lesser priorities to attain higher ones. People are often overly optimistic about their ability to fit in both P and C , in which case, prioritization sometimes happens too late to avoid painful losses of high-priority goals.

Our theory explains how factors affecting perceived resource supply now and in the future exacerbate these tendencies. It is relatively straightforward to assess resource supply in the present. But to predict resource supply for a future time period t involves a prediction of not just the per-period income of the resource at t , but of any accumulated savings or debt of the resource between now and time t . Selective recruitment of supply also distorts slack perceptions.

It is common to perceive more resource slack in the future than in the present and therefore to sharply discount the value of the resource in the future compared to the present (Zauberman and Lynch, 2005). This pattern of slack perceptions occurs if and only if one has more salient or more motivating goals for the present than for the future. We show that people perceive much more resource slack in the future than the present when they are close to attaining some goal in the present, but pursuing an interrupting proposal P might block attainment of that goal (Jhang and Lynch, 2015). The effects of goal proximity on intertemporal discounting explain many perplexing intertemporal phenomena such as hyperbolic discounting and impatience when deprived of some visceral reward like food or sleep.

We argue that any goal associated with focal competition C can produce similar effects—even subgoals whose completion could be delayed with no consequence (Jhang and Lynch, 2015). What makes these effects perplexing and difficult to anticipate is the fact that in pursuing a goal, one thinks implementally about subgoals, but only when doing so becomes relevant. We are typically closer to a subgoal than to the overall goal of which it is a part. People have some appreciation for an overall goal-gradient effect, but do not anticipate the power of subgoals. Subgoal proximity has a strong effect on one's perception of slack now versus at some point in the future, affecting whether that goal is represented as competition C in conflict with P .

Our theory shows how implemental planning and subgoal formation cause perceptions of slack. Reciprocally, perceiving little slack triggers planning. Economic theory suggests every action bears opportunity costs and that people should consider such costs in any decision. But some recent papers have claimed broad opportunity cost neglect (e.g., Frederick et al., 2009), consistent with Slovic's (1972) concreteness principle and Kahneman's (2011) principle of What You See Is All There Is. We show opportunity cost consideration is triggered by feelings of constraint (Spiller, 2011) and by fundamental factors that affect the accessibility of both pools of resource supply and recruited competition.

When the sufficiency of slack is ambiguous and a proposal is attractive, one may make optimistic slack projections that lead to "yes" responses. Misforecasting future slack produces the "Yes... Damn!" effect of agreeing to a proposal for the future that one later regrets; one would have declined had P been proposed for the present. This "Yes...Damn!" effect makes people susceptible to a planning fallacy of underestimating time to completion of some task, particularly tasks with multiple steps. In the financial domain, resource slack theory can explain the positive effects of "Save More Tomorrow" on retirement savings, the unexpected negative effects created by payday loans, and differential spending with cash versus with credit.

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Beyond the Choice Set: The Impact of Considering Similar Outside Options

Chair: Liz Friedman, Yale University, USA

Paper #1: The Role of Similarity when Considering Alternatives in Purchase Decisions

Liz Friedman, Yale University, USA
Jennifer Savary, Yale University, USA
Ravi Dhar, Yale University, USA

Paper #2: The Impact of 'Display Set Composition' on Purchase Likelihood

Uma Karmarkar, Harvard Business School, USA

Paper #3: Decision-Tree Structures and their Impact on Similarity Judgment and Replacement Choices

Rom Y. Schrift, The Wharton School, USA
Jeffrey R. Parker, Georgia State University, USA
Gal Zauberman, The Wharton School, USA
Shalena Srna, The Wharton School, USA

Paper #4: Moderating the Effect of Self on Choice

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Nathan Novemsky, Yale University, USA
Ravi Dhar, Yale University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Extensive choice research focuses on providing a set of alternatives to examine preferences. While several important contributions have emerged from this literature (e.g., Simonson and Tversky, 1992; Dhar and Simonson, 2003), the majority of focus to date has been on this final aspect of the decision--choosing among available alternatives-- and relatively little attention has been given to how consumers think about options that are not explicitly part of the decision. Consideration of outside options may be guided by marketers through advertising and marketing communications, shelf displays, etc., or they may be a result of the consumer's thought process (Spiller 2011). In recent years, research has begun to explore how taking into account outside options affects the decision process as compared to only evaluating the immediate choice set (Frederick et al., 2009; Parker and Schrift, 2011; Posavac et al., 2004; Pratkanis and Farquhar, 1992). However, relatively little attention has been given to how the type of option considered impacts preferences and choice, and in particular, to the importance of how the outside options relate to the immediate choice set.

The current session seeks to address the following two questions: In what ways do consumers incorporate evaluations of outside options into their decision process? How does the perceived similarity of the outside option to the current choice set affect decisions?

The first two papers examine how similar versus dissimilar outside options affect purchase interest of a focal item. Friedman, Savary and Dhar explore the impact of consumer-generated alternatives, and find that when consumers consider alternatives that are dissimilar to the target item under consideration, purchase interest is decreased more than when they consider alternatives that are similar to the target item. The authors propose that this pattern is driven by additional goals being activated when considering dissimilar alternatives, which weakens the importance of the focal goal. Karmarkar finds an overall similar pattern of results when exploring how externally provided (rather than consumer-generated) display-only alternatives affect purchase decisions. Though she finds that similar display sets increase purchase intentions for a focal item above controls, she too finds that these intentions decrease when it is displayed with dissimilar items. In addition, she demonstrates that these similarity-

based effects occur independently of the value or intrinsic preferences people have for the specific alternatives themselves.

Schrift, Parker, Zauberman and Srna explore sequential decision-processes in which options are selected one attribute at a time (i.e., a decision-tree). They find that the order by which attributes appear in the tree impacts how similar or dissimilar consumers construe the outside options (i.e., the forgone alternatives in the set) to the one they initially preferred. Such a categorization process substantially impacts consumers' replacement choices. Finally, Baskin, Novemsky and Dhar examine differences in consumption when consumers think about the current choice as being a unique opportunity versus having the outside option of future instances of a similar choice. The authors explain that viewing a choice as an opportunity shifts the attribution of choice process away from the self and towards the situation, which results in more vice consumption and less virtuous consumption.

This session ties together four ways of looking at how specific outside options affect preferences, and in particular, the role of similarity in these varied decision processes. The session remains focused while also advancing connections, as the researchers build from a diverse set of literature, from traditional choice theory to decision neuroscience.

The Role of Similarity when Considering Alternatives in Purchase Decisions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When deciding whether to buy an item, consumers sometimes think about other uses for their money. For example, a man who is considering purchasing a \$25 button-down shirt might first think about other ways to spend that money. The alternatives may be similar to the target item, such as a polo shirt or a tie, or different, such as gas or a video game. In the current research we explore how purchase decisions vary depending on whether consumers consider alternatives that are similar versus dissimilar to the target item.

Past research on consideration of alternatives has primarily focused on comparing situations where no alternative is considered to situations where an alternative is considered (e.g. Posavac et al., 2004). In consumer contexts, subtle reminders to think about alternative uses of money have been shown to decrease purchase incidence (Frederick et al 2009). However, while past research has explored whether people do or do not consider alternatives, and the broad effect of prompting them to do so, an open question is if and how behavior may systemically vary depending on which alternatives are considered.

In the current research, we explore how purchase decisions vary depending on the similarity of the alternatives considered to the target item. Specifically, we show that when consumers consider dissimilar alternatives, they will be relatively less interested in purchasing the target item, as compared to when they consider similar alternatives. Our results are explained by a difference in goal activation. Viewing the target option activates a focal goal. When consumers consider dissimilar alternatives, additional goals are activated, which decrease the importance of the focal goal, and in turn decrease purchase intent of the target option. In contrast, considering similar alternatives does not activate a new goal, so the focal goal remains important, and purchase intent of the target does not decrease to the same extent.

Study 1A tested our primary hypothesis, that purchase intent of a target option decreases more when dissimilar alternatives are considered than when similar alternatives are considered. All participants evaluated two target items: movie tickets and a massage, with the order counterbalanced. After viewing a picture, price and short description of the target item, participants were asked to briefly list three alternative ways of spending the exact amount of money as the price of the focal. There were four between-subjects conditions: Participants in the similar condition listed alternatives similar to the focal. Participants in the dissimilar condition listed alternatives NOT similar to the focal. Participants in the unspecified condition did not receive instructions indicating type of alternative to list, and participants in the control condition skipped the step of listing alternatives. All participants then indicated their likelihood of purchasing the target item a 9-point likert scale.

We found that the type of alternative considered had a significant impact on purchase intent for the target item. As predicted, participants in the control condition indicated the highest interest in purchasing the target ($M=5.9$), followed by participants in the similar condition ($M=4.8$), followed by those in dissimilar condition ($M=4.1$). Participants in the unspecified condition resembled those in the dissimilar condition in purchase intent ratings ($M=3.7$), as well as the type of alternatives they listed. The unspecified condition sheds light on the types of alternatives consumers might consider spontaneously, and offers evidence against the explanation that the difference in purchase intent between the similar and dissimilar conditions is due to similar alternatives already being taken into account in some capacity. Study 1B replicates these results using utilitarian rather than hedonic target items, and suggests that the effect is not limited to hedonic target items.

In study 2, we rule out an alternative explanation that the difference in purchase intent is driven by the attractiveness of alternatives, rather than by their similarity to the focal item. We use a 2 (attractiveness: more vs. less) \times 2 (similarity: similar vs. dissimilar) design, where we manipulate attractiveness by prompting participants to generate alternatives that are more or less attractive than the focal. We replicate our main effect of similarity, and find null results for the attractiveness manipulation.

In study 3, we examined a situation in which participants faced a choice between multiple target options (two shirts), rather than viewing one item in isolation, to test if considering alternatives impacts choice in the same way when multiple options are already available. There were 3 between-subjects generation conditions: similar, dissimilar and control. Like in study 1, participants in the similar and dissimilar conditions generated three alternatives before indicating whether they would buy one (or both) of the shirts, or choose to buy neither; participants in the control condition skipped the generation step. Consistent with previous studies, more participants chose not to buy a shirt in the dissimilar condition (54%) than in the similar condition (38%), and fewest in the control condition (14%).

Finally, study 4 explored a real world online shopping scenario in which marketers provide alternatives, rather than consumers generating the alternatives. Participants viewed a screenshot of a shopping webpage with the target option (wireless speakers) and its description. Beneath the speakers were two recommended products, which were either similar to the speakers (other music players) or dissimilar (two shirts). Participants were more likely to buy the speakers when the alternatives were similar ($M = 5.4$) than when they were dissimilar ($M = 4.9$). Moreover, we use a mediation model to investigate our underlying mechanism. We asked participants to specify the goal that the wireless speakers would fulfill for them, and subsequently asked them how important that goal was to them.

We show that the effect of similarity of the alternative considered on purchase interest of the target is mediated by goal importance. Participants in the dissimilar condition viewed the focal goal as less important, and in turn were less interested in purchasing the target.

Taken together, these results suggest that considering alternatives to purchase has an effect beyond merely taking them into account or not; the type of alternative considered can have a significant impact on purchase decisions.

The Impact of 'Display Set Composition' on Purchase Likelihood

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Suppose you are shopping online, and deciding whether to buy a specific coffee maker. Are you more likely to click the "buy" button it when it is featured on its own product page, or when it is on a page that shows other recommended coffee makers? What if you came across it on a site advertising popular products from several different categories?

It's well established that changing the composition of a choice set can influence people's decisions and shift their preferences (e.g. Tversky and Simonson, 1993; Bettman, Luce and Payne, 1998; etc.). These studies often examine how increasing the options in a set will cause switching, or influence preferences for one item of interest in comparison to the others. However, it remains unclear how a buy/no buy decision about one particular item might be influenced by its display set composition.

Previous research has examined the impact of "phantom" alternatives, or choice options that are presented to an individual despite being unavailable (Pratkanis and Farquhar, 1992). Phantom alternatives create a range of biases dependent on several factors, including the degree of uncertainty about their unavailability (Farquhar and Pratkanis 1993). But when their unavailability is concrete, phantoms can create preference shifts similar to those observed with real alternatives (e.g. Doyle et al. 1999). Thus in the current work, we propose that the mere (viewable) presence of additional items in the display will impact perceptions of value and likelihood of purchase, even when the actionable "choice set" is held to a single target product.

Recent findings in decision neuroscience on "value normalization" mechanisms have shown that adding options to a set can create a net reduction in the perceived value of a preferred item in addition to making it less discriminable from other options (e.g. Louie et al. 2013, Webb et al., 2014). As a whole, these findings suggest that additions of display-only items may decrease the target's purchase likelihood by decreasing its perceived value. Furthermore, they predict that the effects may be strongest when the display items are comparable to the target.

Study 1 tested our basic hypothesis that display set composition can alter purchase intentions, as well as the predictions arising from value normalization. Participants ($n=225$) were asked to make four hypothetical buy/no-buy decisions. Those in the "alone" condition saw a labeled photo of the target product and its price. Participants in the "comparable" condition saw the same target product/price information flanked by photos of two products from the same general category (e.g. a target board game shown between two other board games). Participants in the "non-comparable" condition saw the products flanked by photos of two products from other categories (e.g. a target board game flanked by a Swiss army knife and a candle.) Participants were informed that the non-target products were only there as part of the display.

Comparing the three conditions, we found significant differences ($p < .01$), largely arising from whether the “display items” were from the same or different product categories. Average total purchase rates for the four products in the comparable condition ($M = 1.77$) were marginally higher than the alone condition ($M = 1.47$, $p = .08$), and significantly higher than the non-comparable condition ($M = 1.25$, $p < .02$). The difference between non-comparable and alone was not significant. Surprisingly, despite these differences in purchase intent, the display items did not change average liking rates for the target items, nor did they influence average willingness to pay for them.

Given the disparity between these results and the decreases in value predicted by value normalization, Study 2A tested how much the impact of display items depends on the specific products shown. We offered participants a single hypothetical purchase decision assigned via a counterbalanced 2x2 design that varied the type of target item (art poster vs. board game) and the category of the display items (comparable vs. non-comparable). Once again, we found a (main) effect in which purchase intentions were higher in the comparable compared to the non-comparable condition. There was no main effect of product type, nor interaction effects, suggesting that the increases in target purchase likelihood were not due to the display items themselves, but to their similarity to the target. Study 2B tested this question using a within-subject design where each participant made multiple incentive-compatible decisions about target products in both types of displays. We again found a significant benefit of comparable over non-comparable display sets on willingness to purchase.

Secondary regression analyses on data from Studies 1 and 2A did reveal that, pooling across conditions, preferences for the display items had a significant positive correlation with purchase intent towards the target item. This raises the question of whether our observed effects could be boosted or diminished by the relative value of the display items as compared to the target. Study 3 examined this by manipulating the display items’ a priori value (high vs. low) and similarity to the target item (comparable vs. non-comparable). We once again replicated our main similarity finding, but found that the value of the display items had no direct or moderating effects on purchase rates.

Overall, we find that adding items to the “display set” does indeed significantly impact buy/no buy decisions, but in a direction seemingly contrary to the predictions of value normalization models. Rather our results suggest that when the display set consistently reflects one category, it increases the likelihood of making a purchase from that category. One practical implication of this work is that retailers may be most effective at promoting a product by ensuring that it draws attention on the shelf among similar products rather than featured separately as one-of-a-kind.

Decision-Tree Structures and their Impact on Similarity Judgment and Replacement Choices

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers often seek replacement options when their preferred option is unavailable. The current research demonstrates that slight variations in the initial decision-making process—which do not affect initial preferences—significantly impact consumers’ replacement choices. Specifically, we focus on a hierarchical decision structure (i.e., decision-tree) in which alternatives are first screened on a single attribute and then further screened on other attributes, in a sequential process, until an option is chosen. Integrating research on preference trees and runner-up options, we find that the specific decision-tree structure (i.e., the order of attributes in the tree) impacts consumers’

replacement choices. Consumers tend to replace their most preferred option with alternatives from the same branch (i.e., stick with attribute levels that were chosen earlier in the tree).

Such patterns may, at first, appear contradictory to existing literature showing that consumers tend to deemphasize the importance of screening attributes, and over emphasize post-screening (or “selection”) attributes (e.g., Chakravarti et al. 2006; Diehl et al. 2003). According to these findings, one would expect that consumers would be more likely to stick to later attributes in the sequence when choosing replacement options. However, this previous work (i) did not explore replacement choices, (ii) did not manipulate order of attributes in the tree, and (iii) examined nested hierarchical decision-trees; that is, contexts in which the initial screening criterion (e.g., “beef” vs. “fish”) substantively alters the options available in the subsequent stage(s) (e.g., “steak or roast-beef” vs. “sole or trout”). The current work examines contexts in which all combinations are feasible (i.e., non-nested decision-trees) and whether the order of attribute decisions in such non-nested trees impacts replacement choices. We find that consumer’s preference for a replacement option is affected by the tree structure, and that consumers tend to stick with earlier decisions they made in the tree. Seventeen studies demonstrate this extremely robust effect. We explore different possible mechanisms underlying the effect and discuss relevant literature.

In Study 1 participants chose between different pens, each described in terms of color (5 levels) and material (2 levels), resulting in 10 available color-material combinations. In a between-subjects design, participants either directly chose one of the 10 pens (control), or made their choice in a two-stage decision process (color first then material vs. material first then color). After learning that their chosen pen was unavailable, participants chose their replacement option by either keeping their choice of color and replacing the material or vice versa. The decision-tree structure significantly impacted participants’ replacement decisions. Participants that chose material first were more likely to keep the pen’s material (64%) compared to those that chose color first (38%, $z = 2.72$, $p < .006$; control condition = 47%). Participants’ assigned attribute weights (using a constant-sum allocation task) showed a consistent and significant pattern. Eight additional studies replicated this robust effect across different decision contexts (e.g., cups, clocks, catering-services, food-items, hiring-decisions, paintings, visual-tasks). Additionally, the results were replicated with more than two hierarchy levels and when all attributes possessed the same number of levels. Further, the effect persisted in incentive compatible contexts and across different response and presentation modes. That is, participants tended to stick with their choice of initial attribute even when all alternatives were initially presented (screening, as opposed to choosing, format) and also when all replacement options were available for choice.

Exploring different potential mechanisms, we found the effect to persist when the initial choice was made for the participants either randomly (study 10) or by a third-party (study 11). That is, even when participants did not choose the original option, their choice of replacement option was still driven, in the hypothesized direction, by the decision-tree structure. Thus, choice-based explanations such as dissonance, self-perception, and reason-based choice, as well as explanations based on need for internal consistency or choice closure (suggested by Wright and Barbour 1977) do not fully account for the pattern of results (in Study 12 neither need for closure or internal consistency were found to moderate the effect).

Next, we examined whether the effect may be driven by inferences about attribute weights. In particular, previous literature suggested (and demonstrated) that decision makers attend to

attributes by order of their importance (e.g., elimination-by-aspect). Therefore, it is possible that when the order of attributes in the tree is externally provided, decision-makers infer that initial attributes are more important and therefore tend to stick with their originally chosen branch. In Studies 13 and 14 it was made extremely salient to participants that the order of attributes was determined randomly. In Study 15 participants were asked to choose among 4 tasks that were described on completely meaningless attributes (letters and colors). The effect persisted, indicating that inferring weights from the order in the tree is not the main driver of the results.

Finally, in Study 16 we explored whether the effect is driven by a categorization and similarity judgments (e.g., Goldstone 1994, 2001; Livingstone et al. 1998). We find that decision-makers perceive alternatives that belong to the same branch in the decision-tree as more similar and perceive the action of switching branches as more extreme (i.e., a greater change). As in Study 15, participants chose among 4 tasks that were described on completely meaningless attributes. However, when learning about the unavailability of their chosen task, participants either received a positive cue about this task (triggering a motivation to replace this task with a similar task), or received a negative cue (triggering a motivation to replace the task with a dissimilar task). The effect replicated in the positive but not in the negative cue condition. Thus, indicating that decision-makers associate the decision-tree structure with a similarity judgment between alternatives. In Study 17, we find that the motivation to replace the original option with either a similar or a distinct option mediates the effect.

In the current investigation we attempted to isolate the effect (which is theoretically and substantively important) using different paradigms. The results lend support to a categorization process in which consumers construe alternatives that share a branch on the decision tree as more similar.

Moderating the Effect of Self on Choice

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Opportunity: A favorable combination of circumstances, time, and place

Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2014)

In both profit and non-profit sectors, marketers often position their products as an opportunity. For instance, Honda ran an ad campaign centered around a character named Mr. Opportunity who let viewers know that opportunity was knocking for them to buy a car. In the non-profit sector, many organizations position their volunteer and donation appeals as an opportunity to support their charity's mission. In fact, the five universities with the highest endowments all discuss charitable giving as an opportunity to make a gift to an institution of higher learning. Despite consistent use of the word, "opportunity," by marketers, relatively little is known about how thinking about a choice or decision as an opportunity affects consumer cognition and preferences.

We propose that when a choice is framed as an opportunity, the salience of the situation is increased. This increases the tendency to attribute the choice to the situation (Storms 1973). Generally, research has found that choices influence individuals' self-concept (Bem 1972) and these influences can be anticipated (Bodner and Prelec 2003). However, once the attribution shifts to the situation, choice attribution shifts to the situation and their impact on one's self-concept is reduced thus shifting preferences.

In many important choices, consumers are confronted with vices - tempting, impulsive options that have a negative association

with the self-concept (e.g., they make consumers feel that they are someone who has low self-control; Dhar and Wertenbroch 2012; Khan and Dhar 2006). We propose that when a vice is considered as an opportunity, the situation becomes the perceived basis of choice for the vice. This leads to fewer negative self-inferences if the vice is chosen since the reason for the choice can be attributed to the situation rather than the self. Lacking negative repercussions to the self-concept, preferences for vice opportunities increase.

It is important to note that the shift in attribution of the choice to the situation does not predict a general increase in an option's choice share when viewed as an opportunity. Rather, the change in preference depends on how choosing the option affects the self-concept. Consumers often face virtuous options - options linked to more positive, long-term aspects of the self-concept (Dhar and Wertenbroch 2012; Khan and Dhar 2007). Accordingly, when a virtuous option is framed as an opportunity, the choice of that option is more likely to be attributed to the situation, thus decreasing the positive benefits to one's self that would otherwise be received from choosing that option, and, therefore, preference for that option decreases.

To illustrate, consider a person who is deciding whether or not to choose an indulgent chocolate cake for dessert at a restaurant. Choosing to consume the chocolate cake may entail negative attribution about one's self-concept and hence may decrease the willingness to choose the chocolate cake (Okada 2005). However, if the choice of the same indulgent chocolate cake is an opportunity, the person might focus on the situation that brought about the chance for them to have chocolate cake. Thus, the negative costs to their self-concept from choosing the chocolate cake, such as thinking that they are unhealthy or have low self-control, decrease. Since the costs decrease and the benefits remain the same, it becomes more likely for the person to choose the chocolate cake.

Conversely, imagine a person who is called by their university alumni association for a donation. They might choose to donate because they want to signal something good about themselves when making their decision (Gneezy et al. 2012; Savary, Goldsmith, and Dhar 2014). However, the donation becomes a less diagnostic signal that the person cares about their alma mater when it is framed as an opportunity by the university. This is because the donation is attributed to the specific situation, such as the alumni officer calling them and asking for a donation. Thus, the donation's positive self-benefits decrease and therefore, the individual is less likely to donate.

The present research differs from previous research in several important ways. First, to the best of our knowledge, it is the first to demonstrate that framing a choice as an opportunity can influence attributional processes and subsequent preferences. Second, we show that this novel framing effect, i.e. opportunity framing, operates like a mindset and can persist and affect subsequent choices much like other mindsets. Finally, our research has important implications for any product whose choice results in either positive or negative self-attribution.

To explore the effects of opportunity frames on choice, we conducted six studies. Studies 1A and 1B show that preference for a vice increases when participants think about the choice as an opportunity. In support of our theory, the extent of the vice choice's dispositional attribution mediates this effect. Study 2 demonstrates that, in an opportunity frame, virtuous choices, such as donating to charity, become less preferred. Study 3 supports our underlying mechanism that opportunity framing of a choice increases situational attribution by putting participants in a strongly dispositional mindset and showing that this attenuates the effects of an opportunity frame. Next, we demonstrate that opportunity framing can lead to

a temporary mindset that carries over to unrelated choices. Study 4 shows that thinking about several events as opportunities prior to making an unrelated choice can cause that choice to be viewed as an opportunity. Finally, in study 5, we show that the use of the word opportunity in an advertisement is sufficient to induce an opportunity frame and generate both an increased preference for a vice and a decreased preference for a virtue.

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The Science of Charitable Giving and Pro-Social Behavior

Chairs: Indranil Goswami, University of Chicago, USA

Paper #1: On Being the “Tipping Point”: Threshold Incentives Motivate Behavior

Lalin Anik, Duke University, USA

Michael Norton, Harvard Business School, USA

Paper #2: “I feel your pain” The efficacy of instantiating states in charitable appeals

Carey Morewedge, Boston University, USA

David Carlin, Williams College, USA

Paper #3: The Effect of Default Amounts on Charitable Donations. Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment

Indranil Goswami, University of Chicago, USA

Oleg Urminsky, University of Chicago, USA

Paper #4: Limits of Effective Altruism

Jonathan Berman, London Business School, UK

Alixandra Barasch, The Wharton School, USA

Emma Levine, The Wharton School, USA

Deborah Small, The Wharton School, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Recent data from the National Center for Charitable Statistics shows that almost 3/4th of the contributions to nonprofit organizations come from private individuals. However, even with such high stakes, the charitable solicitations and other pro-social appeals used to solicit individual donations are rarely determined by empirical evidence. Therefore, it is important to systematically and scientifically investigate the various levers that can be used to influence pro-social behavior. In this session we bring together research both from the lab and from the field to shed light on the psychology of donation decisions and increase the efficacy of charitable appeals. The research in this session investigates the interplay between the structure of the appeal, information provided, and the social context of giving. We believe that these findings not only offer significant practical implications, but also leverage the setting of charitable giving to make important theoretical contributions for decision researchers.

Solicitation campaigns aiming to increase participation often employ some kind of incentive. Anik and Norton propose that highlighting the crucial role that an individual decision maker can play to *tip* a contingent reward to a higher level, affecting not only themselves but also other donors, can increase their motivation to participate. For example, informing a potential participant that getting a blood test would increase the amount donated for every participant from a baseline of \$x to a higher level of \$y, increased the likelihood of participation. The effectiveness of tipping points is driven by a sense of responsibility towards fellow participants. The intervention performs better than offering non-contingent financial rewards and is more effective at lower levels of contingent reward than at higher levels. This suggests that the intervention could be not only behaviorally effective but also economically efficient.

Morewedge and Carlin proposes another way to increase participation by instantiating the psychological state of the charity’s beneficiaries. This research demonstrates that empathy-invoking solicitations that invoke negative or unpleasant emotions to help the donor “feel the pain” of the beneficiary can be more effective than positive appeals, even when subjects evaluate both the appeals as equally important. Appeals that increase potential donors’ empathy for the targets can also potentially explain previously documented phenomena like the identifiable victim effect (Small, Loewenstein,

& Slovic, 2007) and martyrdom effect (Olivola & Shafir, 2013) and therefore has both theoretical and practical implications.

Extant research has documented that pre-set defaults have robust effects on choices, in consequential domains, including organ donation and retirement savings. However, the effect of an active-choice default on amount (as in charitable solicitations), which involves both the participation rate and average contribution, has not been systematically investigated. Using a large-scale natural field experiment, Goswami and Urminsky find that the effect of defaults on donation decisions is driven by two separate effects – designating a low amount as default *lowers the bar* and motivates more participants to contribute. However, participating donors *scale back* their contribution amount when faced with lower defaults. The net effect of these two conflicting forces determines the effect of defaults on donation amounts. The predictions of existing theories of defaults, suggesting either a direct default effect or a backlash against high defaults are both unsupported, suggesting the need to revisit our understanding of such useful nudges, particularly in the context of charitable giving.

Finally, Berman, Barasch, Levine, and Small examine how consumers make decisions regarding charities when effectiveness information (i.e., the total of good done per dollar donate) is available. The authors find that because consumers tend to believe that the choice of where to donate money is a subjective decision, they often weigh personal preferences at the expense of maximizing effectiveness. Specifically, they find that that consumers are less likely to use effectiveness information for charitable decisions than for investment decisions, and further, consumers are less likely to search by effectiveness ratings as compared to investments. They also find consumers use less effectiveness information when choosing between charities in a diverse rather than uniform choice set.

Taken together, we expect that this session will be of interest to a broad audience, facilitating connections among researchers interested in either pro-social behavior, judgment and decision making, persuasion and social influence, incentives or policy “nudges”. This session will also contribute to the diversity of research methods, featuring data from varied methodologies. We believe that understanding how decision makers think when confronted with a charitable solicitation identifying the conditions that yield optimal effectiveness is of crucial importance for both theoretical and practical reasons. We hope that this session will advance these connections and promote future research that improves our understanding of the science of charitable giving.

On Being the “Tipping Point”: Threshold Incentives Motivate Behavior

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We explore and document a new intervention to motivate behavior: being the *tipping point*, the person whose contribution passes a threshold that kicks in a higher reward for the self and others. Anik, Norton, and Ariely (2014) showed that offering incentives contingent on other people’s behaviors is motivating: “If 75% of people engage in this behavior, we will increase the rewards for everyone.” Across three studies, we explore whether specifically being the person who tips that incentive is particularly motivating: “We are currently at 74% and you will bring us up to 75%.”

In Study 1, we asked participants to imagine a hypothetical scenario where donation would be made to a local health charity for each person who got a blood test. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (condition: *tipping* vs. *control*) X 3 (level of progress: *low*, *medium*, *high*) design. We told those in the *tipping* conditions that [9, 49, 89] people have gotten a blood test so far, and the amount to be donated per participant was [25¢, \$1.27, \$6.41]. If they agreed to get a blood test, since they would be the [10th, 50th, 90th] person, each donation would increase to [37.5¢, \$1.90, \$9.61], respectively. If they decided not to get a blood test, the per-participant donation rate would stay at [25¢, \$1.27, \$6.41]. We told those in the *control* conditions that [10, 50, 90] people have gotten blood tests so far, and the amount donated per person was [37.5¢, \$1.90, \$9.61]. If they also got a blood test, they would be the [11th, 51st, 91st] person, and each donation would still be [37.5¢, \$1.90, \$9.61]. Next, participants indicated their likelihood of getting a blood test using a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all likely*, 7 = *definitely likely*).

A 2 (condition: *tipping*, *control*) X 3 (level of progress: *low*, *medium*, *high*) ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of condition, $F(1, 286) = 17.41, p < .001$. The main effect for level of progress and the condition X progress interaction were both marginally significant, all $F_s > 2.52, p_s = .08$. Participants in the *tipping* conditions indicated a significantly higher likelihood of getting a blood test ($M = 5.37, SD = 1.81$) than those in the *control* conditions ($M = 4.44, SD = 1.91$), $t(290) = 4.30, p < .001$, suggesting that overall being the *tipping point* was indeed more motivating. A closer analysis revealed that at *low* and *medium* progress levels, participants' likelihoods of getting a blood test were significantly higher when they were the *tipping point*, all $t_s > 3.16$, all $p_s < .003$. However, for *high* progress level, being the *tipping point* was not more motivating than the baseline, $t(108) = .64, p = .53$.

One reason *tipping points* are more motivating when they are earlier, rather than later, could be that large contingent monetary incentives might have "crowded out" motivation (Deci 1975; Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett 1973). Therefore, in Study 2, we pit the impact of being the *tipping point* against small, non-contingent monetary incentives. The scenario used was very similar to the one in Study 1. Participants were randomly assigned to one of five conditions. The *tipping* condition informed participants that they could be the 10th person who tipped the donation from 50¢ to \$1 for everyone. Participants in the *non-tipping* condition were told that they could be the 10th person, and the donation would still be 50¢ per head. Finally, those in one of three *non-contingent incentives* conditions were not told about other's behavior, and were informed that [\$1, \$5.50 or \$10] would be donated to a charity on their behalf if they got a blood test. Participants indicated their likelihood of testing (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*).

We replicated the effect that social incentives were more effective than nonsocial incentives ($M = 75.47\%$ vs. 58.67%), $\chi^2(1) = 3.98, p < .05$. Further contrasts revealed that percent of participants who agreed to getting a blood test in the *tipping* condition ($M = 85.71\%$) differed from the *non-tipping* condition ($M = 75.47\%$), $\chi^2(1) = 3.36, p < .07$, as well as from all three *non-contingent* conditions, $\chi^2_s > 4.49, p_s < .04$. Results show that being the *tipping point* in a social group is motivating above and beyond offering monetary incentives alone or providing only social information.

In Study 3, we ran a study with real consumer behavior where participants reviewed a restaurant experience in exchange for donations to a project that provided lunchbox to kids. There were three conditions: a *non-contingent incentives* condition offered a \$3 donation; a *tipping* condition grouped participants with two others, and by reviewing the restaurant, donations for all three participants would

jump from 50¢ each to \$1 each (a total of \$1 donated in total if the participant didn't respond to \$3 total if they did); and finally, a *social no-tipping* condition, where the amount donated for each participant was \$1, \$3 in total for the charity. Using a 7-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *a great deal*), participants answered a series of questions about how much responsibility they experienced towards other participants and towards the kids who would receive the lunchboxes and their feelings of altruism, impact, substitutability and guilt in general. Our dependent variable was the percent of participants who provided a review.

Again, we found that setting incentives contingent on social behavior led to a significantly higher percent of reviews than offering non-social incentives, ($M = 42.73\%$ vs. 33.83%), $\chi^2(1) = 2.13, p < .04$. Further analysis showed that the effect of social incentives was driven by the *tipping* condition as it resulted in participation significantly higher than in *social no-tipping* condition ($M = 50.00\%$ vs. 35.71%), $\chi^2(1) = 2.15, p < .04$. Finally, a mediation analysis revealed that the effect of being the *tipping point* on participation was mediated only by participants' feelings of responsibility towards fellow participants, rather than feelings toward the recipient or general feelings of altruism, guilt, substitutability or impact.

"I Feel Your Pain" The Efficacy of Instantiating States in Charitable Appeals

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We examine the efficacy of charitable appeals that instantiate the psychological state of the target (the person helped by the charitable organization) in prospective donors in four experiments. Participants were more likely to donate a bonus to the same charity when presented with a more negative but empathy-evoking solicitation than a more positive informational solicitation stressing the importance of its work (Study 1). Participants were more likely to report they would participate in a fundraising event that was semantically related to the experience of the target than a semantically unrelated event (Study 2). Participants were more likely to report they would participate in fundraising events for causes of equal importance when the salient target of causes were possible to empathize with (people) than impossible to empathize with (abstract causes; Study 3). Finally, participants were more likely to report they would participate in a fundraising event for the same target when the event instantiated the state experienced by the target than when the event evoked an unempathetic state (Study 4). The results suggest a mechanism to increase charitable giving and that may help to explain the identifiable victim (e.g., Small, Loewenstein, & Slovic, 2007) and martyrdom effects (Olivola & Shafir 2013) that have been previously identified.

In Experiment 1, we assessed the effect of empathic (evocative) appeals on donation size. In this experiment, one cause (the Make-A-Wish Foundation) was selected and participants were assigned to an empathetic or an informative appeal. Participants in the empathetic appeal condition were given a salient target, an involved description of the suffering of the target, and the role of the charity in helping the target. In the informational condition, participants were provided with relevant information about the charity, their cause, who they help, what some of their events have included, and its fiscal responsibility and outside ratings. Both conditions were similar with respect to the amount of material they provided; the empathic appeal was more negative emotion inducing and positive emotion reducing in a pretest, $t_s(100) \geq 3.29, p_s \leq .01$. After reading an appeal, participants received a \$1 bonus and donated what they wished of it to that charity. Participants in the empathetic appeal condition donated sig-

nificantly more ($M = 32.2\%$; $SD = 29.4$) than did participants in the informational appeal condition ($M = 18.3\%$; $SD = 28.8$) and reported significantly higher levels of empathy for the target ($M_{\text{empathic}} = 6.04$, $SD = 1.50$; $M_{\text{informational}} = 5.25$, $SD = 1.87$), $t(100) = 2.05$, $p = .04$, and $t(100) = 2.36$, $p = .02$, respectively. Neither group deemed the cause more important, $t(100) = 1.32$, $p = .19$.

In Experiment 2, we compared the efficacy of participation in charitable events that would evoke empathy in the donor for targets (semantically related) to events that were pleasurable but unlikely to evoke empathy in the donor for targets (semantically unrelated). More specifically, in Experiment 2, we selected four causes (e.g., quality of life for nursing home residents) and then chose events that had been rated as semantically relevant or irrelevant to those causes (e.g., a bingo night vs. Texas hold'em night). Participants first rated their likelihood of attending all eight events (if they were not for charity). For the relevant condition, for each of the four causes, participants were shown a semantically related event to the cause and rated their likelihood of attending to support that cause. For the irrelevant condition, for each of the four causes, participants were shown a semantically unrelated event to the cause and rated their likelihood of attending to support that cause. Participants in the relevant condition reported feeling more empathy and connection to the targets, $t(116) > 4.03$, $p < .001$, and exhibited a greater increase in willingness to attend the events ($M_{\text{Attendance}} = 1.14$, $SD = 1.50$) than participants in the irrelevant condition ($M_{\text{Attendance}} = .58$, $SD = 1.40$), $F(1, 116) = 4.24$, $p = .04$.

In Experiment 3, we further tested the proposed process by presenting participants with a charitable fundraising event that was relevant to targets, but manipulating whether or not the salient target of the charity was capable of evoking empathy. Participants first rated their likelihood of attending six events. For a set of three causes, each participant then rated their likelihood of attending three of those events in support of related abstract targets (e.g., clean rivers) or related human targets (e.g., education for underserved school children), so that participants would be more likely to empathize with the target in the latter than in the former condition (Jenni and Loewenstein 1997). We found that participants exhibited heightened empathy and were more willing to participate in the event when the targets were human ($M_{\text{Attendance}} = 1.04$, $SD = 1.25$) than abstract ($M_{\text{Attendance}} = .34$, $SD = 1.02$), $t(138) = 3.63$, $p < .001$. In contrast, they rated both kinds of causes as equally important and cause-event pairings to be equally relevant across the two conditions, $t(138) \leq 1.26$, $p \geq .21$.

In Experiment 4, we manipulated the degree to which events elicited empathic understanding for targets. Participants were presented with semantically related charitable fundraising events for the same three targets (e.g., the hungry), which were designed to either evoke the state experienced by the target in the prospective donor (e.g., giving up lunch for a day) or designed to evoke a state inversely related to the state experienced by the target (e.g., a tasting menu at a Michelin star restaurant). In support of our hypothesis that understanding the target's state and "feeling his/her pain" drives empathy and charitable commitment, we found that the empathy-evoking events did evoke more empathy for the target, $F(1, 142) = 26.09$, $p < .001$, and increased the likelihood of participation in the fundraising event ($M_{\text{Attendance}} = .76$, $SD = 1.07$) relative to the non-empathetic event condition ($M_{\text{Attendance}} = -.28$, $SD = .93$), $F(1, 142) = 37.47$, $p < .001$. Events considered, however, did not influence the perceived importance of the causes, $F < 1$.

The Effect of Default Amounts on Charitable Donations. Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When factors in the decision environment influence the choices people make, changes in those factors ("nudges") can be used strategically to influence people's choices. However, the research underlying nudges tends to point to the existence of psychological phenomena, rather than quantifying the effects of such nudges or identifying the optimal configuration. In this paper we investigate how an active-choice default option, a widely studied and much discussed "nudge", affects donations when used in fundraising appeals, and the implications for optimal choices of default amounts. Using a large-scale field experiment, we find evidence for two primary influences of defaults on donations: a "scale back" effect (lower donation amounts when a small donation amount is defaulted), and a "lowered bar" effect (more people donating when the small amount is defaulted). The interplay of these two effects determines the net effect of defaults on the amount raised from campaigns using a defaulted amount.

We conducted an experiment in the spring 2014 phase of the annual alumni fundraising campaign of a large Midwestern business school. In total, up to two mailings were sent to the 7917 prior donors who had not yet donated that year. Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the cells of a 4 (default level: Low, Medium, High, None) x 2 (reminder about prior donation amount: No, Yes) x 2 (number of options to designate what their donation would be used for: 2, 5) full-factorial design. The default amount was operationalized by highlighting a particular menu option with a different color and labelling it as 'suggested'. The menu options presented to the participants were customized based on prior donation behavior, with the middle menu-option being their previous donation amount. In total, the mailings yielded 76 donations, a 0.96% participation rate. The relatively low donation rate was due to targeting "colder" prior donors, who had not responded to appeals in the previous waves of that fiscal year's campaign.

Setting the low option as the default increased revenue compared to the no-default control ($M_{\text{Low Default}} = \2.60 vs $M_{\text{Control}} = \$1.87$), but that was not the case for the other default amounts. The medium and high defaults yielded similar revenue (\$1.75 and \$2.11, respectively) as control. Importantly, setting the high menu option as the default did not result in a revenue-reducing backlash effect in this context. These findings were confirmed in a series of regression analyses predicting the log of per-person revenue, controlling for lasso-selected covariates to avoid over-fitting. The effect of defaults on net revenue was robust across demographic and prior donation behavior differences, and was not moderated by the two other experimental manipulations (reminder of prior donation and the number of allocation options).

The effect of defaults on net revenues can be decomposed into the effect of defaults on participation and on average contribution among those donating. The low default significantly increased donation rates, relative to no default (1.6% vs. 0.7%, $c^2 = 10.23$, $p = .001$), and compared to medium and high defaults combined, low defaults resulted in a marginal increase in participation (1.6% vs. 1%, $c^2 = 3.06$, $p = .08$). Therefore, *lowering the bar*, by setting a lower default, encouraged more donors to participate in the campaign. The lower default may allow the donor to pay less without harming their pro-social self-image (Gneezy et al. 2010) and still experience the same good feeling as donating a larger amount, in effect obtaining "warm glow" (Andreoni 1990) at a discount.

Unlike participation, our inferences about average donations are under-powered, on account of the low number of donation incidences observed. Overall, the average amount donated was lower when an option was defaulted ($M = \$178$), compared to the no-default control ($M = \$283$). Among the default conditions, the average donations were consistent with a “*scale back*” effect: highest for the high default ($M = \$204$), \$25 lower for the medium default ($M = \$181$), and approximately \$20 lower for the low default ($M = \$162$). Therefore, increasing the default amount resulted in participants scaling back their donation amounts. This effect might arise from inferential reasoning about the norms or needs conveyed by the pre-selected default level. Additional lab-based studies demonstrate the “*scale back*” effect with actual choices.

Our findings did not provide support for the most optimistic prediction, a direct-default effect, in which simply setting one option as a default would consistently increase funds raised. However, we also found no support for the most pessimistic prediction, a backlash effect, in which setting a default (particularly a high amount default) would lead to rejection of the defaulted amount and lower revenue. The conflict between increased participation and lower donation amounts when using a low default points to both the difficulty of blanket policy prescriptions and the limitations of existing theories. In sum, the net effect of defaults on revenue is determined by the relative strengths of the “*scale back*” and the “*lowered bar*” effect. We are continuing to track donations, and will be able to also report the long-term effects of defaults on the subsequent year’s donations at the time of the conference.

Limits of Effective Altruism

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Recent years have seen a rise in the “Effective Altruism” movement, which attempts to quantify the effectiveness of charitable organizations in order to better allocate resources to those in need. The Effective Altruism movement has gained followers from fields like economics and finance, which emphasize maximizing returns. Effective Altruism treats charitable giving as a social investment where the goal is to maximize social return, by donating to causes where one can do the most social good for each dollar donated (Baron and Szymanska 2011; Singer 2009).

We investigate how everyday consumers make decisions about where to donate their money. We argue that consumers do not naturally think about donation decisions as similar to investment decisions; their goal is not just to maximize an objective return. Instead, they think of the decision as relatively subjective, and therefore are often willing to compromise on effectiveness in order to satisfy their personal preferences. Studies 1 & 2 show that consumers are less likely to use effectiveness information for charitable decisions than for investment decisions. Study 3 shows that when searching for a charity, consumers are less likely to search by effectiveness ratings as compared to investments. Finally, Study 4 shows that presenting options in a relatively diverse (as opposed to uniform) choice set leads consumers to select a charity that fits their subjective preferences at the cost of maximizing effectiveness.

In Study 1 ($N = 201$), participants were told that they received a promotion for joining a local bank. In the Charity condition, the bank gave participants their choice to donate \$100 to one of three fictitious charities, and a description of each charity was provided (e.g., “Main Street Housing Fund: This charity builds residential homes for those in need”). In the Investment condition participants could invest \$100 into one of three fictitious companies (e.g., “Main Street Housing Corp: This company builds residential homes to sell

to individuals”). Participants were also provided with effectiveness information for each option on a 0 to 100 scale, with higher numbers representing more effective options. For the charities, effectiveness was defined as doing “the most good for each dollar donated” whereas for the investments, effectiveness was defined as providing “the best return for each dollar invested”. Results show that in the Charity condition, significantly fewer participants chose the most effective option (45.5%) than in the Investment condition (64.0%; $Z = 2.63$, $p = .009$).

Study 2 ($N = 214$) replicates these results in a more controlled setting. First, we changed the scenario so that the decision was self-directed and was not tied to a financial institution. Specifically, participants were told to imagine that they sought either to donate or to invest \$250 of their own money. Second, we presented participants with a wider range of options (15 options organized across 5 categories). Finally, to remove subtle differences that may exist between the investment and category options, participants only saw the name of option, its category, and effectiveness rating with no additional description (e.g., Arcadia Grocers, Category = Food, Rating = 85). Consistent with our previous findings, fewer participants in the Charity condition chose the most effective option (32.4%) than in the Investment condition (52.8%; $Z = 3.02$, $p = .003$).

We argue that for charitable decisions, participants weigh their subjective preferences greater than they do for investments. As a result, they are less likely to actively organize charity options by effectiveness ratings than they are for investment options. To test this, in Study 3, participants ($N = 401$) were given the same scenario as the previous study. However, before presenting participants with the choice set, we first asked whether they would like the options to be ordered by category or by effectiveness rating. Consistent with our expectation, fewer participants chose to order options by effectiveness in the Charity condition (67.8%) than in the Investment condition (83.4%; $Z = -3.63$, $p < .001$). Moreover, fewer participants in the Charity condition chose the most effective option (32.2%) than in the Investment condition (50.2%; $Z = 3.68$, $p < .001$). Finally, we find that the effect of domain condition (charity vs investment) on search mode decision (category vs rating) is mediated by participants’ feelings that their decision should reflect their personal beliefs (Indirect Effect = .68 95% CI = [.35, 1.08]), and is not mediated their desire for agency (Indirect Effect = .04 95% CI = [-.17, .25]), feelings of subjective knowledge in the domain (Indirect Effect = .04 95% CI = [-.01, .14]), or their belief that it is possible to rate options by effectiveness (Indirect Effect = -.03 95% CI = [-.13, .04]).

In Study 4 ($N = 304$), we manipulated whether participants were presented with a choice set in either a diverse or uniform set of options. We expect that when consumers compare charities from a diverse choice set, they choose less effective charities because the diverse set enables them to pick a cause that they personally prefer. Study 4 also utilizes a different effectiveness metric than the previous studies. Participants were presented with QALY (Quality Adjusted Life Years) ratings, which represents the number of fully healthy years of life that would be added to someone in need by a charity’s intervention.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. In the Mixed Category condition, participants were presented with a list of three charities, each of which reflected a different category (Food, Medical, and International). In the Single Category condition, participants were presented with a list of three charities that all belonged to a single category (either Food, Medical, or International). We find that when choosing from a set of charities from different categories, participants picked the top rated option less often (69.3%)

than when choosing from a set of charities from a single category (84.1%; $Z = 3.05$, $p = .002$).

In sum, these studies show that when consumers decide where to donate their money, they often discount explicit effectiveness information, and instead consider their own subjective preferences.

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Understanding Consumer Financial Behavior: Spending, Saving, Investing and Debt

Chairs: Joseph Harvey, University of Colorado, USA

Michal Strahilevitz, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

Paper #1: The Relationship Between Frequent Stock Trading and Emotionality, Self Confidence and Self Control

Michal Strahilevitz, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

Joseph Harvey, University of Colorado, USA

Dan Ariely, Duke University, USA

Paper #2: Piecemeal Repayment: Paying Toward Specific Purchases Promotes Higher Repayments Toward Debt Balances

Grant Donnelly, Harvard University, USA

Zoe Chance, Yale University, USA

Michael Norton, Harvard University, USA

Paper #3: Low-Asking Heightens Demand and High-Asking Lowers Demand

Zoe Y. Lu, University of Wisconsin, USA

Christopher Hsee, University of Chicago, USA

Paper #4: Risk Management for the Future: Age, Risk, and Choice Architecture

On Amir, University of California at San Diego, USA

Orly Lobel, University of San Diego, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers make important financial decisions throughout their lives. How much should I spend given my income? How much debt is too much? What is the best way to reduce debt? How much should I be saving? Am I saving enough for retirement? How often should I monitor and readjust my investment portfolio? How much risk is too much risk? While such decisions were once thought the exclusive province of finance and economics, they also deserve great attention from consumer researchers. This is vividly illustrated by growing concerns about consumer debt as well as savings and retirement deficits and the huge fortunes made and destroyed in the stock market. Financial decisions have important influences on consumers' welfare as well as the economy as a whole. We feel strongly that consumer researchers have much to contribute to this area.

These papers seek to explore financial decision making in a variety of contexts using a variety of methods. Each paper tries to answer the following questions: What factors influence why consumers make poor financial choices? What underlying mechanisms are involved? What can be done to help consumers make wiser financial decisions? We believe that this session is uniquely poised to attract academicians, financial service providers and policy makers.

In our first paper, Michal Strahilevitz, Joseph Harvey, and Dan Ariely examine compulsive investor behavior using surveys of active investors. Results suggest significant correlations between trading frequency and many of the personality and emotional patterns associated with addictive behaviors. Specifically, trading frequency is found to be significantly correlated with impulsivity, intense positive and negative emotions, overconfidence, and a belief that most investors are addicted to trading. The paper also examines how both frequent stock trading and frequent monitoring of the market are related to overall physical and emotional health.

In the second paper, Grant Donnelly, Zoe Chance, and Mike Norton study consumer debt repayment in the realm of credit cards. They show that consumers who pay by the line item in their bill pay off significantly more in both items and amounts than consumers who pay solely by a set amount. Furthermore, consumers feel sig-

nificantly better about financial situation when paying off line item amounts.

In our third paper, Zoe Lu and Chris Hsee show how our perceptions of time alter our savings patterns. Over several experiments, they show how different manipulations of time perception and decision duration can alter savings behavior. They suggest both causal mechanisms and how manipulating the savings period might increase personal saving.

In our fourth paper, On Amir and Orly Lobel show how age interacts with savings decisions, adding an important and heretofore unexamined aspect to the study of consumer financial well-being. They find that older consumers make better financial decisions when resources are plentiful, but that when older consumers are constrained, their financial decisions are worse than those of younger consumers. They offer guidelines for designing financial products that are sympathetic to the interaction effects of age and cognitive resources.

The Relationship Between Frequent Stock Trading and Emotionality, Self Confidence and Self Control,

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Frequent trading has been shown to have a strong negative effect on performance in the stock market (Odean and Barber 2000, Markiewicz and Weber 2013). Yet little has been done to investigate possible underlying causes for frequent stock trading. Our first study examines the relationship between trading frequency and a variety of psychological variables such as impulsivity, overconfidence and the tendency to experience intense positive and negative emotions, both related to trading and in one's daily lives. In a second study, we will examine the relationships between frequent stock trading, frequent monitoring of one's portfolio, use of mobile technology, self control, concern for achievement and several physical and emotional health measures including sleep quality, anxiety and a tendency toward unrelated addictions. The results illuminate potential causes and consequences of frequent stock trading and portfolio monitoring.

Study 1

Study 1 involves a survey of 149 active investors. Several significant findings suggest that frequent trading is not only related to overconfidence, but also to addiction, as opposed to a rational trading strategy.

Overconfidence in One's Skills and a Belief One is Luckier than Others

Although trading frequency is found to have no relationship with confidence in the future performance of US or global stock market, it is positively related to thinking one's own portfolio will do well in the future as well as to a greater confidence in one's overall investment skills. Trading frequency is also positively correlated with investors' tendencies to believe that they are smarter and better informed than the average investor. Outside perceptions of oneself as an investor, more frequent trading is correlated with thinking that one is generally luckier than the average person. Frequent traders are also more likely to attribute their investment losses to bad luck, and their investment gains to their strong research and skill as investors.

More Frequent and Intense Positive and Negative Emotions

We also found that frequent trading is associated with higher propensity to experience intense emotions, both related and unrelated to the stock market. Frequent traders rate both buying and selling stocks as more stimulating and more exciting than infrequent traders do. However, as is the case with several addictive behaviors, frequent trading is also correlated with a greater tendency to experience negative emotions such as regret, worry and self-doubt about one's decisions, both in regards to one's investments and in one's daily life.

Hedonic Dimensions to Frequent Trading

There also appears to be a thrill-seeking dimension to frequent stock trading, supporting the notion that frequent trading may be driven by a need for stimulation rather than a rational investment strategy. Specifically, frequent traders are more likely to see a fun day in the market as one where they realized gains by selling stocks. They are also more likely to see a dull day in the market as one where they did not sell or buy any stocks. In contrast, infrequent traders are more likely to agree that a fun day in the market is one where they see the value of their portfolio grow without any executions. Frequent traders also rate both buying and selling stocks as significantly more stimulating and more exciting than infrequent traders do.

Frequent Traders Are More Impulsive, Less Careful and More Likely to See Trading as an Addiction.

There are also several personality characteristics that are correlated with trading frequency. Specifically, frequent traders rate themselves as significantly less careful, both as investors and in their daily activities (unrelated to investing). Compared to infrequent traders, frequent traders also repeatedly rate themselves as more impulsive when buying stocks, selling stocks and making decisions unrelated to investing. Frequent traders are also more likely to indicate that they themselves are addicted to trading, suggesting some self-awareness. However, trading frequency is also correlated with significantly higher estimates of the percentage of all American investors who are addicted to stock trading.

Study 2

In Study 2 (in progress), we will examine the relationships between frequent monitoring of one's portfolio, use of mobile technology, and several physical and emotional health measures including anxiety, disordered sleeping, disordered eating, depression, and issues with anger and frustration. Because a connection has been found between intense emotions and several unhealthy compulsive behaviors (Kemp, Bui, Grier 2011), we consider identifying the connection between emotions and frequent trading to be particularly promising. The role of mobile technology is also of great interest, not only due to the huge growth in smart phones and tablet usage, but also based on previous work showing that access to gambling opportunities increases compulsive gambling behavior (Lester 1994). Based on prior findings connecting compulsive gambling with other addictions (Cowlshaw & Thomas 2011; Martin, Usdan, Cremeens, Vail-Smith 2014; Najavits, Meyer and Johnson 2010), we will also explore possible co-morbidities with addictions unrelated to the stock market.

Piecemeal Repayment: Paying Toward Specific Purchases Promotes Higher Repayments Toward Debt Balances

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers treat credit differently than other forms of payment. People spend more when using credit cards compared to cash

or checks (e.g., Rick, Cryder & Loewenstein, 2008). Possibly, the reason credit cards increase spending is because they allow the consumer to separate the pleasure of buying from the "pain of paying" (i.e., the discomfort of spending money; see Prelec & Loewenstein, 1998), and make the true cost of each purchase more difficult to evaluate by compiling all consumption in a monthly bill (Raghubir & Srivastava, 2008), reducing the total loss felt by a consumer (Thaler, 1985).

While this strategy has likely contributed to the accumulation of debt, recent research concerning debt repayment has suggested that aggregated debt balances are overwhelming and difficult to repay. For instance, when consumers are confronted with multiple debts they often prioritize the debt with the smallest balance first (even when this is not the most financially optimal strategy; see Amar et al., 2011). This tendency is aligned with the literature on sub-goals, suggesting that a short, proximal task will help fuel commitment toward subsequent larger tasks (Gal & McShane, 2012).

Given these conditions, this paper proposes that segregating losses by allowing consumers to make payments toward each individual purchase on a credit card bill could increase awareness of what the consumer is repaying. This awareness may increase the perceived impact the payment will make toward the debt balance, resulting in higher repayments.

In our first study, subjects were presented with a hypothetical purchasing scenario where they made purchases on a credit card totaling \$1,376.00. All participants were told they had \$800 to spend on a variety of expenses for the month (including their credit card payment). They then allocated the \$800 across these expenses. For the credit card bill, half of our participants were asked to make a payment toward the total debt balance, while the other half were able to make payments toward specific line items that composed their debt. Consumers who were able to repay toward specific purchases allocated more money toward debt repayment ($M = \$561.64$), than those who paid toward the aggregated balance ($M = \$473.50$), $p < .001$.

Our first study provides initial support for our hypothesis that individuals will repay more when able to make purchase-specific repayments. But would consumers prioritize repaying a debt that allowed piecemeal repayment over debts that allowed payment toward the total balance? In a second study, participants ($N = 180$) were presented with the same hypothetical purchasing task but were told that half of the purchases were made on a credit card that allowed payment toward the individual purchases (a total balance of \$688.00), while half were made on a credit card that allowed payments toward the total balance (\$688.00). Consumers paid significantly more toward the card that allowed repayment toward specific purchases ($M = \$333.01$), relative to the card that allowed repayment toward the total balance ($M = \$230.43$), $p < .001$.

In our third study we wanted to explore the underlying mechanisms of increased repayment. We programmed a debt repayment simulation where all participants ($N = 236$) were asked to evaluate a credit card statement that consisted of 10 items totaling a debt of \$888.44. Participants were asked to imagine that the debt was their own and that they had \$500 to put toward their debt repayment or keep for other expenses throughout the month. Participants were required to make a minimum payment of \$37, but could make any payment up to \$500. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: (a) in the whole balance condition, participants made a payment toward their total bill. In the piecemeal repayment condition, participants made repayment decisions toward specific purchases. Participants in these conditions were instructed to click a particular line item they wished to make a payment toward. Once the participant clicked on the line item a payment window appeared and

the participant selected their desired payment toward that line item. Participants could make a partial or full payment. In the instances where the line item was ‘paid off’ the item would disappear from the bill.

There was a significant differences in the amount paid toward the credit card balance, $t(235) = 5.33, p = .001$. Individuals in the whole balance condition paid significantly less ($M = \$189.60$) toward their debt than individuals in the piecemeal repayment condition ($M = \$283.18$). Participants were asked how much their payment method made them feel aware of what they were repaying and how much their payment made them feel that they made a significant impact toward their debt balance. The piecemeal repayment condition found higher reported awareness ($p < .001$) and feelings of impact ($p < .01$)

Next, we examined a mediation model, where awareness and impact were tested as a mediator of the link between payment condition and repayment decision. We found that (a) the piecemeal repayment condition significantly predicted higher awareness (i.e., path a; $\beta = .24; p < .001$); (b) awareness significantly predicted greater feelings of impact (i.e., path b; $\beta = .39; p < .001$); (c) impact significantly predicted higher repayment (i.e., path c; $\beta = 33.94; p < .001$); and (d) the link from piecemeal repayment to higher repayment (i.e., path d; $\beta = 13.06; p < .001$) was attenuated after awareness and impact were entered into the model (i.e., path $d' = .92$). The bootstrapping results indicate a significant indirect effect through awareness and impact, $b * c = 3.18, 95\% \text{ CI } [1.90, 5.06]$.

Across three studies, we have demonstrated that allowing consumers to make payments toward specific purchases results in significantly higher repayment. Given that recent research evaluating the effectiveness of the CARD Act has found no substantial positive effect on repayments (Navarro-Martinez et al., 2011), allowing for piecemeal repayment could be a relatively low-cost intervention that could save consumers a substantial amount of money in interest over time.

Low-Asking Heightens Demand and High-Asking Lowers Demand

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine the following. A bakery is running a promotion on cookies which can last one month. He displays an advertisement in front of the store for the product. Consider three alternative scenarios of what the advertisement says.

Scenario 1: “Buy for the whole month and save!”

Scenario 2: “Buy for the whole month and save! To decide how many to buy for the month, think about how many you will likely eat in one week.”

Scenario 3: “Buy for the whole month and save! To decide how many to buy for the month, think about how many you will likely eat in one year.”

Notice that in all the scenarios the advertisement includes a “suggesting statement” -- “Buy for the whole month and save.” In Scenarios 2 and 3, the advertisement contains an additional “asking statement” -- asking prospective buyers to think about their consumption quantity for either one week or for one year. The question we try to address in this research is: In which scenario will potential buyers buy the most, and in which scenario will they buy the least?

Our theory capitalizes on two psychological phenomena: low inter-person duration-sensitivity and high intra-person duration-consistency. Low inter-person duration-sensitivity suggests that if one person is asked to estimate her consumption quantity in a short duration and another person is asked to estimate her consumption quantity in a long duration, their estimates will be relatively close. For example, if one consumer is asked to estimate her cookie consumption quantity in one week and another to estimate her cookie consumption quantity in one month, the first person may say 10 for one week and the second person may say 20 for one month. The ratio of 20 to 10 ($=2$) is smaller than the ratio of one month to one week (≈ 4).

On the other hand, high intra-person duration consistency indicates that if the same person is first asked to estimate her consumption quantity in a short duration and then her consumption quantity in a long duration, her estimates will be roughly consistent with the difference in time. For example, if the same person is first asked to estimate her cookie consumption quantity in one week and then her cookie consumption quantity in one month, she may say 10 for one week and 40 for one month. The ratio of 40 to 10 is consistent with the ratio of month to week (≈ 4). (This is just a stylized example; in reality, we do not expect the two ratios to be exactly identical.)

Put together, low inter-person duration sensitivity and high intra-person duration consistency suggest that if one person is directly asked to estimate her consumption quantity in a long duration (e.g., one month), and another person is first asked to estimate her consumption quantity in a short duration (e.g., one week) and then her consumption quantity in the long duration (e.g., one month), the second person will estimate a higher consumption quantity for the long duration than the first person. So long as one’s purchase quantity roughly matches one’s estimated consumption quantity, the second person will also buy more for the long duration than the first person.

Hypothesis 1: (low-asking). Consumers will buy more units of a product for a given duration ($T_{purchase}$) if they are first asked to think about how many units of the product they will likely consume in a shorter duration (T_{asking}) than if they are not so asked.

Just as we propose low-asking will increase purchase quantity, we propose that high-asking will decrease purchase quantity. For example, if one person is directly asked to estimate her consumption quantity in a short duration (e.g., one month) and another is first asked to estimate her consumption quantity in a long duration (i.e., one year) and then her consumption quantity in the short duration (e.g., one month), the second person will arrive at a lower estimate for the short duration than the first person.

Hypothesis 2: (high-asking). Consumers will buy fewer units of a product for a given duration ($T_{purchase}$) if they are first asked to think about how many units of the product they will likely consume in a longer duration (T_{asking}) than if they are not so asked.

Our theory not only predicts that the counter-anchoring effect can occur, but also predicts when it disappears. The key moderator, we propose, is whether the prospective buyer has a specific purchase duration, $T_{purchase}$, in mind. If the prospective buyer does have a specific idea, the asking procedure will exert a “pushing” (contrasting) force and create the counter-anchoring effect. Otherwise, the asking procedure will exert a “pulling” (assimilating) force and generate the conventional anchoring effect.

Hypothesis 3: (moderator). If a consumer has a specific idea about the purchase duration ($T_{purchase}$), an asking procedure about a different duration (T_{asking}) will create the counter-anchoring effect, as posited in Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2. If a consumer does not have a specific idea about the purchase duration ($T_{purchase}$), an asking procedure about a different duration (T_{asking}) will create the traditional anchoring effect.

We have conducted five experiments to test our theory. Together, Study 1 and Study 2 demonstrated that the presence of an asking statement could either increase or decrease purchase quantity depending on the length of T_{asking} relative to the length of $T_{purchase}$. Study 3 produced both the conventional anchoring effect and the counter-anchoring effect, and within the counter-anchoring effect, it demonstrated both the low-asking effect and the high-asking effect. Study 4 suggested that a long $T_{purchase}$ alone was unable to significantly boost purchase quantity, but a long $T_{purchase}$ coupled with a short T_{asking} was. Study 5, a field experiment, replicated the low-asking effect in a national chain store in the U.S.

A potential application of the low-asking effect is in savings. Asking individuals to estimate their annual need will potentially increase their estimate of the need for the rest of life, hence affecting their saving behavior. Meanwhile, a potential application of the high-asking effect is to nudge individuals to waste less.

Risk Management for the Future: Age, Risk, and Choice Architecture

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

How can regulation in an era of personal responsibility aid people to make the optimal decisions about their future risks, savings, and retirement? The current work aims to shed light on preferences for risk and retirement savings as a function of both age and the processes underlying the preference dynamics. Above and beyond rational reasons for varying preferences across different ages, such as differences in the life length of an investment, predicted career cycles or the proximity to retirement, there may be psychological differences among age groups. In order to disentangle these different effects, we designed a set of studies that presented various retirement-related decisions involving risk to people of various age groups. In order to shed light on the underlying psychological mechanisms, we manipulated the degree of available cognitive resources to try and mimic different decision conditions and states.

In the two sets of experiments involving large sample of a fairly representative population demographic and standard investment, savings, and insurance decisions, we observed age differences in judgment and decision-making pertaining to future savings and risk. In particular, we find that when deferring a tax rebate, younger and older people seem to be more patient than mid-age people when depleted of executive control resources, but no such effect in the control condition. With respect to savings, we find older participants more likely to opt-in to a Save-More-Tomorrow (SMT) program than younger ones, but not when they are depleted. We also find younger people to opt for an annuity over a lump-sum payoff, but this tendency is decreased when depleted. Furthermore, we find a general increased aversion to risk in an investment as people age, a general increase in risk taking as people are depleted of executive control resources, and a significant interaction, whereby, when depleted, older participants tend to take even more risk than their younger counterparts. This also manifests in selection of health insurance.

Overall, when cognitive resources are available, our findings show that older participants opt for more prudent savings choices. Although older people on average seem to choose the more rational options among available alternatives, in the sense of planning and saving, this pattern may not hold in situations that do not allow the luxury of executive control override, such as when tired, sick, distracted, or even after making a series of arduous other choices. In some instances, we also find the depletion of cognitive resources has an increased influence over older participants compared to younger participant. It is possible that older people not only rely more on executive control when making such decisions, but are also more susceptible the effects of depletion.

The findings that younger people are more likely to exemplify risk-taking behaviors while older people are more risk averse supports previous studies in the field, although the study of the interactions between age and risk tolerance has proven a challenge in the social sciences (Halek and Eisenhauer, 2001). The literature indicates that older investors tend to have different attitudes toward risk than younger age groups, and yet, many of the findings have been non-conclusive and even contradictory. At the turn of the century, it was widely believed to be true among financial planners that the older a person was the more risk averse (and less risk tolerant) they became. (Grable and Lytton, 1999; Gilliam et. al, 2010; Palsson, 1996; Bakshi and Chen, 1994). However, other studies have concluded that, after accounting for other variables, age either has little to no bearing on a person's risk tolerance (Hanna et. al, 2001), or that older generations may be even somewhat more risk tolerant than younger ones. (Wang and Hanna, 1997; Hanna et al, 2001). Our findings can help explain why previous research has mixed results when it comes to the effect of age on a person's financial risk tolerance.

At a theoretical level our findings suggest that much of the difference in financial choices between older and younger decision-makers lies in the ability of the decision-makers to override their intuitive and automatic responses (System 1) to such decisions. In other words, making more prudent financial choices appears to be a learned skill that relies on executive resources (System 2) for its execution. At a policy level, as the regulatory field is moving from command-and-control rules to the provision of menu options and choice architecture, our findings provide potential guidelines for better designing retirement and savings plans, such as the implementation of SMT-style programs and the encouragement of annuity over lump sum retirement benefits.

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All that Glitter! Motivation for Luxury Consumption from Multiple Perspectives

Chair: JeeHye Christine Kim, INSEAD, Singapore

Paper #1: Impact of Status Maintenance Motivation and Political Ideology on Luxury Consumption

JeeHye Christine Kim, INSEAD, Singapore
Brian Seongyup Park, INSEAD, Singapore
David Dubois, INSEAD, Singapore

Paper #2: How Pinning Nordstrom Means Buying Macys: The Relationship of Social Media, Self-Concept, and Luxury Purchase Intentions

Lauren Grewal, University of Pittsburgh, USA
Andrew Stephen, University of Pittsburgh, USA
Nicole Verrochi Coleman, University of Pittsburgh, USA

Paper #3: Quenching the Desire for Luxury: Successful Lower-end Luxury Brand Extensions Satiates Brand Desire

Vanessa Patrick, University of Houston, USA
Sonja Prokopec, ESSEC Business School, USA

Paper #4: The Advantage of Low-Fit Brand Extensions: Addressing the Paradox of Luxury Brands

Silvia Bellezza, Harvard Business School, USA
Anat Keinan, Harvard Business School, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

“Let me be surrounded by luxury, I can do without the necessities!”

-Oscar Wilde

With a revenue growth twice that of global GDP, the luxury industry, expected to reach €250 billion threshold this year, has received a lot of recent managerial and academic attention (Bain 2013). Particularly, central to researchers had been the question of what motivates people to consume luxury goods. Three main motivations for luxury consumption have been identified as (1) signaling status, (2) expressing one's identity, and (3) boosting self-contentment (Belk 1985; Han, Nunes, and Dreze 2010; Richins 1987; Veblen 1899). In this session, we seek to deepen our understanding of what motivates luxury consumption by bringing together four papers examining each of these drivers more in depth, from multiple perspectives.

The session will start with a focus on examining how motivation to signaling status impacts luxury consumption. The first paper by Kim, Park and Dubois, extends our current understanding on how status motivation impacts luxury consumption by distinguishing status-maintenance motivation from status-enhancement motivation and explores how the two status motivations interact with political ideology to impact luxury consumption. Grewal, Stephen and Coleman will then move the discussion forward to the second motivator, motivation to express one's identity. Using a highly marketing-relevant context, social media, the authors show that expressing one's ideal-self through online affiliations with luxury products on social media (e.g., Pinterest) reduces desire for luxury by enhancing psychological ownership of luxury brands.

Shifting discussion from non-owners to owners, the last two papers examine the role of the third motivator, self-contentment, in luxury consumption. In the third paper, Patrick and Prokopec propose that whether owning a downward-extended luxury product increases or decreases desire for luxury products depends on whether one's desire can be contented with owning a downward-extended luxury product (i.e., desire specificity). Finally, Bellezza and Keinan dem-

onstrate that low-fit downward brand extensions (e.g., Ferrari video game) as compared to high-fit downward brand extensions (e.g., Ferrari city car) enhance the brand image by boosting self-contentment for luxury brand owners.

Across an integrated set of four papers, we explore a coherent theme of what motivates one to consume luxury brands from multiple perspectives, building connections from one motivator to another and from non-owners to owners. Furthermore, we seek to advance connections with managers by presenting four papers that are highly practical and managerial. First paper explores a variable (political ideology) that is easy to be identified and utilized for managers while the second paper focuses on a highly marketing-relevant context, social media and the last two papers address the dilemma often faced by managers of luxury brands, namely, how to extend the market without diluting brand power. Altogether, this session raises a question of how different motivators interact with characteristics of consumers (e.g., political ideology and social media activity) and brand (e.g., brand structure and extension) to ultimately shape consumers' desire for luxury brands. We believe our session will attract audiences from diverse background including researchers in motivation, branding, conspicuous consumption and social class as well as managers of luxury brands.

Impact of Status Maintenance Motivation and Political Ideology on Luxury Consumption

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In marketing, it is well established that people consume luxury goods to signal status (e.g., Han, Nunes, and Dreze 2010; Richins 1987; Veblen 1899). Accordingly, the use of status appeal is easily found in advertisements. For example, Audi tells consumers to ‘update your status’ with their car while BMW tells consumers that ‘the symbol on your hood is more than a logo—it's a reminder’. While the two luxury cars make similar appeals related to signaling status, the two differ in their messages greatly. Audi motivates consumers to improve and enhance their status with their car whereas BMW motivates consumers to remember and retain their status with their car. This distinction corresponds to what researchers in management have recognized as distinct dynamics of status (Chen, Peterson, Phillips, Podolny, and Ridgeway 2012) which we refer to as *status-enhancement motivation* and *status-maintenance motivation*. While prior research has recognized the two as distinct, little is known about how the two compare to each other, therefore, in this research, we fill this gap by exploring the two jointly in our studies.

Research on motivation has shown that focusing on discrepancy to the desired state is more motivating than focusing on the current state (e.g., Carver and Scheier 1990, 1998; Koo and Fishbach 2010). In our context, these findings suggest that consuming luxury brands to reach a desired state (i.e., status-enhancement motivation) would be more motivating than consuming luxury brands to keep the current state (i.e., status-maintenance motivation). Contrarily, in this research, we propose that this dynamic depends on one's belief system, political ideology which varies from liberal to conservative. According to Jost and his colleagues (2003), political ideology is a powerful belief system that stems from one's motivation to see the world as preferred and can have consequential impacts on variety aspects of life. Relevant to our theorizing, they have shown that political conservatism is adopted as motivation to keep the world sta-

bilized increases. Given that consuming luxury goods to maintain current status matches well with the core motivation of political conservatism, we posit that political conservatism enhances valuation for luxury brands when they are consumed for status-maintenance motivation as compared to status-enhancement motivation. Across four studies (three reported here), we demonstrate that status-maintenance motivation as compared to status-enhancement motivation increases one's preference for luxury goods as political conservatism increases.

In Study 1, we test our main argument that status-maintenance motivation as compared to status-enhancement motivation increases preference for luxury brands as political conservatism increases. Participants first indicated their political conservatism on a 7-point scale (1-extremely liberal; 7-extremely conservative). Afterwards, they were randomly assigned to one of the two status motivation conditions and wrote about 2-3 ways by which they can maintain (improve) their social standings. Subsequently, participants proceeded to a purportedly unrelated task on brand evaluations. Participants evaluated three luxury and three non-luxury automobile brands and indicated how much they desire purchasing a car from each brand. In the analysis of this study and all the studies afterwards, we controlled for variables which prior research has shown to influence preference for luxury such as age, gender, income, education and ethnicity, however, our results do not change with or without covariates (Chevalier and Mazzalovo 2012; Graham, Haidt, and Nosek 2009). As expected, the interaction between status-motivation type and political conservatism was significant ($p=.032$). More importantly, a floodlight analysis revealed that status-maintenance motivation increased preference for luxury brands significantly more than status-enhancement motivation when political conservatism was high, starting at .7 SD above the mean of political conservatism ($\beta=.31$, $p=.049$). However, this difference disappeared when political conservatism was low ($p=ns @-1SD$).

In order to address shortcomings that could arise with using real brands, in Study 2, we test our hypothesis using a hypothetical brand. The procedure was similar to study 1, except this time, instead of brand evaluation, participants read a print ad of a headphone framed as luxury versus non-luxury and indicated their willingness-to-pay for the headphone. A three-way GLM on WTP with status-motivation and product framing as categorical variables and political conservatism as a continuous variable revealed a significant three-way interaction ($F(1,295)=5.66$, $p=.018$). Crucially, the two-way interaction between status-motivation and political conservatism was significant in the luxury condition ($F(1,144)=9.25$, $p=.003$), but not in the non-luxury condition. Consistent with findings from Study 1, status-maintenance motivation increased WTP for a luxury headphone significantly more than status-enhancement motivation when political conservatism was high, starting at .3 SD above the mean of political conservatism ($\beta=26.45$, $p=.035$), but this difference disappeared when political conservatism was low ($p=ns @-1SD$).

Finally, we test our hypothesis using a real automobile purchase dataset from 38,939 automobile buyers who disclosed their political ideology. Building on prior research suggesting that higher SES individuals have motivation to maintain their current status whereas lower SES individuals have motivation to enhance their current status (Ellemers, van Knippenberg, de Vries, and Wilke 1988), we used current SES as a proxy for whether status-maintenance versus status-enhancement motivation is salient. Consistent with results from prior two studies, republicans purchased more luxury cars when status-maintenance as compared to status-enhancement motivation was salient (i.e., high current SES), but no such difference was found for liberals. In sum, we provide converging evidence for our argument

that status-maintenance motivation as compared to status-enhancement motivation leads to higher preference for luxury brands as political conservatism increases.

How Pinning Nordstrom Means Buying Macys: The Relationship of Social Media, Self-Concept, and Luxury Purchase Intentions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Past research has demonstrated that consumers use luxury products as a way to affiliate with desired reference groups and to signal self-concepts (Berger & Ward, 2010). With social media, consumers can affiliate with luxury brands online. As social media has been shown to fulfill a variety of social needs such as self-expression and self-presentation (Gosling et al., 2007), it stands to reason it can also fulfill ownership needs. Psychological ownership can provide many of the same benefits to consumers as traditional ownership (Pierce et al., 2003). Therefore, the rise of social media sites that allow consumers to engage with brands in visual and customizable formats has allowed consumers to curate self-images of themselves through luxury brands and products online.

The purpose of the current research is to demonstrate how social media allows consumers to engage with luxury brands in a way that promotes psychological ownership and identity signaling: lowering purchase intentions of luxury products. We believe that when social media enables consumers to visually curate their ideal-self through products and brands, this enhances psychological ownership of luxury products and fulfills identity signaling purposes that have been traditionally associated with luxury, negating the need for purchase.

Study 1 ($N = 52$) tested the effect of self-concept on WTP for luxury with a 2 group design (self-concept: actual, ideal). Participants were all Pinterest users who pinned 5 "luxury" items that represented who they actually are (actual-self) or who they wish to be (ideal-self). Afterwards, participants were shown a Louis Vuitton suitcase and asked to provide their WTP. Participants in the ideal-self condition were willing to pay significantly less for the suitcase compared to those in the actual-self condition, $B=-276.98$, $t(50)=-2.253$, $p=.029$. This study suggests that when consumers feel a general sense of luxury ownership, it will decrease preference for luxury goods only when they have made the connection of their ideal-selves to luxury.

Study 2 ($N=125$) explored the moderating role of public versus private signaling of luxury. In a 2 (self-concept: actual, ideal) x 2 (signaling: public, private) design, participants imagined engaging with a new Facebook feature that showcases brand preferences. The feature was described as either "private for their eyes" or "public to their whole social network". Participants then found 5 items that represented their actual or ideal-self that they would add to this feature. Afterwards, participants, in a seemingly unrelated survey, were shown a map of a regional mall. They were asked to indicate stores they wanted to shop at. Using a zero-inflated Poisson to analyze the number of luxury stores chosen, we found a significant interaction where participants in the ideal self-condition chose less luxury stores than those in the actual-self condition only when the new feature was public, ($B= -.707$, $\chi^2(4) = 5.10$, $p=.024$).

Study 3 ($N=330$) explored the role of network size on luxury purchase intentions. In a 2 (self-concept: actual, ideal) x 3 (signaling: full network, close network, private) design, participants engaged with the same stimuli as study 2. We had an additional "close network" condition where the app could only be seen by designated "close friends/family". We found a significant interaction for willingness to pay for the Louis Vuitton suitcase, $F(5,324)=4.385$, $p=.013$.

Looking at the simple effects, we found no significant differences in WTP for the private or close-network conditions. In the full-network condition, participants in the ideal-self condition were significantly less willing to pay for the suitcase ($M=148$) than those in the actual-self condition ($M=324$), $p=.002$. These two studies provide support for the idea that ideal-self presentation online only negatively impacts luxury purchase intentions when there is a public affiliation with luxury.

Study 4 ($N=49$) explored the moderating role of psychological ownership. Pinterest users interacted with their existing boards in a 2 group design (self-concept: actual, ideal). Afterwards, participants were asked about their sense of ownership of the board's contents and in a seemingly unrelated survey were then shown a mall to indicate store choices. Using a zero-inflated Poisson to analyze the number of luxury stores chosen, we found a significant main effect of self-concept. Participants in the ideal self-condition chose less luxury stores than those in the actual-self condition, ($B= -0.46$, $\chi^2(2) = 6.14$, $p=.013$). Testing the proposed moderation of measured psychological ownership for luxury purchase intentions, we found that the direct conditional effect of self-concept on purchase intention through psychological ownership was negative and significant but only at average and higher (+1SD) levels of psychological ownership.

Study 5 ($N=286$) explored varying levels of "ownership" online to determine what ownership is necessary for decreased luxury purchase intentions to occur. Pinterest users were randomly assigned in a 3(ownership: pin, like, control) x 2 (self-concept: actual, ideal) design. Participants found 5 pins that represented their actual or ideal-self; and were either allowed to pin them, like them, or paste them into our survey. We found a significant interaction for the WTP for the Louis Vuitton suitcase; $F(5,280)=3.091$, $p=.047$. Looking at the simple effects, we only found a significant difference in WTP for the pinning (i.e. full ownership) condition. Participants in the ideal-self condition were WTP significantly less for the suitcase ($M=248$) than those in the actual-self condition ($M=573$), $p=.018$. These two studies provide support for the idea that ideal-self presentation online only negatively impacts luxury purchase intentions when there is felt-psychological ownership of luxury.

To our knowledge, this set of studies represents a first attempt to consider how different consumer identities can impact luxury consumption preference based on online self-curation. These studies indicate self-representation online can impact luxury purchase intentions. Interestingly, representing one's ideal self-concept in social media appears to lead to lower purchase intentions specifically for luxury goods only when there is public signaling and a feeling of psychological ownership for luxury.

Quenching the desire for luxury: Successful lower-end luxury brand extensions satiate brand desire

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The desire that luxury evokes makes consumers all over the world aspire for luxury products and contributes to the success of the nearly \$273 billion luxury industry (Reuters 2013). For luxury brand managers it is a balancing act to maintain the desire for a luxury brand on one hand and to expand and grow to be profitable on the other. One growth strategy managers have adopted involves the launch of lower-end line and brand extensions to expand the market and reach a larger consumer base (Kapferer and Bastien 2009).

Luxury products are those that provide extra pleasure and flatter the senses all at once (Kapferer 1997). Luxury brands, unlike functional brands, are fueled by desire and evaluated based on affective

considerations (Yeung and Wyer 2005) and the promise of pleasure (Hagtvedt and Patrick 2009). When managers introduce lower end extensions it is based on the assumption that when a consumer gets a taste of the luxury product, it simply whets her appetite, leaving her wanting more. The current research demonstrates the flaw behind this assumption to identify when this strategy might backfire.

We argue that a luxury brand can be diluted by a successful brand extension *when the lower-end extension is able to satiate the consumer's desire for the luxury brand experience*. Specifically, we identify two factors, *desire specificity* and *prior ownership* that influence whether a successful brand extension can dilute the luxury brand.

Desire specificity is defined as the fixation of consumers' desire onto a specific product/s in the brand portfolio. It is well established that when consumers focus on a specific desired object, little else can interfere with that yearning (Belk, Ger and Askegaard 1996, 2003; Belk 1997, 2000; Freund 1971, Baudrillard 1972). If desire for the brand is specifically focused on one or more products in the brand portfolio, then brand dilution is minimized. In contrast, if consumers' desire is generally directed to the brand, then the brand may be experienced through *any* lower-level extension, and the potential for brand dilution is heightened.

Prior brand ownership also secures brand desire. People value objects they own more than objects they do not, which affects the appeal of the good (Aggarwal 2004; Aggarwal and Law 2005; Belk 1988; Gawroski, Bodenhausen and Becker 2007). Consequently, successful extensions of luxury brands are more likely to result in decreased purchase intent for brand non-owners.

We investigate these assertions in a set of three studies (two reported here for space considerations). In study 1 ($N = 109$), desire specificity was manipulated between subjects. Participants were asked to imagine that Marie dreamed of owning the signature Chanel suit (anything from Chanel). All participants were told to imagine that Chanel introduced a new purse at a price of €210. We then assessed the likelihood to buy the desired, more expensive, Chanel product that they had always desired to own (1 = very unlikely, 7 = very likely). A repeated measures analysis with the likelihood to buy the desired parent brand before and after the introduction of the extension as the within-subject factor, and desire specificity as a between subject factor revealed a significant interaction, $F(1, 107) = 4.003$, $p < .05$. Simple main effects analysis revealed that there was only a significant drop in the likelihood to buy the originally desired parent brand for the participants in the no specific desire condition (5.84 versus 5.38, $p < .007$); participants in the specific desire condition did not experience any change (5.30 vs. 5.31, $p < ns$).

In Study 2 ($N = 106$), we operationalize desire specificity in terms of the presence or absence of a flagship product and use two luxury brands (Chanel and Chloe) that fit this criterion (based on a pretest). The design was a 2 (Desire specificity: Brand with Signature/Brand with No-signature) X 2 (Own: Yes/No) experiment, in which desire specificity was manipulated and ownership was measured. In the flagship condition (no-flagship condition), participants were told that they dreamed of owning the signature Chanel 2.55 bag (anything from Chloe). A Chanel/Chloe new leather bracelet at a price of €199 was introduced. All measures were similar to study 1. A repeated measures analysis with the purchase intent as a within-subject factor, and desire specificity and ownership as between subject factors. We observed a significant three-way interaction ($F(1,96) = 6.145$, $p < .015$); we observed that only the Chanel (flagship) owners did not experience any change in their likelihood to purchase the desired signature product in the future (5.58 vs. 5.42, $p < ns$). Chloe owners (no-flagship), Chanel non-owners and Chloe

non-owners experience a significant drop in their likelihood to buy the desired product in the future after seeing the new extension (5.00 vs. 3.73, $p < .01$; 6.09 vs. 5.18, $p < .025$; 5.05 vs. 4.49, $p < .008$). Diminished desire for the brand mediated the effect of desire specificity on purchase intent, using conditional process modeling (Hayes 2012; model 8). Results revealed that diminished desire mediated the effect of desire specificity (i.e. specific versus non-specific) on drop in purchase intent for non-owners but not for owners.

Given the current trend in the luxury industry to introduce low-end extensions, this research provides theoretically grounded and managerially relevant insights to this practice.

The Advantage of Low-Fit Brand Extensions: Addressing the Paradox of Exclusive Brands

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Managing exclusive and luxury brands poses an inherent trade-off. Brand managers need to generate growth by extending the customer base to new segments and new markets; yet, this increased popularity and prevalence can paradoxically hurt the brand and threaten its prestige image. In particular, downward brand extensions of luxury brands may cause brand dilution and compromise the long-term equity of the brand. Indeed, several luxury brands (e.g., Burberry, Pierre Cardin, Bulgari, Gucci, Tiffany) extended their brands to multiple products and struggled with the resulting overexposure of the brand.

Contrary to the view that downward brand extensions and their users are a threat to brands, recent work (Bellezza and Keinan 2014) demonstrates that users of these extensions can enhance the brand's prestige when they are perceived as brand tourists (i.e., fans and admirers of the brand, who are not perceived to claim in-group status into the brand community). Building on the brand tourists' conceptualization and on research on brand membership, we consider responses to high-fit (same product category as the parent brand) versus low-fit (different product category than the parent brand) downward brand extensions of luxury brands. For example, we examine reactions to a Ferrari city car (high-fit) versus a Ferrari video game (low-fit). We propose that low-fit downward brand extensions can reinforce, rather than dilute, the brand image and generate a positive brand tourism effect because these extensions do not allow their users to claim membership into the brand community. We examine the conditions under which low-fit extensions serve as proof of value for the brand, making it more aspirational without compromising its attainability in the eyes of existing customers of the brand.

To ensure high external validity of our findings, the majority of our studies examine the reactions of real consumers to brands they actually own or use (e.g., Ferrari car owners, Harvard College students, Tough Mudder participants). Moreover, all of our stimuli are based on real branding dilemmas and brand extension scenarios.

In a pilot study conducted with 39 real owners of Ferrari cars (within-subjects) recruited at a luxury automobile event, we find that two low-fit extensions (a Ferrari museum and a Ferrari video game) are liked more and have more of a positive impact on the brand image than a high-fit extension (a Ferrari city car).

In Study 1 we investigate the reactions (between-subjects) of 350 participants who completed the Tough Mudder race (a 12 mile run with military-style obstacles). We find that Tough Mudders like a low-fit extension (Tough Mudder gear) more than two high-fit extensions (Soft Mudder and 5K Mudder races). Interestingly, we detect a significant interaction between the manipulation and the brand patriotism scale (Bellezza and Keinan 2014), a measure of attachment to the brand ($b = .69$, $t(346) = 33.07$, $p = .005$). The positive response

to low-fit extensions is driven by those Tough Mudders particularly attached to the brand (scoring high on brand patriotism). Moreover, in a mediation analysis, we find that the low-fit extensions elicit positive reactions among Tough Mudders because these products don't allow their users to claim membership to the Tough Mudders' brand community (indirect effect = .13; 95%CI = .028 to .296).

In a between-subjects design conducted with 238 lab participants, Study 2 controls for the specificities of the product category of extension. Participants are either assigned to being owners of Montblanc fountain pens or students at Oxford College. We then manipulate the category of extension (online course on the art of writing vs. ballpoint pen). As predicted, we find a significant cross-over interaction ($F(1, 232) = 23.3$, $p < .001$) such that for Montblanc the online course (low-fit extension) is liked more than the ballpoint pen (high-fit extension), whereas for Oxford University the ballpoint pen (low-fit extension) is liked more than the online course (high-fit extension).

Study 3 tests the reactions of 139 Harvard College undergraduates to three different sets of downward brand extensions: HarvardX, Harvard Extension School, Harvard Summer Program (3 high-fit); Harvard Magazine, Harvard reading glasses, Harvard ties (3 low-fit); Harvard shampoo, Harvard laundry bags, Harvard pajamas, Harvard sunglasses, Harvard chocolate, Harvard soft drinks (6 very low-fit). We find that low-fit extensions are liked more than high-fit extensions, as long as the level of fit is not ridiculously low ($F(2, 773) = 74.47$, $p < .001$).

Finally, in Study 4 we replicate the main effect and mediation results by manipulating (rather than measuring) the extent to which the users of the downward brand extensions can claim membership into the brand community. Even in this study, we use two existing brands (Louboutin for female and Bally for male) and assign participants (N. 297) to product ownership.

We are currently exploring two additional boundary conditions of the effect pertaining to the nature of the brand (luxury brand vs. mainstream brand) and respondents' ownership status (whether they own the brand or not).

In conclusion, our findings address the paradox of downward brand extensions for exclusive and luxury brands. We demonstrate that low-fit extensions can enhance the brand image in the eyes of the existing customers because these products do not allow their users to claim membership to the exclusive brand community.

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Inferential Perspectives in Online Word-of-Mouth: How Senders and Receivers Infer from Subtle Cues

Chair: Soyoung Kim, University of Alberta, Canada

Paper #1: “Don’t Buy” or “Do Not Buy”? Negation Style and Product Evaluations

Soyoung Kim, University of Alberta, Canada
Sarah Moore, University of Alberta, Canada
Kyle Murray, University of Alberta, Canada

Paper #2: Proximate Emotion and Distant Reason: Temporal Inference in Word-of-Mouth

Linda Hagen, University of Michigan, USA
Ed O’Brien, University of Chicago, USA

Paper #3: Positively Useless: Irrelevant Negative Information Enhances Positive Impressions

Meyrav Shoham, Technion, Israel
Sarit Moldovan, Technion, Israel
Yael Steinhart, Tel Aviv University, Israel

Paper #4: Does Sharing Lead to Sharing? Evidence from Free Product Settings

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Online sharing in the form of word-of-mouth (WOM) has become a prevalent and vital source of information for consumers (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006; Dellarocas 2003), allowing them to share their own product and service experiences while learning about the experiences of others. Given that online reviews are inherently embedded in a social context (Hamilton, Vohs, and McGill 2014; Naylor, Lambertson, and Norton 2011), we suggest that seemingly ‘irrelevant’ information (e.g., language use) may serve as a critical social cue that leads consumers to make inferences about reviews or reviewers. The aim of this session is to examine such inferential processes in online WOM. Together, the four papers address the following questions: 1) What inferences do consumers draw from indirect cues in online reviews? and 2) How do these inferences impact review evaluations, product evaluations, and motivation to post reviews? Session attendees will learn how the subtle cues embedded in online reviews affect consumer inferences about both reviewers and reviews, thereby influencing their judgment and behavior.

The first two papers focus on how the language utilized in a review evokes inferences about reviewer characteristics. Kim, Moore, and Murray examine how linguistic negation style—contractions (e.g., isn’t) versus full negations (e.g., is not)—can alter perceptions of the reviewer. They show that the use of contractions leads to more favorable inferences about the reviewer’s warmth and knowledge, as well as more positive product evaluations. Hagen and O’Brien investigate the effect of linguistic temporal markers on review helpfulness. They find that the same review is less impactful when it is shared at a proximate point in time rather than a distant point in time (e.g., after one week vs. after one year), due to inferences that consumers draw about the reviewer’s emotionality and rationality. The last two papers investigate how inferences drawn from multiple reviews impact consumers’ judgment and motivation. Shoham, Moldovan, and Steinhart examine the role of the ‘unhelpful’ reviews in a set of reviews. They demonstrate that seemingly irrelevant negative reviews can lead consumers to infer that the worst is already known

about a product, boosting their product evaluations. Bond, He, and Wen explore reviewer motivation in free product settings (e.g., open-source software), and suggest that posting behavior in these settings is driven in large part by reciprocity. Using a real-world natural experiment, they present evidence that consumers use characteristics of existing reviews (e.g., quantity, variance) to infer whether posting will satisfy their reciprocity motivations.

Together, these papers highlight the diverse ways in which seemingly irrelevant cues in online WOM interact with consumer inference processes to yield unexpected consequences. We expect this session to be of interest to researchers in the areas of social connection and influence, WOM, language, and inference-making. Given the widespread applicability and implications of the issues discussed, we anticipate that the session will foster meaningful connections not only across research topics, but also across academics, practitioners, and consumers.

“Don’t Buy” or “Do Not Buy”? Negation Style and Product Evaluations

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Online sharing in the form of word of mouth (WOM) is increasingly prevalent (Berger and Milkman 2012; Dellarocas 2003) and a significant body of work has demonstrated the impact of positive and negative WOM on consumers and firms (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006; Dellarocas, Zhang, and Awad 2007; Richins 1983). Recent work has expanded beyond this focus on the valence of WOM by examining specific linguistic content. For example, specific emotion words (Yin, Bond, and Zhang 2014), abstract versus concrete language (Schellekens, Verlegh, and Smidts 2010), and explaining language (Moore 2012) can influence consumers’ product evaluations (Moore 2012), review helpfulness (Cao, Duan, and Gan 2011; Yin et al. 2014), and product choice (Kronrod and Danziger 2013). Yet while a growing body of work has examined linguistic content, or *what* is said, little research has examined linguistic style, or *how* things are said. We consider a prevalent and important aspect of linguistic style: negations. Building on the social agreement principle that governs online WOM, we investigate the novel question of how the use of different negation terms in online reviews can alter consumers’ product evaluations.

Specifically, we suggest that reviewers’ use of contracted negations (e.g., don’t) will lead consumers to have more favorable product evaluations than reviewers’ use of full negations (e.g., do not), due to the reduction in negativity communicated by contracted negations. Because the minimization of negatives in contractions better fits the socially communicative and interactive nature of online WOM (Berger 2014; Hamilton et al. 2014; Naylor et al. 2011), in which overt disagreement is curtailed and agreement is preferred (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977), the use of contracted negations should suggest a more favorable persona about the reviewer to consumers, resulting in more positive product evaluations than the use of full negations, which stress negativity (Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew, and Deckert 2002). Two studies test this hypothesis and show that consumers perceive a reviewer who uses contracted negations as warmer and more knowledgeable than one who uses full negations and evaluate the target product more favorably. A third study rules out processing fluency and language typicality as alternative explanations for this effect.

Study 1 tested whether negation style influences product evaluations. Undergraduates ($N = 85$, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.9$, $SD = 2.34$) read one of three identical online reviews about a digital camera. The reviews varied only in whether a sentence about the camera's ease of use contained a contraction ("wasn't easy to use"), a full negation ("was not easy to use"), or an affirmation ("was easy to use"). Participants reported their overall evaluations of the camera (e.g., bad/good, unfavorable/favorable; $\alpha = .89$) and their perceptions of how easy the camera was to use on 7-point scales. Participants in both negation conditions ($M_{\text{contracted}} = 4.33$, $M_{\text{full}} = 3.91$) evaluated the camera less positively than those in the affirmation condition ($M = 5.00$, $ps < .0001$), showing that both negations were attended to. However, participants who read the contracted negation evaluated the camera more positively than those who read the full negation ($t = 2.85$, $p < .01$) and rated the camera to be easier to use in the contraction condition ($M = 3.48$) than those in the full negation condition ($M = 2.79$; $t = 2.12$, $p < .05$).

To test the underlying mechanism, study 2 examined whether consumers' perceptions of reviewers' warmth and knowledge mediated the effect on negation style on product evaluations. Mechanical Turk participants ($N = 365$, $M_{\text{age}} = 33.1$, $SD = 11.64$) read an online review about a digital camera, the content of which was identical except for three sentences which contained either contracted or full negations (e.g., "the video menu wasn't/was not working properly"). Participants then evaluated the camera as in study 1 and rated the reviewer's warmth and knowledge (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). Participants in the contracted negation condition evaluated the camera more positively ($M = 4.26$) than those in the full negation condition ($M = 4.04$; $t = 1.95$, $p = .05$), and perceived the reviewer as warmer ($M_{\text{contracted}} = 4.84$, $M_{\text{full}} = 4.60$; $t = 2.03$, $p < .05$) and more knowledgeable ($M_{\text{contracted}} = 4.91$, $M_{\text{full}} = 4.62$; $t = 1.99$, $p < .05$). The effect of negation style on product evaluations was mediated by the reviewer's perceived warmth (95% CI: 0.001 – 0.082) and knowledge (95% CI: 0.005 – 0.101; Hayes 2013) individually.

Study 3 ruled out two alternative explanations for these findings. Contracted negations could lead to increased product evaluations not because of reviewer perceptions, but because they are more typical (Kronrod and Danziger 2013; Ling and Baron 2007) or more fluent to process (Alter et al. 2007) than full negations. Participants assessed the typicality (e.g., "How typical is this sentence for an online review?") and fluency (e.g., "How easy to read was this sentence?") of the sentences with contracted or full negations from study 2. We found that neither variable mediated the effect of negation style on product evaluations.

In sum, these findings suggest that beyond linguistic content, the linguistic *style* of negations can influence consumers. Specifically, consumers evaluate products more favorably and perceive reviewers as warmer and more knowledgeable when they use contracted rather than full negations. In contrast to prior work, which has focused on full negations (Grant et al. 2004), this research provides a nuanced understanding of negation style. By providing insight into how negations influence consumer judgments, this work contributes theoretically to marketing and psychology, and offers insight for marketers and consumers regarding online WOM.

Proximate Emotion and Distant Reason: Temporal Inference in Word-of-Mouth

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Before purchasing, consumers often seek the opinions of others who have had personal exposure to the product. For example, many people browse customer reviews online. We find that the persuasive impact of these word-of-mouth (WOM) opinions depends on the

temporal context of the source: the same review is much less impactful when shared at "proximate" (i.e., soon after product purchase) versus "distant" (i.e., long after product purchase) points in time.

Surprisingly, this is not merely attributable to a perceived lack of usage experience on the part of quick review writers. Rather, this effect is driven by personality inferences about the reviewer, such that proximate reviewers are perceived as impulsive and emotional, rendering their opinion less credible and overall less helpful. The detrimental effect of proximate WOM is thwarted, however, when (a) the source's rationality is reaffirmed in other ways, (b) the review is emotion-relevant, i.e., about hedonic products, or (c) the audience is induced to value emotions. Five studies explore the phenomenon and establish process through mediation and moderation.

To begin, we showed the basic effect that proximate WOM is less impactful than distant WOM. First, a field study using real food processor reviews from Williams-Sonoma (Study 1a) leveraged ordinal length-of-ownership information reported by reviewers ("less than 1 week"–"over 5 years") to predict the proportion of readers rating the review as helpful ("I found this review: helpful vs. not helpful"). Regression showed that the more proximate the review to the purchase, the smaller the proportion of readers who rated it as helpful, even controlling for valence, word count, and concreteness.

Next, in a controlled laboratory experiment, participants read a positive or negative iPhone review labeled with a review date that was close (proximate) or far (distant) from the phone's reported release date (Study 1b). All other features of the review, including the content mentioned, were held constant. Participants rated on 1-7 scales how reliable, diagnostic, accurate, dependable, and helpful the review was, and how confident it made them feel ("Helpfulness Index," $\alpha = .95$). They also indicated to what extent the reviewer seemed like a person who is impulsive, emotional, rational (reversed), or has strong feelings ("Personality Index," $\alpha = .62$). As predicted, proximate reviews were seen as less helpful than distant reviews, despite identical review content. Further, proximate reviewers were perceived as more emotional types of people than distant reviewers, and this difference mediated the effect of time on review helpfulness (regardless of review valence).

Studies 1a and 1b showed evidence for the proposed effects, that is, that proximal reviews are less impactful, and that this is due to perception of proximate reviewers as impulsive and emotional. While Study 1b showed process evidence through mediation, we next examined moderators to further support our process hypothesis. Specifically, we tested whether reviews by patently unemotional reviewers (Study 2), for emotion-relevant products (Study 3), or read by an audience induced to value "gut" reactions and emotions (Study 4), would turn off the effect.

In Study 2, participants read positive Samsung Chromebook reviews written by a layperson or a professional product reviewer at a proximate or distant time after purchase. Here, temporal distance was manipulated by explicit mention of the specific timeframe of ownership. Again, participants completed the review "Helpfulness Index." To the extent that a professional product reviewer is perceived as unemotional (i.e., clearly writing the review based on logic and expertise), the effect of temporal distance on helpfulness should be muted. As predicted, reviews written by laypeople were much less helpful when shared soon versus long after purchase, but for reviews written by professional reviewers proximity did not undermine helpfulness.

Following the same design, in Study 3, participants read positive reviews written about a cook book or a food-art book at a proximate or distant point after purchase. As before, they rated the review on the "Helpfulness Index." Once more, we found the predicted interaction between temporal distance and product type: For the cook book (i.e., a product that does not involve immediate hedonic reac-

tions), proximate reviews were indeed much less helpful than identical reviews at a distant point. However, for the food-art book (i.e., a product for which immediate hedonic reactions are relevant), proximate reviews were seen as just as helpful as distant reviews.

Finally, in Study 4, participants read a positive review of a beverage mix written at a proximate or distant time after purchase. Crucially, before reading the review and rating the “Helpfulness Index,” half the respondents read a mock New York Times article about research evidencing the value of gut reactions and instinctual decisions (based on actual research, e.g., Gigerenzer 2007). To the extent that the article persuades people to value quick, feelings-based judgments, the effect of temporal distance on helpfulness should be muted. Indeed, as predicted, we found an interaction between temporal distance and attitude toward emotional reactions: Among control participants who read nothing beforehand, proximate reviews were seen as less helpful than distant reviews, replicating our basic effect. However, among those who read about the value of emotions, proximate reviews were seen as just as helpful as distant reviews.

Across field and laboratory studies, reviews shared soon after purchase were perceived as much less impactful than the same reviews shared at more distant points, because they made the reviewer seem too emotional to be taken seriously. These findings provide nuanced insight what consumers value in reviews: reasoned, thought-out opinions (even when shared quickly) are more persuasive than rather than sharing one’s initial emotion-based reactions. They also reveal that including temporal information in reviews can critically affect the persuasiveness of the review, and can strengthen its impact if the temporal relation matches the product. While firms may want to facilitate the reporting of temporal information, consumers themselves may strategically consider their use of temporal information to heighten their persuasiveness. Positive reviews might be bolstered by emphasizing the reviewer’s distance, just as negative reviews might be assuaged by emphasizing the reviewer’s proximity.

Positively Useless: Irrelevant Negative Information Enhances Positive Impressions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The current research examines the desirability and impact of irrelevant information, focusing on unhelpful online reviews. Positive and helpful user reviews typically increase evaluations and sales (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006; Zhu and Zhang 2010). While negative reviews can increase product awareness (Berger, Sorensen, and Rasmussen 2010) and negative information can be beneficial in two-sided communications and reviews (Eisend 2006; Schlosser 2011), less is known about the effect of irrelevant information in the context of word of mouth and reviews. We suggest that unhelpful reviews can have a positive effect – if they are presented as being negative.

Online reviews are usually written by strangers, making it difficult to assess their value and relevance (Schlosser 2011). We propose that when consumers are uncertain of the best choice, they turn to the small number of available negative reviews, due to the perception that negative information is more diagnostic and valuable (e.g., Rozin and Royzman 2001). Irrelevant negative reviews do not provide the expected diagnostic value, so they are perceived as unhelpful, yet they lead consumers to infer that the worst is known and the product really is as good as advertised. This boosts the perceived usefulness of the positive information, resulting in more positive evaluations.

Past research has demonstrated that irrelevant information can have positive effects if it is valued by consumers (Carpenter, Glazer, and Nakamoto 1994), but also that it can reduce product evaluations if not valued (Brown and Carpenter 2000) or dilute the impact of

more relevant information (e.g., Meyvis and Janiszewski 2002). We build on this research and suggest that the way irrelevant information is presented can determine its impact. We predict that when irrelevant information, such as an unhelpful review, is framed *negatively*, it can lead to higher product evaluations and purchase intentions.

More specifically, we hypothesize that evaluations will be more positive when a review set includes an unhelpful review that is framed negatively rather than positively, and compared to sets without an unhelpful review. This hypothesis is confirmed in a series of five studies.

In study 1, participants evaluated an espresso machine and were assigned to one of three conditions: a set of four positive reviews only (control) or the same reviews with an additional unhelpful review, framed with either a positive or a negative rating (1 or 5 stars). This review provided general information about coffee rather than the specific espresso machine. As predicted, evaluations differed across conditions ($F_{(2, 74)} = 3.56, p < .05$). They were significantly higher when the review set included a *negatively* framed unhelpful review ($M = 5.81$) compared to the positive frame ($M = 5.04, t_{(48)} = 2.61, p < .05$) and control conditions ($M = 5.0, t_{(41)} = 2.41, p < .05$). The latter two conditions did not differ significantly.

Study 2 showed that the effect is moderated by familiarity with the reviewers. Student participants read comments about an elective course, supposedly provided by either friends or strangers. Once again, there were four identical positive comments and one unhelpful comment, framed either positively (“recommended”) or negatively (“not recommended”). The comment (that it fit the commenter’s schedule) was not perceived as useful by the participants. The expected 2-way interaction ($F_{(1, 91)} = 5.80, p < .05$) emerged: when the reviewers were strangers, evaluations were significantly higher if the set included a negatively framed unhelpful comment ($M = 5.68$) rather than a positive one ($M = 5.0, t_{(39)} = 2.35, p < .05$). When the reviewers were friends, the framing did not impact evaluations ($t < 1$). Bootstrapping analysis showed that the effect was mediated by greater perceived usefulness of the review set overall.

Study 3 sought to rule out two-sided persuasion as an alternative explanation, by showing that our effect derives from lack of negative diagnostic value rather than the inclusion of negative information. We added a condition with a weak but helpful negative review. As expected, we found a significant difference in evaluations of a camera ($F_{(2, 100)} = 4.71, p < .05$). Evaluations were significantly higher in the negative-unhelpful condition ($M = 5.76$) compared to the positive-unhelpful condition ($M = 5.15, t_{(64)} = 2.32, p < .05$) and the weak-negative condition ($M = 4.97, t_{(68)} = 2.91, p < .01$).

Study 4 demonstrated that the effect occurs when a negative review is personally irrelevant but not if it is relevant (and thus, truly negative). Participants read reviews of running shoes comprising either four positive reviews or the same reviews with an additional one-star review, which contained information relevant for women but not for men. The expected gender \times review set interaction emerged ($F_{(1, 80)} = 10.39, p < .01$). Men were willing to pay more for the shoes when the review set included the additional (irrelevant) review ($M = 86.97$) compared to when they saw only the four positive reviews ($M = 71.90; t_{(40)} = 2.14, p < .05$). Women, however, were willing to pay less when the additional (relevant) review was included ($M = 74.70$) than when it was not ($M = 89.68; t_{(40)} = -2.45, p < .05$).

In an additional study, participants chose a short video to watch as part of the experiment, based on user comments about each option. All participants actually saw the same video; however, those who chose a video that had an unhelpful negative review were more satisfied with their choice ($M = 5.38$) than those who did not ($M = 4.52; t_{(102)} = 2.73, p < .01$). This shows that the effect of unhelpful negative reviews extends into post-decision satisfaction.

The findings demonstrate that unhelpful reviews can have a positive effect on evaluations, and that they can boost the impact of positive reviews – if they are presented with a negative frame. Lack of negative diagnosticity, rather than the mere inclusion of negative information, is of key importance, making seemingly irrelevant information quite relevant with regard to evaluation and purchase decisions. While consumers and sellers may find some types of reviews and information unhelpful and irrelevant, these can nonetheless have unexpected positive effects.

Does Sharing Lead to Sharing? Evidence from Free Product Settings

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Modern technology enables consumers to share product-related information, opinions, and experiences via platforms accessible to millions (social networks, retailer websites, review databases, blogs, etc.). As a result, online word-of-mouth (WOM) has come to represent a distinct communication channel, profoundly affecting consumer information search and decision making, while offering new challenges and opportunities for marketers (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006; Schulze, Schöler, and Skiera 2014; Zhu and Zhang 2010). From a consumer and a practitioner standpoint, helpful WOM depends crucially on the willingness of consumers to share with one another; therefore, it is critical to understand the motivations underlying sharing behavior, so that such behavior can be facilitated, managed, and made sustainable.

Existing research on motivation for product-related WOM has focused almost entirely on retail WOM platforms and paid product settings (e.g., Dellarocas, Gao, and Narayan 2010; Lovett, Peres, and Shachar 2013). WOM in these settings is traditionally attributed to a self-focused, impression management motivation, whereby consumers seek to signal to others their expertise, status, conformity, uniqueness, etc. (Berger 2014). In contrast, our research examines drivers of consumer WOM in a setting where products are available for no (monetary) cost. This setting applies to a variety of modern marketplaces, especially in the technology arena, where ‘freemium’ business models are common (Niculescu and Wu 2014), and groups of enthusiasts produce high-quality goods and services for public consumption (e.g., smartphone apps, open-source software, webzines). Will WOM for free products follow the same social dynamics as for paid products, or will underlying motivations and sharing behavior differ?

Our primary argument is that an other-focused, reciprocity mechanism (Cialdini and Goldstein 2004; Gouldner 1960) is a prominent driver of WOM in free product markets. Our logic is based on the application of social exchange norms to producer-consumer relationships. In traditional (costly) product settings, buyers exchange monetary payment for the value that they derive from the products they consume. In free product settings, however, buyers must seek nonmonetary methods of compensating to avoid violating the norm of exchange. Given the limited options for doing so, we predict that consumers will view the provision of ‘helpful’ WOM as a practical and effective means of reciprocity.

To test of our hypothesis, we investigated a real-world, online review platform for free digital products (e.g., open-source software). To investigate our reciprocity mechanism and disentangle it from alternative accounts, we explored how the sharing behavior of prior consumers affected the sharing behavior of later consumers. In order for WOM to provide an effective means of reciprocating producers, consumers must infer that it provides meaningful value over existing WOM. Therefore, we predicted that likelihood of posting a review would depend on the quantity and dispersion of existing

reviews. Specifically: when the quantity of prior WOM is low (i.e., there are few existing reviews) or the dispersion of prior WOM is low (i.e., the content of existing reviews is similar), the perceived value of additional sharing for reciprocation will increase, resulting in a greater likelihood of posting. When the quantity or dispersion of prior WOM is high, the perceived value of additional sharing will decrease, resulting in a lower likelihood of posting. Importantly, these predictions contrast with the behavior implied by the ‘herding’ motivation often assumed in traditional review settings (Berger 2014; Moe and Schweidel 2012).

The basis for our natural experiment was a series of platform-wide reforms that resulted in the removal of a portion of existing reviews from the platform. Exploiting this exogenous shock, we used a difference-in-difference approach (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006) to examine how changes to review distributions across products impacted sharing by subsequent customers. Because we could not directly observe individual posting behavior before and after the reform, we focused on the product level, and use changes to the quantity of posts as evidence that the intensity of posting motivation had changed. The sampling period began six months before the review system reform and ended seven months afterwards.

Analyses were performed via a series of conditional fixed-effect Poisson regressions. Results revealed consistent support for our hypotheses regarding reciprocity motivation. Contrary to the ‘herding’ prediction that a large quantity of WOM would invoke more sharing, we found that individuals became more likely to post a review as the quantity of existing reviews became smaller. Specifically, estimated coefficients suggested that a 10% reduction in the number of existing reviews would be expected to increase subsequent posting by seven to nine percent. Also supporting predictions, results indicated that propensity to share was impacted by the dispersion of prior reviews, such that greater dispersion (“mixed opinions”) reduced sharing. Specifically, estimated coefficients suggested that an increase of one standard deviation in existing review valence would be expected to decrease subsequent posting by twenty to twenty-seven percent. Offering further support for our model, follow-up analyses showed that the effects of both quantity and dispersion on posting were attenuated when there were other opportunities for reciprocation were available (e.g., a separate user feedback forum was present).

Together, our theory and findings contribute to current understanding of WOM by providing evidence for a heretofore understudied, reciprocity-based motivation. Moreover, they suggest potential means by which retailers, third-party forums, etc., might encourage customer conversations without resorting to pecuniary incentives that undermine trustworthiness (Stephen et al. 2013). For example, by framing a review request in terms of ‘giving back,’ and by highlighting specific aspects of existing product discussion (e.g., quantity or dispersion), platforms may be able to directly evoke reciprocity motivation among new users, increasing the likelihood that they will contribute to the discussion.

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It Is Not What It Seems: Unexpected Influences On Doing Good For Yourself And Others

Chairs: Simona Botti, London Business School, United Kingdom
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Paper #1: Cross-Domain Effects of Guilt on Desire for Self-Improvement Products

Thomas Allard, Sauder School of Business, Canada
Katherine White, Sauder School of Business, Canada

Paper #2: Choice Closure Increases Indulgence (But Only Once!)

Yangjie Gu, HEC, France
Anne-Kathrin Klesse, Tilburg University, the Netherlands
Simona Botti, London Business School, UK
David Faro, London Business School, UK

Paper #3: “Serves you Right”? The Dark Side of a Malleable Mindset

Liat Levontin, Technion, Israel Institute of Technology, Israel
Gita Venkataramani Johar, Columbia Business School, USA

Paper #4: Excusing Selfishness in Charitable Giving: The Role of Risk

Christine Exley, Stanford University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumer behavior researchers have been increasingly interested in consumer welfare, as testified by numerous recent publications on topics such as self-control (Wilcox and Stephen 2013), food consumption (Wansink and van Ittersum 2013), and promotion of healthy life-styles (Bolton et al. 2007). Consumer welfare can be improved by doing good not only for oneself but also for others: helping (Weinstein and Ryan 2010), volunteering (Petty and Hewitt 2001), or donating (Dunn, Aknin, and Norton 2014) have been shown to positively influence well-being.

This session investigates doing good both for self and others, and deals with a number of diverse phenomena: self-improvement, self-control, and prosocial behavior. The objective of the session is to examine factors that can unexpectedly facilitate or prevent doing good for the self and others. Surprisingly, factors generally considered as potentially damaging for consumer welfare, such as guilt and indulgence, end up being useful in fostering self-improvement and long-term healthier eating. Similarly, factors generally considered as beneficial for consumer welfare, such as malleable beliefs and a rational approach to giving, turn out to be detrimental to prosocial behavior.

The paper by **Allard and White** demonstrates positive consequences for the self of an affective experience generally considered as detrimental: guilt. The paper highlights that guilt activates a self-improvement motive, and therefore facilitates preferences for options enabling this self-improvement. The paper by **Gu, Klesse, Botti and Faro** illustrates how reaching closure with a choice of a *want* (e.g., chocolate cake) over a *should* (e.g., fruit salad) option lead to greater indulgence. This response, which is potentially self-damaging in the short term, has desirable long-term consequences in that it increases the likelihood to eat healthier in a subsequent choice.

These first two papers focus on factors that may have an unexpected positive impact on doing good for the self. The last two papers focus on factors that may have an unexpected negative impact on doing good for others. The paper by **Levontin and Johar** shows that belief in change, which is considered as valuable for the self, reveals

a dark side when it comes to doing good for others. Individuals who believe that personal qualities are malleable (“incremental theorists”) are less likely to help than those who do not (“entity theorists”). The fourth paper by **Exley** studies how potential donors use the perceived risk that their donations may have a low impact as an excuse not to give. Donors’ attention to the performance of non-profit organizations represents a sensible attitude toward charitable giving but can also justify the decision of not donating.

As a whole, these papers include studies that involve both hypothetical scenarios and actual experiences in the lab and the field. They raise questions such as: What factors considered as harmful for the self can foster doing good for others? What factors considered as valuable in prosocial settings can prevent doing good for the self? Focusing on doing good for yourself and others is expected to connect researchers interested in different topics such as consumer welfare, prosocial behavior, and self-control.

Cross-Domain Effects of Guilt on Desire for Self-Improvement Products

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The current research highlights a novel downstream consequence of guilt—cross-domain preferences for choices enabling self-improvement. We propose that when opportunities to engage in actions directly aimed at addressing the source of the guilt are not available, guilt activates a general motive to improve the self. We show that guilt can lead to preferences for options geared toward improving important facets of the self, even in domains unrelated to the one where the guilt originated. Importantly, this increase in desire for self-improvement products is not observed in response to other negative emotions (e.g., shame, embarrassment, or sadness).

Past research shows that the experience of guilt often leads individuals to engage in actions allowing for reparation of the wrongdoing in a way that can *directly* resolve feelings of guilt (e.g., Ainslie 1975; Tangney and Dearing 2002). Guilt can also lead to behaviors aimed at *indirectly* addressing the feelings of guilt by reducing people’s negative mood either through mood-repairing behaviors such as prosocial actions or hedonic consumption (e.g., Bybee et al. 1996; De Hooge, Zeelenberg, and Breugelmans 2007; Konecni 1972) or through an avoidance of wasteful or immoral consumption choices that would further worsen their mood (e.g., chips or CDs; Khan and Dhar 2006; Kivetz and Keinan 2006; Zemack-Rugar, Bettman, and Fitzsimons 2007).

The current research introduces a third downstream consequence of guilt—its ability to induce a generalized desire for self-improvement. We suggest that because guilt is associated with a salient awareness of a failure to meet important self-standards (Miceli and Castelfranchi 1998; Tracy and Robins 2004), it can activate a general motivation to improve the self through consumption choices with self-improvement features. In sum, we propose that one additional response to guilt is to seek out options enabling self-improvement, even in domains unrelated to the source of the guilt.

Study 1 ($n = 169$, MTurk) utilizes a 2 (guilt vs. neutral) between-participants design and demonstrates our framework that guilt activates self-improvement strivings, which then lead to preferences for self-improvement products. Participants recalled either a time

when they let someone down and felt guilty about it or a neutral encounter. Afterwards, participants rated their general motivation to self-improve (four 7-point items; e.g., “I want to do better;” $\alpha = .82$). Participants were then asked to provide their likelihood of using a fitness-tracking app offering a number of self-improvement features including a pedometer, calorie counter, and sleep cycle visualization options (“very unlikely-improbable/very likely-probable,” $r = .98$), and controlling for fitness level. Participants in the guilt condition ($M = 5.68$) were more likely to use the app compared to those in the control condition ($M = 5.19$; $F(1, 166) = 4.01, p < .05$), and such effect was mediated by activated self-improvement strivings ($CI_{95} [0.01, 0.30]$).

Study 2 ($n = 166$, students) uses a mixed design with a 2-level between-participants factors (emotion: guilt vs. neutral) and a 2-level within-participants factor (pre-choice vs. post-choice measures of guilt and of desire for self-improvement). This study rules out an alternative explanation relying on mood-repair and instead tests that the selection of self-improvement options was serving a self-improvement function, through a steeper decline in the intensity of the self-improvement strivings for those who selected a self-improvement product.

After the emotional manipulation (same as study 1), participants reported the extent to which the event they described made them feel guilty (guilty, repentant, blameworthy; Tangney et al. 1996; 1 = not at all, 7 = very much; $\alpha = .96$) and their self-improvement strivings (see study 1; $\alpha = .84$). Participants were then shown a pack of sticky notes with the caption: “Sticky notes for effective knowledge retention—the secret weapon of students wishing to improve” and were offered the option to forgo (\$1) in exchange for the product. After making their choice, participants answered the two scales for a second time.

Participants were more likely to select the self-improvement product in the guilt (64.7%) compared to the control condition (49.4%; $\chi^2(1) = 3.98, p < .05$). For the guilt measure, a repeated-measures ANOVA revealed only a decay of the effect of the guilt manipulation over time (repeated measure by emotion interaction ($F(1,162) = 14.47, p < .001$), suggesting that choosing the self-improvement product (vs. not) had no influence on the magnitude of the guilt decay. For self-improvement strivings, results revealed a steeper difference between post minus pre self-improvement desire score by product choice (three-way interaction $F(1,162) = 3.57, p = .06$) suggesting that selecting a self-improvement product can address the guilt-heightened desire for self-improvement. Pre-choice self-improvement striving score also mediates the effect of guilt on product choice ($CI_{95} [0.08, 0.97]$). Thus, the results in this study appear to be driven by a desire for self-improvement, rather than a mood management motive.

Study 3 ($n = 157$, students) compares the effects of guilt (vs. neutral) on self-improvement against embarrassment, shame, sadness and controls for the alternative explanation of a punishment-seeking motivation (e.g., Nelissen and Zeelenberg 2009). Participants were first assigned to one of five emotional-recall conditions (short definitions of the emotions were provided). Then, participants read about the functional benefits of two herbal teas, the “Get Smart (self-improvement)” and “Get Happy (control)” flavors, and reported their willingness to pay for a box of each product. Participants also rated the extent to which they were currently seeking punishment using four 7-point items (e.g., “I want to deny myself rewards;” $\alpha = .89$). A repeated-measures ANOVA identified a significant interaction between product type and emotion on willingness to pay ($F(4, 152) = 2.43, p = .05$). Only participants in the guilt condition were willing to pay more for the self-improvement product compared to

the control product ($F(1, 152) = 4.25, p < .05$). In addition, this effect does not appear to be explained by desire for punishment-seeking.

Taken together, these studies provide converging evidence that the experience of guilt can lead to increased preferences for self-improvement consumption choices, even in domains different from where the guilt originated.

Choice Closure Increases Indulgence (But Only Once!)

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers frequently face a trade-off between what they want (e.g., chocolate cake) and what they should (e.g., fruit salad) choose. In such situations, consumers experience a conflict between highly desirable options that allow immediate pleasure (*want* options) and those that are less immediately appealing but provide more long-term benefits (*should* options) (Bazerman, Tenbrunsel, and Wade-Benzoni 1998; Thaler and Shefrin 1981). Literature has shown that choosing *want* options evokes negative feelings, such as guilt (Giner-Sorolla 2001; Kivetz and Simonson 2002), which may decrease the pleasure derived from the desirable consumption experience.

We propose choice closure—a psychological process by which decision makers come to perceive a decision to be complete (Gu, Botti, and Faro 2013)—as a means to reduce the negative feelings derived from choosing the *want* in place of the *should* option. Recent research (Gu et al. 2013) demonstrated that choice closure triggers (e.g., physical acts such as closing a lid and visual cues such as rejection signs) inhibit unfavorable comparisons between the selected and the rejected options, increasing satisfaction with the decision outcome in the context of difficult decisions. In the case of decisions that involve a *want* versus *should* conflict, we predict choice closure to inhibit the unfavorable feelings (e.g., Bitterly et al. 2014) induced by choosing the *want* option and, hence, enhance the pleasure individuals derive from their choice. However, by allowing consumers to maximize indulgence in the short-term, choice closure might reduce their desire to indulge again in the long term. Hence, consumers presented with a second conflicting choice might be more likely to choose the *should* option when they have reached closure on their first *want* option than when they have not. We test these predictions in four studies—three laboratory and one field study—utilizing different triggers of choice closure, and different manifestations of pleasure (e.g., intended consumption and enjoyment).

In Study 1 ($n = 153$), participants chose between M&Ms (*want* option) and grapes (*should* option) that were covered with a transparent lid. Initially, all participants were asked to remove the lid. To manipulate choice closure, half of them were asked to put the lid back on the rejected option after making their choice (closure condition) while the other half left the lid open (no-closure condition). Next, all participants poured as many M&Ms/grapes into their own cup as they wanted to eat. In line with our prediction that closure increases the tendency to indulge, participants in the choice closure condition poured more grams of M&Ms ($M_{closure} = 9.79$ versus $M_{noclosure} = 7.21$, $F(1,150) = 6.47, p = .012$). The amount of grapes poured was not affected by choice closure.

In Study 2 ($n = 120$), we replicated this finding by controlling for self-selection. Participants chose between two options—yogurt coated peanuts and chocolate coated raisins. Choice closure was manipulated as in the previous study. Regardless of their choice, participants in the *want* condition were provided some feedback describing their selection as superior on taste but inferior on healthiness. Participants in the control condition did not receive any feedback. Next, all participants poured as much as they wanted to eat of the chosen snack into their own cup. Utilizing square-root transforma-

tion, the results show that choice closure increased the amount of grams poured in the *want* condition ($M_{closure} = .73$ versus $M_{noclosure} = .51$, $F(1,128) = 4.84$, $p = .03$). The amount poured in the control condition was not affected by choice closure.

In Study 3 ($n = 332$), we measured indulgence by asking consumers' the level of enjoyment they expected to derive from their choice of chocolate cake (*want* option) or fruit salad (*should* option). Choice closure was manipulated by exposing half of the participants to a visual cue of closure after making their choice (i.e., a "rejected" sign attached to the rejected option) while the other half saw the pictures of both options without any additional sign. Choice closure increased the anticipated enjoyment for individuals that chose the chocolate cake ($M_{closure} = 7.94$ versus $M_{noclosure} = 7.55$, $F(1,330) = 4.74$, $p = .03$). The enjoyment of those that opted for the fruit salad was not affected by choice closure.

The results of these three studies denote that choice closure increases pleasure with *want* options manifesting itself in greater quantity poured for intended consumption or higher anticipated enjoyment. In Study 4 ($n = 111$), we investigated potential downstream consequences in a field setting. We predicted that consumers who reached closure over their decision to select a *want* option and fully enjoyed their experience would experience a lower desire to indulge again in a subsequent choice. Guests of a restaurant chose a dessert out of four options, two *wants* (i.e., Crème de Brûlée and chocolate cake) and two *shoulds* (i.e., yogurt and fruit salad). Notably, guests either received a two-page menu that could be closed (closure condition) or a one-page menu (no-closure condition) that could not be closed. For those guests that chose one of the *want* options, the waitress asked whether they wanted ice crème (*want* option) or berries (*should* option) on the side. Significantly fewer participants in the closure condition chose the ice crème as the side than in the no-closure condition (52.2% versus 71.4%, $c^2(1) = 4.02$, $p = .045$), indicating that reaching closure on a first indulgent choice decreases the tendency to indulge again in a subsequent decision.

Overall, these findings denote two positive consequences of choice closure when choosing between *want* and *should* options: closure increases the pleasure individuals' derive from their choice of a *want* option and it decreases their tendency to continue indulging in a subsequent decision.

"Serves you Right"? The Dark Side of a Malleable Mindset

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Individuals differ greatly in their view about whether people's traits can adapt, change and grow over time (Chiu, Hong, and Dweck 1997; Levy, Stroessner, and Dweck 1998; Mukhopadhyay and Johar, 2005). Whereas "entity theorists" hold a fixed mindset of personal traits and characters, and do not believe that personal qualities can change much over time, "incremental theorists" hold a more malleable and dynamic view of traits and believe that personal qualities are changeable and can grow over time. An emphasis on growth has been found to increase intellectual achievement, advance conflict resolution between long-standing adversaries, decrease even chronic aggression, foster cross-race relations, and enhance willpower (Dweck 2012).

However, there is also a dark side to the belief in growth. Incremental theorists' behavior towards others stems from their belief that people can change their immoral behaviors and misfortunate situations. Thus, for example, incremental theorists are less forgiving than entity theorists, and this difference is explained by the incremental theorists' stronger tendency to appraise the transgressor as

responsible for causing the hurtful event (Ng and Tong, 2013). In this research we examine prosocial behavior towards victims of negative events. We hypothesized that incremental theorists make a default attribution that the victims are responsible for their plight. Being in need is a violation of incremental beliefs. The belief in growth suggests that everyone can grow and change their position in life. Thus, through the lenses of incremental theorists, those who are in need are responsible for their condition. Accordingly, they deserve less help, which results in what we call 'the dark side of malleable mindset.' Entity theorists hold a relatively fixed view of self and hence are likely to view the victims as unable to change what befalls them and less responsible for their plight. The results of two studies support this hypothesis.

In Study 1 ($n = 80$) participants first read a short paragraph (the well-established implicit theories manipulation, Chiu, Hong, et al. 1997) that presented research suggesting that personality is either fixed (entity condition) or malleable (incremental condition). Participants then read about the Williams family that is desperately poor, has no home and faces a threat of severe hunger. Participants reported whether they would be willing to donate money to help the Williams family, to volunteer helping families like the Williams family, and whether they believed that the Williams family are to be blamed for their condition. Note that blame for the Williams family's dire situation is ambiguous—it could be a result of dispositional or situational causes. As expected, following the entity manipulation participants were more willing to donate money and to volunteer ($M_{donate} = 5.38$, $SD = 1.68$; $M_{volunteer} = 5.33$, $SD = 1.72$) than following the incremental manipulation ($M_{donate} = 4.51$, $SD = 1.54$, $F(1,79) = 5.58$, $p = .021$; $M_{volunteer} = 4.74$, $SD = 1.31$, $F(1,79) = 2.84$, $p = .096$). Also as expected incremental theorists believed that the Williams family are to be blamed for their condition ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.29$) more than entity theorists ($M = 2.62$, $SD = 1.40$, $F(1,78) = 4.36$, $p = .040$). Mediation analyses (Hayes, model 4) using bootstrapping (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007) with 5000 replications confirmed that blaming the victims mediates the effect of incremental (vs. entity) beliefs on participants' willingness to donate money (95% CI = $[-.678, -.019]$).

In Study 2 ($n = 234$) implicit theories were manipulated as in Study 1 and blame was also manipulated. In the high blame condition, the paragraph about the Williams family stated that Mr. Williams has lost their home in a gamble, whereas in the low blame condition the paragraph stated that the Williams family had lost their home in a hurricane disaster. Participants then responded to the same dependent variables as in study 1 as well as how many months they would be willing to volunteer. We predicted an interaction effect such that for entity theorists who attribute being in need to victims' fixed nature, blame would have little influence on prosocial behavior. However, incremental theorists would behave less prosocially in the high blame condition, replicating the results of Study 1.

Results showed a main effect for blame on participants' willingness to donate money ($F(1, 2228) = 19.08$, $p = .000$). More importantly, we found the expected interaction between blame and implicit theories ($F(1, 228) = 4.24$, $p = .041$). Entity theorists' willingness to donate money to the Williams family ($M = 4.37$, $SD = 1.81$) did not differ between blame conditions ($F(1,228) = 2.92$, $p = .089$). However, as expected, incremental theorists were less willing to donate in the high blame condition ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 1.68$) than in the low blame condition ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.58$, $F(1,228) = 19.02$, $p = .000$).

Finally, we found no main effects (F 's < 3.4), only the expected interaction between blame and implicit theories on participants' willingness to volunteer ($F(1, 228) = 4.25$, $p = .040$) and the number of months they were willing to volunteer for ($F(1, 228) = 8.05$, p

= .005). Entity theorists' willingness to volunteer ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 1.89$) and its duration ($M = 4.58$, $SD = 3.29$) did not differ between blame conditions ($F_{volunteer}(1,228) = .03$, $p > .250$; $F_{months}(1,228) = 2.62$, $p = .107$). However, as expected, incremental theorists were less willing to volunteer and volunteered for fewer months in the high blame condition ($M_{volunteer} = 4.26$, $SD = 1.70$; $M_{months} = 4.04$, $SD = 2.63$) than in the low blame condition ($M_{volunteer} = 5.20$, $SD = 1.72$, $F_{volunteer}(1,228) = 7.03$, $p = .009$; $M_{months} = 5.57$, $SD = 3.96$; $F_{months}(1,228) = 5.59$, $p = .019$).

The results of these two studies suggest that incremental theorists' belief in growth might sometimes lead them to be more judgmental of others and less generous compared to entity theorists. Research is under way to examine factors that can help mitigate incremental theorists' harsh judgments of those in need.

Excusing Selfishness in Charitable Giving: The Role of Risk

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In the United States, 1 in 4 adults volunteer and 1 in 2 adults give to charities for an estimated combined value of \$500 billion dollars per year (<http://www.givingusareports.org>). An established literature documents potential motives for such giving; for instance, people feel good about themselves when they help others (Andreoni 1989, 1990) or value appearing nice to others (Harbaugh 1998a; Benabou and Tirole 2006; Ariely et al. 2009). These motives, as well as standard economic models, may easily explain a common finding in charitable giving: individuals give less when there is a greater risk that their donation will have less impact (Brock et al. 2013; Krawczyk and Lec 2010). In this paper, however, I investigate whether an additional mechanism is relevant: do people use the risk that their donation may have less than the desired impact as an excuse not to give?

Given that people are frequently asked to give, and an increasing push for individuals to "give wisely," it seems reasonable that individuals may use risk as an excuse not to give. Previous literature has documented the increasing "professionalization" and hence focus on performance in the nonprofit sector (Hwang and Powell 2009), and has demonstrated a large scope for motivations broadly related to excuses. For instance, people often behave more selfishly when they can avoid learning how their decisions affect others (Dana et al. 2007; Bartling et al. 2014), develop self-serving biases (Konow 2000; Haisley and Weber 2010), or rely on the possibility that their decisions did not influence the outcome (Dana et al. 2007; Andreoni and Bernheim 2009; Linardi and McConnell 2011; Falk and Szech 2013).

While this literature suggests a potentially large scope for excuse-driven behavior, it may be difficult to isolate excuse-driven responses from other responses to risk in charitable giving decisions, which often involve multi-faceted decision environments with no clear metric for risk. I thus begin by examining how individuals respond to objective risk in a laboratory study that allows for the necessary control. In particular, participants make a series of binary decisions between risky and riskless payoffs that may benefit themselves or the American Red Cross. A risky payoff is a lottery that yields a non-zero amount with probability P and \$0 with probability $1-P$. A risky payoff is a "charity lottery" if the corresponding outcome is given to the American Red Cross, or a "self lottery" if the corresponding outcome is given to the participant. A riskless payoff yields a non-zero amount with certainty. A riskless payoff is a "charity-certain amount" or "self-certain amount" if it is given to the American Red Cross or to the participant, respectively. In other

words, participants face four types of binary decisions that vary according to the payoff recipients - {self lottery, charity lottery} X {self-certain amount, charity-certain amount} - and these decisions imply valuations that allow me to distinguish between excuse-driven risk preferences and other responses to risk.

To begin, notice that participants do not face tradeoffs between payoffs for themselves and the charity when deciding between: (i) self lotteries and self-certain amounts, or (ii) charity lotteries and charity-certain amounts. In this no self-charity tradeoff context, excuses not to give are irrelevant as participants never decide whether or not to give - i.e., they cannot give in (i) or are forced to give in (ii). By contrast, participants always face tradeoffs between payoffs for themselves and the charity when deciding between: (iii) self lotteries and charity-certain amounts, or (iv) charity lotteries and self-certain amounts. In this self-charity tradeoff context, excuses not to give may be relevant.

I find that in the no self-charity tradeoff context, when excuses are not relevant, participants' responses to risk in charity and self lotteries are nearly indistinguishable. However, in the self-charity tradeoff context, when excuses not to give may be relevant, participants' responses to self risk and charity risk diverge. Consistent with excuse-driven risk preferences, participants act both more averse to charity risk and less averse to self risk. For instance, in response to introducing only 5% risk of a zero-dollar charity payoff, participants' valuations for charity lotteries decrease by 32% in the self-charity tradeoff context. The reduction is four times larger than the corresponding 8% decrease in the no self-charity tradeoff context. That is, participants appear to overweight the possibility that charity lotteries yield zero-dollar payoffs, using it as an excuse to choose self-certain-amounts over charity lotteries. These differences are robust across a range of risk levels, and to a variety of specifications, including simple comparisons of means and estimations that allows for participant-level fixed effects.

I infer from the observed treatment effects that individuals exhibit excuse-driven risk preferences. By exploiting the within-subject design of this study, additional results provide evidence for excuse-driven types of participants. First, there is a within-sample level of consistency: the same participants use both charity risk and self risk as excuses not to give. Second, there is an out-of-sample level of consistency: participants with excuse-driven risk preferences are more likely to engage in other excuse behavior in a separate incentivized "moral wiggle room" task, as developed in Dana et al. (2007).

Two additional laboratory studies document the potential prevalence of excuse-driven responses to risk. First, I find strong evidence for excuse-driven risk preferences when participants decide between payoffs for themselves and payoffs for another study participant, as opposed to payoffs for the charity. Second, I examine whether excuse-driven behavior arises in response to more commonly observed, although less precise, types of risk conveyed via charity performance metrics. Participants value charter schools with different college matriculation rates, animal shelters with different success rates, and charities with different levels of overheads costs. In line with lower charity performance metrics conveying higher risk of donations being used ineffectively or inefficiently, participants reduce their valuations for charities with lower charity performance metrics. In line with excuse-driven behavior, this reduction is larger when excuses not to give are possible, i.e., in the self-charity tradeoff context.

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iMirror/iMirror: Digital Reflections of Self-Consumption

Chair: Robert Kozinets, York University, Canada

Paper #1: Reflections of Self in Food Sharing Interactions and Experiences

Robert Kozinets, York University, Canada
Rachel Ashman, University of Liverpool, UK
Anthony Patterson, University of Liverpool, UK

Paper #2: Consumer Soiveillance: Observations of the Self by Means of New Media Technologies

Anja Dinhopf, University of Queensland, Australia
Ulrike Gretzel, University of Queensland, Australia

Paper #3: Co-Construction of the Digital Self

Russell Belk, York University, Canada

Paper #4: Self-Transformation and Performativity of Social Media Images

Joonas Rokka, NEOMA Business School, France

SESSION OVERVIEW

Although the term “selfie” has gained wide, and often inappropriate, currency in common parlance, the use of technologies to reflect images of the self is actually much wider than mere digital self-portraiture. Indeed, beyond the varieties of self-portrait shared through social media are technologies that reflect the self back to the self, mirror-like, as well as out to the world, broadcast-like, thus playing key roles in the complex contemporary construction of combined private-public selves. Conceptually emphasizing this self-reflective quality, its technological orientation, and its co-creative aspects, this session uses the term “the iMirror” to begin a research conversation about this potential new area. The “iMirror” theoretical conversation focuses not merely on particular manifestations, such as smartphone self-portraiture, but on the wider phenomenon of public-private self-related image sharing, including images of the self in consumption, and its implications for our understanding of self-in-culture and culture-in-self. Using consumer culture research on the vanguard of the phenomenon, this session is intended to highlight and begin to systematize the theoretical implications of these ideas.

Drawing upon multiple case studies interrelated by their self-reflective characteristics, the sessions explores different facets of the iMirror. First, Kozinets, Ashman, and Patterson use their longitudinal netnography of online food-sharing practices to conceptualize these different elements. Their study of food consumption photography blends technology consumption with food, self, and other in digital consumption “networks of practice”. Rob, Rachel, and Tony link these elements to notions of emancipation and participatory culture. But, showing that things are not so rosy, these notions are counterbalanced by a series of updated hegemonic and Weberian “iron cage” implications. Next, drawing on their ethnographic work with wearable camera technology, Dinhopf and Gretzel explore the notion of “soiveillance”, a widely used social media term that situates self-related digital technology practices within the context of surveillance. Building on notions of the panopticon and reconsumption, Anja and Ulli develop theory that helps add qualitative aspects to the quantified self. Belk then takes us on a journey to the center of theories of the self. Building from social psychology and sociology, he skillfully adapts them to the new digital world of iMirrors. Cooley’s notion of The Looking Glass Self and Goffman’s theories of presentation of self are confronted with Russ’s new realities of online tagging, comments, endorsements, and other such responses to consumers’ digital self-presentations. He shows nothing less than that the new digital

self-image is subject to a complex of old and new co-constructing responses of others. In the final paper, Rokka introduces notions of class and status. Joonas uses performativity theory to examine how champagne consumers are bounded by their own self-limits as they self-reflect their consumption online. Analyzing digital images reveals the disciplinary constraints that capital places on performative agency, and allows some speculation about what it might take to escape those limits, and engage in genuine self-transformation.

Each of these papers combines theory with fieldwork and observation. Each deals with the central topic of iMirrors. However, each assumes a unique perspective on the phenomenon—participation, surveillance, co-construction, and self-limitation. Combined into the session, this congerie of related themes reveals more than could any individual presentation. Although the session features consumer culture work, its central topics and constructs—the self and consumption—have wide appeal to those with self and social psychology orientations. The four papers were handpicked for their interrelated fit, offering different theoretical and site sampling angles on the phenomenon, but also with considerable depth. The session is well-suited to elicit and answer questions about new and existing constructs and theoretical relations to explain these new phenomena, such as: “Is there enough here to sketch out a nascent research area?” Technological and theoretical advancements and the nature of consumer-technology, consumer-consumption and consumer-consumer connection will be explored, “advancing” our understanding of consumer “connections” and also connecting “self” concepts across the field of consumer research.

Reflections of Self in Food Sharing Interactions and Experiences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Displaying representations of food is a widespread, global, and significant social media phenomenon with many aspects. This behavior is rooted in part in food photography and recipe books, but has grown to encompass and assume many new forms, such as recipe sharing and so-called “foodporn”. As it always has for scholars such as Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and Sidney Levy (1981), food consumption reveals a socially embodied structure of taste and distinction. Hence, we link the sharing of food related photography to a structure of ‘culinary capital’ (Lebesco and Naccarato 2012), a particular language and set of meanings that is both acculturated and immediately grasped. This research combines longitudinal netnographic work in the space of food and drink display with three years of in-person ethnographic and interview work.

In this paper, we demonstrate how a variety of styles of self-representation can inform our knowledge of the “iMirror”: public-private self-related image sharing, including images of the self in consumption, and its implications for our understanding of self-in-culture and culture-in-self. We note several major uses as consumers reflect consumption outwards, to others. Cosmopolitan and fashionable people like to be seen to eat the ‘correct’ foods, in the ‘correct’ restaurants and, as a consequence, gain admiration through display of their consumer status. However, until relatively recently, telling consumers what and where to eat has mostly been the preserve of food critics writing in newspapers. For many years, alongside the Michelin star system employed to assess haute cuisine restaurants, the system of food critics and evaluators legitimized particular per-

sons as the dominant purveyors of food knowledge. However, the disrupting disintermediation of traditional institutions of taste distribution is shifting, with voices being coopted alongside the emergence of new institutional voices (Dolbec and Fischer forthcoming; Jenkins forthcoming; McQuarrie et al. 2013; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). In tandem with a broadening public sphere more open to exhibitionism through the sharing of intimate and personal revelations resulted in self representation which is outwardly directed and which both de-institutionalizes and re-institutionalizes consumption practices, identities, and characteristics.

The *iMirror* also exhibits consumption of the self to the self. The technological infrastructure equips people with unprecedented agency to reflect their own consumption to themselves through others. Although Web 2.0 technologies, according to the rhetoric at least, render a software-based architecture of participation that has led to consumer empowerment on a level previously unimaginable (Constantinides and Fountain 2008; Krishnamurthy and Kucuk 2008), we also, following Weber's famous metaphor, see this as a type of "Silicon Cage of Rationality". When media is marketplace, and when media are social, there is no escape from the gaze of the market. The implications for media scholar Henry Jenkins' (1991, forthcoming) notion of "participatory culture" is especially salient as it shows how participation in technology for consumption, even in boundary zones where it is not directly or immediately shared through social media, now performs not only a motivational function but also a pedagogical one. Emancipatory potentials are counterbalanced by marketplace hegemonies, and vice versa (Kreiss et al. 2011). Self-reflective technology teaches us how to consume, how to consumer better, hot to display and how not to consume/display. The resulting consumption process is thus much more than a simple addition of voices to an existing process. Instead, the connections enabled by social media create entirely new demands for new self-presentational practices and form of consumption. These work alongside economic and social processes requiring access to technology and a myriad of other products and services.

Although critics still exist and have (real world, and sometimes social media) klout, the creation and maintenance of food markets is therefore, to some extent, now dependent on networks of prosuming consumers, collectives composed of individuals capable of technologically-enabled production, consumption, and entrepreneurship (Moffitt and Dover 2013). Collectively, across a multitude of sharing sites, the depiction of food-related images plays an undeniable role in the arbitration of food tastes and restaurant choices. Typically, in excursions from home to restaurant, consumers are equipped with mobile phone cameras, which they use to capture and upload salivating pictures of restaurant-bought delicacies or homemade foodstuffs. These phones, and the cameras within them, made possible by the miniaturization of both electronic circuits and processors, often described as appendages of their bodies, directly linking them to social cuisine networks.

Appetites, tastes, and distinctions in such food sharing networks become complex market-community-industrial processes. Self-presentational practices in the *iMirror* play a vital role in these processes. Food sharing practices can include human bodies or no human bodies, depending upon the cultural codes conveyed. Patterns in distinct objectified edible objects are complex, and run from the pornographic to the sacralized. Food recipes are shared and tested regarding homemade cuisine. These recipes are subject to further elaboration and addition by other consumers, creating a collective co-creative process akin to networked new product development presaging, perhaps, such refinements in a maker movement of 3-dimensional "recipes". In addition, photographs, restaurants, recipes

and their resultant foodstuffs are ceaselessly rated, presenting a quantification of the gut that has distinctly material effects.

Throughout, the *iMirror*'s representation of the insatiably hungry and always-eating consumer is present, even when it is absent from photographs. In this netnography of online food photo networks, we find food consumption reflected back to self, food consumption reflected outwards to others, technology consumption reflected back to self, and technology consumption reflected out to others. The core categories of self and other—what anthropologists explore as "alterity" (Taussig 1993)—are present not only in every bite we take, but with every photograph we make.

Consumer Soiveillance: Observations of the Self by Means of New Media Technologies

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Soiveillance is a term used in social media to situate self-related practices within the context of the "veillance" family (sur-, trans-, sous-, etc.) and refers to consumers' own observations of the self by the self by means of new media technologies. This paper will build on this term, examining how the consumption of new devices affords consumers increasingly complex ways to expose aspects of the self that are not visible unless tracked or recorded technologically. Wearable technologies, such as diet or activity trackers, in particular have become important tools in aiding consumers track and communicate aspects of their selves. Such user-generated data and technology not only allow insights into people, but give consumers agency: Technology acts as a digital mirror that enables consumers to engage in self-reflection (Lupton, 2013) and personalized interpretation of and interaction with data (Nafus and Sherman, 2014). Previous research on self-tracking has focused exclusively on users' interaction with 'objective' numeric data. Yet, consumers increasingly engage in self-tracking and self-reflection via new media technologies that deliver rich visuals.

Technology now affords consumers the opportunity to watch themselves and their own consumption experiences through video-recording their consumption experiences with wearable cameras. Wearable cameras that offer continuous, hands-free recording have become a global consumer phenomenon, specifically in the action and sports markets. Despite wearable cameras' innovation being the ability to record video from a point-of-view perspective, consumers often use accessories that enable them to record themselves to later rewatch their experiences (Dinhopl and Gretzel 2014). By rewatching their experiences, consumers engage in a variation of volitional reconsumption (Russell and Levy 2012), that is, the conscious seeking to relive their consumption experiences. This volitional reconsumption is not a simple hedonic re-experiencing but is mediated by and reflected upon through a technological lens. It is reflective reconsumption turned on its head: rather than engaging in reflective reconsumption to reflect on oneself at one's current point in life (Russell and Levy 2012), consumers engage in reflective reconsumption to reflect on their past self at the point of their (recorded) experience as well as in regards to their future consumption and social media represented future self.

The self and its consumption experiences thus become images and bits of data that are carefully monitored and scrutinized by consumers themselves or those with whom the records are shared. Self-tracking approaches have previously been linked to Foucauldian themes of surveillance (Albrechtslund 2013; Bossewitch and Sinreich 2013; Lupton 2012), and in this paper, we equally take a Foucauldian perspective to theorize consumers' practices of self-tracking via wearable cameras as both a classic panopticon (1977),

engaging consumers in a disciplinary gaze onto themselves, thereby governing consumer behavior, as well as an obverse panopticon (Kozinets et al. 2004), playing to consumers' enjoyment of being watched. We therefore seek to better/more broadly conceptualize surveillance with respect to consumption experiences.

Drawing from a year-long field study with wearable camera users (snowboarders, skiers, skateboarders, water park visitors, and cyclists), we explore the roles in which consumers use wearable technology for observations and reflections on the self. The camera performs at once as a neutral observer, a quasi-social actor, an arbiter, and an enabler of consumption. As a neutral observer, consumers use wearable cameras as sources of evidence to document their consumption. For example, cyclists mount wearable camera equipment to their bicycles to have visual proof of their innocence in case of traffic accidents. As a quasi-social actor, consumers use wearable cameras as a stand-in for their intended future audience, either themselves or others. They openly integrate the camera into their consumption by talking to it, or engaging in performativity (Larsen 2005, conceptualizing Butler's notion of performativity for the tourist context), for example, by 'mugging' for the camera. As an arbiter of consumption, consumers use wearable cameras to track their consumption, often related to the notion of progress to be critiqued by themselves or others. For example, skateboarders will film tricks and then (re)watch them to critique themselves and their consumption. As an enabler of consumption, consumers use wearable cameras as facilitators of the consumption experience in its own right. Filming consumption is prioritized over the consumption that is being filmed. In order to capture satisfying video, consumers engage in consumption behaviours they otherwise might not have enacted. For example, snowboarders will decide to jump over trees with snow on them for a more stunning visual.

The technology thus becomes both a digital mirror and an always-on panopticon through which consumers are able to reflect on and understand their own consumption experiences but also change their behaviours and self-perceptions. Consumers hereby respond as predicted by Foucault's panopticon with self-disciplining, but they also engage in the obverse panopticon (Kozinets et al. 2004), where they take pleasure in being recorded (and in recording) and being observed (by their future self or others). Indeed, while others may be involved in this process, the self-tracking phenomenon suggests that ever more technology is developed that supports new levels of self-reflection through quantitative and qualitative data: It allows consumers to watch their quantified selves consume, altering how they engage in reflective reconsumption. With this paper, we hope to prompt discussions on the role of technology for shaping consumption and reconsumption practices in the age of consumer surveillance.

Co-Construction of the Digital Self

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

One of five ways in which Belk (2013) contends that the extended self is modified in a digital era is through the co-construction of self that occurs online much more than offline. This paper is an extension and update elaborating on the observation that despite the vastly increased possibilities for representing the self online, there is also a welcome or unwelcome loss of control to known and unknown others whose online activity helps to shape the way we and others view our self. The idea that others help construct the way we see ourselves was formulated by Charles Cooley (1904/1964) who posited that our self presentation is interpreted and reflected back to us by others we encounter in daily life. Zhao (2005) takes up

Cooley's looking glass metaphor and suggests that online we have more resources available for self presentation (Goffman 1959) to telecopresent others: we are able to provide more information about our self online, engage in more self-disclosure, provide more elaborate self-narratives, and possibly present multiple and "retractable" selves untethered from our bodies.

But the sort of audience mirror that Zhao (2005) envisions online is passive one like a fixed mirror that reflects more or less what is presented. The co-construction of self that Belk (2013) envisions and that I pursue here involves a more active audience. Take the case of Justine Sacco, former Senior Director of Corporate Communications at IAC (InterActiveCorp). While on a long journey from New York to visit family in South Africa, she made a few quick Tweets from JFK and Heathrow airports, including these:

"Weird German Dude: You're in First Class. It's 2014. Get some deodorant? – Inner monologue as I inhale BO. 'Thank God for pharmaceuticals.'"

"Chilly – cucumber sandwiches – bad teeth. Back in London!"

"Going to Africa. Hope I don't get AIDS. Just kidding. I'm white!" (Ronson 2015).

She then wandered around Heathrow for half an hour and boarded the plane for the 11-hour flight to Cape Town. It was only while the plane was taxiing that she received a call from her best friend saying that she was the number one worldwide trend on Twitter. That's when the baffled woman had to shut off her smart phone for the flight. Although she had only 170 Twitter followers, the racist tone of her last comment caused great offence and led to viral follow-up messages like these:

"All I want for Christmas is to see @JustineSacco's face when her plane lands and she checks her inbox/voicemail."

"Oh man, @JustineSacco is going to have the most painful phone-turning-on moment ever when her plane lands."

"We are about to watch this @JustineSacco bitch get fired. In REAL time. Before she even KNOWS she's getting fired."

Someone even came to the Cape Town airport and posted a photo of her leaving the plane behind the scant disguise of sunglasses. Belk (2013) and Solove (2007) detail other such incidents of public Internet shaming. While social groups have long used shaming to gain conformity to social norms, such incidents are usually small scale and soon forgotten. Not so with the Internet.

If the power of the Internet to co-construct and alter identity in the blink of the eye is not already evident, consider the following account of a small dinner party by a *New York Times* columnist:

Over the course of the three-hour dinner, the poor sap eventually discovered, "my friends posted seven photos on Path, sent six Twitter messages (five with photos), six photos on Instagram and two people checked in on Foursquare. When I added up the collective follower counts of the people in the room, my little dinner party was potentially viewed by more people than watch *The Late Show* on CBS: over three million." (Two of his guests have large numbers of followers on Twitter.) And, to add insult to (self-inflicted) injury, a few days later he telephoned someone in a work-related call, only to be told by the other person – who has never crossed his threshold – how much he "just loved" the lamps hanging above the Bilton kitchen table (Naughton 2012). Not all of such co-construction is negative of course. But the point is that it is increasingly out of our control. We are becoming a character in our biography rather than its director.

The online "reputation economy" (Madden and Smith 2010; Zimmer and Hoffman 2011) works not only on individual identity on blogs, forums, sharing apps, and dating and rating sites (e.g., Schoeneman 2013), but also on corporate identity co-construction on

sites like Yelp, Urban Spoon, Angie's List, and Amazon. The shift in power to the consumer is well recognized in the commercial realm, but less so in the personal realm. We can see the potentially devastating effects of online others in the cases of revenge porn, sabotaging our social media pages by former partners who have our passwords (Gershon 2010), and cyberbullying. Surveillance by current or potential employers or schools can also dramatically affect lives and careers, as one rescinded early admission invitee to Bowdoin college learned when she Tweeted about their lame presentation.

Others can also initiate rather than respond to our digital self-presentations. They can post and tag us in photos, mention us in their social media pages, endorse our skills on LinkedIn (and expect us to reciprocate with our own "unsolicited endorsement"). Posting selfies when trying on clothes at a retailer can garner instant feedback shaping our self image and purchase likelihood before we leave the dressing room (Denton 2012). Even our pre-natal and post-mortem images can be shaped by others online (e.g., Carroll and Romono 2011). This talk addresses and illustrates these and other ways in which our digital self is very much a co-construction rather than simply a self-presentation. Cooley's looking glass is no longer the reflector of a scripted dramaturgical presentation of self as Goffman (1959) envisioned. In the digital era it has become an improvisational stage play with other actors who are often anonymous and unseen. Whether they are benign or malicious they introduce an entirely new facet to the mirror of old.

Self-Transformation and Performativity of Social Media Images

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Recent debates on theories of 'performativity' (Butler 1990; Mason et al. 2015) have started to resonate among marketing scholars theorizing markets (e.g. Callon 1998), market(ing) practices (Kjellberg and Hagberg 2007), market research (Diaz-Ruiz 2013; Cluley and Brown 2015), branding (Lucarelli and Hallin 2015), and marketing devices such as advertising (Cochoy 2015). However, despite this apparent potential, applications in the field of consumer research are in many ways lacking. In this paper, the aim is to adopt a performative lens on consumer identity work and to analyze the ways in which consumer-made images shared online effectively partake in identity transformation and regeneration. The analysis stems from empirical materials gathered on the luxury and status-related consumption of champagne in order to assess the multitude of potentialities social media images open up for self/selves to emerge, abound and re-configure.

Similar way to both advertising (Cochoy 2015) and researcher-produced images (Bramming et al. 2010), consumer-produced images shared online can be understood as powerful articulation devices that not only represent realities but also effectively *perform* and consequently work on to produce and enact emergent social relations. Consider the consumer social media responses to Kim Kardashian's image that famously aimed to "break the Internet" by spurring such a volume of reactions. The image features a provocative 'champagne incident' where Kardashian pops open a champagne bottle landing on a glass perched on her bottom. While being deliberately staged, crafted, and photoshopped by a professional photographer, the image effectively created 'credible illusions' of the celebrity's extravagant life, but also opened her identity towards further new potentialities and emergence by provoking plentiful reactions, likes, dislikes and commentaries – even from those who chose not to view the image in the first place. In similar way, this paper aims to consider such visual expressive and performative capacities (Bramming et al. 2010; Co-

choy 2015) that social media images posted by consumers employ by way of acting in the world and in bringing about new relations and identities.

With an analytical focus on concept of self and the ways in which images of the self posted online may regenerate and transform the self through visual performances of consumption, this research hopes to extend prior work on consumers' online identity work (e.g. Schau and Gilly 2003; Belk 2013). Importantly, the aim is to use luxury self-consumption images to question identity as a relatively stable and holistic entity – not unlike Butler (1990; see also Cluley and Brown 2015) – by examining the ways in which identities are performed and enacted through various activities, such as selfies posted online. For Butler, whose work perfectly illustrates the usefulness of performative approach, the meaning of identity does not pre-exist beyond its performances. This is why the continuous online streaming of images we engage in and the ways in which these performances are intertwined with particular social, material and institutional relations and circumstances, produce who we are but also entail momentum of change. For example, in addition to consumers' own performances and doings, their identities are constantly shaped by a network of market actors and devices that "make up people" via market practices (Cluley and Brown 2015; Cochoy 2015).

Turning back to the performativity of images, it is important to acknowledge how images not only contain or capture meanings and representations but they express social-material-bodily configurations and ideologies through which images effectively perform, generate and project potentialities of the self. This ontology of images here is similar to Gilles Deleuze's (see Bogue 2003) view of the 'moving image' where a much greater emphasis is put on the expressive power of images as well as the potentialities of change showing the images to others may possibly generate. The empirical materials for this study consist of self-consumption images gathered from Instagram (popular social media photo-sharing device) featuring consumer images that tagged six of the most talked about champagne brands. These images were analyzed and read in relation to literature on status consumption (e.g. Eckhardt et al. 2014) and related identity transformation. The studied sample of images represent a "slice" of common champagne tagged images gathered over the span of six weeks in 2014.

Findings highlight in particular the heterogeneity of self-expressions that consumers employed in various status-related performances. These images, above all, project the self in relation to ideals of a good, affluent, happy, or "better" life. However, they also offer critical contestations of existing norms, boundaries, and the world of conspicuous consumption. Implications for studying consumer-produced online images are discussed.

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Advances in Mobile Consumer Behavior: Effects on Content Generation, Social Persuasion, Mobile Targeting and Shopping Behavior

Chair: Shiri Melumad, Columbia University Graduate School of Business, USA

Paper #1: The Distinct Psychology of Smartphone Use: Smartphone-Generated Content as Emotional Expression

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Michel T. Pham, Columbia University, USA

Paper #2: In Mobile We Trust: How Mobile Reviews Can Overcome Consumer Distrust of User-Generated Reviews

Andrew T. Stephen, University of Pittsburgh, USA
Lauren Grewal, University of Pittsburgh, USA

Paper #3: Social and Location Effects in Mobile Advertising

Peter Pal Zubcsek, University of Florida, USA
Zsolt Katona, UC Berkeley, USA
Miklos Sarvary, Columbia University, USA

Paper #4: Smart Phones, Bad Calls? In-store Mobile Technology Use and Consumer Purchase Behavior

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SESSION OVERVIEW

In 2014, consumers spent a greater proportion of time on their smartphone than on any of their other technological devices (Millward Brown 2014). Although smartphones have become an integral part of consumers' everyday lives, there is currently little research examining the consequences of using this technology for consumer behavior. The objective of this session is to shed light on some of the implications of smartphone use for both consumers and marketers. As a group, the papers address the following question: How does smartphone use impact consumer psychology and decision-making in both online and offline consumption contexts?

The first two papers converge on a similar finding – that consumers react more favorably to smartphone-generated content than PC-generated content – and provide distinct but complementary accounts for this phenomenon. Across four studies, Melumad, Inman and Pham show that content generated on one's smartphone (vs. PC) contains more emotional language, and that this effect is driven in part by the physical experience of writing on each device. The authors also show that consumers react more favorably towards smartphone-generated content because of its heightened emotionality, which holds *regardless* of whether consumers are aware of the originating device. The findings suggest that smartphone use drives the creation of more emotional, and thus more influential, user-generated content.

Stephen and Grewal examine consumers' beliefs about online reviews generated on smartphones. Consistent with the results of Melumad et al., three studies demonstrated that consumers were more trusting of reviews that they *knew* had been written on smartphones (vs. PCs), and expressed greater purchase intention in response to the reviews. These effects were driven by consumers' belief that smartphone-written reviews are more accurate/thoughtful because reviewers are presumed to willingly exert greater effort to write on the device.

The second pair of papers examines the relationship between smartphone use and offline consumption contexts. Zubcsek, Katona and Sarvary examine whether consumers' offline location history can predict their responsiveness to mobile advertising efforts. While

many targeting methods for mobile advertising are based on consumers' proximity to a retailer, the authors find that targeting mobile ads based on consumers' location history enhances consumer response rates to promotions. Their results demonstrate that offline location history can be effectively used to reveal consumer preferences.

Sciandra and Inman examine whether decision-making in offline shopping settings is impacted by smartphone use. Across three studies, including two field studies, they find that smartphone use can distract consumers during a shopping experience resulting in greater omission of planned items and more unplanned purchases, but only when consumers use their smartphone in a manner unrelated to the shopping task. In contrast, using one's smartphone in a manner related to the shopping experience attenuates these errors.

Together, these papers employ a variety of methodologies and demonstrate that smartphone usage poses unique consequences for consumers in online as well as offline contexts. Overall, this special topic session should be of great interest to researchers and firms concerned with the implications of consumer smartphone usage, and for smartphone users in general.

The Distinct Psychology of Smartphone Use: Smartphone-Generated Content as Emotional Expression

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Given the ubiquity of smartphone devices and the importance of word of mouth for consumer opinion and sales, it has become critical for firms to understand the impact of using one's smartphone to generate online content. One important consideration for firms is the emotionality of user-generated content, since increasing levels of emotional language in online reviews has been shown to increase customer conversion rates (Ludwig et al. 2013), and simply reading a text with affective content can influence consumers' opinions (Lau-Gesk and Meyers-Levy 2009). We predict that content generated on smartphones contains more emotional language than PC-generated content, and that consumers therefore respond more favorably to smartphone-generated word of mouth.

We examine one possible explanation for the increased emotionality of smartphone-generated content. Specifically, using one's smartphone is more cognitively taxing than using one's PC because of its smaller features (e.g., smaller screen and keyboard; Ghose, Goldfarb and Han 2013), which leads consumers to engage in more emotional processing when using their smartphone (e.g., Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999). We therefore propose that an increased reliance on emotional processing during smartphone use can carry over to the content generated on the device, resulting in the generation of more emotional content (vs. PC-generated content). Moreover, since people find emotional content to be more diagnostic and persuasive (e.g., Damasio 1994), we predict that consumers will respond more favorably to smartphone-generated content (vs. PC-generated content).

Study 1 tested the prediction that content generated on smartphones (vs. PCs) contains more emotional language. We conducted a text analysis on field data from UrbanSpoon.com, a popular online restaurant review forum, analyzing nearly 40,000 reviews of New York City-based restaurants. To control for region-specific characteristics that might confound the results, we also conducted a robustness check using over 20,000 reviews of Portland-based restaurants. Further, an alternative explanation for differences in content emotionality

ty is that unlike PC-users, smartphone-users tend to write during their restaurant experience so that their feelings are simply more “hot” or salient to them. To test the alternative explanation that increased emotionality is due to the time of review creation, we conducted an additional robustness check controlling for the temporal proximity between the experience and the creation of the review. As predicted, reviews written on smartphones contained more emotional language than PC-generated reviews, and this effect held across the two robustness checks. These results provide evidence that smartphone use increases the emotionality of online word of mouth.

The first objective of study 2 was to test the causal impact of smartphone use on content emotionality. As such, participants (N=367) were asked to write a review of a recent restaurant experience using either their smartphone or PC (randomly assigned). The second objective was to test the proposed mechanism underlying the effect: that users rely on more emotional processing – and thus create more emotional content – because using a smartphone is more cognitively taxing than using a PC. To test for the mediating role of ease-of-use, we asked participants to indicate how easy it was to write the review using their assigned device.

Smartphone-generated reviews were again found to contain more emotional language than reviews written on PCs. Moreover, a mediation analysis revealed that ease-of-use partially mediated the effect of the device on the amount of emotional language, which supports our proposition that the physical experience of using one’s smartphone (vs. PC) partly accounts for the increased emotionality of smartphone-generated content.

The main purpose of the next two studies was to explore users’ reactions to smartphone-generated word of mouth. In study 3 we conducted a content analysis on field data from the online social network of a large community of start-ups. Importantly, one of the features available on the network allows users to “vote” for posts on the newsfeed, which enabled us to test whether users respond more favorably to smartphone-generated content (vs. PC-generated content). Since the prior studies examined restaurant reviews, study 3 also tested whether the effects generalize to another type of user-generated content.

The results reveal that content generated on smartphones again contained more emotional language than content written on PCs, demonstrating that the effect holds not only for restaurant reviews but also for other forms of user-generated content (i.e. social media content). Importantly, smartphone-generated posts also received more votes relative to PC-generated posts, and this effect was mediated by the amount of emotional language in the content. These results suggest that smartphone-generated content is more emotional, and thus more appealing, to consumers.

The final study directly tested consumers’ reactions to smartphone-generated content vs. PC-generated content in an experimental setting, and examined the role of device knowledge on consumer opinion. Participants (N=135) were asked to rate a random selection of reviews (written by participants in study 2), half of which had been written on smartphones and half of which had been written on PCs. Further, while users of the social network in study 3 could not tell whether content had been posted from mobile devices, in study 4 we manipulated whether participants were informed about the device on which the reviews were written. In one condition, reviews were presented with labels indicating “via mobile” or “via PC,” while in the other condition no labels were presented. This allowed us to test whether knowledge of the originating device impacts consumers’ reactions to user-generated content.

We find that participants were more interested in trying restaurants that had been reviewed on smartphones (vs. PCs) *regardless*

of whether they were aware of the originating device. Moreover, as predicted, a mediation analysis reveals that smartphone-generated content is more persuasive (vs. PC-generated content) because of its greater perceived emotionality.

Our findings identify a unique consequence of smartphone use with important implications for firms concerned with online word of mouth. First, given its more emotional nature, smartphone-generated content might help firms more accurately gauge consumer opinion. Second, users respond more favorably to smartphone-generated content as a result of its increased emotionality (regardless of originating device knowledge), suggesting that smartphone use drives the creation of more impactful online word of mouth.

In Mobile We Trust: How Mobile Reviews Can Overcome Consumer Distrust of User-Generated Reviews

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The use of mobile is ubiquitous with over half of the world using mobile devices. One common use of mobile devices is people reporting on their consumption experiences (e.g., posting a hotel review). The rising use of mobile has prompted a stream of research that attempts to understand the relationship between mobile and consumer behavior (Shankar et al. 2010; Bart et al. 2014). Here we consider how consumers perceive and respond to consumer-generated reviews when they are posted from mobile versus non-mobile devices. Consumers increasingly know this distinction because a trend among popular review sites (e.g., TripAdvisor) is to add labels to reviews from mobile devices (e.g., “via mobile”). We examine how this subtle additional information affects consumers’ perceptions of the review and purchase intentions.

We hypothesize that the extra effort that is required when writing reviews from mobile leads consumers to believe that, compared to reviews from non-mobile devices, reviews posted from mobile devices are more reflective of a reviewer’s true consumption experience. We posit this is because consumers think that to write a thoughtful review on a mobile device, more effort is physically needed, and once more effort has occurred, a review is perceived as more trustworthy (Ghose et al. 2013; Walther et al. 2005). Once a review has been seen as more trustworthy, we hypothesize that consumers will perceive higher accuracy. This higher accuracy is then expected to lead to higher purchase intentions or a greater consideration of the reviewed product or service provider. This is only expected to occur, however, when reviews are generally positive and, critically, when consumers are doubtful about the review or skeptical of the credibility of consumer-generated reviews in general. Thus, we propose that mobile reviews help consumers overcome skepticism that would otherwise lead them to discount a reviewer’s opinion, thereby allowing the review to have a stronger impact on a consumer’s attitudes. In three studies, participants were shown an actual consumer-generated hotel review from TripAdvisor where we manipulated aspects of the review (e.g., mobile vs. non-mobile) while holding constant the review itself.

Study 1 (N = 67) tested the effect of mobile vs. non-mobile reviews on purchase consideration with a 2(mobile, non-mobile) x 2(positive rating, negative rating) between-subjects design. To manipulate mobile versus non-mobile, a label said “via mobile” or “via desktop,” in line with TripAdvisor. To manipulate rating valence, the reviewer’s rating was either 4 (positive) or 2 (negative). After reading the review, participants indicated their interest in booking a stay at the reviewed hotel if they were visiting that location (1 =definitely not, 5=definitely yes). Results supported our prediction that mobile

reviews are associated with higher purchase intention, but only for favorable reviews. In the positive rating conditions there was a significant difference between mobile ($M = 3.60$) and non-mobile ($M = 2.86$) reviews (contrast $F(1, 63) = 6.96, p = .01$). There was no significant difference in the negative rating conditions ($M_{\text{mobile}} = 2.79$ vs. $M_{\text{nonmobile}} = 2.74$, contrast $F(1, 63) < 1, p = .83$).

Study 2 ($N = 56$) tested the proposed accuracy-mediated process with a 2(mobile, non-mobile) between-subjects design. The reviews in the positive rating condition from study 1 were used. We again measured purchase consideration and additionally measured perceived accuracy of the review with six items on seven-point Likert scales (e.g., “The information in this review was accurate,” $\alpha = .90$). These items were averaged to form a measure of the hypothesized mediator, perceived review accuracy. We also measured general skepticism, which was expected to moderate the hypothesized mediated process, with nine items measured on seven-point Likert scales (e.g., “I am skeptical of online user-generated reviews,” $\alpha = .93$). These items were averaged to form a general measure of skepticism of online consumer-generated reviews. We tested our predictions using conditional indirect effects analysis (Hayes 2013 model 15). The results confirmed our hypotheses. Specifically, the indirect effect of mobile versus non-mobile review on purchase intention through perceived review accuracy was positive and significant but only at higher (+1SD) levels of skepticism (indirect effect = .08, $SE = .06$, 95% CI = [.01, .26]). When skepticism was lower (-1SD) the indirect effect was not significant.

Additionally, we asked participants to indicate the extent to which they believed that mobile reviews are more likely to be written “in the moment” (1 = definitely not, 5 = definitely yes). This was intended to capture a lay belief that mobile reviews are more temporally proximate to the reviewed consumption experience. Participants held this belief, with 75% of participants selecting 4 or 5 on this scale. This suggests that mobile reviews are assumed less temporally distant from the reviewed experiences, which is a plausible explanation as to why mobile reviews lead to higher perceptions of review accuracy.

Study 3 ($N = 80$) examined perceived accuracy more closely. Participants read the same mobile review from the previous study and indicated their perception of review accuracy on the same six-item scale used previously. Additionally, perceived review-writing effort was measured with six items (e.g., “The reviewer put a lot of effort into writing this review” $\alpha = .88$), and perceived trust in the reviewer with six items (e.g., “The reviewer can be trusted” $\alpha = .85$). Results from a conditional indirect effects analysis (Hayes 2013 model 4) indicate that higher perceived review-writing effort leads to enhanced perceptions of reviewer trust, which in turn predicts higher perceived review accuracy (indirect effect = .29, $SE = .06$, 95% CI = [.18, .43]).

This research contributes to the literature on consumer-generated reviews and word of mouth referrals by showing how the context in which a review is written—mobile or non-mobile—affects consumers’ attitudes and purchase intentions. We show that consumers, particularly skeptical ones, perceive mobile reviews as more accurate and therefore have higher purchase intentions, and that this accuracy is associated with greater perceived effort in review writing and reviewer trust. Future research will examine this process in greater detail, and identify conditions under which mobile review writing is associated with higher effort.

Social and Location Effects in Mobile Advertising

Early research on location-based mobile advertising effectiveness focused on geo-fencing – sending consumers promotional of-

fers when they enter the vicinity of the retailer (Jagoe 2003, Schiller and Voisard 2004). Yet, while targeting based on store distance has been demonstrated to be quite effective in certain contexts (Ghose et al. 2012, Molitor et al. 2013), consumers’ location history may also be useful to marketers as it may hide rich information about their shopping behaviors and preferences (Hui et al. 2009, Shankar et al. 2010). In this paper, we explore whether targeting ads not based on the current location of prospects but their location history may enhance their response rates to promotions. We present a method that is able to demonstrate the link between the location history of consumers and their purchase behavior even in the absence of information on retailers’ exact locations (or other points-of-interest, POI). We discuss the implications of these findings for behavioral research.

Our data come from a pilot program of a mobile operator in a Pacific country. Participants installed a new app on their smartphone and were then regularly provided (independently from their current location) with digital coupons (“offers”) in four product categories. Information in coupons included the participating brand(s) and – if applicable – product(s), the discount value of the coupon ($M = \$4.58$) and the “when-you-spend” amount ($M = \$17.44$). After viewing these details, participants could receive the *in-store* discount after making the required purchase and showing the accepted coupon anytime during the validity of the offer ($M = 4.82$ days). (The exact time of response was not recorded.)

Our panel contains a total of 15,353 observations on 217 participants and 96 offers (registration was open throughout the duration of the pilot so some consumers did not see some offers). During the period studied, participants on average received less than two offers per day. To increase their engagement with the mobile app, they were also invited to participate in quizzes (brief surveys with questions) pertaining to a broad range of topics including personality traits, interests, lifestyle, work, and also preferences in certain product categories. Responding to quizzes was entirely optional and participants did not receive any reward for their answers.

Participants also agreed to have their GPS location information transmitted to the mobile operator every hour by the app (when both the location services were enabled and the device was able to detect the necessary satellite signals). For each hour during which there was no successful transmission, there is no location observation in the dataset. On average, we have 11.29 hourly location observations per day per participant in our panel. However, for about 40% of all observations, there is no location information on the participant. Further, we do not possess information about potential Points-of-Interest (POI) in the country where the study was conducted. Finally, we have data on referrals wherein a participant invited another to the program.

Our model builds on the idea that consumers’ location choices (albeit weakly) reflect their underlying preferences and that individuals who often attend the same venues have some commonalities in their taste. We construct a dynamically evolving network of co-location events – events when two or more participants were at the same place (a ca. 700-ft square on the map) during the same hour. Effects of network position in the so-derived co-location network are then simultaneously estimated with demographic and referral network effects on advertising response in a logit model with offer fixed and participant random effects (cf. Goel and Goldstein (2014)).

We capture both networks (co-location and referral) by 1. Including the average prior response rate of network neighbors in the category of the offer, and 2. Controlling for the number of network neighbors. Further, we control for participants’ *GPS activity* (the number of nonzero location observations available to us during the day preceding the launch of each offer).

The results (robust to a series of validity tests) show a significant positive link between the prior within-category response rate of co-located participants and their subsequent response to coupon-based promotions ($\beta=3.918, p<0.01$). This suggests that consumers who frequent the same locations indeed have correlated preferences. Whereas consumer-level demographic or psychographic variables may also be used to uncover such correlations in preferences, we find that the joint use of referral and location network variables is more effective than relying on traditional variables in predicting consumers' purchase behavior.

These are important results indicating that location history can be effectively used to reveal consumer preferences. Therefore, our method may provide a fruitful approach to complement current location-based advertising methods, which are mostly based on the geo-fencing approach.

Further, our findings pose new questions for behavioral research. Do the behavioral antecedents of location choices exhibit systematic patterns? Do certain environments affect consumer behavior (by causing consumers to converge to certain attitudes or brand preferences)? While the mobile behavioral platforms aiming to help testing these questions are still not commonly available, we have no doubt that in the coming years, controlled experiments will contribute more and more to our understanding of the mobile consumer.

Smart Phones, Bad Calls? In-store Mobile Technology Use and Consumer Purchase Behavior

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

One understudied factor impacting consumer decisions are mobile technologies such as cellphones and smartphones. As mobile devices continue to grow in popularity, the need is high for research explicating the impact of these devices on consumer decision-making. Recently, mobile technologies have been praised for helping consumers make better decisions (Shapiro 2012). However, research acknowledges unintended visual and cognitive impairments associated with these devices (e.g., Strayer et al. 2003; Strayer and Johnston 2001). Consequently, the use of mobile technologies in shopping environments may act as a double-edged sword with both positive and negative implications for shoppers.

We argue that the nature of mobile use (shopping-related vs. shopping-unrelated) will differentially impact consumer outcomes. When used in an unrelated manner (e.g., talking, texting, surfing the web), we predict that multi-tasking exhausts attentional resources and results in negative outcomes such as purchasing more unplanned products or failing to purchase planned items. When used in a related manner (e.g., checking prices, using shopping applications), we predict that mobile technologies can help consumers make better decisions and stay on track during the shopping trip.

In Study 1, we begin our investigation into in-store mobile device use by examining consumers' ability to accurately recall and complete an online shopping task while utilizing mobile technologies. In particular, we manipulate the duration (short vs. long) and intensity (low intensity use vs. high intensity use vs. no use) of device use to investigate recall of in-store displays and number of omitted planned items. We find that participants in the high ($M = 11.2\%$; $F(1, 193) = 4.69, p < .05$) and low ($M = 11.8\%$; $F(1, 193) = 4.79, p < .05$) intensity mobile use conditions exhibited lower recall of products on display compared to participants in the no mobile use condition ($M = 15.8\%$). Furthermore, we find that participants using their device for a long duration and high intensity demonstrated a higher percentage of omitted planned items ($M = 11.4\%$) than participants in both

the low intensity mobile use condition ($M = 5.4\%$; $F(1, 193) = 4.04, p < .05$), and the no mobile use condition ($M = 3.9\%$; $F(1, 193) = 6.76, p < .05$).

Study 2 and Study 3 use field data from Point of Purchase Advertising International to investigate in-store device use. In Study 2, data was collected in grocery stores while in Study 3 data was collected in mass merchandisers. In both studies, shoppers across the U.S. were interviewed before and after their shopping trip. In the exit interview, shoppers were asked to indicate if and how they used mobile technology during their trip. This information allowed us to partition consumers into three focal mobile usage categories: 1) no phone use, 2) shopping-related use (related), and 3) shopping-unrelated use (unrelated).

We find that in-store mobile technology use significantly alters the number of unplanned purchases and the number of omitted planned items. First, looking at unplanned purchases, we find that using mobile technology in an unrelated manner is associated with significantly more unplanned purchases ($\beta_{Study2} = 0.104, p < .05$; $\beta_{Study3} = 0.120, p < .01$) when compared to consumers not using phones. Furthermore, in Study 3 we find that shoppers using their phones for private conversation ($\beta_{Talk} = 0.111, p < .10$) and private text messaging ($\beta_{Text} = 0.151, p < .01$) are the main types of unrelated use that are contributing to the increase in unplanned purchasing. In comparison to shoppers not using a mobile device, individuals using a device in a related manner showed no difference in number of unplanned purchases ($\beta_{Study2} = 0.027, n.s.$; $\beta_{Study3} = 0.049, n.s$) when compared to shoppers not using a device.

While related device use did not exhibit a main effect on number of unplanned purchases, we do find that related device use can help mitigate unplanned purchasing, particularly, as shoppers basket size increases. We find a positive relationship between basket size and the number of unplanned purchases ($\beta_{Study2} = 0.082, p < .01$; $\beta_{Study3} = 0.116, p < .01$). Importantly, we find that using a mobile device in related manner attenuates this positive relationship ($\beta_{Study2} = -0.013, p < .05$; $\beta_{Study3} = -0.014, p < .05$). Furthermore, in Study 3 we find that shoppers using their phones to access a retailer's shopping application ($\beta_{Retailer App} = -0.044, p < .01$), access a digital list ($\beta_{Digital List} = -0.042, p < .01$), and use a calculator ($\beta_{Calculator} = -0.026, p < .05$), all contribute to this attenuation.

Next, looking at the number of omitted planned items, when compared to shoppers not using mobile devices, shoppers using their phones in an unrelated manner showed more omitted planned items ($\beta_{Study2} = 0.269, p < .05$; $\beta_{Study3} = 0.291, p < .01$). In Study 3, we find engaging in personal conversation to be the main driver of omitted planned items ($\beta_{Talk} = 0.204, p < .05$). This is consistent with our theorization that unrelated device use can distract consumers from the focal shopping task. Similarly, compared to shoppers not using mobile devices, shoppers using their phones in a related manner exhibited more omitted planned items ($\beta_{Study2} = 0.178, p < .10$; $\beta_{Study3} = 0.212, p < .01$). In Study 3, we see that shoppers using their device to access a calculator ($\beta_{calculator} = 0.373, p < .01$) to be the major contributor to this difference. This highlights a more conscious process in which the shopper passes over a planned item that might be too expensive or may cause the individual to exceed their acceptable budget.

In summary, we find that mobile device use can exert a distracting influence on consumers and interfere with shopping goals. Depending on use, mobile technology is associated with more unplanned purchases, more omitted planned items, and impaired recall of in-store stimuli. Further, based upon an exploratory study, it appears that consumers do not anticipate these effects. While consumers understand the positive implications of in-store mobile

technology use, they are unaware or overlook some of the negative implications of using mobile devices in stores.

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Reasoning About Advice: Inferring and Integrating the Preferences of Others

Chair: Rachel Meng (Columbia University)

Paper #1: Mistaking Dissimilar for Dislike: Why We Underestimate the Diversity of Others' Preferences

Kate Barasz, Harvard University, USA
Tami Kim, Harvard University, USA
Leslie John, Harvard University, USA

Paper #2: Valuing Dissimilarity: The Role of Diversity in Preference Predictions

Rachel Meng, Columbia University, USA
Stephanie Y. Chen, University of Chicago, USA
Daniel M. Bartels, University of Chicago, USA

Paper #3: Are Advice Takers Bayesian? Preference Similarity Effects on Advice Seeking and Taking

Hang Shen, University of California, Riverside, USA
Ye Li, University of California, Riverside, USA

Paper #4: Recommenders vs. Recommender Systems

Mike Yeomans, Harvard University, USA
Anuj Shah, University of Chicago, USA
Sendhil Mullainathan, Harvard University, USA
Jon Kleinberg, Cornell University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

The opinions of others often shape our beliefs about the world; these beliefs can in turn influence our inferences, predictions, and choices. In the information age we inhabit nowadays, the vast quantity of advice accessible to us—be it through online recommendation systems, social media, professionals and experts, or family and friends—renders it impractical to make decisions alone. Yet, research on advice and the wisdom of crowds (Larrick et al. 2012; Yaniv 2004) finds that consumers fail to fully exploit this wisdom. To address this, the proposed session discusses how people reason about advice in matters of taste: inferring others' preferences (Papers 1-2), seeking and incorporating recommendations to make predictions (Papers 2-3), and leveraging human and nonhuman sources of advice to ultimately improve prediction accuracy (Paper 3-4). In particular, the featured papers illuminate a range of faulty inferences that impede this goal.

Barasz, Kim, and John (Paper 1) begin by articulating a systematic prediction error when forming inferences about others' tastes. This "preference homogeneity bias," in which consumers believe others to possess less diverse preferences than themselves, may consequently affect how they seek and take advice from others. Next, Meng, Chen, and Bartels (Paper 2) examine how and when information from diverse others is used in inductive reasoning. Compared to predicting their own tastes, people were willing to sample advice from both similar and dissimilar others when they made more verifiable judgments and when they perceived a product category to represent matters of objective quality. Shen and Li (Paper 3) expand on the role of similarity by exploring how people value preference matching with online surrogates (users who have experienced a product) to guide preference predictions. They found a tendency to undervalue preference matching but overweigh surrogate advice, indicating a departure from Bayesian standards. Finally, Yeomans, Shah, Mullainathan, and Kleinberg (Paper 4) highlight a persistent aversion to algorithmic advice. Despite the superiority of collaborative filtering in accurately predicting tastes, humans remain skeptical about such recommendations.

In concert, these papers call attention to ways in which individuals commit prediction errors involving matters of taste. People falsely assume their own preferences to be more diverse than those of others (Barasz, Kim, and John) and are reluctant to seek diversity when predicting their future utility (Meng, Chen, and Bartels). They neglect base rates when taking surrogate advice (Shen and Li) and remain unreceptive to innovative sources of advice which can improve decisions and reduce search costs (Yeomans et al.). However, people do take into account others' opinions when nudged (Barasz, Kim, and John; Meng, Chen, and Bartels).

Listening to others is something we do habitually, and a closer examination of when and why we fail at doing so is crucial if we are to recommend effective remedies to these errors. Borrowing insights from multiple perspectives that span a variety of consumption domains, the substantive issues raised in this session may be especially useful for those interested in affective forecasting, inductive reasoning, advice and the wisdom of crowds, preferences, social influence, and word-of-mouth.

Mistaking Dissimilar for Dislike: Why We Underestimate the Diversity of Others' Preferences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Suppose you are asked to predict someone's preferences for certain items in a given category—say, types of vacation destinations or movie genres. Would the person like traveling to a bustling city? Would he enjoy watching an action-packed thriller? Lacking any specific information about that person's tastes, you might evaluate the items on their own merits, and for any popular or likeable options, sensibly predict that the other person would enjoy them.

But what if you had access to this other person's tastes for other items in the same category? Perhaps you discover the person recently vacationed at a lake house, or just attended the premiere of a documentary film. How might this change your predictions? Knowing the other person had previously chosen options seemingly unlike city vacations or thriller films, you might conclude he would not enjoy either. As this paper explores, upon finding out about others' preferences for one option, people have a recurring tendency to predict that others will dislike dissimilar options within the same category.

Is this inference correct? After observing another person's choice, we not only make assumptions about how much she likes the chosen option (Miller and Nelson 2002); we also make broader inferences about how much she likes—or dislikes—unchosen options. After learning of someone's choice—or their "background preference"—we show that people erroneously expect that others will *dislike* dissimilar ones. However, people hold this expectation despite recognizing that they, themselves, simultaneously like dissimilar options. For example, people readily indicate enjoying dissimilar vacation destinations (e.g., lake and city) and dissimilar movies (e.g., documentaries and thrillers), but predict that—for others—a preference for one precludes enjoyment of the other. Simply put, when predicting others' preferences, people mistake dissimilarity for dislike. In five experiments, we document this prediction error and show that it is driven by a false belief that others have a narrower, more homogeneous range of preferences than ourselves.

Study 1 demonstrates the basic effect: People mistakenly believe that others do not like items that are dissimilar from one another. Participants read about a consumer choosing between three

vacation destinations: Lake, Mountain, or City—the first two were similar, whereas the latter was dissimilar. Participants learned about the consumer's preferences for a reference choice (lake)—either that she *chose Lake*, *ruled out Lake*, or were given *no information*—and then estimated how much she liked each of the three options. Participants estimated positively correlated liking levels for similar options ($r = .56, p < 0.001$), but negatively correlated levels for dissimilar options ($r = -.42, p < 0.001$), as though these dissimilar preferences were mutually exclusive. In contrast, when reporting their own preferences, people's own preferences for dissimilar options were far less polarized ($r = -.10, p < 0.054$). Thus, Study 1 offers preliminary evidence that predictions and base rates are not aligned for dissimilar items.

Study 2 demonstrates the prediction error using a measure of dichotomous choice, shows it is specific to dissimilar items, and varies product ratings to gauge (actual/predicted) tradeoffs between quality and similarity. In a 2 (perspective: *actors* vs. *observers*) \times 2 (options: *similar* vs. *dissimilar*) design, participants either chose a movie genre for themselves (*actors*) or learned of someone else's choice (*observers*), as between two *similar* options (thriller/action adventure) or two *dissimilar* ones (thriller/documentary). Then participants made an "out-of-stock" tradeoff choice: a 3-star version of the chosen genre (e.g., 3-star thriller), or a 5-star version of the alternative (e.g., 5-star action adventure or 5-star documentary) genre. We predicted that, for themselves, most actors would rather have the higher-rated movie, regardless of genre; however, when predicting someone else's choice, we believed observers would correctly anticipate a tradeoff between similar items, but—mistaking dissimilar for dislike—would not predict a tradeoff between dissimilar ones. Indeed, when options were *similar*, most actors (74%) and observers (69%) chose the similar, higher-rated movie. However, when options were *dissimilar*, a significant gap emerged: most actors chose the dissimilar, higher-rated movie (64%), a choice predicted by few observers (18%; $p < .001$).

Study 3 elucidates the process underlying the effect: mistaking dissimilar for dislike is fully mediated by a (false) belief that others' preferences are homogeneous. We replicated the same design as Study 2's dissimilar condition, having people make a tradeoff (for themselves or someone else) between a 3-star similar movie and a 5-star dissimilar one. In addition, we measured actual/perceived range of preferences. Drawing on out-group homogeneity research (Judd, Ryan, & Park 1991), we showed participants 14 movie genres and asked them to select all the ones they (*actors*) or someone else (*observers*) liked. The results show that people infer a narrower, more homogeneous range of preferences for others: while actors reported liking 7 movie genres, observers estimated that someone else only liked 4. This fully mediated the choice of dissimilar movie in the out-of-stock scenario.

Study 4 shows that the effect persists even when predictors are financially incentivized for accuracy. Lab participants were partnered, assigned to be actors or observers. Actors chose between two dissimilar movies; observers learned of this choice. Both partners then encountered Study 2's trade-off choice. Observers were promised a bonus for correct prediction. While most actors (69%) chose the higher-rated but dissimilar option for themselves, again few observers (39%; $p < .001$) predicted that choice.

Finally, Study 5 found that the preference homogeneity bias is tempered by encouraging people to consider that others' preferences are varied (Critcher and Dunning 2013). Here, participants learned that either 1 person or 100 people had chosen a movie (thriller/documentary), then predicted a choice between a 3-star similar movie and a 5-star dissimilar one. Participants in the *single person* condition selected the choice they believed the other person made, while those

in the *sample population* condition estimated how many of the 100 people chose 3-star similar and how many chose 5-star dissimilar. Replicating previous results, only 27% of participants predicted that a *single person* would choose the higher-quality, dissimilar movie; however, for the *sample population*, observers predicted that 53% would choose the higher-quality, dissimilar movie, suggesting that the error can be mitigated when thinking more globally.

Valuing Dissimilarity: The Role of Diversity in Preference Predictions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People frequently incorporate the opinions of others to make predictions about the world, including their preferences for novel experiences. Consider a scenario where a person is deciding whether to see a new movie she knows little about. To predict how much she will enjoy it, she can solicit others' opinions. But whose advice does she value more—that of people with a wide variety of movie tastes, or that of only people who share her tastes? The current research asks how we integrate the opinions of those who are similar and dissimilar to us to inform predictions.

Similar others tend to be more influential on our judgments than dissimilar others (Festinger 1954; Heider 1958; Suls, Martin, and Wheeler 2002). Not only do people treat similar others as reliable and attractive sources of information, but they tend to discount advice from those less like them (Twyman, Harvey, and Harries 2008). However, there is reason to believe that people may value dissimilar others. The *diversity principle* from category-based induction states that evidence from diverse sources support stronger arguments (Heit 2000). These diverse samples create a stronger basis for generalization because they better *cover* the category of interest (Osherson et al. 1990). People also prefer to seek diverse, rather than similar, pieces of evidence when judging the validity of generalizations (López 1995; Rhodes, Brickman, and Gelman 2008). For example, when assessing whether an unfamiliar property (*has sesamoid bones*) holds for *all mammals*, participants would rather test whether it holds for *lions and goats* than for *lions and leopards*.

Further, the social influence literature has shown that people are more swayed by dissimilar others when more verifiable beliefs rather than values are involved (Goethals and Nelson 1973). The studies below explore whether and when people care about evidential diversity when predicting beliefs about preferences ("Will I like this movie?") as they do when predicting beliefs about facts ("Does a sea cucumber have condyloid canals?").

In Study 1, 156 MTurk respondents viewed positive evaluations of an unfamiliar movie from a pair of movie-goers, one who was similar to them and another who was dissimilar. When asked to describe how they would use this information to predict their enjoyment for the movie, 61% indicated that the dissimilar movie-goer's rating strengthened the likelihood that they would like the movie. Only 21% reported attending solely to the similar person. Hence, congruent opinions expressed by a diverse set of individuals may favorably influence predictions.

Study 2 examined whether these explicit self-reports matched how people seek advice to make preference predictions. Participants ($N = 201$) completed an evidence selection task where they solicited opinions from a panel of 12 "regular movie-goers" (reviewers) ranked by their similarity to the participant's movie preferences. We assigned participants to one of four conditions: People were asked to choose three reviewers whose opinions they would most like to get in order to predict (a) how much *they* would like a target mystery movie, (b) how much *the average person* would like it, (c) how *criti-*

cally acclaimed the movie would be, or (d) how *successful* at the box office it would be. We suspect diversity effects to emerge in the last three conditions, which constitute more verifiable judgments about the target movie.

For each individual, we calculated two indices based on her chosen distribution of reviewers: a “dissimilarity score,” capturing willingness to sample reviewers with *less* overlap to the participant, and a “diversity score,” capturing willingness to sample reviewers with *broader* overlap. Participants solicited both more dissimilar and diverse opinions when predicting more verifiable features of the movie than when predicting their own preferences. Whereas 44% of those in the self condition selected an advisor with a rank greater than 6 (higher ranks mean greater dissimilarity), 67%, 68%, and 55% did so in the average person, success, and critical acclaim conditions.

Study 3 ($N=161$) used an identical procedure, with one exception: Rather than elicit predictions about verifiable features, we varied the product category. Spiller and Belogolova (2015) argue that consumers hold discrepant beliefs about whether a set of products is “vertically differentiated” (differing on quality and intrinsic value, thus more verifiable) or “horizontally differentiated” (differing on taste and idiosyncratic value). A pretest of 35 product categories revealed significant inter-category heterogeneity in perceived differentiation. For example, respondents agreed that paintings, restaurants, and tattoos belonged to the realm of taste, while public transportation, blenders, and digital cameras concerned objective quality. We selected restaurants and digital cameras to represent two opposing ends of the taste-quality spectrum for Study 3. Results found that people sampled more dissimilar *and* diverse advisors for digital cameras relative to restaurants.

Studies 2-3 suggest that individuals are more likely to seek diversity when forming more verifiable judgments or when they perceive a category as vertically differentiated. Study 4 examined how they then use these opinions to update predictions. We assigned participants ($N=398$) to one of eight conditions in a 4 (prediction: self, average person, acclaim, success) \times 2 (advisor pair: similar, diverse) between-subjects design. Participants saw ratings from a pair of advisors sequentially, making one prediction after seeing each opinion. Half saw two similar reviewers, while the other half saw one similar followed by one dissimilar reviewer. In both conditions, the two advisors rated the movie highly. While participants contrasted their own predictions away from the dissimilar advisor, no contrast effects emerged for predictions pertaining to the average person, critical acclaim, or box office success. Thus, preference diversity appears to a negative cue only for judgments of personal preference.

Taken together, these results have implications for what information people might seek in different contexts. For example, if we were tasked with judging the quality of an ACR paper, we may prefer to poll conference attendees with both similar and dissimilar interests to our own. By contrast, if we wanted to determine which paper we should read for personal pleasure, we may only bother colleagues who share our taste in papers. Identifying precisely which factors affect how broadly we sample advice is an important topic of future research.

Are Advice Takers Bayesian? Preference Similarity Effects on Advice Seeking and Taking

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers today have access to far more information when making purchasing decisions than ever, thanks mainly to the proliferation of consumer-oriented websites and apps. When consum-

ers consider purchasing new products, they may try to forecast how likely they will like it. To better inform this “probabilistic affective forecast”, they may generally use two broad methods: 1) simulation of what it would be like to use the product based on product descriptions and pictures, and 2) surrogation—seeking word-of-mouth (WOM) or advice from surrogates (i.e., people who have direct experience with the product), for example, by reading their reviews on websites including Yelp, Amazon, and IMDb (Gilbert et al. 2009).

To date, little research has explored the more recent trend of online reviews becoming more social. For example, Yelp allows users to “friend” other users. On the other hand, social media websites such as Facebook and Twitter now provide users with product suggestions based on their friends’ ratings. Consumers now are able to take advice from someone who they at least partially know the preferences of, and thus have more information than before. However, previous research has yet to explore whether this additional information helps consumers make better decisions and rely more on WOM (He and Bond 2013).

The present research examines consumers’ affective forecasts when *taking* advice (WOM) from a surrogate whose preferences are at least partially known, and what determines whether consumers are willing to *seek* advice from these surrogates. We explore whether taking advice from online friends helps overcome systematic errors people often make in their affective forecasts of future experiences, findings that are well documented in previous research (Kermer et al 2009; Gilbert and Wilson 2000; Patrick, MacInnis, and Park 2007). Specifically, we directly manipulated the degree of *preference matching* (PM) with the surrogate to see how participants incorporate different PM levels into their affective forecasts and how PM affects advice seeking.

To assess the *normative* degree to which consumers should take advice from surrogates in the presence of PM information, we introduce a Bayesian framework that allows us to evaluate ex-ante prediction accuracy. There are two variables to consider when consumers incorporate a surrogate’s advice to predict their enjoyment of a future experience: 1) their general liking of similar experiences (i.e., the base rate), and 2) the relevance of the surrogate advice, which depends on PM (i.e., the diagnosticity of the advice). Therefore, it seems reasonable to draw an analogy between the advice-taking process and a Bayesian updating paradigm.

Two studies presented here directly manipulated PM with an unknown surrogate and measured the prediction accuracy using Bayesian prediction as the standard. We thus extend the research on affective forecasting, advice taking, and WOM to better understand the advice-taking process in the social media era.

Study 1 tested how perceived PM (PPM) affects consumers taking and further seeking advice from the surrogate. We mimic a complete decision process of making a probabilistic affective forecast (“how likely I will like it?”). Participants directly experienced PM by seeing “actual” ratings from a previous participant after rating each of 10 pieces of artwork, the trials that enable participants to recall their base rate preference and PM history with the surrogate. Then they saw the surrogate advice and made the prediction on the 11th piece of artwork. After seeing the 11th piece of artwork, they were asked to make a choice between surrogation information (previous participant’s rating) and reading a short description of the 12th piece of artwork. We used a 5 (PM: 50% vs. 70% vs. 90% vs. 100% vs. control) \times 2 (advice valence: 5 star vs. 1 star) between-subjects design.

We found that PPM is lower than the given PM, except for the 50% condition. This suggests that when consumers consider PM, the default is to assume low matching. Our study measured prediction

accuracy using Bayesian implicit PM (IPM), which is derived back from the actual prediction, representing the PM that a Bayesian predictor would have to reach this prediction, given the base rate. Comparing PPM with IPM reveals overuse of updated information (surrogate rating), as IPM that was actually used for predicting is higher than PPM. This is consistent with our expectation that although consumers perceive lower PM with a surrogate, they make an opposite decision that overweighs on surrogate advice.

After experiencing the target, more participants chose surrogate over descriptive information when the surrogate rating on the 11th painting agreed with their actual rating than when contradicted. Therefore, “useful” surrogate advice is particularly important for continuing to go to that surrogate for further advice. This contradicts the finding in previous research (e.g. Gilbert et. al. 2009) that people always prefer descriptive information over surrogate advice.

Study 2 switched domains to Dilbert comics, used a different range of PM (60%, 90%, and control) and changed the timing of choosing advice type. We enforced the choice before seeing the advice and making the prediction.

Participants reported lower-than-given PPM only in 90% condition. The PPM in 60% condition (57.84%) is similar to that in the control condition (57.04%), implying that people’s default of PPM is possibly around 60%. We found no difference in choice of advice type between the control condition and 60% condition, but significantly higher preference for surrogate rating in the 90% condition. A logit regression analysis shows that the PPM is the major predictor of the choice on advice type. Similar to Study 1, participants who chose surrogate rating overweighed surrogate’s advice across all three conditions based on the comparisons between IPMs and PPMs.

In summary, we explored how PM affects consumers using and seeking surrogate advice. To corporations who deal with massive online WOM, this research rationalizes their effort of socializing online reviews but also suggests that it may backfire. Providing PM information could benefit higher acceptance of online reviews, but may significantly reduce the intention of seeking advice once the advice quality is proved to be poor. Our proposition on Bayesian prediction could also help consumers to make better decisions using online reviews.

Recommenders vs. Recommender Systems

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Recommendations can have a tremendous impact on welfare by guiding consumers towards better choices. Most often, they have been generated by other humans (experts, peers, loved ones, etc.) but recently, recommendations based on collaborative filtering algorithms have been introduced to many consumption settings (YouTube, Netflix, Amazon, etc.) These systems flourish because the costs of generating predictions are small. But costs aside, how beneficial are they for consumers, compared to the alternative? Can the algorithms make better predictions about preferences than other people? And which type of recommendation would people prefer to receive?

We conducted a series of experiments that compared human and machine recommenders, both on objective accuracy and on subjective consumer taste. We selected a domain where humans ought to have a natural advantage: Predicting which jokes other people will find funny. Strikingly, even in this domain, we find that computer algorithms are better recommenders than people, regardless of whether these people are making recommendations for complete strangers or close others. And yet, people would prefer to receive recommendations from other humans.

In Study 1 we tested whether human recommenders or computer algorithms were better at predicting people’s preferences. Our participants ($N=197$) predicted how much users of Jester (a website where people rate jokes) would like different jokes. We also developed a collaborative filtering algorithm to make these predictions. Each participant saw 4 jokes that a user had read and rated (e.g. this user rated joke A a 5.2, joke B a 1.4, and so on). Participants then read two new jokes and predicted which joke the user liked more, repeated for five users. On the machine recommender side, the algorithm took as inputs the user ratings. The algorithm then scanned a database of over 4000 Jester users and identified users who had made similar ratings for the four jokes. It then applied a kernel weighting function to develop a prediction of how much the current user would like a joke. Averaging across all five predictions the human subjects guessed correctly less often ($M=56\%$, $SE=1.6\%$) than the algorithm ($M=63\%$, $SE=1.5\%$).

Note that humans have one kind of advantage: They comprehend the subject and punchline of the joke, and they have direct insight into why it is funny. On the other hand, collaborative filtering doesn’t actually understand anything about the content of humor. Instead, they only scan for regularities in the pattern of ratings for those particular jokes. This is different from an actuarial model (Dawes 1979), which tries to reconstruct the human judgment process, using the same inputs. However, there are other sources of information (missing in Study 1) that human recommenders usually rely on in the real world—recommenders often know their targets personally, and know the context in which a joke will be heard. Would this make a difference?

In Study 2, we recruited pairs of people ($N=122$) who knew each other well (significant others, family members, etc.). Both people first rated 12 jokes for themselves. Then they each turned to making predictions about the other person. They saw a random sample of four jokes, along with their partner’s ratings for those jokes. Then they predicted their partner’s ratings for the other eight. Accuracy was scored as whether a recommender’s predictions matched the relative ranking of their target’s ratings, across all 28 possible pairwise combinations of two jokes. We find that even with personal and contextual information about their target, the humans ($M=56.8\%$, $SE=1.4\%$) were still less accurate than the algorithms ($M=62.4\%$, $SE=1.2\%$).

Study 3 was very similar to Study 2—people who knew one another well were recruited in pairs ($N=210$), with the added feature that some human recommenders were able to see the machine’s prediction before making their own. Even humans with this seeming advantage ($M=58.3\%$, $SE=1.4\%$) were not much improved from baseline ($M=58.0\%$, $SE=1.4\%$) and still less accurate than the algorithms ($M=62.8\%$, $SE=1.0\%$), and this pattern held whether participants were asked to make recommendations for their partner, or a stranger pulled from a database. These results demonstrate that even though machines are better at making recommendations, humans were reluctant to rely on their judgment when producing them.

Study 4 compared humans and machines from the perspective of a recommendation consumer. We first asked subjects ($N=100$) to log onto Jester, an online collaborative filtering engine for jokes. They rated eight sample jokes and saw the first five recommended jokes from the algorithm. Then we asked them to compare the algorithm to someone they knew well, or an unknown other participant (between-subjects). In both cases, fewer people thought the algorithm would be more accurate (known=17%; unknown=46%) and did not prefer to receive algorithm recommendations over the human alternative (known=15%; unknown=37%).

In Study 5 we measured accuracy and consumer taste in the same experiment. Subjects ($N=1300$) first rated ten “menu” jokes, then were assigned to receive recommendations from either a machine or a human. They rated three sample jokes, then saw which three jokes their recommender had chosen for them. Again, the target had given higher ratings to the jokes the machine chose ($M=2.8$, $SE=0.1$) than the jokes the humans chose ($M=2.5$, $SE=0.1$) but when asked afterwards, participants gave higher ratings to the performance of human recommenders ($M=4.1$, $SE=0.1$) than machine recommenders ($M=4.4$, $SE=0.1$). These results confirm that resistance to machine recommenders persists even when the accuracy difference is made explicit.

These results shine a light on a rapidly developing facet of consumer choice. Consumer resistance to machine recommendations has been well-documented (e.g. Dawes 1979; Sunstein 2014). This raises important questions about how to get consumers to actually take recommendations from a machine, which would improve choices and reduce search costs. Future research will examine these barriers to resistance, and extend our findings to other domains.

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How To Do, When To Do, What To Do: The Experiential Consumption Process

Chair: Chadwick J. Miller, Arizona State University, USA

Paper #1: The Heart and the Head: On Choosing Experiences Intuitively and Possessions Deliberatively

Iñigo Gallo, IESE Business School, Barcelona, Spain
Sanjay Sood, University of California, USA
Thomas Mann, Cornell University, USA
Thomas Gilovich, Cornell University, USA

Paper #2: To Do or To Have, Now or Later? The Preferred Consumption Profiles of Material and Experiential Purchases

Amit Kumar, Cornell University, USA
Thomas Gilovich, Cornell University, USA

Paper #3: Simply Desirable, Preferably Complex: Feature-Richness in Experiential Purchases

Chadwick J. Miller, Arizona State University, USA
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Paper #4: The Peculiarly Persistent Pleasantness of Bizarre Experiences

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Research on experiential consumption typically focuses on comparing the relative contributions of experiential and material purchases on post-consumption outcomes (e.g. happiness, identity, and regret). However, much of the rest of the journey regarding experiential consumption has been ignored. How do we decide what experiences we want, when we want them, and importantly, whether we made a good choice? In this special session, we combine four papers that address these unanswered questions.

While this session focuses on experiential purchases, our research differentially contributes to the existing literature by investigating one or more components of the experiential consumption process: (1) decision making, (2) consumption timing, and/or (3) post-consumption evaluations. Accordingly, our session promises to have broad appeal, as it advances connections from the information processing (Gallo, et al.), anticipation/intertemporal choice (Kumar and Gilovich), feature-richness (Miller, et al.), and consumer satisfaction (Latimer) literatures to research on experiential consumption. Furthermore, every paper in this session—all of which are at advanced stages in the research process—provides insights for: (a) consumers to improve their experiential decision making, and (b) managers to improve their experiential offerings.

In the first paper of this session, Gallo and colleagues contrast how consumers process information when making material and experiential purchase decisions. They show that consumers naturally use an intuitive mindset when comparing experiences and a deliberative mindset when comparing products. Additionally, they show that when consumers try to use the alternative mindsets, they make worse choices and anticipate more regret with the outcome.

In the second paper, Kumar and Gilovich examine how consumption timing interacts with purchase type, such that consumers prefer immediate consumption of material goods but delayed consumption of experiences. Furthermore, the authors demonstrate that consumers prefer an inferior product now rather than a superior product later but, conversely, prefer a superior experience later rather than an inferior experience now.

Miller, et al. extend the focus of consumers' inclinations for experiences to investigate pre- and post-consumption preferences for feature-richness. They find that, contrary to feature-fatigue, consumers prefer feature-poor experiences before consumption, but feature-rich experiences after consumption. Additionally, they identify several moderators that align consumers' pre- and post-consumption preferences.

Finally, Latimer examines a type of experience from which consumers derive increased enjoyment. He shows that, after consumption, bizarre experiences are more enjoyable than mundane experiences—even if the bizarre experience was less enjoyable during consumption.

This special session combines four papers that extend our knowledge of experiential purchases along different points of the consumption process. We believe the insights provided by this research will be helpful to consumers and timely for conference attendees given the many experiential offerings available in New Orleans.

The Heart and the Head: On Choosing Experiences Intuitively and Possessions Deliberatively

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We examine the theoretical and empirical connections between recent work on intuitive and reflective processing (Evans and Stanovich 2013; Kahneman and Frederick 2002) and material and experiential consumption (Caprariello and Reis 2013; Carter and Gilovich 2010; 2012; Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). More specifically, we investigate whether people tend to weigh intuition more heavily when making experiential purchases and rational calculation more heavily when making material purchases. There are at least two reasons to believe they do.

First, it is often easier to isolate individual features of products and conduct a feature-by-feature comparison that is likely to cue rational processing (Inbar et al. 2010). Second, there are often more dimensions to consider when it comes to experiential purchases (Gallo and Sood 2014). A two-systems perspective seems to support the prediction that people will weigh intuition more heavily when it comes to experiential choices and rational calculation more heavily when it comes to material choices. Thus, examining how people choose to make these purchases provides an opportunity to test important postulates of a two-systems perspective.

This is not to say that people always choose experiences intuitively and material goods rationally. Our thesis is not absolute. The relative nature of our thesis is further mandated by the fact that the distinction between experiential and material purchases is not a clear-cut dichotomy. Both bicycles and television sets are undeniably material goods, but both are also vehicles for an experience. Still, the distinction is sufficiently clear and meaningful that, if our thesis is correct, people are more likely to weigh intuition more heavily when purchasing experiences and reason more heavily when purchasing material goods. All the stimuli used in the five studies we present were pretested so that, in each study, the material set of potential purchases was as desirable as the experiential set.

In study 1 we test consumers' processing style. Holistic processing involves the analysis of objects and entities taken as a whole (Nisbett et al. 2001), while analytic processing involves the evaluation of objects and entities attribute-by-attribute. We presented par-

ticipants ($n = 94$) with a material or experiential purchase decision (laptop, champagne flutes; weekend trip, dinner out) and asked them to select the format in which they would want to see the pertinent information. In line with our theoretical framework, those evaluating experiences selected a holistic or intuitive process (84%) more frequently than those evaluating material products (64%), $\chi^2(1, 187) = 6.20, p < .02$.

In our second study, we examine choice. Through an imbedded figure task (Monga & John 2008), we primed participants ($n = 167$) to process information holistically or analytically and then examined their preferences for material or experiential goods (laptop vs. weekend trip; dinner vs. champagne flutes). If people tend to think about experiential purchases holistically, then being in a holistic mindset should make experiential information easier to process and the experience in question more appealing. As predicted, participants induced to adopt a holistic mindset were more likely to choose the experiential option (68%) than those primed to adopt an analytic mindset (53%), $\chi^2(1, 334) = 6.71, p < .01$.

In study 3, we asked participants ($n = 25$) to rate the extent to which different purchase decisions (8 material and 8 experiential), should be made on the basis of intuition versus reason, on a scale from 1 to 9. As predicted, participants thought the material purchases should be based significantly more on reason ($M = 6.94, SD = 1.09$) than the experiential purchases ($M = 4.60, SD = 1.39$), paired $t(24) = 6.86, p < .001$.

Next (study 4), we tested whether processing style impacted consumer regret. Participants ($n = 20$) were informed that they would see a sequence (from study 3) of different types of potential purchases—one at a time—and they were to imagine that they were torn between two different options. They were also asked to imagine that their intuition led them to prefer one option and reason the other, and that their ultimate decision went quite badly so that they ended up regretting the choice they made. We asked them which processing style they would regret using more. As predicted, participants thought they would have significantly more regret going against reason for material purchases ($M = 4.80, SD = 1.96$) than for experiential purchases ($M = 3.30, SD = 1.87$), $t(19) = 3.032, p = .007$.

Finally, in study 5 we test whether choosing experiences intuitively and products deliberately leads to making better decisions. We checked this by testing for transitivity violations (von Neuman and Morgenstern 1947). We instructed some participants to make a set of pairwise choices intuitively and others analytically, and then we tabulated the number of intransitive preferences (paradigm from Rusou, Zakay, and Usher [2013]). We then presented participants ($n = 140$) with a variety of pairs of possible purchases (adapted from studies 3 and 4), and asked them to choose one option in each pair. As anticipated, participants told to make their choices deliberately showed more transitivity violations in the experiential condition ($M = 2.85, SD = 4.07$) than in the material condition ($M = 0.89, SD = 1.33$), $F(1,136) = 9.30, p = .003$. However, for those told to make their choices intuitively, participants in the material condition had more transitivity violations than those in the experiential condition (though this difference was not statistically significant).

These findings contribute to two growing literatures in social and consumer psychology. First, our results attest to the utility of a two-system model for purchase decisions. Second, our results add to the existing work on the psychological differences inherent in experiential and material consumption.

To Do or To Have, Now or Later? The Preferred Consumption Profiles of Material and Experiential Purchases

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Van Boven and Gilovich (2003) asked a simple question: “To Do or To Have?” With respect to consumer satisfaction, their answer was clear—the hedonic return is greater for experiential than for material purchases (i.e. for money spent on doing rather than having). Here, we ask: *When?*

Nearly all of the research following the aforementioned seminal paper dealt with utility derived *after* consumption. More recently, however, Kumar, Killingsworth, and Gilovich (2014) found that there is a difference in the value derived from material and experiential purchases even *before* the good is acquired or the experience is consumed. The anticipation of future consumption tends to be more pleasant, more exciting, and less fraught with impatience for experiential than for material purchases. As Loewenstein (1987) has argued, the utility people get from anticipation can lead them to delay consumption. Accordingly, we investigated whether, as a result of this difference in anticipatory pleasure, people might prefer to delay their consumption of experiences, while preferring to consume products immediately.

In studies 1a-1c, we demonstrate that when asked to choose between an experience and a possession at different times, people show a marked preference for consuming the material purchase now and the experiential purchase later. As an initial assessment of whether people would rather delay their consumption of experiences than of material purchases, participants in study 1a ($N=97$) were presented with a choice between a possession now and an experience later or an experience now and a possession later. When they were told to imagine that they were given \$1500 to spend on two purchases in the scenario we gave them. 68% of participants indicated that they would rather have a \$750 gadget now and a \$750 beach vacation later, significantly different from indifference, $\chi^2 = 12.63, p < 0.001$.

One potential (but banal) explanation of these results is that people are more willing to put off consumption of an experience because most experiences are “time limited” but most material goods are not: that is, experiences are often over quickly and the only way to stretch out their enjoyment is to put off when they begin. Material goods, in contrast, can usually be enjoyed now *and* down the road. To deal with this issue, we conducted two follow-up replications using an experiential and material purchase that were matched on the degree to which they were time limited. In study 1b, 89% of participants reported that they would rather have a gadget now and a non-time-limited experience (a lifetime museum membership) later, $\chi^2(1, N=99) = 59.89, p < 0.0001$. 65% of respondents in study 1c indicated that they would rather have a time-limited gadget (a “loaner” pair of Google Glass) now and do a price-matched outdoor activity later, $\chi^2(1, N=100) = 9.00, p < 0.01$.

When forced to choose, consumers prefer to have their material purchases sooner and their experiential purchases later. Moving beyond forced choice, we extended these findings in study 2a ($N=98$) to a variety of purchases in a different paradigm in which participants simply stated their preferred time of consumption. Participants in this study were presented with 20 experiential and material purchases in a randomized order and were asked their preferred consumption time-frame for each purchase. Consumers reported that they would want to delay consumption of the 10 experiential purchases longer than the 10 material goods, matched pairs $t(97) = 5.70, p < 0.0001$. In a follow-up study (study 2b; $N=102$), we replicated this result using a material purchase and an experiential purchase

that could be consumed repeatedly, matched pairs $t(101) = 6.39, p < 0.0001$.

Ninety-five participants in study 3a were presented with a choice between a lesser purchase now and a superior purchase later on and we examined whether they were more likely to choose a lesser material possession now but opt to consume superior experiential purchases later. Respondents were asked to indicate a material/experiential purchase (between-subjects) they intended to make in the near future. They were then asked to imagine that 6 months from now, for the same price, they could get an “upgraded” version of that purchase. We then asked them to indicate their relative preference for the purchase that they could make right now versus the superior purchase in the future. Here, consumers exhibited more patience for experiential purchases, $t(93) = 3.38, p = 0.001$. Study 3b ($N=100$) used a similar paradigm to investigate whether the same pattern of results would emerge when the purchase was held constant and we varied whether participants were led to think of it in material or experiential terms. Here, a trip to New York was desired more immediately when the material aspects of that purchase were highlighted than when participants focused on its experiential elements, $t(98) = 1.95, p = 0.05$.

Study 3c ($N=97$) directly replicated these findings and conceptually replicated the findings from Kumar et al. (2014), showing that the greater value added by anticipation to experiential consumption mediates the differences found in intertemporal choices. Participants in this study indicated that they derived more anticipatory utility from a future experiential purchase, $t(95) = 2.36, p = 0.02$. Additionally, participants exhibited a stronger preference for an improved but delayed version of their purchase in the experiential rather than material condition, $t(95) = 2.50, p = 0.01$. Regressing intertemporal preference onto purchase condition and reported anticipatory utility showed that purchase condition was no longer a significant predictor of intertemporal choice ($p > 0.05$) whereas the amount of anticipatory utility associated with purchases did predict intertemporal preference, $\beta = 0.45, p < 0.01$ —indicating that anticipatory utility mediates this relationship. In a bootstrapping mediation analysis (10,000 samples), the 95% CI on the indirect effect did not include zero [0.05, 0.90].

Finally, in study 4 ($N=94$), we demonstrate that that our findings affect people’s real-life purchasing decisions. When participants were asked between-subjects about which purchases from their own lives they either couldn’t wait for or had delayed in order to savor, the delayed purchases were rated as significantly more experiential, $t(92) = 2.43, p < 0.02$.

Simply Desirable, Preferably Complex: Feature-Richness in Experiential Purchases

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Previous research has differentiated between products and experiences in many ways (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003) and even though experiences generally provide more happiness than their material counterparts, researchers have primarily focused on studying the heuristics consumers use with material purchases. For instance, prior work finds that consumers prefer feature-rich products pre-consumption but feature-poor products post-consumption (Thompson, Hamilton, and Rust 2005). However, when it comes to experiences, which are intangible and have a finite usage time, will consumers still experience this “feature fatigue?”

In this research, we seek to understand how the number of features on an experience impacts pre- and post-consumption preferences. Prior work in the task complexity literature has shown that

as the number of events in a given task increases, the outcome of the task becomes more difficult to predict (Campbell 1988). As a result, consumers may prefer feature-poor experiences because they are perceived to have less uncertainty than feature-rich experiences (Trope and Liberman 2003). Post-consumption, however, there is evidence that consumers should prefer feature-rich experiences. For instance, a feature-rich experience should provide more opportunities for stories (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003; 2005), a better chance for a higher peak and end (Kahneman 1999), and less regret of inaction (Rosenzweig and Gilovich 2012).

In the current research, we show that consumers prefer feature-poor experiences pre-consumption, yet prefer feature-rich experiences post-consumption (the opposite of “feature fatigue;” studies 1 and 2) and that uncertainty mediates pre-consumption preferences. We also show that pre-consumption preferences can be moderated by changing the temporal distance associated with the purchase (study 3). That is, when temporally close we expect the same effect but when temporally distant, we expect consumers to have no preference for feature-rich vs. feature-poor experiences. Additionally, we suggest that Locus of Control (LOC; Rotter 1966) should impact how much consumers enjoy feature-rich (-poor) experiences (study 4) because it influences consumers’ initiation, effort, and persistence within an activity (Skinner 1996).

In our first study, we conducted a 2 (feature-rich vs. feature-poor) \times 2 (pre- vs. post-consumption) experiment. Participants ($N=290$) rated how much they liked, desired, and thought they would be satisfied with ($\alpha=.96$) a feature-poor versus feature-rich set of comedy videos. The comedy videos told exactly the same jokes and lasted about 10 minutes. In the “feature-rich” condition there were 19 individual segments, while in the “feature-poor” condition, there were only 3 individual segments. As anticipated, pre-consumption, participants preferred the feature-poor experience ($M_{\text{feature-poor}}=6.57, M_{\text{feature-rich}}=5.22, F(1,289) = 15.02, p<.01$), but post-consumption they preferred the feature-rich ($M_{\text{feature-poor}}=6.35, M_{\text{feature-rich}}=7.01, F(1,289)=4.18, p<.05$). Thus, we show that contrary to the case of material goods, consumers prefer feature-poor experiences pre-consumption, but feature-rich experiences post-consumption.

In study 2, we use more typical experiential stimuli—a day long trip—to replicate our findings from study 1 and test whether uncertainty concerns mediate the relationship between feature-richness and experiential evaluations. Participants ($N=181$) were asked to imagine that they were considering (pre-consumption) or just returning from (post-consumption) a feature-rich (6 activities) or feature-poor (2 activities) experience. We replicated our findings from study 1, where participants preferred the feature-poor experience pre-consumption ($M_{\text{feature-poor}}=7.34, M_{\text{feature-rich}}=6.49, F(1,180) = 6.57, p<.05$) and feature-rich experience post-consumption ($M_{\text{feature-poor}}=6.79, M_{\text{feature-rich}}=7.49, F(1,180) = 3.93, p<.05$). We also found that uncertainty mediates this relationship pre-consumption ($b = -.66 [-1.10, -.29]$), such that a feature-rich experience increases uncertainty which decreases evaluations of the experience.

Using a feature-poor (7 activities) and feature-rich vacation (21 activities), in study 3 we tested whether the temporal distance of the experience would moderate preferences for feature-poor experiences. We asked participants ($N=475$) to imagine they were going on a feature-rich (vs. feature-poor) vacation either next week or next year. Participants preferred the feature-poor experience when it was temporally proximate ($M_{\text{feature-poor}}=7.25, M_{\text{feature-rich}}=6.34, F(1,474) = 6.31, p<.05$), but feature-richness did not impact preferences when the experience was temporally distant ($M_{\text{feature-poor}}=6.64, M_{\text{feature-rich}}=6.71, F(1,474) = .1, p=.75$). We also found that uncertainty mediated this relationship in the temporally close condition ($b = -.55, [-.86, -.26]$).

In study 4, we test: (1) whether consumers' pre- and post-consumption preferences flip when they actually choose their own experience as well as (2) the moderating effect of locus of control on post-consumption evaluations. First, we asked participants to choose either a feature-rich (4 activities for 5 minutes in total) or feature-poor experience (one activity for 5 minutes in total). Overwhelmingly, participants (N=190) chose the feature-poor experience (160, 84%) rather than the feature-rich (30, 16%). However, after doing the experience of their choice, those that picked the feature-rich experience rated it higher than those that chose the feature-poor experience ($M_{\text{feature-poor}} = 5.93$, $M_{\text{feature-rich}} = 6.45$, $F(1, 189) = 3.86$, $p = .05$). Additionally, we found a marginally significant feature-richness x LOC interaction on post-consumption evaluations ($F(1, 189) = 3.16$, $p < .08$). Using a spotlight analysis, we found that participants with an external LOC exhibited the same flip in preferences that we previously observed, they enjoyed the feature-rich experience more than the feature-poor experience ($b = 1.14$; $t(189) = 2.22$, $p < .05$). However, because internal LOC participants want to control the outcomes of an experience, when they are engaged in a managed experience where they are not in control, we find no difference in their evaluations of feature-rich and feature-poor experiences ($b = -.08$; $t(189) = -.18$, $p = .86$).

In sum, consumers prefer feature-poor experiences pre-consumption and feature-rich post-consumption (the opposite of products). We also identify temporal distance as a pre-consumption moderator and LOC as a post-consumption moderator.

The Peculiarly Persistent Pleasantness of Bizarre Experiences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

From the director of a cruise ship to the host of a dinner party, people strive to create experiences to which audiences will want to return. Not only must the audience enjoy the event, but they must remember the event as being enjoyable. Our project reveals one possible route to that goal: making an experience more bizarre. Bizarre stimuli tend to be processed and remembered differently from more mundane stimuli (Hunt 1995). This is true when stimuli differ from their local context, called *primary distinctiveness*, and also when stimuli differ from someone's entire life experience, called *secondary distinctiveness* or bizarreness (Schmidt 1996). In this project, we examine the impact of bizarreness.

While primary distinctiveness influences retrospective enjoyment largely by changing which parts of an experience are recalled later (Montgomery and Unava 2009), secondary distinctiveness has more extreme consequences for stimuli processing (Worthen 2006) and may have more direct effects on retrospective enjoyment. Bizarre elements of experiences may shift in valence over time as well as in prominence in memory. In this project, we demonstrate that bizarre experiences, compared to mundane experiences, are perceived as more pleasant in retrospect than during the initial experience.

The first two studies in our project provide correlational evidence that bizarre experiences become more enjoyable in retrospect. In study 1, 289 participants recounted an autobiographical event and reported their retrospective enjoyment of the event (3-item scale, $\alpha = .94$), the bizarreness of the event (3-item scale, $\alpha = .79$), and how long ago the event occurred.

The bizarreness and retrospective enjoyment of experiences were correlated $r = .32$, $p < .05$. Critically, regression analyses revealed that bizarreness was a better predictor of retrospective enjoyment for experiences further in the past, ($\beta_{\text{bizarre} \times \text{daysago}} = 1.3$, $p < .01$).

Study 2 (N = 185) replicated these results using students' retrospective enjoyment of research participation sessions.

In studies 3-5, we manipulated the presence of bizarre or mundane stimuli between-subjects and participants rated their initial and retrospective enjoyment of the stimuli, leading to a 2 (bizarre/mundane) x 2 (online rating/retrospective rating) mixed design. In study 3, 83 participants viewed a set of 12 paintings and sculptures from the MoMA: of which 2 paintings (pretested to be equally enjoyable) were either bizarre or mundane.

Participants initially reported equal enjoyment of either set ($m_{\text{bizarre}} = 47.4$, $m_{\text{mundane}} = 48.3$, $p > .1$), but after a 6-week delay participants who viewed the bizarre paintings reported greater retrospective enjoyment of the set ($m_{\text{bizarre}} = 54.1$, $p < .05$) whereas those who viewed the mundane paintings reported marginally lower retrospective enjoyment of the set ($m_{\text{mundane}} = 43.2$, $p < .1$; Interaction $p < .05$).

Studies 4 (N = 43) and 5 (N = 98) replicate the relative improvement of retrospective enjoyment for multiple different bizarre vs. mundane foods in scenarios where the bizarre experience (e.g., marmite) is initially less enjoyable than the mundane experience (e.g., butter).

While studies 3-5 show that bizarre experiences improved retrospective enjoyment *relative* to mundane experiences, studies 6 and 7 demonstrate that the *presence (vs. absence)* of a bizarre element in an experience increases retrospective enjoyment. In addition, studies 6 and 7 provide evidence for two mediating variables: how frequently participants discussed the experience after it occurred and the ease of recall during the retrospective evaluation.

Students enrolled in an introductory marketing class participated in three one hour research sessions one month apart. In each session, participants completed 6-10 different studies. We tracked 54 students' enjoyment of each study and the session overall for each of the three sessions. At the third and final session we asked for their retrospective enjoyment of the current, first, and second sessions. The manipulation of bizarreness was introduced in the second session by asking half the participants to complete a bizarre 5-minute "Apple Study" (the remainder left 5 minutes early). In the apple study, participants were instructed to stare at their computer screen for 160 seconds as the screen flashed varying shades of red, while varieties of apples (e.g., Fuji, Macintosh) appeared in 10 pt. white font in the center of the screen. They then went into a small room, lit with red light where they were asked to quickly rate the appearance of several apples.

The inclusion of the bizarre apple study did not change participants' initial enjoyment of the session, ($m_{\text{bizarre}} = 4.32$, $m_{\text{bizarre absent}} = 4.38$, $p > .1$), nor their mean enjoyment of the other studies in the session ($m_{\text{bizarre}} = 4.35$, $m_{\text{mundane}} = 4.20$, $p > .1$), and the apple study itself was no more enjoyable than the studies surrounding it ($m_{\text{apple study}} = 3.86$). After a one-month delay, however, participants who did not experience the apple study reported lower retrospective enjoyment of the second session as compared to their earlier evaluation ($m_{\text{bizarre absent}} = 3.63$, $p < .05$) as well as compared to those who did the apple study ($m_{\text{bizarre}} = 4.32$, $p < .05$; Interaction $p < .05$). The retrospective enjoyment of participants who completed the apple study was no different than initial enjoyment ($p > .9$). The interaction was mediated by both the reported frequency that participants talked about their second session in the lab and their ease in recalling the second session one month later ($ps < .05$).

Study 7 (N = 102) replicated the methods and results of study 6. However, instead of leaving the lab early, participants in the mundane condition completed a task in which they read about different apple varieties. As a result, instead of the bizarre condition persisting in its pleasantness while the mundane condition declined, the bizarre

condition became more pleasant in retrospect while the mundane condition was equally pleasant online and in retrospect.

To summarize, seven studies demonstrate that bizarre experiences become more enjoyable in retrospect compared to mundane experiences. Thus, if you want an experience to be fondly remembered, make it a little weirder.

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What's Risky? New Perspectives on "Risk" Aversion

Chair: Robert Mislavsky, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #1: Risk is Weird

Robert Mislavsky, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Uri Simonsohn, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #2: Gamblers Are Fun (But They Aren't Risk Takers)

Theresa F. Kelly, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Joseph P. Simmons, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #3: The Unattractiveness of Hedges: Implications for the Conception of Risk Preferences

Shane Frederick, Yale University, USA
Andrew Meyer, Yale University, USA
Amanda Levis, Yale University, USA

Paper #4: Value Atrophy in Consumer Assessment of Risky Options

Uzma Khan, Stanford University, USA
Daniella Kupor, Stanford University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Psychologists, economists, and marketing researchers spend significant amounts of effort thinking about risk preferences, and for good reason. It helps us develop normative theories about how we should use our time and money and descriptive accounts of how others actually do use theirs. But are researchers and practitioners focusing on the right things? What are we *really* capturing when we ask people to consider uncertain outcomes?

Risk assessment has traditionally been characterized by a mental balancing of probabilities and outcomes, and changing these parameters has been thought to influence our perceptions of a prospect. While this is certainly part of the story, we wonder what else changes simultaneously with risk than can cause shifts in preferences. How much of risk preference is really related to risk itself, and how much is caused by these other changes? The four papers in this session examine this more closely and propose alternative drivers of "risk preferences" beyond risk *per se*.

Why would putting a gift card inside of a box reduce its value by 30 percent? Mislavsky and Simonsohn propose that some forms of risk aversion are simply negative reactions to "weird" scenarios or unusual mechanisms. In four experiments, they show that, even in the absence of objective risk, mechanisms used to introduce uncertainty lower valuations.

When is a quarter worth less than nothing? Kelly and Simmons investigate why people would rather say "no" to a gamble than "yes" to \$0 and why giving up a gamble for \$0 is more attractive than giving it up for \$0.25. Ultimately, framing gambles differently (e.g., as a yes/no proposition or as a choice between action and inaction) and altering compensation for *not* gambling changes risk preferences in counternormative ways, in part because people believe that accepting different types of gambles says different things about their personalities.

Why would somebody prefer a drug that may cause cancer and constipation to one that may only cause cancer? Khan and Kupor show that "value atrophy" causes prospects to appear *less* risky when additional risky outcomes are added. This occurs because increasing the number of outcomes decreases the perceived probability of any individual outcome and holds in the domains of both positive and negative outcomes.

Why are people reluctant to pay for a sure thing? Frederick, Meyer, and Levis explore why people who are told that they will win

\$10 if a coin flip comes up *heads* pay significantly less than \$5 to also bet on *tails* (even though that purchase would guarantee them \$10). In fact, rather than being negatively correlated (as normative theory would predict) values of hedges are often *positively* correlated with their associated gambles.

Taken together, these papers cast doubt on current models of risk preference and provide new perspectives on the mechanisms behind "risk" aversion.

Risk is Weird: The Weirdness of Risky Transactions Causes "Risk" Aversion

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

What exactly do we mean when we talk about risk aversion? At its most basic, risk aversion exists when a person is willing to forgo an uncertain outcome for a certain one, despite the uncertain outcome having a higher expected value. That is, a risk-averse person may prefer getting \$30 for sure, rather than taking a 50% chance of winning \$100 (and a 50% chance of winning nothing). To date, most explanations of this phenomenon have focused on how we mentally balance the probabilities and magnitudes of positive and negative outcomes (Gneezy, List, & Wu, 2006; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Tversky & Fox, 1995), although recent accounts have suggested that uncertainty itself may have negative utility (Simonsohn, 2009).

However, we propose that much of what has previously been considered "risk aversion" has little to do with risk or uncertainty *per se*. It is instead caused by the specific mechanisms that are used to introduce uncertainty. For instance, buying a lottery ticket, flipping a coin with a friend, and sitting down at a blackjack table are all relatively typical ways to encounter risk in the world. In fact, these are generally domains where people show relatively little risk aversion and are often risk-seeking (Conlisk, 1993). On the other hand, betting on an experimenter pulling a red ball from an urn with an unknown ratio of black and red balls (Ellsberg, 1961) is much less common and may give pause to those asked to value the gamble. Unsurprisingly, this paradigm typically creates significant risk aversion (Fox & Tversky, 1995; Keren & Gerritsen, 1999).

We hypothesize that these weird risk-creating mechanisms would also reduce valuations even in cases with no objective risk. There are several reasons why this may occur. First, unusual mechanisms may introduce skepticism that everything will work as intended. Second, people may assume larger transaction costs as a mechanism's complexity increases, and risk aversion is merely an adjustment for these costs. Third, participants may believe that the mechanism is "biased against the person" (Keren & Gerritsen, 1999). That is, unless there is a compelling reason for increased complexity, participants may believe that the mechanism was specifically designed to produce unfavorable outcomes at the user's expense.

We conducted four studies to test our hypothesis. We primarily rely on scenarios similar to those used in studying the uncertainty effect (Gneezy et al., 2006). We used this paradigm because it has previously provided one of the more extreme demonstrations of risk aversion and allows for clean manipulation of both risk and weirdness. In prior uncertainty effect experiments, it was found that risky gambles are often valued *below* the value of the worst possible outcome.

Study 1 presented participants with one of three scenarios where they were asked to provide either (1) their willingness-to-pay (WTP)

for two gift cards (the *certainty* condition), (2) the chance to win one of two gift cards (the *uncertainty* condition), or (3) the chance to choose one of two gift cards (the *choice* condition). WTP elicitation in the *certainty* condition consisted of a simple question (e.g., “What is the most you would be willing to pay for this gift card?”), while the elicitation in the *uncertainty* and *choice* conditions involved a more elaborate scenario, which asked participants how much they would be willing to pay to open a box on a table and take one of two gift cards, which were either labeled (*choice*) or unlabeled (*uncertainty*). As demonstrated by prior studies of risk aversion and the uncertainty effect, participants provided a lower WTP in the *uncertainty* condition than in the *certainty* condition. However, they also provided a lower WTP in the *choice* condition, an objectively riskless condition where they would have had full control over the outcome and could have simply chosen their preferred gift card.

Study 2 replicated the results from Study 1, with one exception. The scenario in the *certainty* condition was modified to parallel those in the *uncertainty* and *choice* conditions. Instead of simply asking their WTP for a gift card, we asked their WTP to open a box and take the one gift card that was inside. We then used this as our baseline valuation to compare the *uncertainty* and *choice* valuations. We found no difference between valuations in any of the conditions. This suggests that, holding the distribution mechanism constant, risk or uncertainty do not necessarily lower willingness-to-pay.

Study 3 replicated the pattern of results from Studies 1 and 2, but with a different weird scenario, which involved the purchase and redemption of tokens but had the same basic elements of *certainty*, *uncertainty*, and *choice*. Study 4 used both the box and the token scenarios and incorporated outcomes of different objective values (\$50 and \$100 gift cards). We again find the same pattern of results, with participants showing significantly less risk aversion in the token scenarios than in the box scenarios.

Taken together, the results of these studies have significant implications for both researchers and businesses. Theoretically, these results suggest that prior experiments designed to measure risk aversion may have, at least in part, actually captured negative reactions to weird mechanisms and stimuli. Practically, this supports the idea that businesses should be wary of being “too weird.” Businesses that try to distinguish themselves by relying on overly novel methods may be lowering customers’ willingness to engage with their promotions or pay for their products. Instead, they may be better served by introducing changes or new features more slowly, so that customers have time to adjust to a “new normal.”

Gamblers Are Fun (But They Aren’t Risk Takers)

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Mixed gambles are frequently used by researchers to assess people’s willingness to take risks across various contexts. However, we found that subtle differences in framing considerably affected people’s willingness to accept a mixed gamble. In our first experiment, we found that people are more willing to accept a mixed gamble when it is framed as a choice between two options (gambling vs. not gambling) than when it is framed as a choice to accept or reject a single option (i.e., the gamble). People are also more likely to accept nothing than next-to-nothing as an alternative to gambling.

We had 1,201 participants imagine they were offered a mixed gamble (50% chance of winning \$100 and a 50% chance of losing \$100) and indicate whether they would take the gamble in real life. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. In the first condition, the gamble was framed as the decision to accept or reject a single option (e.g., “Would you accept this option?”). In

the second, the gamble was framed as a choice between two options (the gamble versus “\$0 for certain”). The third condition was identical to the second condition, except that the alternative to the gamble was “\$0.25 for certain.” After participants made their choice, they rated how pleasurable it would feel to win \$100, how painful it would feel to lose \$100, and how pleasurable or painful it would feel to get the alternative outcome (\$0 or \$0.25). They also rated how exciting it would be to gamble and how boring it would be not to gamble.

Participants chose the gamble significantly more often when it was framed as a choice between the gamble and \$0 for certain (38.3%) than when it was framed as accepting or rejecting the gamble (25.1%), $p < .001$. More interestingly, however, is that they chose the gamble even more often when the alternative was \$0.25 (48.0%) than when it was \$0, $p = .007$. Therefore, by offering a trivially small alternative to taking the gamble, we nearly doubled the proportion of people willing to take the gamble relative to simply asking whether or not they would take it. This also suggests that people find the prospect of getting a \$0.25 reward *less appealing* than a \$0 reward. However, when we asked participants to rate how pleasurable or painful it would be to get the certain alternative, they rated that receiving \$0.25 would be significantly more pleasurable than getting \$0 under the two-choice framing, $p = .039$, and that getting \$0 under the accept/reject framing would be more painful than getting \$0 under the two-choice framing, $p < .001$. This pattern of results directly contradicts their choices. Furthermore, there were no significant differences between conditions in how participants rated the pleasure of winning \$100 or the pain of losing \$100.

What, then, can explain this pattern of choice? One possibility is that choosing a boring or uninteresting alternative feels worse than rejecting an interesting alternative. Our data provide partial support for this hypothesis. While there were no significant differences in ratings of how exciting it would be to take the gamble, participants in both two-option conditions rated *not* taking the gamble as more boring than those in the one-option condition, $ps < .001$. In sum, we find that people think that earning nothing is sometimes better than earning next-to-nothing, and that choosing an uninteresting option is worse than rejecting an interesting option.

Our second study ($N = 202$) further explored how people perceive these gambles. In addition to indicating whether or not they would take a mixed gamble (50% chance of winning \$100 and 50% chance of losing \$100), participants also rated the personality of a hypothetical person who rejected the gamble. Each participant was exposed to both the one-option (accept/reject a gamble) and two-option (choose between the gamble and \$0 for certain) gambles. To accomplish this, we embedded both framings of the target gamble in a set of eight filler gambles, randomizing the order of the one- and two-option framings of the focal gamble between participants.

In the personality judgment task, participants were asked to imagine that a person chose *not* to take the mixed gamble and then rated that person on whether they were more or less intelligent, wise, fun, boring, cautious, afraid of risk, and likable than average. The personality judgment task followed the same format as the choice task, and participants rated personalities for all gambles. The order of the gamble choices and personality judgment tasks were randomized between subjects.

We once again found that people were more willing to take the gamble when it was framed as a choice between two options (taking the gamble and getting \$0 for certain) than when it was framed as a single option (whether or not to take the gamble). Particularly noteworthy is that these are *within-subjects* effects, meaning that a significant portion of people accepted a gamble when it was framed

as a choice between two options (33.7%), then *rejected the same gamble* when it was framed as accepting or rejecting a single option (15.8%), $p < .001$.

We also found that the framing of the gamble significantly affected the perceived personality of a person choosing not to take it. A person who rejected a two-option gamble was seen as significantly less fun, less likable, more cautious, more afraid of risk, ($ps < .05$), and marginally more boring ($p = .075$), than a person who rejected the one-option gamble. Furthermore, a bootstrap mediation analysis revealed that changes in how fun and likeable a person who rejected the gamble seemed, but not changes in how cautious or afraid of risk they seemed, partially mediated the of single- versus two-option framing on willingness to gamble.

The Unattractiveness of Hedges: Implications for the Conception of Risk Preferences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Analyses of choice under uncertainty typically treat risk aversion as a primitive and stylized fact; the certainty equivalent of a gamble is nearly always below its expected value—indeed, this is routinely used as the *definition* of risk aversion. For instance, the typical person is indifferent between a sure \$3 and a coin flip for \$10.

Matthew Rabin and others have noted that this degree of (what we typically still call) "risk aversion" over small stakes violates Expected Utility Theory, because it implies a degree of curvature that is radically inconsistent with other choices. For instance, someone who is indifferent between \$3 and coin flip for \$10 "should" (i.e., would have to, for consistency) prefer a sure \$100 over a coin flip with an infinite payout. Prospect Theory attempts to accommodate such results by introducing a discontinuity at the reference point.

In this project, we investigate a different sort of inconsistency, by comparing subjects' valuation of *gambles* (e.g., a voucher which pays \$10 if HEADS obtains) with their valuation of *hedgies* (e.g., a second voucher that pays \$10 if TAILS obtains).

Logic requires three mutually entailed results: (1) The valuation of a *gamble* and the valuation of its *hedge* should sum to the prize. (Obviously, the joint possession of a \$10 HEADS and \$10 TAILS voucher guarantees \$10, and, hence, is worth \$10.) (2) The distribution of bet and hedge valuations should be perfectly negatively correlated; they should lie along the line $X+Y = \text{prize}$. (3) The valuation of a hedge should *exceed* its expected value. The local curvature invoked to explain why the certainty equivalent of a *gamble* falls below its expected value also demands that the certainty equivalent of the *hedge* exceed its expected value. Note that if a respondent is indifferent between \$3 and a coin flip that pays \$10 if the coin lands heads, they are effectively willing to sacrifice \$7 from the good state (coin lands heads) to ensure \$3 for the bad state (coin lands tails). Correspondingly, when faced with the opportunity to acquire a hedge, the strong desire to transfer wealth from a richer to a poorer state implied by their gamble valuation dictates a high valuation of the hedge; respondents should again be willing to sacrifice seven of the ten dollars if heads obtains to yield three if tails obtains.

Of course, none of these predictions are realized. Instead, gambles and hedges are *positively* correlated (between +0.4 and +0.6), they typically sum to less than the prize, and hedge valuations rarely exceed their expected value. Results hold across gambles with well specified probabilities (e.g. coin flips) and ambiguous probabilities (e.g. football games). Moreover, these logical violations are difficult to expunge. We presume that the symmetry between the *hedge* and the *gamble* coupled with an instinctive revulsion to valuing a prospect above its expected value suppress valuations of the *hedge*. We

explore several ways of describing the *hedge* (as "insurance," as an "upgrade," and so on), but none we've tried succeed in persuading even a significant minority of respondents to adopt a logical pair of valuations.

These results raise several fundamental issues. (1) If the gamble and hedge bets do not conform: no sort of utility function can be invoked to explain both choices—not even one suitably modified to accommodate extreme local curvature. This forces one to question what the traditional measures of risk aversion are actually measuring. (2) If gamble and hedge valuations are not (as they "should" be) redundant measures of the same construct, one should ask what each is, in fact, measuring and how each correlates with various types of real world behaviors that are traditionally associated with attitudes toward risk (e.g., ownership of equities, affinity for casinos, pursuit of professions with high variance outcomes, and so on). (3) To the extent that people can—somehow—be made to appreciate the normative relation between *gambles* and *hedgies*, in what way will their responses (or behaviors) change? We anticipated that repeated exposure to both types of questions will engender greater risk neutrality because respondents would be more averse to valuing a hedge *above* its expected value than they'd be to value a gamble *at* its expected value. However, initial results involving repeated play in the lab have not, thus far, supported this prediction.

Value Atrophy in Consumer Assessment of Risky Options

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Normative theories as well as lay intuition suggest that adding additional negative (positive) prospects (i.e., probabilistic outcomes) should decrease (increase) the overall attractiveness of a risky option. For example, a prescription drug with a possible side-effect of a heart attack should be perceived as more threatening if it also poses the possibility of additional side-effects such as headaches and constipation, and a lottery offering an iPad should be viewed as even more attractive if it also offers other smaller prizes such as a mug and a T-shirt in addition to the iPad.

Contrary to the above normative view, we propose a "Value Atrophy" effect in risk assessment whereby a negative (positive) prospect can be perceived as less negative (positive) when additional smaller negative (positive) prospects are added to it. We propose that value atrophy occurs because people believe that larger prospects are less likely than smaller ones. As a result, the inclusion of smaller prospects by contrast makes a larger prospect appear less likely, and this reduction in the perceived likelihood of the large prospect decreases the perceived value of a risky option. We find support for value atrophy effect and the proposed mechanism across several studies.

In Experiment 1, participants perceived a pharmaceutical drug as more negative (i.e., more dangerous) when it had a single side effect of cancer, compared to when it had the same side effect of cancer in addition to several smaller side effects. Consistent with our proposed process, the presence of additional smaller side effects reduced the perceived likelihood of the larger side effect, and this reduction in the perceived likelihood of the larger side effect mediated the value atrophy effect.

Experiment 2 replicated value atrophy in a positive domain, thereby suggesting that the effect is unlikely to be due to motivated processing (in which people might be motivated to underestimate the likelihood of a larger side effect that might be more threatening and anxiety producing). Specifically, participants perceived a lottery drawing to be more attractive when it offered a single large prize compared to when it offered the same large prize in addition

to smaller prizes. Consistent with the mediation documented in Experiment 1, the presence of additional smaller prizes reduced the perceived likelihood of the larger prize, which in turn mediated the effect.

Our explanation of value atrophy hinges on the notion of lay belief that larger prospects are less likely than smaller prospects. In Experiment 3A we document existence of such lay belief. Participants indicated that they were more likely to experience a smaller prospect than a larger prospect in a variety of scenarios in both positive and negative domains (e.g., participants believed that they were more likely to find a \$1 bill than a \$100 bill on the ground, and more likely to sustain small rather than large damage from an earthquake). Providing convergent evidence, Experiment 3B similarly found that participants believed that both themselves and others would be more likely to obtain a small rather than a large prize from a lottery.

Because our theoretical framework suggests that value atrophy is in part driven by a contrast between smaller and larger prospects, we predict that value atrophy should only occur if a risky option contains a prospect that is relatively larger than the other prospects contained in it. Experiment 4 provides further support for our proposed theoretical account by testing this prediction. Participants viewed a pharmaceutical drug that either had a single minor side effect, multiple minor side effects, a single severe side effect, or the same severe side effects plus minor side effects. Value atrophy only occurred in the last two conditions when the magnitude of one prospect was larger than the other prospects.

If shifts in perceived probabilities underlie value atrophy, then the effect should not occur in contexts where there is no uncertainty regarding the likelihood of the prospects. In Experiment 5 we tested this prediction by manipulating whether the prospects were probabilistic or non-probabilistic. In the probabilistic context we told participants that they were choosing between two lotteries whereas in the non-probabilistic context we told them that they had earned additional compensation and were choosing between two certain compensation packages. We found value atrophy in the former context but not the latter. Specifically, we found that people chose a lottery offering a single large prospect over a lottery offering an equivalent large prospect plus a chance to win additional smaller prospects. However, we did not find this choice pattern in the compensation context.

The results are not only consistent with our proposed process, but also rule out several alternative possibilities. Specifically, value atrophy is unlikely to be driven by increased cognitive load or by decreased salience of the larger prospect. If increased load or decreased salience of the large prospect drove the effect, we would expect addition of prospects to produce value atrophy regardless of the prospects' magnitude and/or probability. In contrast, we find that value

atrophy occurs only in probabilistic options, and only when smaller prospects are included with a larger prospect. The effect also cannot be explained by an average value computation account whereby the overall value of a risky outcome is computed by averaging the magnitude of the prospects contained in it. This explanation is unlikely since the atrophy effect emerges only in probabilistic contexts and not in certain contexts where the perceived likelihoods of the prospects cannot shift.

Besides being theoretically interesting, the findings also have significant practical implications for marketers as well as policy makers since consumers evaluate the risks and benefits associated with their choices on almost a daily basis. Our research explains when bundling smaller prospects with larger ones may help or hurt marketing efforts. Our findings also have important implications for public policy. For example, consider FDA requirements to disclose all of a medical drug's potential risks. Current findings suggest that disclosing minor side effects may ironically make a drug appear less risky. Thus, this research has direct consequences for the design of advertisements, promotions and policy.

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Consumer Financial Decision Making: Understanding Savings Accumulation and Decumulation Decisions

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Paper #1: The Illusion of Wealth and Its Reversal

Dan Goldstein, Microsoft Research, USA

Hal Hershfield, UCLA, USA

Shlomo Benartzi, UCLA, USA

Paper #2: Solving the Annuity Puzzle: The Role of Mortality Salience in Retirement Savings Decumulation Decisions

Linda Court Salisbury, Boston College, USA

Gergana Y. Nenkov, Boston College, USA

Paper #3: Psychological Factors in Savings and Decumulation Decisions

Suzanne Shu, UCLA, USA

John Payne, Duke University, USA

Paper #4: Visual Depiction of Goal Structure and Financial Decisions

Min Zhao, University of Toronto, Canada

Dilip Soman, University of Toronto, Canada

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Reports abound in both academic and popular outlets on consumers' inability to ensure a secure and timely retirement (e.g., Munnell et al. 2009; Osterland 2014). Two major problems contribute to this retirement crisis. First, there is a savings *accumulation* problem related to the decisions consumers make when it comes to accumulating sufficient savings to retire comfortably. For example, the typical U.S. working household approaching retirement in 2013 had accumulated only \$111,000 in 401(k)/IRA balances (Munnell 2014). Second, there is a savings *decumulation* problem related to the complex decisions consumers reaching retirement age face of determining how and when to draw down retirement savings and pension benefits. Due to inadequate savings, ineffective financial planning, and increasing life expectancies many consumers are expected to outlive their retirement savings. For example, the Employee Benefit Research Institute estimates that 43% of Americans in the lowest-income quartile are expected to run short of money during their first year of retirement; and by the tenth year, an estimated 72% of them will be in this predicament (VanDerhei 2014). Retirement savings decumulation decisions are just as vital as decisions related to savings accumulation, yet very little consumer psychology research has been conducted to understand these decisions.

The objective of this special session is to explore the psychology of savings accumulation and decumulation decisions and their underlying processes. The first three papers in the session focus on the topic of savings decumulation, while the first and fourth papers in the session address the topic of savings accumulation. The first paper (Goldstein, Hershfield, and Benartzi) investigates how information architecture affects consumers' perceptions of wealth and intentions to save. Specifically, these authors examine whether people exhibit an "illusion of wealth" by which receiving a lump sum (e.g., \$100,000) can be perceived as larger or smaller than its annuitized monthly income equivalent (e.g., \$500 per month for life). The second paper (Salisbury and Nenkov) proposes that increased mortality salience while deciding whether to purchase an annuity may underlie the so-called annuity puzzle, leading consumers to avoid annuities

as a savings decumulation strategy. The third paper (Shu and Payne) investigates the impact of life expectation judgment framing, loss aversion, intertemporal impatience, and perceived ownership on decumulation decisions, such as when to begin claiming one's Social Security benefits. Finally, Zhao, Soman, and Kim focus on saving accumulation and examine how visual depiction of the (converging vs. diverging) flow between overall savings goals and multiple sub-goals can facilitate saving.

Together the papers in this session make important contributions to both theory and practice in financial decision-making, and savings accumulation and decumulation decision-making in particular. Further, this session embodies the 2015 ACR theme of *Advancing Connections*: it employs both controlled experiments and field studies and presents findings that offer both important theoretical contributions and useful practical implications for public policymakers, financial firms, and individual consumers. Given the growing size of the elderly population, these papers provide much needed insights into how to help consumers remain financially healthy and independent (Goldberg 2009; Yoon, Cole, and Lee 2009).

The Illusion of Wealth and Its Reversal

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research on choice architecture is now shaping policy around the world (Thaler and Sunstein 2008; Goldstein et al. 2008) touching on areas ranging from retirement economics (Benartzi and Thaler 2013), organ donation (Johnson and Goldstein 2003), end-of-life care (Halpern, Ubel, and Asch 2007), to environmental issues (Pichert and Katsikopoulos 2008). Recently, researchers and policy makers have started to pay more attention not just to choice architecture but also to information architecture: the format in which information is presented to people (Johnson et al. 2012). Research in information architecture has shown, for example, that the caloric content of food can be well appreciated in terms of the amount of exercise it would take to work calories off (Bleich and Rutkow 2013; Dowray et al. 2013), and the comprehension of cars' energy efficiency can be enhanced by presenting information in terms of gallons per 100 miles instead of miles per gallon (Larrick and Soll 2008). This paper investigates information architecture, though instead of addressing the consumption of calories or gasoline, we focus on economic consumption in retirement.

A timely policy debate concerns the information provided to the owners of approximately 80 million 401k retirement accounts. We focus on the Department of Labor (DOL) proposal that 401k statements display the money's worth of the account in terms of the projected lifetime income that the account can buy (Lifetime Income Disclosure Act 2011).

From a research perspective, our motivation is to investigate how people react to lump sums versus equivalent streams of monthly income. One question of interest is whether people exhibit an "illusion of wealth" by which a lump sum at retirement age (e.g., \$100,000) seems larger than its monthly equivalent (e.g., \$500 per month for life). We predict and test whether people exhibit the illusion of wealth as well as the opposite effect, by which lump sums seem smaller than their monthly equivalents.

We propose that the sensitivity to amounts of money is greater for monthly amounts than lump sums. We motivate this hypothesis using Decision by Sampling theory (Stewart, Chater, and Brown 2006), a relative of Range-Frequency Theory (Parducci 1965). This greater sensitivity to monthly amounts means that low monthly amounts are perceived as rather inadequate while high monthly amounts are perceived as rather adequate. In contrast, perceptions of lump sums change relatively little as the amount varies. This can lead to situations in which the two curves cross and monthly amounts are perceived as both less adequate and more adequate than lump sums, depending on the underlying amount. We show this in three experiments.

Study 1

A sample of 310 adults was recruited via Mechanical Turk ($M_{\text{age}} = 28.37$, $SD = 10.21$, Range 18-68, 40.3% women). We used a 2(Presentation: lump sum, annuity) \times 7(Amount: \$25,000, \$50,000, \$100,000, \$200,000, \$400,000, \$800,000, \$1,600,000) mixed design, with presentation as the between-subjects factor and amount as a within-subjects factor. In the lump sum condition, participants were asked to imagine that they would have a given lump sum to spend in retirement. In the annuity condition, however, participants were asked to imagine that they would have the equivalent monthly amount to spend in retirement. As predicted, people were less sensitive to changes in lump sums than to changes in monthly amounts. Also as predicted, monthly amounts were seen as clearly less adequate at low wealth levels, and clearly more adequate at high wealth levels. Models 2 and 3 in the appendix show that the predicted interaction between wealth amount and presentation format is significant.

Study 2

Study 2 replicates study 1 but with a between subjects design. A sample of 960 middle-aged respondents was recruited via a national survey panel ($M_{\text{age}} = 53.70$, $SD = 5.28$, Range 45-64, 52% women). To be eligible for participation, participants needed to have an annual household income between \$40,000 and \$150,000. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of eight conditions. We used a 2(Presentation: lump sum, annuity) \times 4(Amount: \$100,000, \$200,000, \$1,000,000, \$2,000,000) between-subjects factorial design. As in Study 1, people were less sensitive to changes in lump sums than to changes in monthly amounts, and monthly amounts were seen as strongly less adequate at low wealth levels, and strongly more adequate at high wealth levels. Models 5 and 6 in the appendix show that the predicted interaction between wealth amount and presentation format is significant.

Study 3

Study 3 had the same sample size and levels as Study 1, but was run on a new set of participants and had intentions to save as a dependent measure instead of perceived adequacy. As predicted, there was less sensitivity to lump sums. Furthermore, as predicted, low monthly amounts increased saving intentions more than low lump sums, and the effect reversed at higher wealth levels. Regression coefficients are omitted for space, but the expected interaction is significant ($p < .05$).

In conclusion, Studies 1, 2 and 3 support the possibility of an illusion of wealth and its reversal at higher monetary amounts. For smaller amounts of money, we found that middle-aged adults felt that a lump sum would be more adequate for retirement than an equivalent monthly annuity. They were also less likely to want to increase their saving behavior when exposed to a lump sum rather than an annuitized amount. We predicted and found a reversal of this pattern for larger amounts of money, consistent with the view

that people are more sensitive to amounts expressed as annuities, and less sensitive to lump sums, which they tend to assign intermediate ratings. Of social importance is the idea that the illusion of wealth might also contribute to the troubling tendency of Americans to claim their social security benefits at the earliest possible age and to cash out pensions.

Solving the Annuity Puzzle: The Role of Mortality Salience in Retirement Savings Decumulation Decisions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers reaching retirement age face the difficult task of deciding how and when to spend the money they have saved for retirement. For five decades, economists have examined this savings decumulation problem and have argued that purchasing annuity products is an optimal decision strategy for most people when they reach retirement (Bernartzi et al. 2011; Yaari 1965). Economic theory argues that annuities mitigate the risk of outliving one's income, but very few individuals choose to annuitize their retirement savings, a phenomenon economists refer to as the *annuity puzzle*. In March 2014, U.S. retirement assets totaled \$23 trillion, with only 8.7% of that held as annuity reserves (Investment Company Institute).

The economic literature has examined the annuity puzzle within a rational choice framework. Several explanations for the annuity puzzle have been examined – such as low retirement savings (Dushi and Webb 2004), unfair annuity pricing (Mitchell et al. 2000), annuitization framing (Agnew et al. 2008; Brown et al. 2008), and desire to bequeath one's assets (Lockwood 2012) – yet none have been shown to fully account for it. Further, companies have adjusted their annuity products to accommodate proposed explanations and make annuities more attractive by introducing options such as fixed terms, bequeath features, and deferred start dates, with little effect on annuitization rates. As a result, some researchers have called for more work that moves beyond the fully rational paradigm and instead offers behavioral explanations for the annuity puzzle (Brown 2007). This research offers one such novel explanation. We propose that the task of choosing whether to buy an annuity evokes thoughts of death. We argue that, by forcing people to consider how long they have left to live, the annuity decision makes people's mortality salient, motivating them to escape the threatening awareness of their mortality by avoiding this option and choosing to self-manage their money instead.

Mortality salience (MS), defined as the increased accessibility of thoughts related to one's death, has been examined extensively by terror management theory researchers, who have shown that people defend against conscious death-related thoughts by using proximal cognitive strategies that remove these thoughts from consciousness and/or push the problem of death into the distant future (Pyszczynski et al. 1999). Drawing upon this literature, we argue that consumers avoid annuity products as a proximal defense strategy against experiencing thoughts of death evoked by the annuity choice task. To test this proposition, we conduct four experiments and a meta-analysis of our studies to estimate an overall average effect size.

In Experiment 1, we asked 161 participants to imagine they are age 65 and deciding whether to put their retirement savings into an annuity product (annuity condition) or into an IRA product (IRA condition). Spontaneous thought listing during each task revealed that the annuity decision evoked significantly more thoughts about death and dying than did the IRA decision ($z = 5.57$, $p < .001$), and purchase likelihood was far lower for the annuity (38.6%) than for the IRA product (63.4%; $z = 5.50$, $p < .001$).

In Experiment 2, we presented a hypothetical retirement scenario to 267 participants from an online panel and asked them to choose between a life annuity and self-managing their retirement savings at age 65. Participants were randomly assigned to a mortality salience or a control condition. We manipulated mortality salience using a well-established priming technique that asks participants to write about their own death (Burke et al. 2010; Greenberg et al. 2003; Greenberg et al. 1997). Participants in the control condition wrote essays about dental pain instead. As expected, participants were less likely to choose the annuity option when mortality salience was primed ($M = 20.69\%$) versus when it was not ($M = 31.79\%$; $\chi^2(1,267) = 4.41$, $p < .05$).

In Experiment 3 ($n = 469$), we tested a more subtle and practical MS manipulation by altering the annuity product description to make mortality more or less salient. A binary logistic regression analysis revealed that increasing mortality salience via either MS priming ($M_{\text{diff}} = -9.44\%$, $z = -2.31$, $p < .05$) or altering the annuity description ($M_{\text{diff}} = -10.31\%$, $z = -2.63$, $p < .01$) decreased the proportion of people choosing the annuity option, replicating our prior results.

In Experiment 4, we added a fixed term annuity with a bequeathable feature to the choice set and again replicated our findings with a sample of 314 older consumers closer to retirement age, demonstrating the robustness of the mortality salience effect. Results from a 2 (mortality salience: low/high) X 2 (choice set: with/without fixed-term option) between-subjects design indicated a significant negative effect of increasing mortality salience ($z = -2.01$, $p = .044$) and a significant positive effect of including a fixed-term annuity option in the choice set ($z = 1.94$, $p = .052$). Specifically, increasing mortality salience decreased the proportion of people choosing either annuity option ($M_{\text{diff}} = -10.19\%$, $z = -2.01$, $p = .044$), while adding a bequeathable fixed-term annuity increased the percent choosing an annuity ($M_{\text{diff}} = 9.83\%$, $z = 1.94$, $p = .052$). Further, the bequeathable fixed-term annuity appears to be shifting choice share amongst annuity products when mortality salience increases.

Finally, we conducted a meta-analysis to integrate findings across Experiments 2-4 and estimated that the overall mean effect of increasing mortality salience was an 11.2% point decline in annuity choice rate (see figure in appendix for meta-analysis results).

This research contributes to understanding the annuity puzzle by moving beyond prevalent economic explanations and instead offering a novel psychological explanation. It also adds to terror management theory (Greenberg et al. 1997), which has linked mortality salience to a broad range of behaviors (e.g., Arndt et al. 2004; Cai and Wyer 2014), but has not examined its effects on financial decisions like retirement savings. Finally, it contributes to retirement planning research and practice by providing insight into retirement savings decumulation – an increasingly important topic as 401(k) plans replace traditional defined benefit pensions and the size of the elderly population grows.

Psychological Factors in Savings and Decumulation Decisions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Every day 10,000 Americans reach age 65 and face one of the most expensive journeys of their life: retirement. As the largest source of retirement income for most Americans, the age at which to claim Social Security benefits is one of the most important financial decisions that they will ever make. Given substantial longevity risks and the financial benefits from delaying claiming, it has been suggested that later claiming should generally be chosen for most people (Shoven and Slavov 2012). Unfortunately, people may not be mak-

ing the wisest decisions about when to start claiming: most Americans start collecting at age 62, and eighty percent or more claim their benefits before the normal retirement age of 66. The studies reported here seek to better understand decumulation decisions, including Social Security claiming, by manipulating framing of life expectations judgments as well as by measuring individual differences in loss aversion, intertemporal patience, and perceived ownership.

The decision to delay claiming of Social Security benefits involves evaluating a complex option with multiple uncertain outcomes occurring over time. Recent work has documented the effects of question framing on individuals' judgments of their own life expectations, finding that asking questions in a "live to" frame rather than a "die by" frame can lead to an approximately ten year difference in predicted life expectation (Payne et al. 2013). Because life expectation is a key input to the claiming decision, it is important to understand how this type of question framing influences predicted claiming age. Another key psychological influence on claiming decisions is an individual's measure of loss aversion, due to the perspective that not claiming early may result in a loss of benefits relative to a breakeven calculation or one's own contributions into Social Security. We also predict that affective reactions such as perceived ownership ("I deserve the payments I contributed over my working life") can also be a strong driver of Social Security claiming decisions. Finally, since the claiming decision has implications that last for decades, individual measures of intertemporal patience should also predict whether individuals claim early or late.

We completed four online studies using national panels of over 4000 pre-retirement adults aged 35 to 65. Our first study focuses on the effects of life expectations judgments and loss aversion on a set of four retirement decisions including Social Security claiming. Studies 2 and 3 focus exclusively on the claiming decision, and show the effects of life expectations, loss aversion, perceived ownership, and intertemporal patience. Finally, in Study 4, we test whether using a "live to" or "die by" frame affects hypothetical retirement decisions by shifting attention to different aspects of the decision.

Study 1 is an online study of U.S. residents aged 35 to 65 ($N = 832$, 48.7% female) who were recruited and run online through internet panel company Survey Sampling International. We expose some participants to either a "live to" or "die by" frame prior to making a series of hypothetical retirement decisions to see how their life expectations judgments effect those later decisions. Specifically, participants were asked to estimate and report the chance that they would live to [die by] a certain age or older [younger] using a slider scale for the ages 65, 75, 85, and 95. As a control, other participants make the life expectation judgments after answering the retirement decisions. We collected four separate dependent variables, all of which capture whether the individual is being myopic about retirement income decisions. We also collect substantial additional information about each participant to use as covariates in our analysis, including age, gender, savings, social security solvency, life expectancy, loss aversion, subjective health, and numeracy. We find that subjective life expectancies are positively related to intentions to purchase a life annuity and to delay claiming of Social Security. This positive relationship is much stronger when the life expectancies are asked in a live-to frame rather than a die-by frame.

In Studies 2 ($N = 1432$, 49.8% female, aged 35-65) and 3 ($N = 1113$, 49.7% female, aged 40-65), we use only the "live to" frame and again manipulate whether judgments are collected before or after the claiming decisions. For participants who answer the live-to questions prior to claiming decisions, there is a significant and persistent effect of subjective life expectation judgments on predicted claiming age. Individual measures of loss aversion, perceived ownership,

solvency, and intertemporal patience are all significant predictors of intentions for early versus late Social Security claiming. Importantly, all of these individual difference measures operate independently of each other, suggesting that they can each contribute to the effectiveness of models of claiming behavior.

Finally, in Study 4 ($N = 831$, 49% female, aged 40 to 62), participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions manipulating how claiming information was presented as well as whether life expectations were in a “live to” versus a “die by” frame. We again find that individual measures of life expectancy, loss aversion, perceived ownership, and intertemporal patience all significantly predict intentions for early versus late claiming. We also find a significant interaction effect: participants who think about their probabilities of living to older ages and then see an information table presented in a way that better highlights the benefits of later claiming indicate claiming ages delayed by around 5 months. Furthermore, life expectations are a more strongly significant predictor of claiming age for participants in the live-to framing condition. Individuals in the live-to frame appear to be more appropriately using their own predicted life expectancies, while those in the die-by frame are not integrating them in the same way. This may suggest something like an “ostrich effect” in which thoughts about dying result in an unwillingness to consider important choices related to retirement. One implication is that researchers hoping to gather behavioral measures that fully reflect respondents’ true subjective life expectations should be careful to use live-to framing (as in Studies 2 and 3). The choice of frame for life expectation information can be an important factor for helping individuals make retirement decisions.

Visual Depiction of Goal Structure and Financial Decisions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Helping consumers save has never been more important. Previous research has proposed different strategies to help consumers save such as the use of decision point (Cheema and Soman 2008), emphasizing goal specificity (Ülkümen and Cheema 2011), or earmarking on spending and saving (Soman and Cheema 2011; Thaler 1999). Recent research has also shown that focusing on one single savings goal increases saving compared with focusing on multiple savings goals (Soman and Zhao 2011). Given how common it is for consumers to have multiple goals for saving (e.g., saving for multiple purposes), we aim to explore how the visual depiction of the flow between overall financial goals and multiple sub-goals will facilitate saving.

We draw on the “fit” literature to develop our hypothesis. According to this literature, fit between external stimuli and consumers’ internal mindset creates fluency and enhances goal pursuit or persuasiveness (Higgins 2000; Kim, Rao and Lee 2009; Zhao, Dahl and Hoefler 2014). More directly related to the current research, recent work has shown that orienting a product toward consumers’ dominant hand in visual ad enhances fluency in product visualization and increases purchase intention (Elder and Krishna 2011). Drawing on these findings, we propose that visual depiction of the flow between overall financial goal and its sub-goals can facilitate goal pursuit when it creates a fit. Specifically, for saving which is an act of collecting, converging flow from multiple sub-goals to the overall savings goal creates a fit and increases saving compared with diverging flow from overall savings goal to multiple sub-goals. On the contrary, for donation, which is an act of giving out, this effect will reverse such that diverging flow leads to greater donation compared with converging flow. Four studies test our hypotheses.

In Study 1A which was a field study in India, we provided local workers an opportunity to join a new savings program and randomly assigned participants in five conditions. Participants in the three single-goal conditions were told to save more as it would help finance their children’s education, finance any healthcare needs they might have, or provide a nest-egg for when they retire, respectively. In the other two conditions, participants were reminded of all of these three sub-goals and were provided with a visual display of these goals. In the converging condition, the visual flow went from three sub-goals to the overall savings goal, whereas in the diverging condition, the visual flow went from the overall savings goal to the three sub-goals. Participants were asked to indicate their intention to join the savings program. The results showed a significant difference in percentage of people indicating intention to join the program ($M_{\text{single/children's education}} = 82\%$ vs. $M_{\text{single/healthcare}} = 71\%$ vs. $M_{\text{single/retirement}} = 72\%$ vs. $M_{\text{multiple/diverging}} = 36\%$ vs. $M_{\text{multiple/converging}} = 75\%$, $\chi^2(4) = 42.52$, $p < .001$). Consistently with Soman and Zhao (2011), we found that single goals led to greater intention to save than multiple goals. However, this effect was attenuated when the flow in the multiple-goal condition was converging. In Study 1B which was another field study in India, we replicated the effect of converging flow in terms of people’s self-reported saving six months after receiving the visual display of the flow between overall savings goal and multiple sub-goals ($M_{\text{diverging}} = \$20.44$ vs. $M_{\text{converging}} = \28.30 , $F(1,74) = 17.74$, $p < .001$).

In Study 2, which was a lab study, we seek to explore the underlying process. Participants were asked to imagine a scenario where they were thinking about joining a savings program. After introducing the savings program, the financial advisor reminded participants of their future financial wellbeing such as children’s education, future housing or retirement savings, and sketched the goal structure in either a converging (flow going from multiple savings goals and overall financial well-being) or diverging flow (reversed flow). After indicating their intention to join the program, participants were also asked to rate to what extent it felt right, good, pleasant and important to join this program. The results showed that converging flow indeed increased participants intention to join the savings program ($M_{\text{converging}} = 8.31$ vs. $M_{\text{diverging}} = 7.15$; $F(1,63) = 4.19$, $p < .05$), and made participants feel more “right” to join the program ($M_{\text{converging}} = 8.90$ vs. $M_{\text{diverging}} = 7.95$; $F(1,61) = 5.16$, $p < .05$). More importantly, feeling-right mediated the effect of visual flow in goal structure on savings intention.

In Study 3, we test whether the effect of converging flow on goal pursuit such as saving will be reversed for other financial decisions such as donation which is an act of giving out. In this study, participants were provided with an opportunity to make a donation with the \$2 that they received earlier in the study session. In both conditions, they could donate to either Daily Bread, Micro Skills or Habitat of Humanity, but the flow between overall goal of donation and the three sub-goals was either displayed in a converging (flow going from three organizations to overall donation goal) or diverging fashion (flow going from overall donation goal to three organizations). As a result, we found that participants in the diverging condition donated significantly more money than those in the converging condition ($M_{\text{diverging}} = \$1.49$ vs. $M_{\text{converging}} = \1.01 ; $F(1,48) = 3.96$, $p = .05$).

Taken together, these findings supported our hypotheses that visual flow in a financial goal structure can create a fit and facilitate goal pursuit. Specifically, converging flow enhances saving whereas diverging flow enhances donation because each type of flow is consistent with the goal act itself (collecting for saving vs. giving out for donating). This research contributes to prior work on financial decision making (Soman and Cheema 2011; Soman and Zhao 2011;

Thaler 1999) by providing a novel strategy to encourage consumer saving and donation. It also adds to the fit literature (Higgins 2000) and nudging research (Thaler and Sunstein 2008) by showing the impact of subtle contextual cues on fluency and financial decisions.

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Fashion Signals and Symbols: Beyond Conspicuous Consumption

Chair: Luke Nowlan, University of Miami, USA

Paper #1: The Devil Wears Prada? How Luxury Consumption Influences Social Behaviors

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Deborah Roedder John, University of Minnesota, USA
Vladas Griskevicius, University of Minnesota, USA

Paper #2: New Wine in Old Bottles: Vintage Consumption, Death Awareness, and the Desire to Connect the Past, Present, and Future

Gülen Sarial-Abi, Bocconi University, Italy
Kathleen D. Vohs, University of Minnesota, USA
Ryan Hamilton, Emory University, USA
Aulona Ulqinaku, Bocconi University, Italy

Paper #3: Don't Go Broke, Go Back in Time: Vintage, an Alternative Status Symbol

Morgan Ward, Southern Methodist University, USA
Claudia Townsend, University of Miami, USA
Luke Nowlan, University of Miami, USA

Paper #4: The Impact of Usage Frequency on Lifestyle Branding

Jingjing Ma, Peking University, China
Ryan Hamilton, Emory University, USA
Alexander Chernev, Northwestern University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Conspicuous consumption, the public consumption of luxury goods in order to signal status to others, is now a well-understood phenomenon both in consumer research as well as among the general public. By consuming certain clothing and accessories, consumers can signal status and capitalize on the symbolic nature of goods. The research presented in this session offers a more nuanced and deeper understanding of how, when, and why certain brands and products act as signals, both to the public and to the consumer himself. Each of these projects takes a different perspective in examining the complex consumption choices involved in signaling status. Specifically, two of the projects consider the signals that consumers unknowingly communicate to themselves via the purchase and display of luxury and vintage products. The third and the fourth paper are rooted in consumers' motivation to signal status to others, via vintage products, and illustrate one manner in which lifestyle brands garner their high price premium. Together these four projects reveal the deep and complex relationship that exists between consumers and the brands and products they purchase.

These papers build on our existing knowledge of how consumers signal social status with the products they consume and display and how these purchases enable consumers to signal important aspects of self. First, **Wang, John, and Griskevicius**, argue that luxury consumers communicate status signals not only to others, but also to themselves. Four studies show how luxury consumption leads to consumers' own inferences of status, which induces them to behave more selfishly (studies 1 and 2), and, under certain conditions, more altruistically (studies 3 and 4). The second paper by **Sarial-Abi, Vohs, Hamilton, and Ulqinaku** also explores self-signaling through the lens of vintage consumption. Specifically, the authors identify one driver of consumers' preferences for vintage products: intertemporal connections (i.e. the desire to connect the past with the present and the future). Specifically, the authors examine the relationship between intertemporal connections and vintage consumption, showing that death awareness leads people to prefer vintage

products to modern products. The third paper, by **Townsend, Ward, and Nowlan**, also examines vintage consumption and suggests that products do not have to be from luxury brands in order to effectively signal status. In fact, the authors suggest that, unlike luxury, vintage consumption signals status in the form of fashion expertise, which is distinct from financial status. In line with this framework, study 3 manipulates fashion confidence to show that non-vintage consumers can be induced to prefer vintage products when their fashion confidence is increased. Lastly, **Ma, Hamilton, and Chernev** incorporate insights from consumer signaling theory to identify a factor that moderates the effect of product usage frequency on consumer judgments. Contrasting lifestyle and functional brands, the authors show across multiple studies that consumers are willing to pay more for lifestyle brands when their perceived usage frequency is lower; however this effect is reversed for functional brands.

In sum, these four papers advance our understanding of consumer signaling by providing insights into the motivations and consequences of symbolic consumption in the fashion domain. Importantly, the research presented in this session implicates tangible opportunities for marketers in fashion-related domains. As such, this session truly reflects the spirit of ACR's theme this year by advancing the connection between tenets of consumer psychology and marketing outcomes. This session incorporates a wide range of topics, including consumer signaling, luxury consumption, vintage consumption, and status-seeking behavior, thus we expect it to appeal to a diverse audience.

The Devil Wears Prada? How Luxury Consumption Influences Social Behaviors

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Luxury consumption is skyrocketing and mounting to as much as \$525 billion per year in the United States alone (Bev and Zolenski 2011). When millions of people are using luxury products every day, what are the consequences of such consumption?

Surprisingly, with sufficient research in the luxury area, we still know very little to answer the questions raised above. Past research has examined people's attitudes, preferences, and motivations for acquiring luxury goods (Berger and Ward 2010; Han, Nunes, and Dreze 2010; Rucker, Galinsky, and Dubois 2012; Wang and Griskevicius 2014), leaving a blank for what happens to people when they actually use them. We investigate how luxury consumption influences psychology and behavior. We propose that the experience of using a luxury product boosts people's perceptions of social status and therefore it triggers self-interested behavior such as taking more resources for the self and becoming more willing to cut in line. In addition, we identify a theoretically-derived condition that reverses the negative effects of luxury consumption: it can lead people to behave in a self-interested manner by giving more to others, but only under specific conditions. Four experiments test these hypotheses.

In study 1, female participants (N=72) first walked around a busy area wearing either a luxury (Prada, retail price \$1890) or a non-luxury handbag (retail price \$75) for about 15 minutes. Afterwards, they were presented with an opportunity to behave in a self-interested manner. The first measure was based on the notion of selfishly taking the last desirable item from a group's common resources. The result indicated that people who wore the Prada handbag were far more likely to take the last desirable pen from com-

munal pen box compared to the control condition (61.8% vs. 30.3%; $\chi^2(1) = 6.67, p = .01$). The second measure involved willingness to share resources with another person. We found that participants in the luxury condition gave significantly more money to themselves than control condition ($M = \$7.44$ vs. $\$6.69; p = .02$).

Study 2 sought to conceptually replicate and extend the findings from study 1, and tested the psychological mechanism. Women ($N=42$) once again walked around campus with either a luxury or a non-luxury handbag. To assess whether wearing the handbag influenced people's perceptions of social status, participants filled out a short survey during their consumption experience. Embedded in this survey were items that measured participants' perceptions of their current level of social status. Finally, we examined women's self-interested behaviors across different situations such as cutting in line in a coffee shop and speeding ahead to get a parking space while another car is waiting for it. Responses to the four situations were averaged to form a selfish behavior index ($\alpha = .73$). Findings showed that participants in the luxury condition were significantly more likely to behave in a selfish manner than control condition ($M = 5.65$ vs. $4.24, p = .008$). Furthermore, a 10,000 resample bootstrap revealed a significant indirect effect of type of product on selfish behavioral intentions via sense of social status, $b = -.53$ ($SE = .32$), 95% CI [-1.38, -.06].

Although higher status is often associated with taking more for the self, it should be associated with acting in a generous manner when the behavior affords an opportunity to gain more status (Griskevicius, Tybur, and Van den Bergh 2010). Therefore, we predict that using a luxury (vs. non-luxury) product should make people more willing to donate money to charity in a public context. However, when there is no opportunity to display being helpful to others, luxury (vs. non-luxury) users will revert to selfish behaviors, which should result in donating less money to charity. Study 3 (2 (product type: luxury vs. control) by 2 (donation context: public vs. private) between-subjects designed) tested this hypothesis. The results showed that in the private context, women donated *less* money to charity in the luxury condition versus the control condition ($M = \$2.94$ vs. $\$3.93, p = .05$). However, in public, women donated *more* money to charity in the luxury condition compared to the control condition ($M = \$4.63$ vs. $\$3.20, p = .027$).

Study 4 sought to "turn off" the effect of luxury consumption by considering a situation in which luxury products should not influence social behavior – when other people have similar products, luxury consumption should not effectively increase social status. To do so, in one of the conditions (luxury *without status boost*), we placed multiple Burberry products (e.g., umbrella, wallet, tote bag) along the route where these participants walked while wearing the Burberry scarf around campus. We found that women in the luxury condition donated significantly more money to charity than women in the control condition ($M = \$4.35$ vs. $\$3.47; p = .047$). Thus, replicating the novel finding from study 3, women wearing a Burberry scarf became more charitable when they had an opportunity to donate in public. By contrast, wearing the same luxury scarf had no effect on donations when the luxury product did not enhance status. There was no difference in donations in the luxury *without status boost* condition and the control condition ($M = \$3.38$ vs. $\$3.35; p = .84$). Finally, perceived social status once again statistically mediated the effects ($b = .24$ ($SE = .13$), 95% CI [.04, .61]).

This research makes several important contributions. First, these studies are the first to examine the psychological and behavioral consequences of luxury consumption. Rather than measuring pre-purchase desires, our experimental approach involves actual use of luxury products and observations of behavior triggered by using

these products. Second, we show that luxury goods have an impact that goes beyond the luxury user alone, whereas prior work on luxury consumption has examined well-being from the standpoint of the consumer. Finally, this research contributes by showing that the social costs of luxury consumption are not inevitable. Instead, we show that under the right conditions the use of luxury products can spur behavior that benefits other people.

New Wine in Old Bottles: Vintage Consumption, Death Awareness, and the Desire to Connect the Past, Present, and Future

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Why would anyone want old products, especially old products not even a part of one's own personal history? The concept of new has a special place in people's minds and preferences, a novelty preference that starts in infancy (Roder, Bushnell, and Sasseville 2000). The existence and value of vintage products stands in contrast to the deeply ingrained motivation for that which is new, suggesting that there are powerful motivations that give rise to a desire for that which is old. This paper investigated death cues as one such motivation.

The etymology of the word "vintage" comes from wine making, describing the year and location in which a particular wine was made. Now the term is applied to clothing, accessories, furniture, cars, and other artifacts from an earlier era. Within fashion circles, items between 20 and 100 years old are generally considered vintage (items older than this tend to be viewed as "antiques," Bardey and Cogliantry 2002; Cervellon et al. 2012). The term is especially applicable to items seen as emblematic or representative of a particular time period. For the purposes of this research, we limited our consideration to items more than 20 years old, previously owned, and in good, working condition (Veenstra and Kuipers 2013).

Vintage items, as pieces that have stood the test of time, represent the continuity of existence. We argue that this physical blending of elements from different times means that vintage items need not be merely evocative of the past, but instead can be symbolic of the connections across time. This notion led us to propose that vintage items can be viewed by consumers as meeting the need of perceiving connections among the past, present, and future. To be sure, a need to perceive intertemporal connectedness is not always active for consumers. We posited that one situation that stimulates it is thoughts about death.

According to the Meaning Maintenance Model (Heine Proulx and Vohs 2006), when meaning frameworks are perturbed, people seek to reassert meaning by finding, affirming, and reinforcing meaning in some other domain. Meaning challenges come in a host of forms. Hampered agency, social ostracism, and lacking knowledge are known meaning threats (Proulx et al. 2010). Death encompasses all of those — and more — and as such is probably the biggest, most pressing meaning challenge that people experience.

Responses to meaning threats likewise come in many forms. We proposed a new salve to the meaning challenge posed by death: bolstering perceptions of intertemporal connections. We posited that when death is salient, meaning that when time is perceived to be ending, facilitating intertemporal connections can represent symbolic connections across time and can be a way to cope with threats to meaning.

The proposition that thoughts about intertemporal connectedness mark attempts to see life as being meaningful is supported by recent empirical work. Seeing one's life as meaningful is one strategy that people can use to ward off the meaning threats associated

with death (Bassett and Connelly 2011), and the extent to which people reported that their thoughts were centered not only on the past but also the past and future predicted the degree to which they said their lives were meaningful (Baumeister et al. 2013). Hence our proposition that death cues arouse a need to quell a meaning threat, a need that vintage goods help to address due to aiding perceptions of temporal interconnectedness. That is, we posited that thoughts about temporal connectedness would account for preferences for vintage items caused by a reminder of one's own eventual death.

In summary, we predicted that reminders of death would lead to increased preference for vintage goods, relative to conditions where a person's mortality is not made accessible. We further predicted that this preference for vintage goods would be driven by an increased desire to perceive of time as interconnected following a death reminder.

We tested our predictions in five studies. The first study tested whether reminders of death altered people's liking of vintage products, relative to participants who did not receive a death reminder. The second study had a similar aim, this time taking our investigation to the field. Elderly residents of a nursing home indicated their liking of both vintage and non-vintage (modern) products. Mortality awareness was inferred based on an assessment of residents' physical health.

The third study tested the consequences of associating oneself with vintage goods after a death reminder. This study addressed the question of whether vintage goods can serve as an effective meaning maintenance tool by measuring differences in need for structure after associating with vintage goods (Thompson, Naccarato and Parker 1989).

The fourth and fifth studies tested the proposed mechanism. Study 4 investigated whether thinking about time being interconnected mediated the effect of mortality reminders on preference for vintage items. The fifth study provided an additional test of mediation by thoughts about time's connectedness, and used a novel behavioral indicator of preference for vintage goods. Participants were encouraged to handle vintage and non-vintage clothing items and accessories. Duration spent touching the items while looking at themselves in a mirror was the behavioral indicator of preference.

Vintage goods can appeal to customers for a variety of reasons, from relatively low prices to a sense of authenticity. We investigated the possibility that vintage goods can serve the psychological need to perceive time as interconnected. We argued (and found) that this desire increases after a death reminder. As a result, the preference for vintage goods increases when a consumer's mortality is salient.

Evidence for this effect was robust across different death reminder tasks (studies 1, 3, 4, and 5) as well as the proxy variable of physical ailments among an elderly population (study 2). We twice found evidence in support of mediation. Cuing people to think about death led their thoughts to attempt to integrate the past, present, and future, and the extent to which that happened predicted their preference for vintage items.

Don't Go Broke...Go Back in Time: Vintage, an alternative status symbol

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Traditionally, social scientists have discussed luxury consumption as a way for consumers to signal social status (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996; Levy 1959; Veblen 1899). However, as consumers have increasing access to luxury products as well as recent market developments including cross-shopping (Skallerud and Korneliusen 2009) and the proliferation of counterfeit products (Gentry, Pu-

trevu, and Shultz 2006), displaying luxury products has become a less diagnostic signal of wealth, prestige, and connoisseurship. In response consumers have found other ways to signal status, such as through 'conspicuous conservation' (Griskevicius et al. 2010; Sexton and Sexton 2011), non-conforming behaviors (Bellezza, Gino, and Keinan 2014), and even the intentional targeting of non-luxury products (Geiger-Oneta et al. 2013). The present research identifies the consumption of vintage products—products from an earlier era that reflect the style of that era—as another such form of signaling. While prior research has linked vintage purchases with uniqueness and nostalgia (Carvellon et al 2012; Loveland et al 2010), consumer research has not fully investigated its social meaning nor the processes that underlie its social consumption. Drawing from perspectives in signaling theory, this work explores the similarities and differences between vintage and luxury products, and posits that, in contrast to luxury, vintage offers a stronger signal of area-specific (fashion) cultural capital. It follows that confidence in one's fashion knowledge is a key distinguishing factor between consumers of the two.

While luxury products traditionally signal financial wealth, recent research has identified ways in which consumers take more nuanced approaches to status signaling. In these cases, status is implied through the potential social costs to the consumer, rather than the monetary cost of the product involved. For example, Bellezza, Gino, and Keinan (2014) suggest that nonconforming behaviors are costly and visible signals that can increase perceptions of status. Berger and Ward (2010) show that consumers with more cultural capital prefer subtle signals of luxury to loud ones, despite the fact that fewer people will interpret them as status symbols. We argue that vintage products are unique as price alone does not reflect their desirability. As such, they pose a similar social cost to potential consumers, namely, when making a vintage purchase, a consumer cannot rely solely on trends or price to discern what is fashionable and what is not. In this sense, vintage purchases require expertise that is not necessarily required when selecting luxury purchases. It follows that, while less broadly appreciated, vintage offers a signal, not of status or wealth, but of area-specific (fashion) cultural capital. This suggests, that while vintage and luxury purchasers may share an interest and appreciation for fashion, vintage purchasers will feel more confident in their area-specific cultural capital.

Before investigating what drives consumers to prefer vintage products, we first explored how vintage consumers are perceived by others. In study 1 participants read a paragraph describing a woman in a public, everyday scenario and gave their evaluation of her. Depending on the condition, the woman was described as sporting either vintage, luxury, or undescribed (control) accessories. Consistent with theories suggesting that people consume as a means of communicating identity (Belk 1988; Berger and Heath 2007), our results show that both vintage and luxury consumers are perceived as interested in fashion, but that they differ with respect to their perceived uniqueness and affinity for taking fashion risks. Specifically, when described with vintage accessories the woman was perceived as more unique and more likely to take fashion risks than the woman in both of the other two conditions. Not surprisingly, when described with luxury accessories she was rated as wealthier, more status-seeking, more attention-seeking, and less humble than the woman in both of the other two conditions.

Verifying the differences in perceptions of vintage and luxury buyers found in Study 1, Study 2 provided evidence for differences in fashion confidence between actual vintage and luxury consumers. The participants (a group targeted for their fashion expertise) were asked about their clothing purchase habits and also answered

questions measuring their fashion confidence. Vintage purchase was positively correlated with fashion confidence ($r(125) = .46$ $p < .001$), while luxury purchase was negatively correlated with fashion confidence ($r(125) = -.19$ $p = .03$).

Next, in Study 3 we further investigated the differential drivers of vintage versus luxury purchase, and sought to increase non-vintage consumers' evaluations of vintage products. Specifically, we examined the role of fashion confidence by manipulating this variable by asking participants to consider their own fashion knowledge relative to an upward or a downward comparison (Collins 1996). Results indicated that non-vintage consumers who were made to feel more confident were more likely to select a vintage luxury product over an equivalent luxury non-vintage one, but only for relatively high income consumers. The moderating effect of household income highlights the fact that vintage is a status signaling alternative particularly for consumers who otherwise can afford luxury products.

Planned studies include examination of how desire for uniqueness also differentiates vintage from luxury purchases. Then building on both the fashion confidence and uniqueness differentiators of vintage, we will explore how marketing techniques signaling popularity (e.g. "best-selling") versus scarcity (e.g. limited time offers) differentially appeal to these different audiences.

This research contributes to the literature on how consumers select new identity signals as the traditional identity markers (e.g. luxury products) lose their ability to differentiate due to their ubiquity in the marketplace. Further, we offer the perspective that individuals might turn to more costly signals even at the expense of the positivity with which they are perceived by others.

The Impact of Usage Frequency on Lifestyle Branding

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

To increase sales, companies often promote product usage by encouraging individuals to consume their products more frequently and across different usage occasions (Wansink and Ray 1996). The underlying conventional wisdom is that more product usage gives consumers greater utility than less product usage. The logic of this argument is supported by economic theory, which argues that a greater number of usage occasions enhances consumers' willingness to pay (Marshall 2004). In this research, we challenge the universal validity of this approach and argue that under certain circumstances consumer willingness to pay can be enhanced by decreasing rather than increasing the number of usage occasions. We differentiate between two types of brands—functional and lifestyle—and argue that the type of brand influences the impact of varying product usage on willingness to pay.

In this context, we argue that limiting usage is likely to decrease willingness to pay only for brands that are high on functional attributes and that in the case of lifestyle brands this effect is reversed, such that limiting usage can increase rather than decrease willingness to pay. Our reasoning builds on the notion that consumers use brands to express their identity (Belk 1988; Fournier 1998) and that they are more likely to do so with lifestyle rather than functional brands. Specifically, we argue that in the case of lifestyle brands limiting usage frequency makes each usage occasion more special, which, in turn, increases customers' willingness to pay. This argument implies that consumers rely on usage frequency to determine the value of self-expressive brands, and that their willingness to pay increases with the decrease in the number of usage occasions. We attribute this effect to the self-expressive nature of lifestyle brands and predict that in the case of functional brands restricting usage frequency will have the opposite effect, decreasing rather than in-

creasing customers' willingness to pay. We tested this prediction in a series of four experiments.

Study 1

Study 1 provides evidence that limiting usage can enhance product value when the brand is lifestyle rather than functional. Specifically, this experiment examines the impact of usage on product value for either a functional brand (GAP) or a lifestyle brand (Victoria's Secret). We show that limiting the usage frequency of the functional brand decreases consumers' valuation of this brand (e.g., consumers were willing to pay less for GAP sleepwear that they could wear only twice a month as opposed to every day). In contrast, limiting the usage frequency of the lifestyle brand increases consumers' valuation (e.g., consumers were willing to pay more for Victoria's Secret sleepwear that they could wear only twice a month as opposed to every day).

Study 2

To support our proposition that the impact of varying product usage on product valuation is a function of the self-expressive nature of the underlying brands rather than other differences associated with different brands, Study 2 shows that positioning the same brand as functional vs. lifestyle can also switch the impact of usage on product value. Specifically, we show that when the positioning of a T-shirt brand centers on its comfortableness, limiting the usage of this brand to only once a week as opposed to every day significantly decreases consumers' willingness to pay for this brand. In contrast, when the positioning of this T-shirt brand centers on its self-designed features, limiting the usage of this brand to only once a week as opposed to every day significantly increases consumers' willingness to pay for this brand. This supports the proposition that the impact of usage on product valuation depends on the brand's self-expressiveness.

Studies 3 and 4

Studies 3 and 4 further examine the role of self-expression when usage is limited by comparing its effect on product valuation across consumers with high and low self-expressive needs. These experiments build on the notion that if the impact of usage on product value depends on the self-expressiveness of the brand, this effect should be stronger for individuals with a high need to self-express rather than a low need to self-express. In this context, **Study 3** shows that consumers with a chronically high self-expressive need, rather than a low self-expressive need, exhibit increased valuation of their favorite items from their most self-relevant brands when usage is limited as opposed to unlimited. Following this line of reasoning, **Study 4** shows that increasing consumers' need for self-expression increases their willingness to pay for lifestyle brands and that this effect is more pronounced when usage frequency is limited.

The findings from these four experiments provide convergent evidence that limiting usage frequency can have a differential impact on lifestyle versus functional brands, decreasing valuation of functional brands while increasing valuation of lifestyle brands.

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Indulgence in Context: Within-Episode Dynamics of Indulgent Consumption

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Paper #1: The Influence of Nutrition Information on Sequential Consumption Decisions for Indulgent Food

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Paper #2: Preference Reversal of Indulgent Rewards as A Dynamic Self-Control Mechanism

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Paper #3: What's Next? Anticipated Consumption Variety: Borrowing Affect From the Future To Slow Satiation in the Present

James Mead, University of Houston – Clear Lake, USA
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Paper #4: Too Busy to Lose Control: Impact of Busyness on Indulgent Consumption Behaviors

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Indulgent behaviors are tempting because of their instant hedonic benefits, but carry with them the potential for delayed costs (Hoch and Loewenstein 1991). Much recent research has studied the factors that determine consumers' preferences for indulgent or hedonic consumption when they have conflicting long-term self-control goals and short-term desires (Laran 2010). The four papers in this session seek to extend the study of these problems from the one-off decisions which have been the focus of much of the literature, to the dynamics of indulgence within specific consumption episodes and goal-directed behaviors.

In the first paper, Oh, Huh, and Mukhopadhyay examine how the effect of nutrition information provided for entrées that consumers choose amongst can influence either their choice of entrée or their subsequent dessert consumption decision. Consistent with the emerging literature, when nutrition information is available (vs. not) for the initial entrée choice, it has no effect on whether consumers choose an indulgent (vs. healthy) option. However, there is a carry-over effect for restrained eaters, such that indulgent dessert consumption is indeed reduced.

In the second paper, Xu, Jin, and Zhang show that in order to manage motivation, consumers strategically exploit indulgent consumption opportunities over the course of goal pursuit. Before (after) attaining a focal goal, highly motivated consumers show higher (lower) preference for indulgent rewards that dampen their chronicle goal. This result suggests that consumers' preferences for indulgent consumption are affected systematically by their statuses during specific instances of goal-directed behavior.

In the third paper, Mead, Scott, and Hardesty then extend the discussion to the malleability of consumption episodes themselves, by asking how to reduce satiation from an ongoing experience (e.g., music) that can be either indulgent or virtuous. When consumers anticipate high (vs. low) variety in consumption, they satiate more slowly to a current consumption experience due to lowered negative affect. This effect is more pronounced for indulgent (vs. virtuous)

experiences, and among consumers with high (vs. low) emotional intelligence.

Finally, Kim, Wadhwa, and Chattopadhyay then broaden the investigation across consumption episodes by introducing the construct of subjective busyness. Results of lab and field experiments demonstrate that when subjective busyness is made salient, people are less likely to choose indulgent options. This effect occurs because people perceive themselves as important when being exposed to busyness appeals.

Considering the importance of indulgent and hedonic consumption in consumer research, and the diverse perspectives taken by four papers, we believe this session will attract audiences from diverse background including, but not limited to, hedonic consumption, motivation and well-being. Together, the four papers shed light on consumers' decision processes for indulgent consumption: these decisions depend upon stimulus-relevant information (papers 1 and 3) and self-relevant information (papers 2 and 4), whether consumption episodes are clearly-defined (papers 1 and 2) or not (papers 3 and 4). Together, this proposed session furthers the boundaries of a very much discussed in consumer research and raises a question of how researchers can broaden this area beyond conventional perspectives.

The Influence of Nutrition Information on Sequential Consumption Decisions for Indulgent Food

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Prior research has shown mixed evidence regarding the effectiveness of providing calorie information to facilitate healthy food consumption (Bollinger et al. 2011; Downs et al. 2013). However, it is possible that consumers may change their subsequent consumption as a result of having nutrition information about what they just ate. In this research, we investigate whether the provision of nutrition information can have an influence either on an initial food choice (e.g., entrée), or a subsequent indulgent food consumption (i.e., dessert). We propose that restrained (vs. unrestrained) eaters tend to have smaller mental budgets for calories, and hence they should reduce subsequent consumption of indulgent food after having made a high-calorie unhealthy choice.

In a pretest, participants were categorized as either restrained or unrestrained eaters using the restrained eating scale (Herman and Polivy 1980; median-splitting is standard practice for this scale). We found that 58% of restrained eaters set calorie budgets but only 20% of unrestrained eaters did ($p < .01$). Moreover, restrained eaters set a smaller daily calorie budget ($M = 1,580$) than unrestrained eaters ($M = 1,998$; $p = .01$). These results suggest that restrained eaters have a tight budget that restricts themselves from further consumption if they had used up a large amount previously.

Study 1 examined how nutrition information provided for entrees influences either their choice of entrée or their subsequent dessert consumption. We used a 2 (nutrition information: absent vs. present) X 2 (restrained vs. unrestrained eaters) between-subjects design. Participants made a choice between a steak and a salad, with only half receiving nutrition information. All participants then rated the healthfulness and tastiness of both options, and estimated/recalled their caloric values. Then, they indicated how much ice cream they wanted to eat for dessert (0 – 100 scale). The choice of healthy food at time 1 (T1) was not affected by either nutrition information or restrained eating tendency. However, at time 2 (T2) there was a

significant three-way interaction between nutrition information, T1 choice and restrained eating on the consumption decision ($p < .05$). Only restrained eaters reduced T2 indulgent consumption after making an unhealthy choice at T1 as a result of nutrition information provision ($p < .01$). In contrast, making a healthy choice at T1 did not affect subsequent indulgence at T2.

Study 2 adopted the same design as study 1 to test whether the observed effect occurs when nutrition information is not salient at the T2 decision. The procedure was the same as in study 1 except that participants did not rate healthfulness, tastiness or calorie estimate/recall before the T2 decision. The T1 choice pattern remained the same as in study 1. However, unlike study 1, restrained eaters at T2 did not adjust consumption of indulgent food in the presence (vs. absence) of nutrition information (*ns.*). The results of studies 1 and 2 together suggest that nutrition information can have a prolonged effect on subsequent indulgence among restrained eaters, but the salience of nutrition information is necessary.

Study 3 aimed to test restrained eaters' use of small mental calorie budget in the presence of nutrition information. We employed the same design as Study 1 except that we added one more manipulated condition where participants were given a budget reference (e.g., average daily calorie intake of US population) along with nutrition information. Because the average calorie intake was higher (2,000 – 2,500) than their own range observed in our pretest ($M_{LowerBound} = 1,282$, $M_{UpperBound} = 1,899$), restrained eaters should not regulate themselves after having chosen a high-calorie option at T1. Consistent with study 1, the results replicated the interactive effect of nutrition information x T1 choice x eating restraint in that providing only nutrition information significantly reduced subsequent ice cream consumption among restrained eaters after an unhealthy food choice ($ps < .05$). However, providing average daily calorie intake information did not decrease subsequent consumption among restrained eaters compared to control after an unhealthy choice ($F < 1$).

The results so far showed that when consumers freely choose between unhealthy and healthy food (at T1), providing nutrition information does not influence on this choice but subsequent indulgence at T2 among restrain eaters. But what if the choice at T1 is imposed, rather than freely made? This is an important question as there have been increasing efforts to force healthier food consumption (e.g., Smart Snack provision of Hunger-Free Kids Act of 2010 in the US). Thus in study 4, we examined whether the prolonged effect of nutrition information still holds when the choice at T1 is imposed.

Study 4 employed a 2 (nutrition information: absent vs. present) X 2 (imposed food choice: unhealthy vs. healthy) X 2 (restrained vs. unrestrained eaters) between-subjects design. The study procedure and methods were identical to study 1 except that here we randomly assigned T1 choice to participants. Then, they indicated ice cream consumption as before. Surprisingly, regardless of eating restraint, there was an interaction only between nutrition information and prior food choice ($p = .01$). Participants who had been imposed with a healthy (vs. unhealthy) food increased subsequent consumption when no nutrition information had been provided for their imposed choice options ($p < .05$). However, when nutrition information for the imposed choice options had been provided (vs. not), those who had been imposed with a healthy food reduced subsequent indulgence ($p < .01$). The results suggest that although imposing a healthy choice backfires by increasing subsequent indulgent consumption regardless of eating restraint, providing nutrition information successfully undoes the backfire effect of imposing healthy choice.

To summarize, we demonstrate that although providing nutrition information has no effect on initial choice, it has positive prolonged effects on subsequent consumption decisions. Nutrition in-

formation provision helps restrained eaters to reduce indulgent food consumption at T2 after choosing an unhealthy option at T1 (studies 1 and 3). However, such effects are attenuated when nutrition information is not salient (study 2) and when an external reference for mental budget is provided (study 3). When a choice is imposed, providing nutrition information successfully eliminates backfire effects of imposing healthy food on subsequent indulgences.

Preference Reversal of Indulgent Rewards as A Dynamic Self-Control Mechanism

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers often set up an indulgent reward to motivate themselves to better pursue a goal. For example, researchers often think of luxurious trips to reward themselves for a semester's tough work when schools get really busy, and students make plans to indulge on a nice dinner when pulling those drowsy all-nighters in the library for exams. These incentives, however, often end up not being realized once people successfully attain the goals. Researchers might prefer to rest and finish up the unfinished reviews when semester actually ends, and students might realize that a better use of the money is to save up for the school supplies for next semester.

A large body of research has documented how people use incentives to motivate their goal pursuit and the effectiveness of these incentives (e.g., Cameron and Pierce 1994). In these works, the incentives are often treated as an external reward that individuals spontaneously choose to help them achieve important life goals. What remains relatively unclear, however, is how people choose these incentives and, once they help people achieve their goals, whether and how these incentives are consumed. In the present research, we propose a dynamic self-control mechanism that specifically examines the choice of indulgent rewards when people try to resolve self-control conflicts, and role of these incentives once the conflicts are resolved.

Drawing from the literature in multiple goal pursuit (Dhar and Simonson 1999; Kruglanski 2006), we define focal goals as goals that people are actively pursuing at the moment, and chronic goals as goals that are temporally neglected during the focal pursuit. We propose that because the pursuit of focal goals temporarily suppresses chronic goals into the background, indulgent options that violate the chronic goals would appear particularly appealing as the incentive for the accomplishment of the focal goal. However, once the focal goal is attained, chronic goals become prominent and focal, the appeal of these chosen options, ironically, decreases quickly. Four studies in two self-regulatory domains (dieting and academic) demonstrated the preference of indulgent rewards that undermine chronic goals reverses as the goal priority shifts.

Study 1 used a focal goal status (active vs. completed) x dieting goal (weak vs. strong) mixed design. Participants were asked to choose a reward (ice cream vs. movie) either in the midway or in the end of a prolonged survey. When the focal task was ongoing, greater commitment to the goal of being slim, ironically, increased the likelihood that people chose ice cream as their reward for completing the more urgent goal in hand ($\beta = 0.31$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.09$, $p < .05$). However, once the focal goal was attained, the dieting goal negatively predicted the choice rate for the ice cream coupon ($\beta = -0.39$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.84$, $p < .05$), suggesting a clear self-control pattern.

Study 2 tested for the observed effect using a within-subject design. Participants were first asked to choose a reward (Karaoke or food) in the middle of a number reduction task, and offered another chance to revise their choice after completing the task. The

results replicated the previous findings. Interestingly, the more the participants concerned about academic pressure, the more likely they would choose a time-wasting Karaoke coupon first and then changed their minds in the end, $\beta = 0.91$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 8.48$, $p < .01$.

Study 3 tested the preference reversal for a Karaoke coupon either before the task began or when the task was ongoing. When the focal goal was not initiated, the greater one wanted to study the less likely he or she would choose a coupon for Karaoke ($\beta = -0.58$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.68$, $p < .05$). However, when the focal goal was ongoing, a strong academic goal, ironically, increased the likelihood that people chose Karaoke as their reward ($\beta = 0.64$, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 4.05$, $p < .05$).

Study 4 explored whether the observed preference reversal was due to the suppression of chronic goals during the focal goal pursuit. Similar to study 1, participants encountered a choice between a coupon for a tempting cheesecake (indulgent option) and an entertainment voucher either during or after the task. We then reminded half of them of the dieting goal through presenting a health (vs. geography) magazine on the desk. In the control condition, the results replicated the previous findings. However, when the chronic goal was made salient via a health magazine, the observed preference reversal disappeared. People no longer preferred a cheesecake coupon even when the focal task was ongoing (*NS*).

In conclusion, during the focal goal pursuit, consumers prefer the reward that undermines the chronic goal to better motivate the pursuit of the focal goal; whereas, after the focal goal is attained, the chronic goal rebounds, consumers avoid the indulgent reward to maintain the chronic goal. This dynamic self-control process resolves the conflicts between a focal goal and a chronic goal.

What's Next? Anticipated Consumption Variety: Borrowing Affect From the Future To Slow Satiation in the Present

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

With enough repetition, even very enjoyable experiences eventually become tiresome and unfulfilling. That is, a consumer's first Hershey's Kiss is often more enjoyable than his or her fifth due to satiation (Galak, Kruger, and Loewenstein 2013). While satiation is often regarded as an inevitable side-effect of recurrent consumption (Brickman and Campbell 1971; Redden 2008), the ability to accelerate or slow the effect remains of great interest given the implications for consumer enjoyment, repeat purchases (McAlister and Pessemier 1982), and consumption regulation (Galak et al. 2014; Redden and Haws 2013).

Prior satiation research has primarily focused on how consumers perceive and experience stimuli during an ongoing consumption experience, often related to cognitive appraisals of consumption variety or repetition. For instance, item categorization level (providing general vs. specific descriptions) (Redden 2008), attention to consumption amounts (Redden 2008; Redden and Haws 2013), and mental imagery (Larson, Redden, and Elder 2014) have each been shown to influence consumer satiation rates during a present consumption experience. However, consumers attend to more than their present consumption experiences; they also anticipate the future. Past research has demonstrated the importance of present variety on consumer satiation (Redden 2008), and that anticipated variety represents an important aspect of future consumption (Ratner and Kahn 2002). For example, consumers often ponder dessert options throughout a meal or search for a new song while listening to a play list. How does anticipating more or less variety in the future influence consumer's satiety in the present? This research examines this

question: How and why does anticipating future consumption variety accelerate or slow present consumption satiation?

Anticipated experiences can produce emotional responses similar to actually experiencing the consumption event (Holmes and Mathews 2005). As such, anticipated experiences often produce a measurable effect on a range of consumer behaviors through the affect they evoke, from self-regulation (Nenkov, Inman, and Hulland 2008) to purchase decisions (Blair and Roesch 2013; Tsiros and Hardisty 2010). Despite being a seemingly common consumer phenomenon, little is known regarding how anticipated future consumption variety, and the affect it may generate, influences consumers' satiation responses in the present. Further, the moderating roles of product indulgence and consumer emotional intelligence are investigated in this research.

Central Hypothesis. We hypothesize that during a present consumption experience, consumers who anticipate more (less) variety in a future consumption experience will satiate less (more) quickly to a present consumption experience. We furthermore hypothesize that negative affect mediates the relationship between anticipated consumption variety and satiation rate during a present consumption experience, such that anticipated consumption variety reduces the amount of negative affect consumers experience during a present consumption experience, which leads to a decreased satiation rate.

Empirical Support. Four experiments support our theorizing. To test our hypothesis, experiment 1 utilized a 2 (anticipated consumption variety: more, less) x 15 (song clip exposure) mixed factor design. Anticipated consumption variety was between-subjects and song clip exposure was within-subjects. Participants were told that the study involved two listening tasks to evaluate songs for advertisements. Participants were informed that for the *first task* they would repeatedly evaluate the same song clip 15 times (procedure adapted from Galak et al. 2009). Participants repeatedly listened to the pretested song, "Hey Ho" by the Lumineers, and rated (15 times) their enjoyment of the 20-second clip. The description of the second task was our manipulation of anticipated consumption variety. Participants were told that after the first 15x listening task, their second task would be to listen to another [similar / different] style song from a [similar / different] style artist that most college students enjoy.

A 2 (anticipated consumption variety: more, less) x 15 (song clip exposure) repeated measures ANOVA was performed on present consumption enjoyment. Results revealed the expected song clip exposure main effect; participants found the song clip less enjoyable the more they listened to it ($F(14, 1176) = 122.45$, $p < .01$). The main effect of anticipated consumption variety also significantly influenced consumption enjoyment ($F(1, 84) = 5.44$, $p < .05$). This linear trend of decreased enjoyment with repeated consumption interacted with participants' experimental condition ($F(14, 1176) = 1.71$, $p < .05$); consumers who anticipated more consumption variety in the subsequent listening task satiated more slowly than consumers who anticipated less consumption variety.

Following a similar study design, experiment 2 replicates the effects of study 2, that is, participants who anticipated more consumption variety in the subsequent listening task satiated less quickly during their first listening task ($F(14, 1862) = 1.70$, $p < .05$). Experiment 2 also demonstrates that negative affect fully mediates the relationship between anticipated consumption variety and enjoyment (time 15), [95% CI: .59 to 7.22]. Finally, this experiment shows that the effect holds above and beyond alternative explanations (e.g., variety seeking, attention to consumption).

Studies 3 and 4 reveal two important moderating effects: perception of product indulgence (study 3) and consumer emotional intelligence (study 4). These studies also use different music selec-

tions to further generalize the findings. In experiment 3, we predict and find support for the hypothesis that the effect of anticipated consumption variety on consumer satiation is magnified (attenuated) for vice (virtue) products. In experiment 4, we predict and find support for the hypothesis that the effect of anticipated consumption variety on consumer satiation is magnified (attenuated) for consumers with higher (lower) levels of emotional intelligence.

Too Busy to Lose Control: Impact of Busyness on Indulgent Consumption Behaviors

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In the last few decades, ‘busy’ has become one of key descriptors of modern consumers as an increasing number of people report that they are busier than ever (Adam, 2013; Hochschild, 1997; Schor, 1991). Accordingly, the use of time-oriented appeals to empathize with today’s busy consumers has been growing in marketing (Gross, 2004; Gross and Sheth, 1989). For example, Apple’s popular Siri ad featuring Martin Scorsese focuses on the busy day of the celebrated director. Similarly, Dunkin’ Donut ads position their food as the real food for “busy lifestyle”. Despite an increasing number of such marketing appeals targeted at busy consumers, relatively little is understood about how such marketing appeals impact consumers. Some research examining the role of time pressure shows that time pressure leads consumers to primarily rely on affect and choose more myopic and indulgent options (Cohen, Pham and Andrade, 2008; Siemer and Reizenstein, 1998). In the context of busyness-oriented marketing appeals, therefore, this stream of research would suggest that such appeals should increase indulgent consumption behaviors.

Contrarily, we argue that busyness-oriented marketing appeals reduce indulgent consumption behaviors by making subjective busyness—thoughts of oneself as a busy person—salient. Drawing upon research suggesting a link between subjective busyness and positive self-view (Perlow, 1999; Schor, 1991), we propose that subjective busyness (hereafter, referred to as busyness) enhances one’s perception of self-importance. Since busyness also signals that one has not completed all the tasks yet, we posit that busyness would enhance self-importance without eliciting feeling of pride or achievement. Therefore, building on literature showing that enhanced view of self has positive impact on self-control (e.g., Bandura, 1989; Mischel, Shoda and Peake, 1988; Schmeichel and Vohs, 2009), we predict that busyness would reduce indulgent consumption behaviors by enhancing self-importance.

In Study1, we tested our main argument that busyness reduces indulgence in the context of ad. If our hypothesis is valid, we should observe that busyness-oriented appeals reduce desire for indulging brand (McDonald’s), but not for non-indulging brand (Subway). Busyness was manipulated by varying a tagline in the ad: ‘Good-to-go, for Busy Americans’ (busyness) vs. ‘Good-to-go, for Americans’ (control). Participants were randomly assigned to view one of four ads (McDonald’s-busyness, McDonald’s-control, Subway-busyness, Subway-control) and indicated their desire for the food on the ad on a 7-point scale. As hypothesized, desire for McDonald’s was significantly lower when busyness appeal was used ($M_{\text{busy}} = 3.21$, $SD = 2.39$) as compared to when it was not used ($M_{\text{control}} = 4.68$, $SD = 2.02$, $p < .05$), however, no such difference was found for Subway.

In Study2, we provide support for our underlying process by demonstrating a mediating role of self-importance. Participants were randomly assigned to a condition and asked to recall recent time when they were busy (vs. not-busy) and write about how they felt during that time. Subsequently, they indicated how important they feel and answered various mood and arousal measures. Finally, they

completed a delayed discounting task adapted from Thaler (1981). Since myopic view is linked to indulgence, if our hypothesis is correct, we should observe participants in the busy condition to discount less. As predicted, participants in the busy condition reported feeling more important, and discounted future value less as compared to those in the not-busy condition. More importantly, a bootstrap analysis revealed a significant mediation by feeling of self-importance on discounting rate ($CI_{\text{lower-bound}} = -1.89$, $CI_{\text{upper-bound}} = -.03$). No difference was found on mood and arousal measures.

In Study3, we provide further support for the underlying process by demonstrating that negative impact of busyness on indulgence is attenuated when self-importance is dampened in an intervening task. Summer students were recruited and randomly assigned to one of four conditions (busyness: salient vs. not x self-importance: dampened vs. not-dampened). Participants in the busyness-salient (busyness-not salient) condition were told that a recent study we’ve conducted revealed that students who stay on campus during summer are busier (tend to engage in different activities) than students who leave campus and asked to write two or three things that keep them busy (they do). The next question asked participants to think about how many people in their lives consider them an important person and indicate their answer on either a scale that ranged from 1-5 (not-dampened) or 10-50 (dampened). This manipulation was based on the logic that responding toward the top or the bottom of a scale could lead responders to make corresponding inferences about themselves (Schwarz, 1999). Therefore, participants responding on the 10-50 scale should feel less important, and the feeling of self-importance induced by the busyness manipulation should be attenuated. Finally, participants were asked to choose between an apple (healthy option) and a brownie (indulgent option). A logistic regression revealed a significant effect of the interaction term between busyness and self-importance on the choice of snack (Wald(165) = 4.20, $p < .05$). Specifically, when busyness was made salient, a significantly higher percentage (65%) of participants chose an apple, compared to when busyness (38%) was not made salient. This effect of busyness appeal was attenuated when the self-importance was dampened in an intervening task.

Finally, in a field study that lasted over three weeks at a main dining hall of a large university, we found that making busyness salient in the environment reduced the percentage of fat calories taken compared to when busyness was not salient. In sum, we provide a converging support for our argument that busyness reduces indulgent consumption behaviors by enhancing perception of self-importance.

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Theoretical Advances in the Sharing Economy

Chairs: Julie L. Ozanne, University of Melbourne, Australia
Samuelson Appau, Melbourne Business School, Australia

Paper #1: Designing a Sharing Economy through the Process of Market Empathization

Markus Giesler, York University, Canada
Ela Veresiu, Witten/Herdecke University, Germany
Anton Siebert, Witten/Herdecke University, Germany

Paper #2: Disambiguating Sharing Economies: How Economic Tropes Affect Attitudes

Cait Lambertson, University of Pittsburgh, USA
Alexander S. Rose, University of South Carolina, USA
Randall L. Rose, University of South Carolina, USA

Paper #3: The Dark Side of Sharing: Social Exclusion within Donation Pooling

Samuelson Appau, Melbourne Business School, Australia
Julie L. Ozanne, University of Melbourne, Australia
Jill Klein, Melbourne Business School, Australia

Paper #4: Strategic Implications of Consumer-To-Consumer Resource Pooling

Alexander S. Rose, University of South Carolina, USA
Eric J. Arnould, Southern Denmark University, Denmark

SESSION OVERVIEW

The rise of the sharing economy is discussed in the popular press as a significant social and economic trend (Botsman and Rogers 2010; Gansky 2010). Within consumer research, recent work examines the emergence of a gift economy within the Napster community (Giesler 2006) and temporary communities forming around collaborative gifting and generalized exchange at the Burning Man Festival (Kozinets 2002). But other research suggests that forging commercial sharing models of exchange, such as Zipcar, do not always facilitate the development of community or feelings of social integration (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012).

In this session, we seek to broaden and deepen our theoretical understanding of the sharing economy. All of the presentations in this special session are devoted to understanding the emergence of successful systems of sharing as well as key impediments. These studies span commercial, nonprofit, and governmental sharing systems and draw on diverse methods including case study, survey, experiments, and field research. All of the presentations present new theoretical insights grounded on empirical data such as exploring the role of emotion in sharing, trades-offs between individual and collective goals, and the darker side of sharing. Several of the papers delve into a domain that has received scant attention--cooperative pooling, which is a form of sharing where consumers combine resources that are redistributed based on need (e.g., a blood bank).

First, Giesler, Veresiu, and Siebert draw on a rich case study of the controversial ride-share system Uber. They adopt a more managerial perspective providing concrete advice on managing tensions among different stakeholders with opposing interests. Foregrounding the role of empathy, they articulate four theoretical processes for legitimizing sharing markets offering guidance on the strategic use of emotions for redesigning institutional networks.

Second, Lambertson, Rose, and Rose seek to build a broader theorization of how systems of sharing blend both utility maximization (e.g., Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012) and mutuality (e.g., Giesler 2006). Using survey and experimental data, they examine two sharing systems based on pooling of resources (i.e., a state leave pooling

system and the Affordable Care Act). They explore insights on how consumers' interests in participating in sharing systems vary across system-level attributes of individual possessiveness and mutuality.

Third, Appau, Ozanne, and Klein advance our understanding of the complexity, morality, and darker sides of a sharing system focusing on cooperative pooling (Sahlins 1972). In an ethnographic study of a Christian church community in Ghana of mostly poor members, they explore competitive and exclusionary forces at play that challenge the conventional wisdom that generalized exchange increases cohesion.

Fourth, Rose and Arnould use ethnographic data exploring consumer-to-consumer pooling as a form of resource sharing at craft beer festivals. Drawing upon a comparison of the Pacific Northwest indigenous potlatch ritual, they articulate benefits that accrue to both firms and consumers drawing upon the theory of the gift.

Designing a Sharing Economy Through the Process of Market Empathization

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

How is a sharing market created? The rise of the so-called sharing economy, "an economic model based on sharing underutilized assets from spaces to skills to stuff for monetary or non-monetary benefits" (Botsman 2013, 6; Lessig 2008; Sacks 2011) or simply stated a cooperative pooling of specific resources, is receiving considerable scholarly attention. As a construct, sharing has been theorized "as a pervasive, overlooked, and fundamental consumer behavior process" (Belk 2010, 729) that increasingly relies on online platforms and is thriving in multiple industries from transportation to education to hospitality. The entrepreneurs responsible for creating sophisticated sharing technology platforms are commonly heralded as being at the forefront of a powerful paradigm capable of stimulating the economy, fostering communities, and overall creating value (e.g., Belk 2014; Botsman and Rogers 2010; Curtis 2014; Lambertson and Rose 2012; Sacks 2011).

At the same time, however, managers of sharing technologies are often confronted with harsh criticism and resistance from important stakeholder groups, including regulators and consumers. Accordingly, prior work in marketing and consumer research is beginning to highlight the importance of effectively managing the institutional environment to enable and ensure the success of sharing businesses (e.g., Cannon and Summers 2014; Lambertson and Rose 2012). When the biggest risk for sharing firms does not emanate from technology issues or competition, but rather from stakeholders' passionate objections, understanding how sharing markets are created requires an in-depth investigation of how marketers of sharing technologies can win over multiple skeptical stakeholders.

To address these underexplored theoretical concerns, we bring sociological work on the strategic use, and shaping of, emotions in economic contexts (Hochschild 2003; Illouz 2007; Pedwell 2012) to bear on an institutional investigation of the company Uber, the leading sharing technology firm in the transportation industry. Uber's path to success nicely illustrates the controversial rise of sharing markets, and is described by co-founder and CEO Travis Kalanick as a "political race [that] is happening in every major city in the world" (Dalenberg 2014, 2), with Uber as the candidate that needs to "win." Since 2011, we have collected both online and offline data

on a discursive level (Uber-related news reports, court, and policy documents, as well as video materials, advertising, pamphlets, and worker guidelines) and a practical level (interviews with Uber management, drivers, and consumers, as well as policy makers, union representatives, legal experts, journalists) across major European and North American cities. We analyzed the complete dataset using the longitudinal hermeneutics approach (Giesler 2008; Thompson 1997).

Our findings suggest that Uber's main criticism can be organized into four distinct stakeholder groups, each with a dominant main issue: consumers with safety and privacy concerns; workers with social justice complaints; city regulators with structural integrity concerns; and journalists with accountability issues. This resistance arises from sharing markets' potential to challenge established balances between economic and social interests (e.g., justice, safety), and to shift agency and mandates from larger institutions such as unions and regulators to individual market actors.

To manage this shift, our analysis further reveals that Uber engaged in a strategic process that we call "market empathization," a fourfold process through which "a cultural good" is repositioned from the institutional domain to the domain of individual market-mediated empathy. We identify four processes that address each of the stakeholder complaints and establish a sharing market. In the first process of *humanization*, empathy is used to position (complaints against) the sharing technology away from bureaucratic, mechanistic, and rigid structures and towards more self-regulating, flexible, caring, and organic structures. In *universalization*, empathy is heralded as the true ideal through which all issues, including those of structural integrity, justice, accountability, and safety can be resolved. Third, *prototyping* refers to the education of individuals in the sharing network to act respectfully and caringly towards one another by creating role models and circulating their success stories (e.g., of empathetic consumers who are helping individual Uber drivers and their families). Last, in *contracting*, empathetic contracts with stakeholder groups are established by writing concrete policies, such as worker safety guidelines, and creating mutually beneficial partnerships, in favor of a system that prioritizes individual, self-regulating ethical conduct over formal social regulation.

This study provides both managerial and theoretical implications. The four processes of empathization equip managers with an organizational tool (e.g., Cutcher 2008; Strangleman 1999) to render sharing markets as desirable and effective to realign economic and social issues, while other demands (e.g., for protection of existing industries) are cast as undesirable. As such, we theoretically contribute to the growing literature on the sharing economy by addressing Lambertson and Rose's (2012, 123) call to "adopt a broader view of sharing systems," and by explaining the active role of marketers in sustaining the success of sharing business models over time. Second, we theoretically contribute to the literature on market creation (e.g., Humphreys 2010; Giesler 2012) by unpacking how sharing economy firms (re)design their institutional network through the strategic use of emotions.

Disambiguating Sharing Economies: How Economic Tropes Affect Attitudes

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In keeping with recent scholarship on the matter (Arnould and Rose 2015), we maintain that the consumer responses to so-called sharing systems (Belk 2010) are a function of structural differences in the mode of resource circulation present in the various forms of these systems. Any given economy will be characterized by a blend-

ing in various proportions between two dominant tropes—possessive individualism and mutuality (Giesler 2008). The degree to which each trope is prominent in the economic system is, we argue, determinative of the nature and function of that system. Thus, researchers studying market-mediated systems such as Zipcar, the use of which is effectively a market transaction, have observed that there is little social consideration amongst users (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012; Lambertson and Rose 2012). But given that possessive individualism is concerned predominantly with utility maximization and one-off transactions, this is unsurprising (Arnould and Rose 2015). Conversely, one could (and does) see a sense of community evolve out of online file sharing systems, and this is expected given that such systems are heavily formulated by the ideas of mutuality, which is far more socially driven than possessive individualism (Giesler 2006).

Despite several studies of the sharing economy set in very different contexts, none have yet drilled down into how these macro distinctions (i.e., in the form of the economic blending between individualism and mutuality) systematically affect behavior and beliefs of individuals within them. This is our purpose in organizing the present research. The questions motivating the work are, "What factors drive interest in participating in sharing systems, and how do those factors vary based on the degree to which sharing systems differ in two prominent system-level characteristics, possessive individualism and mutuality?"

To frame our answers to these questions, we employ gift theory and the tradition of anti-utilitarian social science to explicitly label two resource pooling contexts in terms of their blending of individualism and mutuality (Arnould and Rose 2015; Giesler 2008). Marketers, both commercial and political, can position sharing systems as emphasizing individualism or mutuality through integrated communications efforts, including public relations and paid media. We expect these system-level differences in turn to invoke different ideological positions depending on the cultural context in which the mode is deployed. In this case, we have limited our studies to the US. Thus, we would expect modes characterized more heavily by possessive individualism to be more attractive to ideological conservatives (in the contemporary American sense) while those characterized by mutuality would be the subject of antipathy, and vice-versa for ideological liberals.

We collected data that address, at the micro level, how behavior and beliefs in the various contexts are affected by those ideological prompts. For instance, in mutuality-oriented systems, social factors such as trust, fairness, and equity would likely assume greater prominence in judgment than economic self-interest; vice-versa, contexts characterized by a high degree of possessive individualism would foster a focus on utility over relationships. These distinctions may, in turn, affect the extent to which prospective or current consumers in these markets would be incentivized or de-incentivized by social factors such as the ability to designate those who may benefit from resources in the sharing pool. Our data to address these issues are based on two different contexts, marked by differences in their formulation between mutuality and individualism.

The first set of data was gleaned from a cross-sectional survey of employees in a state-managed leave sharing system of a state in the southeast US. Here, participants may donate their leave time to a shared pool that may be debited by other participants and themselves. This particular context is characterized by a moderate degree of mutuality as it is public and equitable; it is available to all in equal measure. But it is not fully so, as the anonymity present reduces the potential for sociality as a function of the gift giving (i.e., contributions to the pool).

The second set of data was collected in the wake of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) and assesses comparable issues as the first instrument. This context is a hybrid in that risk is dispersed amongst all participants via government mandate, but the system is managed by private interests (i.e., insurance firms) and is effectively a mandatory market transaction. Thus, the ACA context is one characterized by considerable ambiguity and may be particularly susceptible to propaganda intended to activate possessive individualism or mutuality.

Given the timeliness of research involving the ACA and the ubiquity of hybrid sharing systems, we then extend our survey findings by conducting two experiments in which the ACA is positioned in terms of either mutuality or possessive individualism, and measuring the effects of these variations in system-level positioning on the relative importance of social and economic factors in driving system attitudes. Thus, our expected contributions lie in addressing systematic influences of various forms of economy on the attitudes of consumers within those markets, as influenced by ideological cues. We also extend marketing and consumer research literatures on the sharing economy to new contexts involving the sharing of health and financial risks, not tangible products.

The Dark Side of Sharing: Social Exclusion within Donation Pooling

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Generalized exchange is widely held to increase social integration (Malinowski 1920; Sahlin 1972). Contemporary examples include people donating to blood banks or consumers posting product reviews online. The indirect structure of generalized exchange, where exchange is separated in time and by different trading partners, creates opportunities for trust to develop that can help unite people (Molm 2000). One form of generalized exchange, pooling, involves individuals unilaterally giving to a common pool of resources that are redistributed later based on need (Ekeh 1974; Sahlin 1972). Although infrequently studied, consumer researchers also stress that pooling promotes social cohesion and mutuality (Arnould and Rose 2015; Gielser 2006; Kozinets 2002).

In an ethnographic study of the Salvation Baptist Church (SBC) in Ghana, we examine religious donations as a form of cooperative pooling. Data collection spanned 5 months involving participant observation and 34 interviews with 21 informants all of whom experienced poverty extreme enough that meeting basic needs was a struggle and restricting calories was a common coping strategy. Since Carol Stack's (1974) classic study, researchers stress how pooling resources is an important survival strategy of poor consumers (Hill and Stamey 1990). Extremely impoverished communities do not have resources aplenty. Instead, they have scarcity to share (Sachs 2005; Banerjee and Duflo 2011). The orientation here then is pooling "our little," rather than pooling "our lot."

We find a wide range of different logics of pooling that do inspire social integration, but also promoted competition and even social fragmentation. At SBC, we documented no fewer than 17 donation funds where money was pooled. These ranged from compulsory (e.g., tithing) to voluntary (e.g., pastor's appreciation), varied in frequency (e.g., weekly tithing, monthly funeral dues, and annual harvest fund), were requested publically (e.g., building fund) or privately (e.g., welfare fund), and ranged in meanings from secular (e.g., bus fund) to sacred (e.g., pledge fund). The logic of sharing was complex and varied. Tithing was one of the most important funds integrating members in their shared sacred duty to support the church. However, far from providing social integration, the "birth day thanksgiving fund" involved members competing to raise the

most money on their day of birth. Winners preened and everyone mocked the losers who were born on the day with the smallest contributions.

More troubling is that the very poor were excluded from funds both compulsorily and voluntarily. For example, no matter what one's donation history, if you did not pay or missed payments to the funeral fund then you were excluded from receiving benefits. Poor members were often in conflict between contributing to pools and feeding their family.

The very public nature of many of these donations was also pertinent. The church has a ritual of collection to fund the church. At all formal tri-weekly meetings, members contribute money into a bowl placed in front of the congregation. Members leave their seats by rows guided by an usher to drop their monies in the collection bowl. Members without money must remain seated marking them as unable to pay. The social stigma is so great that very poor members like Bertha will not attend when they have no money: "I will feel embarrassed if everybody is giving collection and you don't get up to give, it is very disturbing. (Bertha, F, 36).

Contributing money and the amount given is generally voluntary, except for the tithing fund, where everyone is expected to give. However, Dede offers an explanation of how failing to give can lead to scorn and exclusion.

God has protected you from Monday to Saturday, so are you trying to say you don't even have 10 pesewas [less than 1¢] on you? Even if you don't have anything on you, give 10 pesewas as collection so that God will see what He has done for you. But if you always come to church and people have to by-pass you to give their collections while you are seated, then it means you always spend the money you get without giving some to God. (Dede, 44, F)

As Dede points out, even in a group where scarcity is prevalent, it is unacceptable to have nothing to give. Scarcity is scantiness, not absence. Moreover, this specific pool is not a utilitarian redistribution system but a normative one expressing morality. When pooling transcends the secular into the sacred domain, then failure to contribute is not just wrong—it is sacrilegious. A member who is unable to contribute to the collection fund offends God, the group, and the group's very reason for existence. Thus, poor members self-exclude themselves by staying home to avoid this pooling ritual at church and its attendant stigmatization effect on non-contributors.

Our contribution is to highlight the complexity, morality, and dark sides of co-operative pooling and sharing. We provide empirical support exploring the integrative, competitive, and exclusionary influences of different pooling systems.

Strategic Implications of Consumer-To-Consumer Resource Pooling

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We contribute to the literature on alternative modes of circulation by examining the extent to which consumer-to-consumer pooling can be deployed by small businesses as a marketing mix element. That is, we look at the manner and efficacy of affording consumers the opportunity to engage in resource pooling. Firms themselves need not be active participants in the pooling—instead, they can provide the context (or frame). We uncover the ways in which this benefits both hosting firm and participants. Thus, our research question is, "How and to what extent does providing opportunities for consumer-to-consumer pooling benefit the host firm?"

To address this question, we conducted ethnographic research at craft beer festivals. We selected ethnographic methods due to the exploratory nature of the research. We wanted to see if, and how resource pooling operated in a context, part trade show, part ludic entertainment. A deep cultural exploration of an uncharted consumer practice within an industry noted for its festivals was thus apposite.

Several reasons motivated the choice of context. The first is the growth of the industry and concomitant diversification of segments. Investigation among industry leaders, who by definition are successful, strengthens conclusions based on exploratory data. The second is that festivals are an industry hallmark. That is, firms in this sector offer festivals as element of their value proposition. In festivals, consumers come together at brewery-hosted events to share products from the host brewery, other breweries, and even homebrews. Third, all firms, as craft beer producers, conform to standard limits on production volume. This commonality strengthens the generativity of our conclusions as all firms in the segment fall into a comparable range of operational size and scope.

Five breweries were visited over two and a half years—each more than once. Each visit took place during a single brewery hosted festival. This way, multi-brewery sponsorships do not muddle firm-level attributions. At each brewery, the lead author engaged in participant observation, making jottings, collecting artifacts, and taking photos as a participant before writing up formal notes. For the sake of comparison, firms were visited in California (The Bruery), Michigan (Founders), Indiana (3 Floyds), Florida (Cigar City), and North Carolina (Foothills). The resulting dataset included nearly 400 pages of written accounts as well as photographs and artifacts.

At each festival, we observed consumers engage in “bottle shares.” In bottle sharing, consumers pool beer—setting out a diverse product array in a common space to be tasted in ritualized fashion. For analysis, we drew on the theory of the gift. This presented two key opportunities. First, the literature on the gift has an elaborate history both in social science as well as in consumer research and marketing. Still, only a few studies of gift stores have looked at how the gift economy may be leveraged—enhanced understanding will provide practical managerial tools. Second, the rise of the so-called sharing economy has garnered much attention, but contention remains as to how best to understand alternative modes of resource circulation. The theory of the gift provides a comprehensive framework that productively contributes to current debate.

Our data reveal insights for firms wishing to mobilize alternative modes of resource circulation by providing contexts for consumer pooling. First, for example, is that consumer pooling operates very much like the famous “potlatch” detailed in classic anthropology and recent consumer research. Here, the firm plays the role of Big Man as understood in gifting societies. Firms on the craft brew festive circuit reap benefits as a result of providing contexts for consumer-to-consumer gift exchange. Whereas Big Men accrued honor and prestige, craft breweries accrue brand-related boons. These include loyalty, brand ambassadorship, and active purchase intentions. This is due to a second finding of note. Consumers who engage in pooling also amass benefits beyond those related to enjoyment and accrual of brand knowledge. Pooling produces membership and identity affirmation within a brand and product community. Of note is that festivals attract both local international patronage.

To summarize, our contributions include detailing how firms may leverage the gift, how setting the context for pooling as a strategic practice is beneficial to firms, and further elucidating how an ostensible sharing-oriented phenomena can be better understood within the theory of the gift.

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How People Talk About Products in Word of Mouth

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Paper #1: Following the Blind: How Expertise and Endorsement Style Impact Word of Mouth Persuasion

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Paper #2: When and Why Paid Reviews are Bad Investments: The Impact of Monetary Incentives on Reviewer Certainty

Christiline du Plessis, Erasmus University, Netherlands

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Paper #3: Write and Write Alike: How Personality Affects the Value of Word of Mouth

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Paper #4: Transmitting Well-Reasoned Word of Mouth Impairs Memory for Product Experiences

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SESSION OVERVIEW

What drives how people speak when they talk about products? And what are the consequences of the language consumers use in word of mouth settings? While it's clear that word of mouth shapes consumer behavior (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006; Chintagunta et al. 2013), and some work has begun to uncover behavioral drivers of word of mouth (Berger 2014), there has been less attention to the underlying role of language in these processes (cf. Moore 2012; Packard and Wooten 2013). This session integrates a variety of perspectives to shed light on how people talk about products in word of mouth and how these linguistic choices shape word of mouth's influence on people.

Packard and Berger examine the language different types of consumers use to endorse products and how this can, paradoxically, lead word of mouth recipients to make worse choices. A combination of field data and laboratory experiments show that novices tend to use stronger, more persuasive, "I recommend" endorsements than expert consumers. This, in turn, leads word of mouth recipients to follow objectively inferior recommendations. While paying for online reviews might seem like a good idea, **du Plessis and Dubois** demonstrate that it actually undermines review persuasiveness. Two experiments show that the language used in paid (vs. unpaid) reviews produces heightened recipient perceptions that the sender is uncertain about their attitudes, increasing recipients' own doubt of the product's quality and decreasing their purchase intentions. A subsequent study demonstrates that incentive size moderates the effect and that paying senders a small (versus no or large) incentive makes them more uncertain of their attitudes because they feel less legitimate.

Tohidinia and Lurie leverage linguistic theory and text analysis to derive personality profiles based on the language people use in over 65,000 online reviews. This data and subsequent lab studies show, for example, that reviews containing language evincing neuroticism are particularly valued by word of mouth recipients, while those from linguistically agreeable reviewers are less so. Finally, **Chen and Schlosser** shed light on how language use in reviews impacts the reviewer. Using logical rather than vivid language impairs subsequent product memory. Subsequent studies demonstrate that this is due to the extent to which the different writing styles impact rehearsal of the reviewer's original product experience.

Taken together, these papers offer insights highlighting the importance of new research examining *how* people talk about products. Given the increasing visibility of consumer language in online contexts, this session should appeal to a broad array of researchers, including those examining service interactions (e.g. email or live forum service), online brand communities, and social media. Beyond these directly relevant settings, ACR's information processing contingent (e.g. advertising researchers) may wish to hear about new approaches to analyzing language use at the level of the word, clause, sentence or corpus. Finally, the papers may be of interest to those interested in discovering conceptual links between language and knowledge, certainty, memory, and personality.

We hope to engage the session audience in discussion about these papers and how researchers can examine consumer behavior through linguistic analysis. The following questions are offered to this end: How can researchers link prominent theories relevant to consumer behavior to linguistic analysis? How do communication modes (oral vs. written) impact language use in word of mouth? When does the linguistic sophistication of a speaker help or hurt interpersonal persuasion? In what ways does the interaction between speaker and audience states/traits influence language use in persuasion settings?

Following the Blind: How Expertise and Endorsement Style Impact Word of Mouth Persuasion

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Word of mouth is thought to help consumers make better choices (Berger 2014; Hennig-Thurau and Walsh 2003). Few companies will say their own products are terrible though, so relying on advertisements or company-generated communications isn't always useful. Consequently, consumers turn to others' opinions to help them select good options and avoid bad ones. But could the way consumers endorse products actually lead word of mouth recipients to make *worse* choices than they would have otherwise?

This paper examines the endorsement language consumers' use, and the consequences such language has on word of mouth recipients. Sometimes people assert their positive product evaluation by saying "I like it" while other times they might say "I recommend it." We suggest that these different "endorsement styles," or implicit versus explicit expressions of product approval (McCracken 1989), shape the persuasive impact of word of mouth. People should be more likely to choose something someone else recommended rather than liked because recommendations are expected to come from authority and signal expertise (Brodsky et al 2010; Oxford 2015; Pornpitakpan 2004).

Importantly, however, we also suggest that consumer knowledge should influence the endorsement styles people use. Less knowledgeable consumers—that is, consumers with less category experience or expertise (Alba and Hutchinson 1987) should be particularly likely to explicitly "recommend" products to others because they are less aware that others' tastes may differ from their own (i.e. preference heterogeneity; Feick & Higie 1992). Taken together, novices' tendency toward more explicit endorsements, and social perceptions of explicit endorser's heightened expertise, may lead word of mouth recipients astray. Five studies, including a mix of field data and laboratory experiments, test these predictions.

Study 1 analyzes nearly 1,000 real consumer online reviews to examine whether more experienced consumers are less likely to use explicit endorsements (e.g. “I recommend”). While more experienced consumers (+1SD in book purchase experience) explicitly recommended books only 6.5% of the time, this jumped to 35.7% among less experienced book consumers (-1SD; $p < .001$).

Study 2 tests this relationship in the lab, and examines the hypothesized mechanism behind the effect. Participants in one condition were reminded that, “people have very different preferences when it comes to this kind of hotel” to prime preference heterogeneity. All participants were then asked to write a review of a hotel they had stayed at and enjoyed. Replicating Study 1, in the no prime condition, novices (-1SD in tested hotel expertise) were significantly more likely to “recommend” the hotel ($M = 53.8%$) than experts (+1SD $M = 31.2%$; $p < .05$). Reminding participants of preference heterogeneity, however, wiped out this difference ($p = .36$).

Study 3 examines how explicit (“I recommend”) versus implicit (“I liked” or “I enjoyed”) endorsement styles impact persuasion, and the proposed mechanism (perceived expertise) underlying this effect. As predicted, a friend who provided an explicit (“I recommend it...”) restaurant endorsement was seen as more expert than an implicit (“I enjoyed it...”) endorser ($p < .05$) and led people to believe they would be more likely to choose the restaurant ($p < .001$). Bootstrap results confirm mediation of the impact of explicit endorsements on persuasion by perceptions of sender expertise (95% CI: .02, .17).

A final pair of studies uses a yoked design to test whether novices are more likely to use explicit recommendations, and whether when this is combined with their tendency to choose worse products, can lead to sub-optimal choices by word of mouth recipients.

In Study 4, we asked participants to choose between two wines. Both wines had three positive attributes, but to make one inferior we added three additional attributes pretested to be undesirable (e.g. “bottle contains clay sediment”). Experts should notice this and avoid the bad wine. However, low knowledge consumers use attribute numerosity as a cue for quality (Alba & Marmorstein 1987), and as a result should pick the inferior wine. Consistent with this expectation, novices (as measured by a wine knowledge test) were nearly twice as likely to pick the inferior wine as experts (55.3% vs. 30.3%; $p < .01$).

Next, participants were asked to imagine that they enjoyed the wine they chose, and wanted to tell others about it. They indicated whether they would be more likely to say, “I recommend” or “I liked” the chosen wine. Novices were again more likely to use strong endorsements than experts (60.9% vs. 47.3%; $p < .05$). In sum, wine novices both (1) picked an inferior product and (2) used a stronger endorsement style than experts to share their opinion about it.

Finally, in Study 5 we examined the impact of these endorsements on others’ choices. Participants were given the same wines as Study 4, but in addition to product information, half the participants (word of mouth condition) were also shown the aggregate percentage of consumers from Study 4 that “liked” or “recommended” as a summary of consumer opinion. As predicted, the word of mouth condition led to inferior choices. Compared to the product information only condition (41.9%), seeing how many others liked or recommended the wine led more people to choose the inferior wine (53.07%; $p = .02$).

This research demonstrates that how people endorse products has important—and potentially aversive—consequences for word of mouth recipients. By looking at the mismatch between the drivers of endorsement style and their impact on recipients, this paper deepens

our understanding of how and why language use impacts consumer attitudes and behaviors.

When and Why Paid Reviews are Bad Investments: The Impact of Monetary Incentives on Review Certainty

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many companies increasingly provide incentives to consumers for participating in advocacy programs or posting product reviews online. In a recent study, Amazon found that, of its 1,000 most active reviewers, 85% are incentivized and 92% of incentivized reviewers write reviews about the free products they received (Pinch and Kesler 2010).

How do incentives influence review effectiveness and effort? On the one hand, studies have found a significant positive correlation between incentive size and task performance (e.g. Heyman and Ariely 2004). Other works showed that people do not exert effort on a task unless it contributes to their own economic well-being (e.g. Lock et al 1980; Eisenhardt 1989; Gerhart et al 2009). A survey of top executives in different industries ($N = 23$) confirmed that 70% of them believe that paying for reviews increases review effectiveness. Taken together, these findings suggest that monetary incentives may lead to higher quality reviews. On the other hand, researchers have argued that external rewards can be ineffective (see Pfeffer 1998) possibly because incentivized reviewers invest less effort in the review writing process (e.g. Lepper et al 1973; Deci et al 1999; Gneezy and Rustichini 2000; Vansteenkiste et al 2004; Gerhart and Fang 2015). These findings suggest that monetary incentives might decrease review effectiveness.

Beyond the role of effort, this research proposes that monetary incentives can alter the content of reviews by affecting how legitimate review writers feel when generating their review. Money is a social cue which signals reward in a similar manner to praise (Izuma et al 2008; Zink et al 2008; Saxe and Haushofer 2008). Furthermore, research has shown that the social meaning of money can be transferred to the self (Vohs, Mead and Goode 2006; Vohs, Mead and Goode 2008; Yang et al 2013). As such, word-of-mouth (WOM) senders may interpret monetary incentives as social signals. Specifically, we propose that the size of the incentive can influence senders’ feelings of legitimacy and result in shifts in their expressed uncertainty. In particular, we expect that low monetary incentives can trigger low feelings of legitimacy, compared to significant monetary incentives or no incentives. In turn, because feeling legitimate is a key antecedent to certainty – the sense of conviction that one’s attitudes are correct (Rucker et al 2014) – we hypothesize that low legitimacy will induce consumers to express greater uncertainty in their reviews. We propose that when people are paid, they rely on the reward to feel legitimate. A low reward might trigger consumers to lose their feelings of legitimacy, increasing expressed uncertainty. In contrast when consumers are not given an incentive (i.e., when social cues are absent) or when monetary incentives are significant (i.e., social cues are adequate), consumers might rely on their experience, resulting in greater certainty (Rucker et al 2014).

Three experiments tested the effect of monetary incentives on the certainty expressed in review content. Importantly, across experiments, WOM receivers were blind to whether senders had been paid or not, or how much they had been paid.

In study 1, participants ($N=86$) were either paid a bonus of \$1 or no bonus to write a review about an online game. These reviews were later rated by 975 MTurkers (± 11 raters per review) on review positivity, objectivity and reviewer certainty. Random effects regression showed that unpaid WOM senders expressed more certainty in

the content of their reviews than paid WOM senders ($p < .001$). Importantly, the reviews did not differ in positivity or objectivity (all p -values $> .05$).

In study 2, 716 MTurkers were randomly presented one of the reviews from study 1 and rated how doubtful they were of the quality of the reviewed product, in addition to how uncertain they believed the reviewer was based only on the language used in the review. Random effects regression showed that people perceived paid senders to be more uncertain of their opinions than unpaid senders ($p < .05$). Importantly, paying the sender (vs. not paying) had a significant positive indirect effect on the receivers' product quality doubts through perceptions of reviewer uncertainty (95% C.I. = .01, .18). In other words, paying senders to write a review increased receivers' perceptions that senders were uncertain, based only on the language used in the review, which in turn made the receiver doubt the quality of the game.

In study 3 we test whether increasing the size of the incentive reverses the effect of incentive provision on attitude uncertainty. In addition, we also tested if legitimacy mediates the effect of providing a small incentive on attitude uncertainty. 205 Dutch students took this study in exchange for course credit and were randomly assigned to receive no payment, 10 cents or €10 as a bonus payment for writing a review. Participants were told to use a set of headphones to watch two videos, write a review of the headphones and then answer questions. We measured how uncertain people felt about the opinions they expressed in their review. Results revealed that paying a WOM sender a small (i.e., 10c) versus no or high (i.e., €0 or €10) incentive increased senders' uncertainty ($p < .05$). Senders who received a small incentive (versus no incentive or a significant incentive) also felt that their opinion was less legitimate ($p < .0001$). Moreover, legitimacy mediated the effect of receiving a small incentive on attitude uncertainty (95% C.I. = [.03, .16]). Reviewers who were paid a small incentive were more uncertain of the opinions in their review than those who did not receive an incentive or received a large incentive, because the small incentive made them feel less legitimate.

Overall, the results contribute to the literatures on incentives, WOM, and certainty. First, we demonstrate that the quality of a review may stem from feelings of legitimacy and that providing an incentive shifts the source of legitimacy from one's experience (internal) to the size of one's reward (external). Second, we contribute to a growing body of work showing that uncertainty in WOM content can decrease consumers' attitudes and purchase intentions (Dubois, Rucker and Tormala 2011). Third, we contribute to past work on consumers' certainty by documenting for the first time how monetary incentives affects consumers' certainty by affecting their feelings of legitimacy. Managerially we demonstrate how incentive size can affect the content of the review and its effectiveness.

Write and Write Alike: How Personality Affects the Value of Word of Mouth

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Online word of mouth is considered a valuable source of information (Zhu and Zhang 2010); but not all word of mouth has an equally persuasive effect on consumers. Prior research shows that review characteristics; such as valence (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006), length (Mudambi and Schuff 2010), product type (Forman et al. 2008; Zhu and Zhang 2010) and the presence of words indicating temporal contiguity between product experiences and review writing (Chen and Lurie 2013); affect the influence and perceived value of online reviews. However less has been done to explore whether

and how reviewer characteristics, such as personality, affect the perceived value of online word-of-mouth.

Personality influences language content and word choice (Pennebaker and King 1999). Recent research shows that personality dimensions can be successfully extracted through automated text analysis based on words used in different long text collections such as blogs, emails, or stories (Tausczik and Pennebaker 2010; Cohn et al. 2004; Yarkoni 2010). However, there have been few attempts to extract personality from a single review. Prior research has shown that dimensions of personality can have positive as well as negative effects on message persuasiveness in face-to-face settings (Oreg and Sverdlik 2014); yet little is known about the persuasive role of personality in online word-of-mouth, a setting in which cues to personality beyond language use are often absent. In addition, there has been almost no effort to examine how the match between sender and receiver personalities affects persuasion. Using secondary data as well as lab experiments, we examine how reviewer personality, as expressed through language use, affects the perceived value of online word-of-mouth. We further examine how the interaction between writer and reader personalities influences review value.

In Study 1, we utilized Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC; Pennebaker et al. 2001) to analyze over 65,000 Yelp restaurant reviews. Personality scores for each review were calculated using weights from prior research on the relationship between LIWC word categories and the Big Five personality dimensions (Schwartz et al. 2013). The relationship between expressed personality scores and word-of-mouth value was assessed through a negative binomial distribution model in which value was measured by a count of the number of people who found the review useful. The results of this study show that extracted personality dimensions are significant predictors of review usefulness. Greater extraversion, conscientiousness, and openness have a significant positive relationship with review usefulness. Somewhat counter-intuitively, greater neuroticism also has a significant positive relationship with review value, while greater agreeableness has a significant negative relationship with review value.

Study 2 extended Study 1 to examine the effects of expressed personality on word of mouth value in a lab setting. In line with Study 1, openness and neuroticism had a positive effect on review usefulness while agreeableness had a negative effect on review usefulness. Further analysis shows that review valence, as proxied by the star rating (on a scale of 1-5, with 5 indicating a very positive experience) that accompanies the text of each review, mediates the relationships between neuroticism and review value as well as between agreeableness and review value. Greater neuroticism is associated with more negatively valenced reviews. Conversely, agreeableness is associated with more positive reviews. Consistent with prior research (Basuroy et al. 2003; Chen and Lurie 2013), negative reviews are perceived as more useful than positive reviews.

Study 3 examined whether compatibility between writer and reader personalities impacts review usefulness. This study also examined whether the extracted personality dimensions of writers are consistent with those perceived by readers. Dimension of writer personality were extracted from online reviews. Dimensions of reader personality were extracted by asking readers to compose either a short email or a short review—we found similar results regardless of writing type—and a reader-writer personality similarity index was calculated using the mean of absolute differences between reader and writer on the Big Five (Setterlund and Niedenthal 1993). Readers also assessed reviewer personalities using the 10-item Big Five scale (Rammstedt and John 2007). Results show that greater similarity between expressed writer and reader personalities positively

impacts the perceived value of online word-of-mouth. Results also show that, except for openness, reader perceptions of reviewer personality are consistent with those extracted from reviews.

This paper shows that personality, extracted from a single online review through automated text analysis, is an important predictor of the value of online word-of-mouth. In addition to removing the need to measure personality through traditional scales, this approach is less subject to exaggeration and social desirability biases (Bearden et al. 1993). Our findings show that personality dimensions can influence word-of-mouth persuasiveness in unexpected ways. Although neuroticism is generally perceived as an undesirable personal attribute that reduces persuasion (Costa and McCrae 1980; Oreg and Sverdluk 2014), in word-of-mouth contexts it enhances value by being associated with more negative reviews. Conversely, conventional thinking holds agreeableness to be a favorable personal trait that enhances persuasion (McCrae and Costa 1987; Oreg and Sverdluk 2014); yet it decreases review usefulness by being associated with more positive reviews.

Transmitting Well-Reasoned Word of Mouth Impairs Memory for Product Experiences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A growing stream of research examines how word of mouth (WOM) affects consumers and product performance (e.g. Chevalier & Mayzlin 2006). The influence of engaging in WOM on the speaker, however, has been largely ignored. Although some recent research has examined how transmitting WOM affects senders' attitudes (Moore 2012), little is known about how transmitting WOM affects senders' memories for product experiences. Research in eyewitness testimony (Loftus 2003) and verbalization (Schooler and Engstler-Schooler 1990) suggest that the act of talking about an experience can change people's memory of the experience. Yet, it is unclear how and why different verbalization motivations affect memory. This work thus attempts to both contribute to a better understanding of how WOM affects reviewers and also provides insights into understanding how and why verbalization affects memory.

Reviewers often aim to be logical when writing reviews. Indeed, this behavior is often encouraged by many review websites (e.g. Amazon, Yelp, Yahoo). For example, Yahoo Movie prompts reviewers for rationales: "Tell us if you liked or disliked the film, but also why you liked or disliked it. Compare this film to others - why is this better or worse?"

We theorize that writing reviews can affect memory by influencing how people rehearse the original product experience. When reviewers write reviews in general, especially when prompted to write logical reviews, they search for well-reasoned arguments for their opinions rather than rehearse the original product experience (which is encouraged by imagery-based instructions). As a result of this search, those who write logical reviews are likely to suffer memory issues. Removing reviewers' ability to engage in this reason-seeking process – via cognitive load – should then improve memory to a level comparable to those writing imagery-based reviews. A series of five studies test and confirm these ideas.

In study 1, all participants watched the movie "Oktapodi," a short (2 minute) animation, and then were randomly assigned to a sender or receiver condition. Senders were instructed to write a review about the video to another student. Each receiver was yoked to one sender and read a randomly-assigned review after viewing the film. This provides a delay between watching the film and the memory test, and allows us to assess whether it is the act of writing a review or the actual content of the review that affects memory.

All participants completed a recognition task that had seven true statements and seven false statements about the movie. Memory is measured by summing correct acceptances and correct rejections. Results show that reviewers had worse memory for the underlying film than those who did not write reviews (e.g. receivers). Study 1 provides initial evidence that writing reviews can impair memory.

In the subsequent studies, to test the underlying process, we focus on senders and directly manipulate the goal to write logic-based versus imagery-based reviews. In study 2, after watching *Oktapodi*, participants were randomly assigned to write a logic-based review (i.e., to be well-reasoned and logical) or imagery-based review (i.e., to visualize and describe the film). Participants then completed the same memory test used in study 1. Manipulation checks supported the effectiveness of the manipulation. Confirming our theory, those who wrote logic-based reviews had worse memory than those who wrote imagery-based reviews. These results are consistent with the idea that searching for rational arguments may be responsible for subsequent memory deficits.

Study 3 further documents the negative effect of writing logical reviews and shows that the magnitude of this impairment is comparable to not being able to consolidate the product memory in the first place. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three between-subject conditions (logic-based review, imagery-based review vs. interference task). The procedures were the same as study 2 except that instead of writing a review, those in the interference condition completed an unrelated (anagram) task that prevented them from further thinking about the film. All participants then completed a 14-item memory test. Results reveal that those who wrote logic-based reviews had worse memory than those who wrote imagery-based reviews. Importantly, those who wrote logic-based reviews did as poorly on the memory test as those who experienced memory interference. This study not only reinforces earlier results but provides insights into the magnitude of the deficit: writing logic-based reviews is akin to preventing consolidation of the original memory.

In study 4, we test people's memory for a camera to examine the robustness of our effect in a different product category (i.e., a search rather than experience good). As before, participants were first shown a video of a camera, asked to write a logic- or imagery-based review for the camera and then answered 14 true/false statements. The results replicate earlier findings and show that writing logic-based reviews impairs memory for search products as well.

If memory impairments are indeed caused by people searching for rational arguments (instead of reflecting on the original experience), then preventing people from this search should attenuate our effect. Study 5 tests this with a 2 (logic- vs. imagery-based review) x 2 (no vs. high cognitive load) between-subjects design. The procedures were the same as study 4 except that those in the high cognitive load condition were asked to remember a roster of names while writing the review (after watching the movie; Elder & Krishna, 2010). Immediately after writing the review, the load was removed. Results show that when there is no load, the results replicate earlier findings. For those under cognitive load (i.e., prevented from searching for argument) while writing their reviews, there was no difference across logic- and imagery-based conditions.

In summary, we show that writing reviews-- logical reviews in particular-- can make people more susceptible to memory issues for the reviewed product. This work provides theoretical insight into how and why verbalization affects memory, as well as managerial insights given that many websites encourage consumers to write logic-based reviews.

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Show Me What You Can Do: Emerging Research on the Roles of Brands

Chair: Ryan Rahinel, University of Cincinnati, USA

Paper #1: Brand Exposure Makes Decisions Easier

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Ashley Otto, University of Cincinnati, USA
Joshua J. Clarkson, University of Cincinnati, USA
Daniel M. Grossman, University of Cincinnati, USA

Paper #2: Sex and Status Sell to Monkeys: Social Advertising Creates Brand Preferences in Rhesus Macaques

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Karli K. Watson, Duke University, USA
Gavan J. Fitzsimons, Duke University, USA
Michael L. Platt, Duke University, USA

Paper #3: Symbolic Brand Synergy: When 1 is Greater Than 2

Sean Coary, St. Joseph's University, USA

Paper #4: Performance Brand Placebos: How Brands Improve Performance and Consumers Take the Credit

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Frank Germann, University of Notre Dame, USA
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SESSION OVERVIEW

Brands serve many roles in the modern marketplace. They function as indicators of products' manufacturers, containers of associations, signals of quality, and cues of compatibility, among others. The papers in this session advance knowledge on brand roles by focusing on the capabilities of brands, the underlying processes that enable them, and the unintended consequences that emerge from their typical usage in today's world. In doing so, the papers answer fundamental questions such as: "What does it mean to be a brand?" and "What do brands do for us?" Our answers bear consequence not only for the theory of brands, but also for consumers engaging in daily interaction with brands, firms building and managing brands, and policy makers regulating brand activities.

In the first paper, Rahinel, Otto, Clarkson, and Grossman study how decision making is affected by the presence of brands. Specifically, they find that brand exposure makes subsequent decisions easier. Process evidence shows that brand exposure cues a cognitive readiness for decision making, which leads to greater ease in decision making.

In the second paper, Acikalin, Watson, Fitzsimons, and Platt study brand preferences in rhesus monkeys. They find that pairing brand logos with sex- and status-based images builds brand preferences consistent with evolutionary principles. Thus, although though more elaborate cognitive systems in humans allow sophisticated rationalizations for brand preferences, those preferences may in fact simply result from associative conditioning.

In the third paper, Coary examines the effect of brand labels in symbolic complementary settings where a consumed product (e.g., beer) is paired with a supporting product (e.g., glass). He finds that enjoyment of the consumed product is heightened when its brand matches that of the supporting product. Process evidence supports brand involvement as an underlying process for the effect.

In the fourth paper, Garvey, Germann, and Bolton examine the underlying processes and consequences of brand placebo effects. They find that performance brands heighten the self-concept, which lowers state anxiety, and subsequently improves performance. Furthermore, consumers attributed enhanced performance to themselves, apparently ignoring the role of brand in this process.

These projects, all in advanced stages, offer new insights into general capabilities that extend across all brands. Notably, they also appeal to a broad audience, as they not only intersect with but also tackle central questions in variety of other popular areas in consumer behavior such as decision making, evolutionary behavior, performance outcomes, and consumption enjoyment. Finally, the novel methodologies, interesting outcomes, and fresh perspectives on the topic promise to facilitate dialogue amongst session attendees and ultimately advance connections.

Brand Exposure Makes Decisions Easier

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Brand exposure has profound impacts on behavior. Subliminal exposure to thrift brands like Wal-Mart makes people choose thriftier options (Chartrand, Huber, Shiv, and Tanner 2008), exposure to the Apple (vs. IBM) brand logo makes people generate more creative ideas (Fitzsimons, Chartrand, and Fitzsimons 2008), and finally, using a Red Bull car in a video game makes players race more aggressively and recklessly (Brasel and Gips 2011). Brands apparently cue behavior in line with their core associations.

In the current work, we broaden this line of inquiry by studying brand exposure effects of a general nature. That is, we ask the question: "What are the consequences of exposure to brands *of any kind*?" Our point of departure from this question comes from the simple notion that the most consequential use and consideration of brands by consumers occurs during decision making episodes, such as product choice (Jacoby, Speller, and Kohn 1974; Jacoby, Szybillo, Busato-Schach 1977; Mela, Gupta, and Lehmann 1997). We propose that, akin to classical conditioning processes (Pavlov 1927; Rescorla 1988), such pairing leads brand exposure to prompt a cognitive readiness for decision making. Although this is the first work to instantiate the notion of decision readiness, its conceptualization draws from other forms of cognitive preparation in the domains of task performance (Carlson and Lundy 1992; Monsell 2003; Sohn and Carlson 1998), behavior anticipation (Hull 1951; Spence 1937), and motor control (Haggard and Eimer 1999; Libet et al., 1983; Wohlert 1993). Consistent with the findings in such literatures, we further propose that decision readiness makes the experience of subsequent decision making easier. That is, brand exposure makes decisions easier by cueing a cognitive readiness for decision making. We test this framework in a series of three studies.

The objective of study 1 was to conduct a test of the basic effect with real brands. Participants completed a 15 item quiz about either brand logos or driving signs (in the control condition). There were two forms of each quiz to counteract any effects produced by the specific brands or driving signs chosen. We then told participants that we sometimes give away small gifts instead of course credits in exchange for completing their studies, and that the we were interested in determining students' preferences these types of gifts. Participants indicated which of six small, non-branded gifts they would choose. We measured several constructs: option similarity, decision ease, decision confidence, and decision deliberation. We also measured the subjective difficulty of the quiz, as well as demographic information, including age. We measure subjective difficulty of the manipulation as well as participant age (which may co-vary with both readiness and ease) at the end of each study, and control for them in all analyses. Preliminary results demonstrated

that there were no differences between forms within each condition, so we collapsed them within condition. There was no effect of exposure condition on the particular option chosen, perceived option similarity, decision confidence, or decision deliberation. However, there was the predicted effect of brand (vs. driving signs) exposure on decision ease, with those exposed to brands (vs. driving signs) expressing greater ease in their product decision.

In study 2, we sought to replicate the effect using a different manipulation and provide evidence for the underlying mechanism via mediation. In the brand condition, participants evaluated 30 designs which we told them were potentially new brand logos for brands about to enter the mainstream market. Each “logo” was rated on a scale from 1 = terrible brand logo to 7 = excellent brand logo. In the control condition, participants evaluated the same 30 designs as in the brand condition, but were instead told that the designs were abstract art designs by local college students. Each art design was rated on a scale from 1 = terrible art piece to 7 = excellent art piece. After the exposure manipulation, participants saw the same choice set and cover story as in study 1. We measured decision ease and decision readiness (e.g., “I felt prepared to make a choice”). We also sought to rule out rival mechanisms by measuring other constructs: number of attributes considered, comparative processing, random choice, and choice satisficing. Results replicated the core effect from study 1, and the same pattern of data held for the decision readiness measure. Furthermore, a mediation analysis showed that the effect of brand (vs. art) exposure framing on decision ease was mediated by decision readiness. Alternative mechanisms did not mediate the effect.

In study 3, we aimed to conceptually replicate the effect using a different choice set and provide more evidence for the underlying mechanism via moderation. Participants completed the same brand exposure manipulation as in study 2. They were then told to imagine that they had an hour of free time, and to choose one of six activities (e.g., take a walk, take a nap) to do during that time. Decision ease was measured using the same items as in studies 1 and 2. We then measured decision readiness as a dispositional variable using four items (e.g., “I am always prepared to make decisions”). We tested our core hypothesis by regressing decision ease on brand exposure, chronic decision readiness, their interaction, and control measures. There were positive main effects of both decision readiness and brand exposure. More importantly, there was a significant interaction such that brand exposure strongly increased decision ease for those chronically low in decision readiness, whereas there was no effect of brand exposure for those high in decision readiness, who all experienced relatively high decision ease. Looking at the interaction another way, there was a significantly positive effect of decision readiness for those in the control exposure condition, whereas there was no significant effect of decision readiness for those in the brand exposure condition, since brand exposure presumably increased readiness for participants anyway. Overall, these results document an important general effect of brand exposure and highlight readiness as a key consideration in the study of decision making.

Sex and Status Sell to Monkeys: Social Advertising Creates Brand Preferences in Rhesus Macaques

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Over the course of human evolution, natural selection shaped psychological tendencies that promote survival and reproduction within an intensely social context (Kenrick et al., 1994). Today, these cognitive biases continue to influence behavior, including virtually all consumer settings. Social rewards, including depictions

of sex and social status, reliably elicit innate motivational drives, and their use in motivating behavior is a favored strategy in advertising. Consumers respond more favorably to attractive ads with models from the opposite gender (Baker and Churchill, 1977), and physiological studies in humans find that nudity in advertising indeed elicits strong physiological responses (Belch et al., 1982). Association of products with an individual of high social status is another common advertising strategy. In some cultures, more than half of all advertisements feature celebrities (Choi, 2005). Notably, sexuality and celebrity endorsements in advertisements are appealing across cultures, suggesting these strategies tap into universal human characteristics (Paliwoda, 2009; Praet, 2001). This observation suggests that the psychology underlying the formation of advertising-driven brand preferences could have deep evolutionary roots.

Exactly why and how sex and social status in advertising influences consumer behavior remains unknown. Some theories rely on high-level cognition of the consumer, such as the attribution of beliefs of a celebrity spokesperson about the desirability of the product (Silvera and Austad, 2004; see Erdogan, 1999 for review). Conversely, a simple association between a product, a social reward, and the cognitive and physiological state this reward induces in the consumer, may be adequate to bias preferences toward the product.

Visual depictions of sex and status influence preferences in monkeys, suggesting that social rewards could be used to alter preferences for objects paired with them (Deaner et al., 2005; Watson and Platt, 2008). Because old world monkeys and humans diverged 25 million years ago, the presence of a cognitive bias in both families suggests evolutionarily ancient origins. Shared brain circuits mediating social perception and valuation in rhesus macaques and humans provide a mechanism by which this bias may be translated into preferences for brands associated with sex and status (Chang et al., 2013; Pearson et al., 2014). Here we experimentally test whether a sex- and status- based ad campaign can elicit brand preferences in adult rhesus monkeys.

Three stimulus sets were used as *models* in an ad campaign in which social images (female *perinea*, *dominant* male faces, and *subordinate* male faces) or their corresponding control images were paired with brand logos.

Monkeys were exposed to a series of *advertisement trials* interleaved with *decision trials* that allowed assessment of logo preference. During a decision trial, monkeys had to tap on a central fixation square, and then tap on a brand logo image of their choice. Advertisement and decision trials were randomly interleaved. The orders of presentation for the three different ad campaigns and for the two logos for each campaign (Social vs. Control image) were drawn randomly with replacement. Each session consisted of seventy ad trials and thirty decision trials. Each monkey (n=5 males and n= 5 females) completed 100 *baseline* decision trials prior to the beginning of the experiment, and demonstrated no pre-existing preference for any logo before exposure to the ad campaign ($p>0.7$).

Because ads are known to lose impact over repeated viewings (Campbell and Keller, 2003; see Pechmann and Stewart, 1988 for review), the efficacy of each ad campaign was evaluated during the initial phase (trials 1-20 for each ad) of the experiment. Specifically, analysis in Study 1 was restricted to decisions made up until each monkey had seen 10 control and 10 social advertisements from each stimulus set (dominant, subordinate, perinea).

A logistic regression analyzing decision outcome as a function of ad campaign category (*SPORTperinea*, *CARDominant*, or *PIZZAsubordinate*) and sex of the monkey subject revealed a significant interaction between ad campaign category and sex. Specifically, male monkeys, but not female monkeys, were more

likely to choose *SPORTperinea* over *SPORTcontrol* while, female monkeys, but not male monkeys, were more likely to choose *CARDominant* over *CARcontrol*. These findings show that male monkeys develop an advertising-induced bias (AIB) for brand logos paired with sexual images of female monkeys, and that female monkeys develop a preference for brand logos paired with faces of dominant male macaques. To determine how advertising efficacy changed over repeated exposures to ads, we next regressed the cumulative AIB over the number of relevant non-scrambled advertisements seen for each category, with the intercepts fixed to zero based on our baseline results. These results show that male monkey preferences for the *SPORT* logo paired with sexual images increases with repeated ad exposure, and that female monkey preferences for the *CAR* logo paired with high status images increases over repeated ad exposure. These findings also show that female monkeys show decreased preference for the *PIZZA* logo repeatedly paired with low status images, while male monkeys show an increased preference for the *PIZZA* logo paired with low status images with repeated exposure.

Here we show that monkeys develop preferences for logos after social advertising campaigns. Female sexual images increase brand preference in male monkeys, and high status male faces increase brand preference for female monkeys. Finally, pairing images of subordinate males with logos decreases brand preference for females and increased brand preference for male monkeys across our trials. In the context of human marketing and advertising research, our findings endorse the idea that innate, evolutionarily ancient mechanisms mediate socially induced brand preferences.

Symbolic Brand Synergy: When 1 is Greater Than 2

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers are often exposed to multiple branded products during their consumption experiences. Sometimes these products are consumed together in a functional fashion (e.g., cake and frosting) while other times only one is consumed while the other plays a symbolic role (e.g., drinking a beer out of a branded glass). In a functional setting, Rahinel and Redden (2013) found that consumers enjoyed the experience more when the products' brands matched (vs. mismatched), since matching brands cued inferences that the products were designed for each other. This research studies whether such an effect might occur in a symbolic consumption setting, where inferences of product coordination are likely to be muted.

I posit that brand matching in symbolic complementarity setups indeed leads to greater utility for the consumed product under specific circumstances. Specifically, people with a high need for internal consistency may receive utility from brand matching, as these consumers prefer consistency in their lives, including their consumption experiences. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the effect is also bounded to brands high in perceived quality, as the brand matching of the second product can reinforce the quality of the primary product that is being consumed. Such reinforcement of the brand through a secondary product increases a consumer's brand involvement, which subsequently leads to a better consumption experience. I tested this framework in a series of three studies.

The goal of Study 1 is twofold: to demonstrate that the effects of brand synergy extend beyond functional complementarity to symbolic complementarity and to investigate one's need for internal consistency as a moderator for these effects. A one-way two level between subjects design was utilized. Brand synergy was manipulated by having participants drink Coca-Cola out of a Coca-Cola branded cup or a Solo cup. Results reveal that symbolic

brand synergy has a significant effect on attitudes towards the soda, consumers' interest in drinking more, and their likelihood to purchase. These effects are moderated by an individual's need for consistency, where consumers with a high need for consistency have higher attitudes and behavioral intentions for brand synergy than those with low need for consistency.

Study 2 investigates the quality of the brands as a potential moderator for the effects of symbolic brand synergy. To further test the strength of symbolic brand synergy, water was utilized as the experimental product. Consumers have a difficulty in evaluating the quality of the actual water and rely solely on the brand name for perceived quality. A pretest confirms the quality (1-9 scale) manipulation of the two brands utilized, (Fiji High Quality vs. Arrowhead Low Quality). The experimental procedure was similar to that utilized in Study 1. To further investigate the effects of brand synergy, the amount of water consumed was measured as the dependent variable. Regression results reveal a significant main effect for brand synergy, a significant main effect for quality, and a significant interaction. There was a significant difference in the amount of water consumed for the high quality brand, but no significant difference in the amount of water drunk for the low quality brand. These results suggest that only high quality brands are significantly affected by symbolic brand synergy.

The purpose of Study 3 is to investigate the underlying process driving the effects of brand synergy and investigate the effects in another product category, thus expanding its generalizability. A one-way three level design was utilized manipulating brand synergy. Dunkin Donuts were utilized with a Dunkin Donut napkin, Starbucks napkin, or control (plain white) napkin. Comparing the Dunkin Donuts vs. Starbucks first; results demonstrate a significant main effect for brand synergy on attitudes towards the food and on taste evaluations. To investigate the proposed mediating mechanism (brand involvement) for brand synergy on attitudes towards the food, Hayes's (2013) PROCESS procedure was utilized, and it was demonstrated that brand involvement significantly mediated the effect. Similar results occur between the Dunkin Donuts and control (plain white napkin) condition.

Three studies demonstrate that the effects of brand synergy occur during symbolic complementarity products not just functional products as found in previous research. These studies suggest that brands can benefit from increased attitudes and increased consumption by providing their consumers with a secondary branded product (glass, napkin, plate, wristband, etc.) during consumption of the primary product.

Performance Brand Placebos: How Brands Improve Performance and Consumers Take the Credit

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Firms frequently promise consumers that use of their brands will improve performance outcomes. Claims of superior materials, craftsmanship, design, or other components can be quite convincing, and certainly true in some instances. However, when products or services are functionally homogenous, could the simple belief that a particular brand is effective at enhancing performance actually improve objective performance? To answer this question, we develop and test a framework for performance brand consumption by drawing on the literatures on placebo effects (Plassmann et al. 2008; Shiv, Carmon, and Ariely 2005; Waber et al. 2008), performance anxiety and stress responses (Crum, Salovey, and Achor 2013; Eysenck et al. 2007), and self-attributions (Malle 2006). In doing so, our

research increases knowledge at the intersection between branded consumption and consumer performance outcomes.

Our research focuses upon the implications of performance brand consumption for the consumer's mental and emotional state in influencing task outcomes. We demonstrate that performance brand consumption has objectively measurable effects upon performance due to purely perceived and illusory (i.e. immaterial) brand differences, consistent with a placebo effect (Shiv et al. 2005). Paradoxically, although this performance brand placebo emerges most strongly when consumers believe the branded offering impacts performance, consumers tend to credit any positive gains to the self, rather than the brand. We provide evidence for the psychological mechanisms through which both effects upon performance and attribution emerge. Specifically, we propose that consumption of a performance branded product serves to reduce the experience of state anxiety as the result of a bolstered self-concept. The experience of state anxiety has been demonstrated to redirect attention and cognitive resources away from consciously pursued outcomes (Eysenck et al. 2007), and to increase ruminative thought (Carver and Scheier 1988), thereby interfering with performance in achieving those outcomes. Consumption of a performance branded product will serve to reduce such debilitating state anxiety, thereby improving performance. This effect emerges through the impact of brand consumption upon the self-concept. To the extent that the brand is congruent with an idealized self, it should re-enforce that positive self-view and accordingly bolster the self-concept (Berger and Ward 2010; Fournier 1998; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001). A bolstered self-concept will in turn reduce task induced anxiety (Baumeister et al. 2003; Koivula et al. 2002; Langendörfer et al. 2006), thereby improving performance. Furthermore, a bolstered self-concept should increase attributions for improved performance to the self, rather than the performance brand.

Support for a performance brand placebo is observed in four studies across a variety of brands, product categories, and athletic and cognitive performance contexts. Study 1 was a field experiment that utilized an athletic context and examined how the salience of performance brands alters exercise behavior, as well as downstream attributions for athletic performance. A two-group between subjects design manipulated the salience of performance brands worn by members of a health club. Participants in the salient performance brand condition performed their workouts significantly longer than those in the control condition. Furthermore, salient performance brands increased attributions for workout performance to the self.

Study 2 replicated these effects in a golfing context while exploring the underlying process role of experienced anxiety. Participants were members of a health club that agreed to help test a golf putter by performing a series of actual golf putts. The putter was manipulated to be either a strong (Nike) or weak (Starter) performance brand. Participants who used the strong performance brand required fewer strokes to successfully complete a putt. Mediation analysis revealed that participants using the strong performance branded experienced less state anxiety while putting, thereby requiring fewer putts to succeed.

Study 3 demonstrated the performance brand placebo in a cognitive performance context. A three-group design was employed that included a performance brand salience condition (participants described worn brands and reflected upon implications for performance), non-performance brand salience condition (participants described worn brands), and control condition. Participants in the performance brand salience condition demonstrated higher scores on a test of five questions (Frederick 2005) versus those in the non-performance brand salience and control conditions. Serial mediation analysis revealed that performance brand salience heightened the self-

concept, which in turned lowered state anxiety, thereby improving cognitive performance. The heightened self-concept simultaneously increased attributions to the self rather than the performance brand. Notably, the performance brand placebo emerges only when brands relevant to performance are made salient. Finally, study 4 (details omitted for brevity's sake) further explicated the role of state anxiety by examining stress mindset (Crum et al. 2013) as a theoretically relevant boundary condition for a performance brand placebo.

In summary, this research expands upon the literatures examining placebo effects, performance anxiety and stress responses, and self-attributions to explain how branded offerings systematically improve (or undermine) consumer outcomes in a variety of cognitive and athletic contexts. Whereas prior work examining placebo effects has developed theory concerning subjective outcomes (e.g., perceived pain reduction), with limited findings for objective performance outcomes, our work explains how objective outcomes are systematically improved or harmed by performance brand consumption, and through mechanisms distinct from traditional, subjective placebo effects. We shed insight into the psychological underpinnings of this performance enhancing effect by proposing and providing empirical support for an anxiety-reduction mechanism, which is driven by a bolstered self-concept. Furthermore, we reveal how consumers tend to credit themselves, rather than brands, for performance gains. Thus whereas prior research has demonstrated that branded consumption that bolsters the self-concept improves consumer-brand connections, we find that consumers do not acknowledge the role of performance brands in determining outcomes.

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Understanding Prosocial Behavior Across Levels of Analysis: From the Brain to the Field

Chairs: Crystal Reeck, Temple University, USA
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Paper #1: The Controlled Nature of Prosociality: Pharmacological Enhancement of Prosocial Behavior

Ming Hsu, University of California Berkeley, USA
Ignacio Sáez, University of California Berkeley, USA
Andrew Kayser, University of California San Francisco, USA

Paper #2: Neural Mechanisms Promoting Selflessness in Potential Conflicts of Interest

Crystal Reeck, Temple University, USA
Nina Mazar, University of Toronto, Canada
Dan Ariely, Duke University, USA
Rita Ludwig, University of Oregon, USA
Malia F. Mason, Columbia University, USA

Paper #3: Affective Mechanisms in Microlending Decisions: Using Internet Data and Neuroimaging to Predict Market-level Behavior

Alexander Genevsky, Stanford University, USA
Brian Knutson, Stanford University, USA

Paper #4: Prosocial Incentives: Limits and Benefits of Working for Others

Alex Imas, Carnegie Mellon University, USA
Elizabeth Keenan, University of California San Diego, USA
Ayelet Gneezy, University of California San Diego, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Prosocial motivations and actions are pervasive in consumer contexts. For example, a corporation's perceived social responsibility alters consumer responses to its products (Bodur, Gao, & Grohmann, 2014; Torelli, Monga, & Kaikati), and prosocial motivations may lead consumers to seek out socially responsible brands or charitable giving opportunities. Markets also have social dimensions, as consumers may rely on advice from or their impressions of other people. Prosocial actions, however, depend upon complex underlying psychological processes, and no single experimental approach can encapsulate these rich phenomena. Therefore, insights from multiple methods and disciplines must be combined in order to advance understanding of prosocial behavior in consumer contexts.

This session incorporates a diverse set of methods to elucidate the underlying psychological processes guiding prosocial behavior, including findings from pharmacology, functional neuroimaging, and field data. At the heart of these different approaches, however, is a common set of questions derived from, and building on, laboratory experiments on human prosociality. The first presentation by Ming Hsu, Ignacio Sáez, and Andrew Kayser addresses a core question in the study of prosocial behavior: are prosocial actions relatively automatic and reflexive, or are they relatively effortful and controlled? Employing a pharmacological approach in conjunction with a social decision making task, Hsu and colleagues demonstrate that controlled, as opposed to automatic, processes appear to enable prosocial behavior.

The second presentation by Crystal Reeck, Nina Mazar, Dan Ariely, Rita Ludwig, and Malia Mason examines prosocial behavior in the context of conflicts of interest. Combining functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) with a conflict of interest task, the authors demonstrate that activation in neural regions involved in self-control predicts variability in the extent to which judges respond selflessly when confronted with potential conflicts of interest. These findings

suggest that those seeking to curb the negative consequences of conflicts of interest should focus on enhancing self-control among those whose judgments might be biased by self-interest.

In the third presentation, Alexander Genevsky and Brian Knutson assess which affective processes predict microlending decisions. Using fMRI to predict market-level outcomes, the authors examine how responses to those requesting microfinancing predicts decisions to lend. Positive affect as indexed by behavioral and neural measures predicts both individual and market-level lending decisions. These findings provide greater insight into how marketing actions by loan applicants can influence their outcomes.

The final presentation by Alex Imas, Elizabeth Keenan, and Ayelet Gneezy uses a combination of laboratory and field experiments to examine how prosocial incentives motivate effort. The authors demonstrate that explicitly linking efforts with charitable outcomes improves their impact compared to standard self-benefiting incentives.

This session will advance connections among these different approaches, which is critical for both developing richer theories at the mechanistic level and enhancing predictive power as a result of these insights. What predictions for market outcomes emerge from understanding biological phenomena, and vice versa? How can marketing agents improve consumer experiences or promote better outcomes? How can prosocial motivations be enhanced to promote charitable giving, honest advice, or social responsibility?

The Controlled Nature of Prosociality: Pharmacological Enhancement of Prosocial Behavior

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Prosocial motivations often form an important part of consumers' decision-making process. Charitable giving in 2013, for example, reached more than \$400 billion, or around 1.9% of personal income (The Hudson Institute 2013). More recently, prosocial motivations have become an increasingly important element of marketing strategy aimed to promote customer engagement and satisfaction (Duclos and Barasch 2014).

At the psychological level, considerable debate exists regarding the specific mechanisms that enable prosocial behavior (Gino et al. 2011; Rand, Greene, and Nowak 2012). In particular, it remains largely unknown the extent to which prosocial actions are a product of automatic or controlled processes. That prosocial behaviors result from the interaction of these two processes has come from several difference sources. Behaviorally, a number of existing experimental studies have shown changes in prosocial behavior following taxing control processes using time pressure, cognitive load, or ego-depletion manipulations (Gino et al. 2011; Rand et al. 2012; Shalvi, Eldar, and Bereby-Meyer 2012). More recently, studies using functional brain imaging techniques have provided direct insight into the engagement of prefrontal cortex-dependent cognitive control mechanisms in decisions that require tradeoff between self-interested and prosocial motivations.

However, it is much less clear whether control is exercised in the service of promoting self-interested or prosocial actions. In particular, behavioral studies have resulted in conflicting findings such that both increases and decreases in prosociality have been observed (Gino et al. 2011; Rand et al. 2012; Shalvi et al. 2012). Likewise,

neuroimaging evidence is limited by their inherently correlational nature. More generally, this highlights the limits of traditional methodological approaches that rely on indirect manipulation of internal psychological processes.

To address these questions, we sought to provide novel causal evidence by using a pharmacological approach that allows direct manipulation of the brain regions known to subservise control processes (Badre 2008; Baumgartner et al. 2011). Specifically, we conducted a within-subject, double-blind, placebo-controlled, crossover study using the brain-penetrant drug tolcapone to manipulate prefrontal functioning by inhibiting the degradation of prefrontal dopamine. Although widely associated with motivation and reward, it has long been known that dopamine in the prefrontal cortex serves a critical role in cognitive control through its influence on plasticity of activation states in prefrontal regions (Cools 2008; Aarts et al. 2014). In previous studies, enhancement of prefrontal dopamine via tolcapone have been associated with improved cognitive control and reducing impulsivity (Apud et al. 2007; Kayser et al. 2012), but its effects on social behavior have not been characterized.

Over two visits, we administered either placebo or a single 200mg dose of tolcapone to 35 healthy volunteers (Mean age 32.5; SD 9.0 years). Following administration, each subject participated in a continuous version of the Dictator game with an expanded choice space (Andreoni and Miller 2002; Camerer 2003). As in the standard Dictator game, the participant in the position of the dictator received an endowment consisting of T tokens and could unilaterally choose to give some portion T_o to an anonymous recipient while keeping the remaining T_s tokens. In addition, we manipulated the relative cost and benefit of giving on each trial by independently varying how much each token was worth to the dictator (r_d) and the recipient (r_r). For example, under a 3:1 exchange rate, a token could be worth \$3 if kept by the subject and \$1 if given to the recipient. Under the 1:1 exchange rate, our task reduced to the standard Dictator game.

First, we assessed how tolcapone administration affected behavioral sensitivity to inequity in our participants. Specifically, we conducted a paired comparison in mean inequity, calculated as the absolute difference between the participant's payoff and those of the recipient, under tolcapone versus placebo. We found that tolcapone administration resulted in a highly significant mean reduction in overall inequity—from $\$87.08 \pm 3.45$ in the placebo condition to $\$80.16 \pm 3.3$ in the tolcapone condition—with a paired difference of $\$6.92 \pm 2.43$ (paired random effects t-test, $p < 0.001$).

Next, we separately examined mean changes in advantageous and disadvantageous inequity. If tolcapone administration resulted in a general increase in behavioral sensitivity to inequity, we should expect to see a decrease in both advantageous and disadvantageous inequity. Consistent with this hypothesis, we found that advantageous inequity decreased from $\$128.36 \pm 4.34$ to $\$112.04 \pm 4.44$ ($p < 0.01$, two-tailed t-test), and disadvantageous inequity from $\$131 \pm 8.27$ to $\$74.99 \pm 10.23$ ($p < 10^{-4}$, two-tailed t-test; Fig. 3B). Importantly, this concomitant reduction in both types of inequity, across all exchange rates, further argues against the hypothesis that tolcapone directly increases the reward value attached to the payoff of others, which would instead predict a reduction in advantageous inequity and a corresponding increase in disadvantageous inequity.

Finally, to assess the robustness of our results to potential confounding variables such as order of drug and placebo administration, gender, and body mass index (BMI), we performed a repeated-measures ANOVA including these measures, as well as their interactions with the drug condition, as covariates of no interest. We found that none of these factors exerted a significant influence on behavior

($p > 0.1$ for all tests), and that the drug effect on inequity is robust to their inclusion ($p < 0.01$).

Taken together, our results support the idea that cognitive control is engaged to curb self-interested motives, at least in the case of the dictator game. Future studies combining this approach with additional experimental manipulations can shed light on prosocial motivations in other behavioral domains. More generally, our approach highlights the ability of pharmacological manipulations in providing direct causal insight into psychological mechanisms underlying behavior.

Neural Mechanisms Promoting Selflessness in Potential Conflicts of Interest

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Self-interest is fundamental to neoclassical economic models of human reasoning, which assume that individuals are utility maximizers. Yet people occasionally act against their own self-interest. Sometimes they do so because of external reinforcement, including social scorn and reputational concerns, which promotes seemingly selfless, virtuous behaviors. Sometimes, however, they behave selflessly even when external reinforcements are minimal, as when they leave generous gratuities at restaurants they only visit once (Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1986), donate organs to strangers (Jacobs, Roman, Garvey, Kahn, & Matas, 2004), or disclose mechanical problems while selling used vehicles to strangers (Akerlof, 1970). Moreover, people occasionally act against their own interest even when the "proper" response is ambiguous. In circumstances where the proper course of action is difficult to determine and the external consequences of selfish behavior are minimal, what distinguishes people who continue to choose the principled course of action from those who act selfishly? What explains such extreme righteousness?

Conflicts of interest (Cain, Loewenstein, & Moore, 2011) present a particularly important context for examining righteousness, as they have been shown to undermine a broad range of professional judgments that consumer rely upon, such as doctors' espousal of self-interested medical guidance (Dana & Loewenstein, 2003) and investment recommendations from financial professionals (Mullainathan, Noeth, & Schoar, 2012) at the expense of patient or client welfare. In particular, as the objectively proper course of action becomes more ambiguous, higher-order ethical commitments no longer prescribe a particular action clearly and people's tendency to pursue self-interest becomes more pronounced (Babcock & Loewenstein, 2004). Therefore, understanding what predicts who is most likely to act on their self-interest as the appropriate response becomes more unclear is important to avoiding negative outcomes for those who rely on their advice.

To investigate whether internal reward or control processes explain individual differences in righteousness behavior, the present experiment employed a conflict of interest task in conjunction with functional neuroimaging (Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008b). On each of 150 trials, participants ($N = 27$) viewed an image that contained 100 dots and a vertical line dividing the image into left and right halves. Although participants were instructed to indicate which side contained more dots accurately, they were paid more (\$0.10 per response) when they indicated there were more dots on the right than when they responded there were more dots on the left (\$0.02 per response). Thus, trials that consisted of more dots on the left, lower paying side represented a potential COI between giving the correct response or giving an incorrect response in exchange for higher pay (incentivized error trials). As previous research has demonstrated that selfish behaviors are more common in response to ambiguity

(Argo & Shiv, 2012; Mazar, Amir, & Ariely, 2008a), ambiguity was manipulated such that on half the trials the discrimination was difficult and uncertainty about the correct response was relatively high. Not surprisingly, we find that incentivized responses occurred more frequently than disincentivized responses, $F(1, 26)=21.93$, $p<.001$. Importantly, there was a significant interaction between response incentive and ambiguity, $F(1, 26)=13.016$, $p=.001$. Pairwise comparisons revealed that incentivized responses were provided more frequently than disincentivized responses when the correct response was more ambiguous, $t(26)=5.544$, $p<.001$. This same pattern of results was also observed in error rates, with participants making more selfish, incentivized errors on more ambiguous than less ambiguous discriminations, $t(26)=4.882$, $p<.001$. Overall, participants did allow motives for personal gain to color their judgment, and this self-serving bias was more common when the appropriate response was more ambiguous.

A network of neural regions putatively involved in cognitive control exhibited greater activation in individuals who did not increase their self-interested responding when the proper response was more obscure, including lateral prefrontal cortex, dorsal parietal cortex, and temporoparietal junction. Importantly, these regions discriminated those who responded in a self-serving fashion from those who did not, specifically on trials in which the correct response was more ambiguous and self-interest was most likely to influence judgments. Conversely, activation in reward processing regions did not predict individual differences in selflessness when confronting potential conflicts of interest. The parietal regions and temporoparietal junction have been previously implicated in directing attention and other controlled processing (Corbetta, Patel, & Shulman, 2008). The correlation between lateral prefrontal cortex and righteousness may reflect the role of this region in resolving competition between competing responses, rules, or representations (Botvinick, Braver, Barch, Carter, & Cohen, 2001; Kerns et al., 2004; MacDonald, Cohen, Stenger, & Carter, 2000) and resisting temptation by implementing self-control (Hare, Camerer, & Rangel, 2009; McClure, Laibson, Loewenstein, & Cohen, 2004).

Taken as a whole, these findings advocate a central role for self-control and not reward in determining who will continue to subvert their own self-interest when the “proper” action becomes more difficult to determine. In light of the present findings, interventions seeking to limit the negative consequences of conflicts of interest should focus on enhancing self-control among those whose judgments they seek to insulate from self-interest.

Affective Mechanisms in Microlending Decisions: Using Internet Data and Neuroimaging to Predict Market-level Behavior

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Humans sometimes share with others whom they may never meet or know. These acts elude the scope of theories that assume that people choose according to pure self-interest. Microlending, or individual choices to make small low-interest loans to strangers, represents an example of this phenomenon. While incentives like repayment with interest motivate traditional institutional loans, individuals often fund microloans that return little or no interest while incurring significant opportunity costs. The psychological mechanisms underlying lenders’ decisions remain unclear, however, as does the question of whether the influence of those mechanisms extends beyond individual choice to account for aggregate behavior. In two studies, we demonstrate that neural affective mechanisms influence microloan request success. These findings highlight affective neuro-

science’s potential to test theories about neuropsychological mechanisms that drive microlending, to predict market-level behavior, and to enhance the effectiveness of loan requests.

Successful loan requests that impose opportunity costs may recruit some of the same psychological mechanisms as appeals for charitable gifts (Harbaugh, Mayr, and Burghart 2007; Genevsky et al. 2013) and has been proposed to partly depend on affect. By soliciting charitable donations from human subjects during behavioral and neural (i.e., functional magnetic resonance imaging). Therefore, we sought to examine whether neural affective mechanisms implicated in charitable giving might also promote microlending. The current research specifically aimed to determine whether affective mechanisms could account for microlending in a large internet dataset involving significant financial incentives, as well as to test whether neural and affective responses in a neuroimaging sample could predict microlending not only at the group level, but also at the market level.

A first internet study explored the impact of affective loan request features on loan request success in a large online microloan dataset (obtained from Kiva.org; $n=13,500$). Two features of loan requests were identified as potentially having affective impact: (1) a text description introducing and describing each borrower’s individual circumstances and needs, and (2) a photograph of each borrower prominently displayed at the top of each loan request. If microloan requests and charitable giving appeals are similar, we predicted that photographs’ positive affective impact should promote loan request success, while also testing the alternative possibility that negative affective impact might enhance loan request success.

Study 1 analyses indicated that positive arousal ratings of photographs were positively associated with loan funding rate. The effect of negative arousal ratings of photographs and the percentage of both positive and negative words in the text was not associated with loan request success (Appendix 1a). Further, analyses indicated that requests with photographs classified as ‘happy’ received a higher rate of funding than those with photographs classified as ‘sad’. To establish the financial impact of these effects, we explored descriptive and predictive aspects of models of loan request success. Photographs in the top versus the bottom decile of positive arousal ratings were funded at \$8.04 (8.2%) more per hour.

While the internet study focused on whether loan request features could elicit affect and promote loan request success, it could not specifically test whether affective responses increased lending, since affective responses were assessed in a separate group of subjects who rated borrowers’ expressions rather than their own experience. In a second neuroimaging study, we aimed to determine whether the experiential and neural affective responses of a neuroimaging sample to loan requests could account for aggregate loan request success, even beyond overt behavioral measures. Thus, we scanned a neuroimaging sample ($n=28$) as they chose whether or not to lend to borrowers.

We predicted that activity in brain regions implicated in anticipatory affect (e.g., NAcc and anterior insula; Knutson & Greer, 2008) technical limitations have made it difficult to determine whether anticipatory affect influences subsequent choice. Recent advances in the spatio-temporal resolution of functional magnetic resonance imaging, however, now allow researchers to visualize changes in neural activity seconds before choice occurs. We review evidence that activation in specific brain circuits changes during anticipation of monetary incentives, that this activation correlates with affective experience and that activity in these circuits may influence subsequent choice. Specifically, an activation likelihood estimate meta-analysis of cued response studies indicates that nucleus accumbens (NAcc

might scale to predict internet loan request success. Anticipatory activity in regions drawn from predicted volumes of interest (NAcc, AIns, MPFC) as well as whole brain group analysis (anterior MPFC, amygdala, precuneus, and temporal gyri) were correlated with internet loan request success (as in Berns & Moore, 2012). Of these regions, only NAcc activity significantly and positively correlated with aggregate loan funding rates. Model comparisons indicated that neuroimaging sample brain activity explained more variance in internet funding rate than choice despite penalties for additional predictors. Further, in a combined model that included choice, affect, and neural variables, only NAcc activity and positive arousal remained significantly associated with internet funding rate (Appendix 1b).

These findings collectively suggest that neural affective mechanisms promote microlending, both at individual and market scales. While a growing number of studies suggests that neural responses can predict individual behavior (e.g., financial risk taking or purchasing; Knutson & Greer, 2008) technical limitations have made it difficult to determine whether anticipatory affect influences subsequent choice. Recent advances in the spatio-temporal resolution of functional magnetic resonance imaging, however, now allow researchers to visualize changes in neural activity seconds before choice occurs. We review evidence that activation in specific brain circuits changes during anticipation of monetary incentives, that this activation correlates with affective experience and that activity in these circuits may influence subsequent choice. Specifically, an activation likelihood estimate meta-analysis of cued response studies indicates that nucleus accumbens (NAcc, only a handful have explored whether group brain activity can predict aggregate behavior (Falk et al. 2011; Berns and Moore 2012). No studies, however, have initially used findings from aggregate data to infer a neurobehavioral mechanism, and then assessed that mechanism in an independent group to reciprocally classify aggregate behavior.

This research makes a number of novel contributions. First, the findings implicate specific neural affective mechanisms in microlending across both individual and aggregate scales. By demonstrating that psychologically “hidden” mechanisms can account for aggregate choices better than behaviorally “revealed” choices, the findings empirically address a challenge from economic theorists. A second contribution of the current findings is that they help distinguish between different theoretical accounts of which psychological mechanisms promote microlending, and specifically support an anticipatory affect account. While previous research on charitable giving has presented mixed evidence of the impact of positive versus negative affect (Andreoni 1990; Small and Verrochi 2009), by simultaneously assessing affect at both internet and laboratory levels of analysis, the current studies provide clear evidence that photograph-elicited positive arousal most powerfully promoted loan funding rates and outcomes. A third contribution of the current findings is that they validate neuroimaging technology as potentially providing useful practical information about how to enhance loan request success.

Opportunities exist for further developing models that can specify when and how neural mechanisms account for aggregate behavior. The present findings thus raise the hope that integrating neuroscience evidence across levels of analysis can ultimately improve theories of choice. Together, these findings highlight affective neuroscience’s potential to test theories about neuropsychological mechanisms that drive microlending, to predict market-level behavior, and to enhance the effectiveness of loan requests.

Prosocial Incentives: Limits and Benefits of Working for Others

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Optimizing incentive schemes to increase effort provision is an important design question for firms, governments, and other organizations. However, standard self-benefiting monetary incentives have been shown to backfire, particularly when the payments are low (Ariely, Bracha and Meier, 2009; Deci, 1971; Gneezy and Rustichini, 2000; Heyman and Ariely, 2004). Recent work has demonstrated that individuals report greater happiness when spending money on others than when spending on themselves (Dunn, Aknin, and Norton 2008). Building on these findings, we use two field experiments to compare the effectiveness of prosocial incentives, where effort is tied directly to charitable contributions, to standard, self-benefiting. We hypothesize and show that when incentives are low, individuals will exert more effort under a prosocial incentive scheme than under a standard incentive scheme. However, when incentives go up, individuals work harder under standard incentives but do not adjust effort when the money is donated to others. Additionally, we demonstrate that individuals are more likely to select into prosocial incentive schemes—especially in public.

In study 1 we used an online labor spot market, Amazon Mechanical Turk, to advertise a task requiring workers to populate an image database with pictures in a particular domain (e.g., wildlife). The advertisement featured the basic details of how these images should be collected, as well as the flat fee for completing the task, which entailed collecting ten links to images from the web. It also included a link to learn more information and to sign up. Once workers (N=872) clicked on the link, they were randomized into one of four conditions, which varied the incentive (Low/\$0.01 per 10 images vs. High/\$0.05 per 10 images) and the beneficiary (For Self vs. For Others, where the Others is one of six charities). This design allowed us to test how many workers selected into completing the task under the incentive scheme, as measured by the ratio of those who began and finished the task to those who clicked on the link. In line with our hypothesis, when incentives were Low, workers were more likely to begin and finish the task under the prosocial incentive scheme (62% For Others) than in the standard incentive scheme (53% For Self, $p=.04$). This difference disappeared when the incentive increased: workers were just as likely to begin the task under the prosocial incentive scheme (64% For Others) as under the standard one (61% For Self, $p=.45$).

Recent studies suggest that although individuals often choose to act prosocially when having to make this choice, they may intentionally avoid such decisions if possible (Andreoni, Rao and Trachtman, 2012). In light of this evidence, to assess the effectiveness of prosocial incentive schemes in practice, it is critical to determine whether they discourage or encourage participation. In study 2, we ran a field experiment in the context of a recycling drive to study whether individuals will be less likely to participate in a campaign that uses a prosocial incentive scheme, and to test the effect of making the decision public. We made announcements for an upcoming recycling drive in 12 classrooms, and asked students (N=846) to indicate on a slip of paper their intention to participate in the drive. Students saw one of two incentive schemes for bringing in recyclables (For Self or For Others), crossed with one of two levels of visibility: students either opted-in privately by marking a sheet of paper and slipping it into an envelope, or publicly by raising their hands after marking the paper and bringing it to the front of the room. Students were told the procedure prior to making their decisions. Results showed that individuals were significantly more likely to participate in the

recycling drive when money from recyclables went to charity rather than themselves. The prosocial incentive scheme had a significant main effect on participation, with 19.1% of students agreeing to participate in the For Others treatments compared to 7.4% in the For Self treatments ($p < .001$). Pairwise comparisons show significantly more sign ups in both the public and private For Others treatments (23.9% and 15.1%, respectively), compared to sign-ups in the public and private For Self treatments (6.79% and 8.09%, respectively), though the difference between private For Others and private For Self was marginally significant ($p = .06$). Making participation public had a significant effect on sign-ups, but only in the prosocial treatment: 23.9% signed up in the For Others public treatment compared to 15.1% in the private treatment ($p < .05$). In contrast, making the act public had no significant effect on participation in the For Self treatments (6.79% vs. 8.09%, n.s.).

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The Greater Good: Behavioral Research with Social Value

Chairs: Nicole Robitaille, Queen's University, Canada

Nina Mazar, University of Toronto, Canada

Paper #1: Setting the Record Straight on Sugary Drink Portion Cap Policies

Leslie K. John, Harvard Business School, USA

Christina Roberto, Harvard School of Public Health, USA

Paper #2: Nudging to Increase Organ and Tissue Donor Registrations

Nicole Robitaille, Queen's University, Canada

Nina Mazar, University of Toronto, Canada

Claire Tsai, University of Toronto, Canada

Paper #3: Gain without Pain: The Extended Effects of a Behavioral Health Intervention

Daniel Mochon, Tulane University, USA

Janet Schwartz, Tulane University, USA

Josiase Maroba, Discovery Vitality, USA

Deepak Patel, Discovery Vitality, USA

Dan Ariely, Duke University, USA

Paper #4: From Garbage to Gift: 'Social' Recycling Promotes Happiness

Grant E. Donnelly, Harvard Business School, USA

Cait Poynor Lamberton, University of Pittsburg, USA

Rebecca Walker Reczek, The Ohio State University, USA

Michael I. Norton, Harvard Business School, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

The objective of this session is to bring together research that contributes to better understanding and addressing important social problems. In keeping with the conference theme "Advancing Connections," the four papers in this session not only advance our theoretical understanding of consumer behavior, but also generate practical and policy implications, each aimed at increasing consumer welfare:

Sugary consumption is a major contributor to the societal problem of obesity. Therefore, some have argued for a restriction on the size of sugary beverages. In the first paper, John and Roberto examine the consequences of a possible firm response to a portion size cap: bundling products in order to continue to offer larger sizes. The authors conducted an incentive compatible experiment and found that bundling soda beverages (2 x 12 oz instead of 24 oz) caused people to order *fewer* ounces of soda, in line with the goals of proposed policy.

In the second paper, Robitaille, Mazar and Tsai focus on the problem that the vast majority of individuals support organ donation yet many do not take action and register. The authors tested interventions aimed at increasing organ donation rates in a large-scale randomized control trial. These interventions aimed at counteracting psychological barriers that could discourage individuals from registering. The authors found that 1) providing information to satisfy the due diligence heuristic, 2) promoting cognitive perspective taking and 3) promoting first-person emotional perspective taking to induce a sense of social responsibility, each significantly increased actual donor registrations.

While the first two papers show that interventions improve behavior while in place, less is known about extended effects, once interventions end. In the third paper, Mochon and colleagues examined the extended effects of a behavioral health intervention with a voluntary 6-month commitment contract. The authors found persistence of

the positive behavioral change, no negative substitution effects and no effects on customer loyalty once the intervention was removed. These findings support the notion that incentives can drive long-term change, and therefore be valuable tools for improving health.

In the fourth paper, Donnelly and colleagues examine an untapped source of consumer happiness, their disposal choices. They focus on 'social recycling' (disposing still useful items to be reused by others). Across four studies, they found that social recycling resulted in increased positive and reduced negative emotions. Moreover, social recycling encouraged people to reduce product retention (which may help alleviate hoarding), and significantly reduced the number of items placed into trash and recycling, which is important because the average American generates 4.5 pounds of trash daily.

Together, these papers highlight the impact of simple behavioral interventions and their positive influences on both individual and societal wellbeing. At the same time, from an applied perspective, they raise the questions when such interventions may and may not be ethically justified, and how they may be used to empower people to be able to regulate their own conduct rather than enforcing specific behaviors.

This session should facilitate connections among consumers, academics, practitioners, and public-policy makers alike – consumer research for the greater good.

Setting the Record Straight on Sugary Drink Portion Cap Policies

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We test the effect of portion size caps on people's propensity to buy sugary drinks. This intervention stems from the behavioral economic notion of constructed preferences – that people have difficulty knowing what they want, and therefore turn to contextual cues to try to resolve this uncertainty. In food consumption, this translates into "mindless eating" – instead of relying on their bodies to tell them when they're full, people rely on contextual cues, such as an empty plate, to tell them that they are full. Consistent with this perspective, Brian Wansink and colleagues have conducted a series of ingenious experiments in which, for example, people eat fewer chicken wings when the remnants of the eaten wings (i.e. bones) are left on the table, as opposed to when they are continually cleared away. The bones serve as a cue reminding people of how much they've eaten, in turn curbing consumption. Therefore, we thought that reducing the portion size of soda may serve to reduce consumption, while at the same time preserving individual choice – people are free to order as many sodas as desired.

Although there is reason to suspect a soda cap policy to reduce consumption, this intervention has been met with considerable public and political resistance. In 2012, the New York City Board of Health prohibited restaurants from selling sugary drinks (i.e. soda and juice) over 16 ounces. However the policy was never implemented because it was overturned by city council. Contributing to the opposition has been an influential piece of research concluding that limiting sugary drink sizes will have adverse unintended consequences (Wilson, Fantino, & Fantino, *PLoS One*, 2013). Specifically, these researchers argued that in response to such a policy, firms will start to offer bundles. For example, banned from offering a large-sized 24 ounce soda, the authors contend, firms would offer the large size as 2x12

ounce sodas. Moreover, the authors argue that framing a 24 ounce soda as 2x12 ounce sodas will *increase* consumption.

However, the study design did not resemble the way in which this policy would *actually* be implemented, and thus, the authors' conclusions are unwarranted. Specifically, the study was hypothetical, underpowered, and conducted online. Thus participants did not actually order drinks and hence, consumption was not measured. It would seem that giving participants the opportunity to actually buy drinks would be a minimal design requirement to test the effect of soda cap policies. Given that sugary consumption is a major contributor to the societal problem of obesity, assessing the true effect of this possible firm response is of critical importance.

We therefore conducted a large-scale, well-powered experiment in which we assessed the effect of soda caps on people's propensity to order and consume soda. We also tested whether the effect of soda caps might depend on the type of restaurant: whether it is self-serve or full service. One could imagine that bundling might be particularly effective at curbing consumption in a self-serve context, for it capitalizes on the embarrassment and inconvenience people face in having to carry two sodas to their table. The study was therefore a 2x2 between-subjects design in which we manipulated bundling (single unit vs. bundled) and service style (self-serve vs. served).

Participants ($N=297$) were endowed with forty cents, which they could use to buy sugary drinks. All participants had the choice of purchasing either nothing (in which case they could keep all 40 cents), a medium (16 ounce) drink for 20 cents, or a large (24 ounce) drink for 30 cents. To encourage drink buying, we kept prices low and offered a choice between two different (sugary) drinks: iced tea or lemonade. In the single unit condition, the choice was simply between one 16 ounce cup or one 24 ounce cup. In the bundled condition, the large option was presented as two 12 ounce cups. Thus in the bundled condition, the medium size was presented as one 16 ounce cup, whereas the large size was presented as 2x12 ounce cups. In the served condition, the soda was delivered directly to the participant's table; this condition mimicked a sit-down restaurant in which sodas are delivered to patrons by waiters. In the self-serve condition, participants had to walk over to a booth to pick up their order. Critically, at the time of making their purchase decision, participants were aware that they would either be served the soda (served condition) or would have to personally pick up the soda (self-serve condition).

Results indicated that regardless of service style, bundling caused people to order fewer ounces of soda: In the single unit condition, approximately 45% of participants ordered the large size, compared to only 20% of participants in the bundled condition ($p=.03$). There was no effect of service style, nor did service style interact with bundling. In ongoing research, we are testing other possible firm responses that could substantively impact the effectiveness of soda size cap policies; for example, offering free refills.

Nudging to Increase Organ and Tissue Donor Registrations

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

On average, 18 people in the United States die every day waiting for an organ transplant because of a growing shortage of donated organs (organdonor.gov 2014). Over 100,000 individuals are currently on the transplant waiting list and the gap between those needing transplants and those receiving them continues to widen. While the vast majority of individuals acknowledge the urgent need for more organ and tissue donors and support organ and tissue donation, it is puzzling that many of them do not take action and register.

Behavioral scientists have started to investigate the shortage of registered organ donors and explore ways to encourage individuals to register their consent. For example, Johnson and Goldstein (2003) demonstrated that countries with a presumed-consent default – individuals are automatically registered as donors unless they explicitly opt-out – have, on average, 60% more of the population registered as donors compared to countries with an explicit-consent default – individuals are not registered as donors unless they explicitly register their consent. The takeaway of this research is that one way to address the low number of registered donors may be to change the organ donation policy default from an explicit-consent system to a presumed-consent system. In spite of the positive evidence for the presumed-consent default, ethical concerns have been raised with this approach. Further, recent empirical evidence showed that changing the default may be ineffective at increasing registrations (Ammann 2010). Therefore it is important to identify potential psychological barriers to donor registration in explicit-consent systems and develop corresponding countering interventions to increase the number of registrations in these systems.

The aim of this research is to apply theories from behavioral science to develop interventions to nudge individuals into action and increase organ donor registration rates in the field. By carefully examining the registration processes in explicit-consent systems and drawing on the literature from behavioral sciences we propose that there are at least three psychological barriers that are inherent in explicit-consent systems that are hard for people to overcome and that contribute to the low sign-up rates. These psychological barriers include hassle cost – the hassle of actually registering one's consent (e.g., Bettinger, et al. 2012; Bertrand et al. 2006), the due diligence heuristic – individuals may feel they have not put in adequate effort to make an informed decision (Tsai and McGill 2011; Schrift et al. 2011; Sela and Berger 2012), and low sense of social responsibility (Slovic 2007; Wallach et al. 1964). We propose that these psychological barriers are likely operating together, contributing to low sign-up rates. Therefore, we designed and tested a number of interventions in order to overcome these barriers, and in turn increase the number of registered donors.

We conducted a large-scale ($N = 10,043$) randomized controlled trial on organ and tissue donor registrations in order to test the effectiveness of our behavioral interventions, each aimed at counteracting a psychological barrier that could discourage individuals from registering. Our field experiment was conducted in collaboration and consultation with several participating government agencies and departments within one North American jurisdiction. The experiment itself was conducted at one of their service center locations. During the experiment, we measured the daily number of new donor registrations at this location over an eight-week period.

The experiment had nine conditions in total: two control conditions (one pre-experiment and one post-experiment), two acclimation conditions that served to expose the staff to our new forms and process as well as examine the effect of giving the staff specific instructions, and five focal treatment conditions designed to establish the most effective interventions to increase organ and tissue donor registration rates. These interventions sought to reduce the hassle cost (through simplifying the registration form; treatment condition 1), increase feelings of due diligence (through handing out a brochure; treatment condition 2), and induce a sense of social responsibility (through using nudge statements that prompted emotional and/or cognitive perspective taking; treatment conditions 3-5). All interventions were accompanied with more time for the individuals to think about the donation.

In order to examine the effect of condition on an individual's likelihood of registering as an organ and tissue donor, we employed a logistic regression analysis with each of the conditions and business days dummy-coded, and fixed-effects for the customer service representatives. The dependent variable was whether or not an individual registered as an organ and tissue donor. To test the effectiveness of our interventions, we examined the odds ratios of individuals registering as organ and tissue donors in each of our five focal treatment conditions and compared them to the pre-experiment control condition, with a donor registration rate of 3.04%.

We find that three of the five focal treatment conditions significantly increased the likelihood of an individual registering as an organ and tissue donor (overall model: χ^2 (DF=13) = 106.89, $p < .001$): handing out a brochure, handing out the registration form with a cognitive perspective taking nudge statement that has been successfully used online in the UK (Behavioral Insights Team 2013) and handing out the registration form with a first-person emotional perspective taking nudge statement. Individuals' odds of registering as organ and tissue donors were more than two times higher when visiting the service center during these three treatment conditions than during the pre-experiment control condition.

Together these findings contribute to our understanding of how to motivate individuals to act for the greater good. In our field experiment, we significantly increased registrations by: 1) providing more information to satisfy the due diligence heuristic, 2) promoting cognitive perspective taking and 3) promoting first-person emotional perspective taking. Each of these interventions more than doubled an individual's likelihood of registering. In addition, our paper demonstrates the power of relatively costless nudges, grounded in behavioral science research, and their profound influence on behaviors significant to economic and individual wellbeing.

Gain without Pain: The Extended Effects of a Behavioral Health Intervention

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Financial incentive programs are increasingly employed to improve people's health (Gneezy, Meier, and Rey-Biel 2011). While research shows that many incentive-based interventions can effectively improve a specific health behavior while in place, less is known about the extended effects for both the participants and the host firms once the intervention ends. These effects are essential to understand from both a theoretical and policy perspective because an intervention that has positive effects on a targeted behavior during the intervention, but leads to negative consequences once the program ends, or shows negative substitution effects in other domains, may not be a sustainable marketplace product.

This research begins to address this question by examining the extended effects of a behavioral health intervention: a voluntary 6-month commitment contract that significantly improved the health of grocery purchases (Schwartz et al. 2014). Member households who were already receiving a 25% discount on healthy food grocery purchases, put that discount on the line by precommitting to a 5-percentage-point increase above their household healthy food baseline. Those who met the goal kept their discount, those who did not forfeited it.

Since this precommitment intervention was run within the context of an overall health rewards program, we were able to examine the commitment device's impact beyond the specific time period and targeted behavior (nutrition). Specifically, we examined whether the effect persisted once the penalty was removed, whether the program lead to substitution effects while the incentives were in place (i.e.,

healthier nutrition behavior leads to less exercise) and, finally, the impact of the intervention on the overall relationship between the customers and the firm running it.

Persistence effects: For the committed households we specifically tested whether the intervention led to habit formation (Charness and Gneezy 2009) or whether the penalty associated with the precommitment led to crowding out effects whereby less healthy purchases re-emerged once the penalty was removed (Benabou and Tirole 2003; Lepper, Greene, and Nisbett 1973). Consistent with the habit formation prediction, the committed group continued to make healthier grocery purchases during the 6-months post-intervention ($\beta = 2.84$, $SE = .95$, $p < .01$). This persistence effect was strongest for the most loyal customers, as well as for participants who had the most money to lose during the commitment period. This result demonstrates that incentives can be catalysts to long term change, and therefore be valuable tools for improving health.

Substitution effects: One concern with health interventions targeting a specific behavior, is that they may lead to negative substitution effects in other domains, either because exerting self-control is depleting (Baumeister et al. 1998) or because of licensing effects (Khan and Dhar 2006). We tested for substitution effects by examining all logged exercise activity (e.g. going to the gym) during the precommitment period. In other words, we tested whether eating healthier food lead consumers to exercise less. Our results show no evidence of substitution effects. Committed households exercised slightly more (though not significantly more) than the control group ($\beta = .07$, $SE = .05$, *n.s.*). Interestingly, we found a significant positive effect on exercise when examining participants who had the most money on the line during the commitment period, ($\beta = .23$, $SE = .07$, $p < .01$). These are important findings since data limitations have prevented previous research from examining this important question about substitution effects. Our results further reinforce the value of incentives as a tool for improving health, by suggesting that they do not lead to negative consequences in other domains, and may even lead to positive spillovers for at least a subset of the population.

Loyalty effects: While penalty-only commitment contracts may improve targeted health behaviors, this may come at the cost of customer loyalty and thus make it difficult for private firms to offer such programs. We test the effect of the intervention on customer loyalty by examining involvement with the health rewards program during the year after the commitment contract ended. We do this by testing the participants' change in status level in the program relative to the prior year. Positive numbers indicate higher status, and therefore a better relationship with the firm. Our result show that committed households showed a positive (though non-significant) change in status during the year after the intervention ended ($\beta = .07$, $SE = .12$, *n.s.*). This is an important finding since most committed households forfeited their discount at least once, which could have translated into negative firm reactions. Consistent with this finding, the results of a follow-up survey suggests that committed households did not blame the firm for failures. Indeed, 68% assigned more blame to themselves than to the firm for failing to meet the precommitment goal (only 15% assigned more blame to the firm). This suggests that consumers took responsibility for their own actions, and consequently for their own failures, which mitigated any negative feelings towards the firm. Interestingly, when asked whether they would be willing to participate if the precommitment was offered again, a full 66% said that they would put their discount on the line as a means of improving self-control while grocery shopping.

From Garbage to Gift: 'Social' Recycling Promotes Happiness

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Researchers are becoming adept at identifying ways to extract maximal happiness from the consumption process. For example, research has demonstrated that acquiring experiences make us happier than acquiring goods (Goodman, Nicolao & Irwin, 2009), and that spending money on others can yield greater happiness than spending money on oneself (Dunn, Aknin & Norton, 2008). While important, such work focuses primarily on acquisition and consumption.

In the present research, we argue that disposal choices represent an untapped source of consumer happiness. As such, we focus on social recycling, a relatively new form of 'recycling' one's possessions to others, which happens when consumers allow used goods to be acquired by an unspecified other.

As a first study, participants ($N = 279$) were given a list of 20 household items (i.e., a coffee mug) to sort into different boxes that represented disposal options. Participants were randomly assigned to a: (a) trash and recycling bin, (b) trash, recycling, and social recycling bin, or (c) trash and social recycling bin. The social recycling bin was described as a bin to 'place things you no longer want, but others might. All items placed into this box will be taken to the street on trash day, and made available to your neighbors. All untaken items will be removed.' This design allowed us to test the potential benefit of a social recycling bin, and to see if differences exist because of a third disposal option. Following the sorting task, participants reported their affective state, and impressions of how their disposal decisions impacted the environment and other people.

The presence of a social recycling bin significantly reduced the number of items placed in the trash ($p < .001$), and recycling ($p < .001$) bins, increased positive affect ($p = .08$), reduced negative affect ($p < .001$), increased feelings of helping the environment ($p < .001$), and others ($p < .001$) regardless of the number of disposal options. Perceptions of helping mediated the relation between social recycling and positive affective benefits.

Given that perceptions of helping others influenced positive affect, we ran a second study ($N = 298$) to evaluate the significance of the recipients of socially recycled items. We followed the same design as Study 1, however all participants sorted items into: (a) a trash bin, (b) a recycling bin or (c) a social recycling bin. We manipulated the recipients of the socially recycled items. Participants learned that socially recycled items would be made available to a family making an annual income of either (a) \$20,000, (b) \$40,000 or (c) \$100,000. The average income of our participants was \$32,634.12 ($SD = \$25,820.58$), so these income categories represented populations that made less, about the same or significantly more than our sample. While sorting decisions were no different based on the recipients, affective states were influenced. Individuals whose items went to a family making \$20,000 reported significantly more positive affect than those whose items went to a family making \$100,000 ($p = .02$). While there were no differences in perception of helping the environment, participants who gave to families making \$20,000 or \$40,000 reported higher feelings of helping others. Again, perceptions of helping others significantly mediated the social recycling and positive affect relation.

In our third study ($N = 222$), we investigate the differences between social recycling and donations. We hypothesized that social recycling is a more convenient form of donating, leading to less retention and trashing of items, and more prosocial exchange. In this study, participants listed ten possessions they no longer wanted, but other people may want or benefit from. Participants assigned to the

donation condition were asked to sort each item into (a) trash, (b) keep it, or (c) take it to the nearest donation center. Those in the social recycling condition were asked to sort each item into (a) trash, (b) keep it, or (c) social recycling bin. Like our other studies, participants then reported their affective states and their perceptions of helping others and the environment.

As hypothesized, social recycling was deemed much more convenient relative to taking items to a donation center ($p < .001$), and resulted in fewer items placed into the trash ($p < .001$), fewer items kept ($p = .003$), and more items prosocially disposed of ($p < .001$). Social recyclers also reported greater positive affect ($p = .05$), less negative affect ($p = .006$), and higher perceptions of helping the environment ($p < .001$), but no differences in helping others ($p = .60$).

In a fourth study ($N = 182$) participants sorted *real* items that would actually be trashed, recycled or made available to others. Participants came to a university laboratory and were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: (a) trash and recycling, (b) trash, recycle and social recycle, or (c) a taker of a socially recycled item. Takers did not sort; they only took items that had been socially recycled by others. When arriving to our lab, participants rated how happy they felt on a 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much) scale. They then were asked to sort 18 items placed on their desk into the available bins. Participants in the social recycling condition then took items placed in the social bin to a 'share shelf' which made the items available to participants assigned as 'takers'. Sorters then rated their current happiness after this task, while takers took an item and then reported their happiness.

Participants in the social recycling condition sorted fewer items into the trash ($p < .001$) and recycling ($p < .001$) bins. While there were no significant differences in happiness between conditions at time 1 ($p = .23$), at time 2 social recyclers were significantly happier ($p = .003$). Traditional disposers and takers did not experience any differences in happiness from time 1 to time 2 ($p = .35$).

Across four studies, we find support for our hypothesis that social recycling can boost consumer happiness, likely because of increased feelings of helping.

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A Holistic View of Consumer-Brand Connections

Chairs: Maria A. Rodas, University of Minnesota, USA

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Paper #1: The Self-Expanding Process of Falling in Love with a Brand

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Paper #2: Salient Cultural Identities and Consumer Relationships with Culturally Symbolic Brands

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Rohini Ahluwalia, University of Minnesota, USA

Maria A. Rodas, University of Minnesota, USA

Paper #3: When Strong Self-Brand Connections Don't Protect Brands: Achievement Mindsets and Brand Dilution

Efe Camurdan, Koç University, Turkey

Zeynep Gurhan-Canli, Koç University, Turkey

Alokparna Basu Monga, Rutgers University, USA

Paper #4: The Brand Company You Keep: When People Judge You by the Brands You Use

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SESSION OVERVIEW

The study of consumer-brand relationships has been a central focus of research in the recent past (Fournier 1998; Escalas & Bettman 2003; Batra, Ahuvia, and Bagozzi 2011). Aligning with the conference's theme of "Advancing Connections," this session provides a holistic view of consumer-brand connections by exploring different antecedents of these connections as well as their downstream consequences. The papers in this session explore motivational-emotional, as well as collective, processes underlying the formation of consumer-brand connections, as well as some of the consequences of such connections for consumers' views of the brand (i.e., their response to negative brand information) and others (i.e., attributions based on the connections other people form with brands). Collectively, the papers here provide a broader framework to understand the antecedents and consequences of consumer-brand connections.

Rodas and Torelli explore the motivational-emotional process of falling in love with a brand by applying the self-expansion model (Aron et al., 2013) to consumer-brand relationships. This model suggests that novel and exciting activities, as well as direct acquisition of resources, can trigger self-expansion, which in turn can result in positive feelings or love for the brand. The authors demonstrate that consumption experiences that are novel and exciting, or that provide direct resources to consumers (in terms of information) result in greater love for the brand, and this effect is mediated by feelings of self-expansion.

Torelli and colleagues focus on the role of self-relevant collective identities in shaping self-brand connections. They find that a brand's cultural symbolism impacts the strength of the consumer-brand relationship. Stronger bonds with culturally symbolic brands are more likely to emerge when cultural identities are chronically or temporarily salient, as a result of identity salience heightening the valuation of culturally symbolic brands.

Camurdan and colleagues investigate how self-brand connections interact with consumers' mindsets to impact their evaluations of brands under the presence of negative brand information. Findings from two studies show that consumers in a mastery mindset tend to

find negative brand information more diagnostic and hence become more susceptible to brand dilution when they have a strong self-brand connection, whereas consumers in a performance mindset tend to find negative brand information more diagnostic when they have a weak self-brand connection.

Finally, Park and John study how consumer-brand connections impact people's views of other consumers. The authors examine how brand signals are perceived by others. They find that not all consumers perceive brand signals in the same way. Only entity (not incremental) theorists appear to form judgments about other people based on the brands they use. Furthermore, this process is mediated by their perception of brands as diagnostic information when judging others.

In keeping with the theme of the conference ("Advancing Connections"), the papers in this special session build connections across the growing field of consumer-brand connections to provide a holistic view of its antecedents and consequences. The papers in this session should appeal specially to scholars interested in branding, brand signals, negative publicity, as well as generally to those interested in the psychological processes underlying self-brand relationships.

The Self-Expanding Process of Falling in Love with a Brand

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Brand love, a construct that assesses consumers' passionate emotional attachment to particular brands, has experienced a surge in research in the recent past (Batra et al., 2012). The focus has been on conceptualizing and measuring the construct and on exploring the downstream consequences of brand love, such as WOM, loyalty, and protection against brand failures (e.g., Carrol and Ahuvia, 2006). However, there is little research that explores the underlying process of falling in love with a given brand. There are potentially several ways in which consumers fall in love with brands (e.g., finding a match between what the brand signals to others and what consumers want to signal), but our research explores a novel antecedent of brand love, namely that feelings of self-expansion can result in love for a brand.

According to the self-expansion model (Aron et al., 2013), people have a fundamental motive to expand their selves and one way of achieving this is by forming close relationships in which each includes the other in the self. Self-expansion can occur by directly acquiring resources from the other person (e.g., through sharing and learning from each other), or by sharing novel and challenging experiences, which is arousing and thus provides a sense of expansion. As such, the self-expansion model posits that when a potential relationship partner is associated with arousal or new resources (material, cognitive or psychological), the partner is viewed more positively, or loved more, because of this link to self-expansion.

There is initial psychological and neurophysiological evidence that the self-expansion model can be applied to self-brand relationships (Reimann et al., 2012). However, this research focuses on already established relationships with brands and their impact on emotional arousal, without addressing the questions of how the love towards the brand emerged and whether the link between brand love

and arousal is bidirectional. To address these questions, we propose and find evidence that arousal (in the form of exciting and novel activities) can lead to falling in love with a brand (study 1) and that this process is mediated by self-expansion (study 3). Furthermore, we find evidence that another path to self-expansion, namely the direct acquisition of resources (in the form of information), also leads to brand love (study 2).

In order to explore whether engaging with a brand in a novel/challenging way leads to higher levels of brand love, 165 U.S. participants reviewed information about an ostensible new brand of athletic shoes, *FastForm*. They were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. In the 'exciting' condition, they wrote a positive review about an imaginary exciting experience while wearing the athletic shoes; whereas in the 'control' condition they wrote about a pleasant experience. After this, they all rated their love for the brand (Carroll & Ahuvia, 2006). As predicted, writing about having an imaginary exciting/novel experience with the brand resulted in greater love towards the brand than writing about an imaginary pleasant experience ($M=4.88$ and $M=4.31$, respectively, $p<.005$).

Study 2 was designed to explore the extent to which directly acquiring resources from a brand (another proposed process of self-expansion) results in higher brand love. To do so, 63 U.S. participants rated an ostensible new campaign by an unfamiliar brand (*Ten Acre*, a relatively new brand of potato chips in the U.K.). The campaign consisted in printing fun facts inside the chips' bags. Past research has shown that reading more (vs. less) novel, exciting and interesting facts leads to self-expansion (Mattingly & Lewandowski, 2013). Based on this notion, participants were randomly assigned to either a 'novel' condition presenting novel/exciting facts (e.g., "butterflies taste with their feet"), or to a 'control' condition including similar, but less novel facts (e.g., "butterflies begin life as a caterpillar"). After this, they indicated their love for the brand. Results showed that including more (vs. less) novel and exciting facts led to higher levels of brand love ($M=4.17$ and 3.72 respectively, $F(1, 60) = 3.631$, $p<.05$). This effect emerged even after controlling for brand familiarity.

In study 3, we assessed directly the extent to which feelings of self-expansion mediate the past effects. 166 U.S. participants were asked to directly interact with the brand. Under the cover story of studying the effects of multitasking on people's judgments, we asked the participants to review an unfamiliar brand (*The Fruit Factory*, a brand of fruit gummies in the U.K.) while using their motor skills. In the 'control' condition, participants spent 90 seconds reading about the brand while eating as many gummies as they wished out of a cup. In the 'novel/exciting' condition, participants did the same, except that they ate the gummies using easy chopsticks. After this, participants indicated their love for the brand. A one-way ANOVA with condition as a fixed factor revealed significant differences between the control and novel conditions ($M=3.63$ and $M=4.08$, respectively, $p\leq.05$). Additionally, we counted the gummies left in the cup as a behavioral measure of enjoyment (i.e., less gummies left=more enjoyment) and there were also significant differences between the control and novel conditions ($M=14.30$ and $M=11.12$, respectively, $p<.05$). To measure self-expansion, at the end of the session, participants were asked to draw two circles on a sheet of paper: one representing them and one representing their current context. We used the ratio of the diameter of the 'self' circle divided by that of the 'context' circle as a measure of self-expansion—a greater ratio means a more expanded self. Results of a mediation analysis suggested that greater self-expansion mediated participants' higher levels of love towards the brand in the novel (vs. control) condition (mediated effect = .207, SE = .105, 95% CI = .04 to .46).

This research contributes to the emerging literature of self-expansion in consumer-brand relationships by providing evidence that interacting with a brand in an exciting and/or novel way or directly acquiring resources from it can result in brand love, and that this process is mediated by self-expansion. Furthermore, and more importantly, this work sheds light onto the process of falling in love with a brand.

Salient Cultural Identities and Consumer Relationships with Culturally Symbolic Brands

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Brands are used by consumers to signal self-relevant characteristics (Levy 1959). Thus people tend to prefer and connect with those brands that match their self-relevant personalities and values (Aaker 1999; Torelli et al. 2012). Although the impact of personal traits and characteristics on brand attitudes is well established, relatively less is known about the role of self-relevant collective identities in shaping self-brand connections. This research attempts to fill this gap by identifying the role that a brand's cultural symbolism plays in the long-term bonds that consumers establish with brands.

Consumers don't always act according to culturally-prescribed norms, and the effects of culture on persuasion are often only evident when consumers engage in little deliberation (Briley and Aaker 2006). However, consumers who are reminded of their cultural identity tend to think and behave in identity-consistent ways (Oyserman 2009). This explains why making a consumer's social identity salient can result in more favorable evaluations of hypothetical products that are promoted in identity-relevant terms (e.g., Reed 2004). Because acting according to cultural mindsets seems to be highly context-dependent, it is still an open question whether cultural identities shape the long-term relationships that consumers establish with brands. We propose that because chronic identification with a cultural identity should increase the likelihood that the identity is salient when evaluating a brand, highly identified consumers should exhibit more favorable attitudes toward brands that symbolize a valued cultural group (i.e., culturally symbolic brands). Over time, this should lead highly identified consumers (more so than those low in group identification) to establish stronger bonds with culturally symbolic brands. Four studies with participants from different cultural groups were conducted to test these hypotheses.

Study 1 tested the basic prediction that consumers high (vs. low) in their identification with a cultural group exhibit more favorable attitudes toward brands high in cultural symbolism (CS) for the group. Male and female participants in the U.S. and China ($N_{U.S. Males} = 56$, $N_{U.S. Females} = 50$, and $N_{Chinese Females} = 51$) evaluated two pairs of brands (from pretests) chosen to be either high or low in CS for the group (*Budweiser* and *Harley-Davidson* [high-CS] and *Jansport* and *American Express* [low-CS] for American men; *Special K* and *Aveda* [high-CS] and *Jansport* and *American Express* [low-CS] for American women; *Gege Qipao* and *Yuesai* [high-CS] and *Swatch* and *Jeanswest* [low-CS] for Chinese women). After completing some filler tasks, participants also rated their identification with their corresponding cultural group (i.e., Bem Sex Role Inventory for American men and women, Bem 1974; or the Chinese Sex-Role Inventory for Chinese women, Zhang et al. 2001). Fitting a multi-level linear model to the brand evaluations data (evaluations for the two types of brands are nested within participants, which in turn are nested within each cultural group) showed that, for all cultural groups, individuals having high (vs. low) identification with the group exhibited more favorable evaluations of brands that are high in symbolism of abstract group characteristics. In contrast, evaluation

of brands low in cultural symbolism is unrelated with cultural group identification ($p > .16$).

Salience of a cultural identity can occur spontaneously due to a chronic tendency to view the self in terms of the cultural identity (i.e., strong cultural identification), or can be triggered by contextual cues (Forehand, Deshpandé, and Reed 2002; Torelli 2013). Studies 2a and 2b were designed to assess the extent to which favorable responses to brands high (vs. low) in cultural symbolism are indeed driven by the salience of cultural group identity. Minnesotan participants read an article aimed at making the Minnesotan identity salient or completed a neutral task. After this, participants in study 2a were informed about a promotional activity that consisted in paying college students to carry a brand logo on their backpacks. Half of the participants were told that the brand involved in the activity was “Target” (Minnesota-symbolic brand), whereas the other half were told it was “Dasani” (Minnesota-neutral brand). Participants indicated the amount in dollars that they would require as a payment to participate in this promotional activity. For Study 2b, participants were presented with an actual set of poker chips with the “Target” logo stamped on each chip and indicated the dollar amount that they would be willing to pay for it. Results showed that when the Minnesotan identity was made salient, participants were willing to receive *less* money for promoting a Minnesota-symbolic brand (“Target”), and also to pay *more* money for a product that carried the brand’s logo, as compared to participants in the baseline condition. No such effect emerged when the brand was low in association with the salient identity (“Dasani”).

Finally, study 3 assessed directly the long-term relationships that consumers establish with brands that vary in their cultural symbolism as a function of their cultural group identification. A sample of 320 American and Chinese participants were prompted to spontaneously elicit their favorite brand and assessed the extent to which they were likely to elicit a brand that was high (vs. low) in cultural symbolism. We also assessed the extent to which their perceptions of self-brand connections (SBC) were influenced by the congruity between their own chronically salient cultural identity and that of the brand. Identity salience was measured via identification with their cultural group for two different samples (American and Chinese). Results showed that participants with a chronically salient cultural identity (i.e., those highly identified with their cultural group): (a) were more likely to spontaneously list a brand that was strongly associated with their salient cultural identity schema; and (b) reported a higher level of SBC for brands high in CS. No such relationships emerged for participants low in identification with the cultural identity.

Results from this research demonstrate that a brand’s cultural symbolism impact the strength of the consumer-brand relationship. Stronger bonds with culturally symbolic brands are more likely to emerge when cultural identities are chronically or temporarily salient. This occurs because identity salience heightens the valuation of culturally symbolic brands.

When Strong Self-Brand Connections Don’t Protect Brands: Achievement Mindsets and Brand Dilution

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Instances of the spread of negative information about brands are becoming increasingly common (Monga & John, 2008), especially now that social media facilitates the share of unfavorable brand experiences. One of the main reasons why consumers are attentive to negative brand information, and hence become more susceptible to brand dilution, is because they tend to perceive negative brand

information as more diagnostic (Ahluwalia & Gurhan-Canli, 2000). Having a strong connection to a brand protects the brand against negative information. This research expands past theorizing by focusing on achievement goal theory. We demonstrate that consumers’ differential views of competence that can be salient in a branding context alter the diagnosticity of negative information, and hence affect consumers’ susceptibility to brand dilution. Furthermore, we demonstrate this effect even under the influence of a strong self-brand connection.

According to achievement goal theory, there are two different ways in which individuals interpret competence: mastery and performance. While some individuals focus on competence with the aim of outperforming themselves (mastery mindset), others focus on competence with the aim of outperforming others (performance mindset) (Elliot, McGregor, & Gable, 1999). Thus, there are differences in how individuals in each mindset perceive negative feedback. Individuals in a mastery mindset welcome negative feedback, as it hints diagnostic cues about possible ways for improvement (Dweck & Leggett, 1988, Cron et al., 2005). In contrast, individuals in a performance mindset emphasize normative performance, thus perceiving negative feedback as a threat to one’s perceived ability and worth (Cron et al., 2005).

Prior literature suggests that, when consumers integrate a brand into their own self-concept, there is a strong link between how individuals view information about themselves and how they view information about the brand (Escalas & Bettman, 2003). According to Cheng, White and Chaplin (2012), when consumers strongly connected to a brand encounter negative information about the brand, they react to it as they would respond to negative information about themselves. We propose, and find evidence across two studies, that when consumers have high self-brand connections, those in a mastery (vs. a performance) mindset tend to find negative brand information more diagnostic and hence become more susceptible to brand dilution. In contrast, when consumers have low self-brand connections, those in a performance (vs. a mastery) mindsets tend to find negative brand information more diagnostic and hence become more susceptible to brand dilution.

Study 1 was designed to explore how people in different achievement mindsets perceive the diagnosticity of negative brand information, as well as to assess the extent to which self-brand connection moderates these perceptions. To do so, achievement mindset was manipulated by asking participants to recall a time in their lives in which they tried to outperform themselves (for mastery mindset) or others (for performance mindset). Then, participants read a fictitious newspaper article stating that the industry experts and some selected consumers already had a chance to evaluate a Google product and the reviews came in highly negative. Afterwards, participants were asked to assess the diagnosticity of the newspaper article (how useful/relevant was the newspaper article; Ahluwalia, 2002) and rated Google in terms of self-brand connection. Using Preacher and Hayes’s (2013) method of calculating standard errors and 95% confidence intervals of the effect of self-brand connection on achievement mindset, the results suggest a significant achievement mindset x self-brand connection interaction ($\beta = -.48$, $t = -2.80$, $p < .01$). We used Johnson-Neyman technique to decompose this interaction and we found that when self-brand connection is high, consumers in a mastery (vs. a performance) mindset are more likely to find negative information to be diagnostic. In contrast, when self-brand connection is low, consumers in a performance (vs. a mastery) mindset are more likely to find negative brand information to be diagnostic.

In study 2, we used a different brand (Sony) to further explore people's susceptibility to brand dilution under different achievement mindsets, as well as to assess the extent to which diagnosticity of information mediates the interactive effect of self-brand connection and consumer mindset on susceptibility to brand dilution. We measured participants' evaluations of the Sony brand. Next, participants read a fictitious newspaper article with negative information on the Sony brand (adapted from Monga & John, 2008). Afterwards, participants rated Sony using the same items as before, assessed the diagnosticity of the newspaper article and completed the self-brand connection scale. We subtracted the post-exposure mean of brand evaluation index from pre-exposure mean of brand evaluation index to create the brand dilution measure. Using Preacher and Hayes's (2013) method of calculating standard errors and 95% confidence intervals, we found a significant achievement mindset x self-brand connection interaction ($\beta = -.32$, $t = -2.76$, $p < .01$). Johnson-Neyman analysis showed that when self-brand connection is high, consumers in a mastery mindset are more susceptible to brand dilution than consumers in a performance mindset. In contrast, when self-brand connection is low, consumers in a performance mindset are more susceptible to brand dilution than consumers in a mastery mindset. To examine whether information diagnosticity mediated the effect of achievement mindset and self-brand connection interaction on brand dilution, we used Preacher and Hayes's moderated mediation model. The index of moderated mediation was significant ($\beta = -.08$, $CI = -.214$ to $-.016$) suggesting that information diagnosticity is mediating the effect of achievement mindset on brand dilution when self-brand connection is taken into account.

Our findings contribute to theory in several different ways. First of all, we extend the brand dilution literature by demonstrating achievement mindsets' differential effect on brand dilution. Second, to our knowledge, this research is the first one to examine achievement mindsets in a marketing context. Third, we extend the literature on self-brand connection by demonstrating that strong self-brand relationships do not always protect the brand from negative information. Lastly, this research contributes to the achievement goal theory by demonstrating that when individuals in mastery/performance mindsets see the target of the information as an extension of their selves, they treat negative information in the same way they treat negative personal feedback.

The Brand Company You Keep: When People Judge You by the Brands You Use

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

One of the most pervasive findings in the branding literature is the existence of strong connections between consumers and the brands they use. Consumers use brands to express themselves, communicate who they are to other people, and signify membership in a group. A common theme of much of this work is that consumers use brands to signal aspects of themselves—such as their personalities, interests, and status—to other people.

Surprisingly, there has been little research on whether these brand signals are received as intended. For example, if I wear a Rolex watch, will other people view me as successful? If I own a Mercedes, will other people perceive me as sophisticated?

In this paper, we examine how brand signals are perceived by others. We focus our efforts on the following question: Do all consumers perceive brand signals the same way—or, are some types of consumers more likely to use a brand signal to draw inferences about a brand user? We predict that there are individual

differences in consumers' propensity to use brand signals, and draw upon research on implicit self-theories as a starting point. Implicit self-theories are lay beliefs regarding the malleability of personal qualities. Two types of implicit self-theories have been identified: incremental and entity theory (Dweck 2000). Individuals who endorse *entity theory* ("entity theorists") view personal qualities and abilities as fixed, whereas as individual who endorse incremental theory ("incremental theorists") view personal qualities and abilities as malleable.

We reason that individuals who are entity theorists are more likely to use brand signals to make inferences about a brand user. Because they believe that everyone's traits are fixed, and that one's behavior is indicative of those traits, entity theorists make judgments of others based on very limited information (Plaks, Stroessner, Dweck, and Sherman 2001). Thus, simply seeing someone using a particular brand is sufficient to ascribe certain personality traits to that person. In contrast, incremental theorists believe everyone's traits are malleable, and therefore, one's behavior at one point in time is not necessarily diagnostic of their traits (Plaks et al. 2001). Thus, they are less likely to use brand signals as sufficient evidence of someone's traits.

We find support for our predictions in three studies. In the first study, we tested whether entity theorists (but not incremental theorists) judge the personality of a stranger by using the brand he or she uses. Participants were asked to view the pictures of two people that showed a moment of their daily lives, and to report their general impressions of each person by rating them on five personality domains (Aaker 1997; sincerity, excitement, competence, sophistication, and ruggedness). The first picture was a filler picture showing a woman talking on the phone. The second picture was the target picture showing a man who was reading a pamphlet about Mercedes Benz cars (brand information) or a magazine about cars in general (no brand information). After rating the target person on the five personality domains, participants completed an implicit self-theory measure. As expected, entity theorists perceived the target person to be more sophisticated (associated with Mercedes Benz) when the brand information was provided than when it was not. Such a difference was not found in other personality domains. Further, incremental theorists were not influenced by the brand information provided.

In the second study, we extended our findings by using a different brand (Godiva), changing the gender of the target person (female), and showing the image of the target person actually consuming the brand. Also, we manipulated beliefs in entity versus incremental theory (Chiu, Hong, and Dweck 1997) prior to seeing the target person's image. As predicted, participants in the entity theory condition perceived the target person as being more sophisticated (associated with the Godiva brand) when she consumed Godiva chocolates than when she consumed regular chocolates (no brand information). However, incremental theorists were not influenced by the brand information provided.

In a third study, we examined the mechanism underlying reliance on brands in judging others found among entity theorists in the first two studies. Entity theorists, who use brands as an important signal of the self, are likely to view brands as diagnostic information when judging others. However, if entity theorists have a chance to reflect the target person's life as if they were the person (which facilitates people to ascribe self-descriptive traits to the target person; Davis et al. 1996), they will put more weight on self-descriptive traits than a brand the person uses when judging the person. We thus predicted that when taking the perspective of a stranger, entity theorists will reduce their reliance on brands when judging him or her.

Participants were told that we were interested in people's ability to construct life-event details from visual information alone. They were asked to take a moment to look at the man reading the pamphlet about the Mercedes in the picture, and then to write a short narrative essay (2 pages) about a typical day in the life of the person in the picture. Participants in the perspective-taking condition were asked to write an essay about a typical day of that person while imagining as if they were that individual. Participants in the no perspective-taking condition were asked to write objectively without reflecting on their own life. Prior to the perspective-taking manipulation, we measured implicit self-theory. As expected, entity theorists perceived the target person to be less sophisticated (associated with Mercedes Benz) in the perspective-taking condition than in the no perspective-taking condition. However, incremental theorists were not influenced by the perspective-taking manipulation. More importantly, results from a *mediation analysis* showed that perspective taking decreased the belief that the target person used the brand (Mercedes Benz) as a way to signal and communicate his identity, which led to reduced reliance on the brand when judging the target person.

In sum, not all consumers perceive brand signals in the same way. Only entity theorists appear to form judgments about other people based on the brands they use.

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Sharing As a Social Phenomenon

Chair: Russell Belk, York University, Canada

Paper #1: Shared Moments of Sociality: Embedded Sharing within Peer-to-peer Hospitality Platforms

Katharina Hellwig, HEC Lausanne, Switzerland
Russell Belk, York University, Canada
Felicita Morhart, HEC Lausanne, Switzerland

Paper #2: Sharing Difficult Choices

Tatiana Barakshina, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA
Alan J. Malter, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA

Paper #3: A Social Network Analysis of Adolescent Social Standing, Sharing and Acquisition Materialism, and Life Satisfaction

Elodie Gentina, Université de Lille, France
LJ Shrum, HEC Paris, France
Tina M. Lowrey, HEC Paris, France

Paper #4: With Whom Do People Share? The Effects of Upward and Downward Social Comparisons on Willingness to Share Possessions

Ayalla Ruvio, Michigan State University, USA
Naomi Mandel, Arizona State University, USA
Elodie Gentina, Université de Lille, France

SESSION OVERVIEW

Sharing is a fundamental consumption behavior that only recently has started to gain academic attention (Belk 2010). As consumers, we share our possessions, knowledge, experiences, time, and other resources with selected others. Sharing is defined as anti-materialistic, prosocial, communal behavior, which bridges interpersonal boundaries by linking us to other people, with no expectations of reciprocity (Belk 2010 ; Benkler 2004). However, very little is known about how the perception of others affects our willingness to share our possessions and resources with them.

This special session aims to further our knowledge of sharing as a social phenomenon. The authors explore diverse forms of sharing, including experiences, decisions, social relationships and possessions, in a variety of social contexts, and use multiple research methods and data from multiple countries, including Russia, France, Canada and the US.

Hellwig, Belk and Morhart open the session with an exploration of the sociality of shared moments in monetary (AirBnB) vs. non-monetary (CouchSurfing) peer-to-peer hospitality platforms. Using qualitative data, they study how shared experiences are created, shaped and evaluated through the prevailing material or non-material context. They conclude that when sociality is perceived as authentic it comes closest to the ideal of prototypical sharing.

Barakshina and Malter examine a different kind of sharing – shared decision-making, in the context of patient-doctor decisions during pregnancy and childbirth. Their survey data from Russia and the US and interviews with patients and their doctors show that patients often feel they are sharing decisions with doctors, as well as family, friends, and peers online, but the same treatment decisions are typically perceived by medical practitioners as not “shared” at all. Medical outcomes are felt most acutely by the patient (and her baby) and only to a lesser extent by others who shared in the decision.

Gentina, Shrum and Lowrey aim to bridge apparently contradictory concepts - sharing and materialism. Transcending the traditional view of materialism as acquisition of objects, they examine a

different type of materialism - as shared experiences. Using network analysis of adolescents’ social relationships with peers, they find a positive relationship between centrality of social standing and sharing materialism (but not with acquisition materialism) and between sharing materialism and happiness.

Finally, Ruvio, Mandel and Gentina focus on the fundamental question, “With whom do we share?” Two experiments suggest that consumers strategically choose with whom to share possessions, and tend to share more with individuals perceived as superior to them in terms of social comparison. This behavior seems motivated by anticipation of future gain, challenging the view of sharing as a non-reciprocal act.

Each of these papers highlights a different view of sharing as a social phenomenon. Together they expand our understanding of sharing as a consumption behavior and help push the boundaries of this emerging concept. This session offers potentially fruitful avenues for future research, and will appeal to ACR attendees interested in sharing, consumption and pro-social behavior, possessions and self-identity, and shared decision-making, among others.

Shared Moments of Sociality: Embedded Sharing within Peer-to-peer Hospitality Platforms

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many welcome the “new sharing economy” for its transformative impact, lower prices, and increased convenience. But there is also growing criticism of its rampant neoliberalism, its marginal illegality, and its business practices that support tax fraud and undermine workers’ rights and social security (Cagle 2014; Morozov 2013). In fact the business practices of many prominent “sharing businesses” have little to do with the romantic ideal of sharing as “joint (psychological) ownership, pro-social intentions and the absence of expectations of reciprocity” (Belk 2010).

Given the dominance of economic treatments of business it is not surprising that much existing research focuses precisely on the redistribution of idle capacity and thus on purely economic efficiency within a system labeled sharing (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012; Lamberton and Rose 2012). Many of the findings of such studies thus revolve around how participants perpetuate a traditional capitalist mindset by presumably maximizing their utilities under the guise of a socially romantic label - a practice that has sometimes been called “sharewashing.” However, if a socially romantic aspect within material sharing systems is to be found, it is not advisable to focus solely on economically efficient behaviors, but on the opposite: on economically “inefficient” behaviors, namely participants’ spending time and congeniality with each other even though the redistribution of physical resources would not require it.

Among the plethora of peer-to-peer service offerings, two popular cases in the new sharing economy appear particularly well-suited for investigating the sociality of shared moments: the hospitality platforms CouchSurfing and AirBnB. The latter is based on monetary exchange while the former is based on non-monetary exchange. We use a multi-method and multi-sited collection of qualitative data over a three year period in order to understand how the notion of sociality is produced and shaped through these market or non-market based sharing ideologies. We draw on fourteen qualitative in-depth interviews with AirBnB and CouchSurfing hosts (some do both) in

Sharing Difficult Choices

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Europe and the Americas. Besides participant observation we analyze online content such as member profiles and forum discussions.

Granovetter's (1985) discovery that social embeddedness is pervasive in business transactions is especially germane in the "hospitality industry" because it relies not only on providing concrete accommodations, food, and drinks, but also the social interaction between hosts and guests. But although the two hospitality platforms studied were both founded upon the idea of offering strangers the use of unused home facilities, they differ substantially in how they deliver the material and non-material components of hospitality. As summarized in table 1, the sociability aspect of hospitality is the core offering of CouchSurfing while in AirBnB the core offering is the accommodation.

In CouchSurfing, comforts beyond a simple place to sleep are perceived as an "added value" that is not decisive in choosing a host. In AirBnB, it is sociability among guests and hosts that is the not expected source of added value (Ikkala and Lampinen 2015). In AirBnB, the economic exchange of money for accommodation is explicitly stated in the contractual agreement between host and guest and both have legal rights for mutual compliance. In CouchSurfing by contrast, there is an implicit agreement for social engagement in which claims for mutual sociality are embedded. This is illustrated by the disappointment, anger and frustration that were expressed by the CouchSurfer informants in cases where such implicit agreements for time and attention broke down. The opposite is true of attractive accommodations; AirBnB'ers have a legal right to them, while for CouchSurfers having their own rooms and comfortable beds is a nice extra.

However, when social interactions between AirBnB hosts and their guests DID occur, they added unexpected autotelic benefits external to the economic exchange. This points to the insight that, ironically, when it comes to sociality, AirBnB sometimes comes closest to the idea of "true sharing" without underlying expectations or obligations (Belk 2010, 2013). In contrast, in the case of non-monetized CouchSurfing, sociality is an "expected benefit". The interactions are obligations and entitlements that suggest "demand sharing" (Belk 2010; Price 1975; Woodburn 1998) of attention and time. Materially, CouchSurfing is clearly closest to true sharing; but non-materially, such demand sharing is institutionalized and expected, even though it is often freely given and autotelic.

Thus, we find that what changes the perception of sociability in both platforms is whether they are part of the core offer, or whether such social moments occur as "added value" beyond the agreement. The sometime occurrences of social interactions in AirBnB are unsolicited and when they do take place they are not driven by reciprocal expectations. They are the extra embeddedness that Granovetter (1985) finds in other business transactions. In CouchSurfing by contrast, such social embeddedness is the sine qua non of the expectations of both hosts and guests.

We conclude that sociability comes closest to the ideal of prototypical sharing whenever it is perceived as autotelic. This is mostly (but not exclusively) the case when moments of social togetherness are not overtly expected or induced by the system. Sociability seems to be perceived as more autotelic when time is perceived as something that is not in limited supply. While research on consumption practices in the so-called sharing economy mostly examines how existing material resources are redistributed among individuals, we look at how shared experiences are also created and shaped through the prevailing material or non-material context.

The medical domain represents a unique and important class of consumption decisions that are not only high-stakes, high-risk and high uncertainty, but also rely on advice and guidance from expert service providers. Medical practitioners often decide for patients, even when medical evidence does not clearly support a specific option. We study the effect of sharing "preference-based" patient-doctor decisions during pregnancy and childbirth when more than one treatment option is medically justified (Wennberg 2004) (e.g., choice of epidural anesthesia during labor). In contrast, medical decisions are "evidence-based" or "effective care" when benefits clearly outweigh potential harms (O'Connor et al. 2007) (e.g., emergency C-section when there is a sudden change in the baby's heart rate).

In the U.S., the concept of shared decision-making (SDM) between a doctor and patient was first proposed several decades ago. SDM may occur when neither party carries the focal decision power or is predisposed towards one course of action; hence the decision is made collectively, combining the doctor's medical expertise and patient's view of desired outcomes. By adding consumer input to the decision-making process, SDM may improve patient outcomes (Gravel, Legare and Graham 2006). While SDM has received vocal support from many U.S. practitioners, implementation is still far from widespread. Multiple factors, from a paternalistic tradition in healthcare (Coulter 1997) to practical limitations, such as brief duration of doctor visits, have prevented wider adoption of SDM. In developing countries, including Russia, SDM is still in its initial stage.

In marketing and consumer research, healthcare has been studied as high-stakes decisions (Kahn and Luce 2003) from the perspective of emotional load, affect and stress associated with these decisions (Isen 2001), positive and negative consequences resulting from freedom of choice (Markus and Schwartz, 2010; Botti, Orfali and Iengar 2009), uncertainty-seeking by avoiding risk and responsibility (Leonhardt, Keller, Pechmann 2011), and the effect of social power exercised by physicians on patient satisfaction and compliance (Friedman and Churchill 1987). Personality and social psychology research links investigation of "decisions for others" and self-others decision-making to level of construal theory (Polman and Emich 2011). While making decisions for others, people tend to be less loss-averse compared to making decisions for themselves (Polman 2012). In the medical literature, Frosch et al. (2012) found that many patients feel compelled to play socially predetermined roles and defer to physician decisions during clinical consultations even for preference-based decisions. Bernstein et al. (2012) show that women's decisions in favor of elective repeat C-section are largely due to lack of objective information and essentially follow the medical provider's preference.

Our research aims to bridge the gap between clinical evidence from healthcare studies and studies of consumer perspectives on decision-making processes for difficult decisions. Specifically, we examine how and when shared decision mode between patient and doctor affects emotional outcomes of decisions, such as post-decision regret.

We surveyed 394 females from the U.S, ages 18-50, regarding their youngest child. Respondents were recruited through a paid online panel, and identified medical procedures they decided to undergo (or not) during pregnancy. For decisions described as "preference-based," respondents rated and evaluated the emotional difficulty of each decision. Participants reported the decision mode (patient-made, doctor-made, or shared) and degree of agreement with the treatment decision. Post-decision regret was measured on

a scale commonly used in the medical decision-making literature (Breahaut et al. 2003).

We find that patient involvement in decision-making (patient-made or shared decisions) minimized post-decision regret. Decisions made only by medical doctors had the highest level of regret. The U.S. results were replicated with a second sample of 177 women in Russia. Findings were consistent for Russia and the U.S., despite contrasting medical traditions (authoritative vs. patient-centered). A similar pattern was found for treatment decisions of low versus moderate emotional difficulty.

A key issue may be the degree of decision-making match or mis-match between patient and physician. The patient's perception of decision control often contradicts the physician's perception (Adams and Drake 2006). To test this assumption, we are conducting a long-term study – also in the maternal care domain – in the U.S., to measure patient-doctor correspondence in dyadic assessment of decision control.

Our current paper highlights the complex and multi-faceted nature of factors contributing to decision-making approaches that optimize emotional outcomes of highly-consequential consumer health-care decisions. The consumer behavior perspective helps enrich the medical approach by looking at patients in their diversity. For decisions when medical outcomes are positive, some consumers feel happy and experience no regret thinking about the decision process, while others become completely alienated from the medical establishment. Our research suggests that patient empowerment through shared medical decisions is a robust factor driving emotional outcomes of medical decisions. Shared decision-making, distinct from joint decisions, deserves a status of a standalone concept, making an important difference and improving medical service consumption experiences globally.

A Social Network Analysis of Adolescent Social Standing, Sharing and Acquisition Materialism, and Life Satisfaction

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Materialism plays a central role in many aspects of everyday life. Research has overwhelmingly focused on the negative consequences of materialism that may result from emphases on products over experiences (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003) or trade-offs between social relationships and material pursuits. This focus may ignore important positive functions that materialism may serve for some people. Recent conceptualizations of materialism have expanded the targets of materialistic acquisition to include not only products and services, but also shared product experiences based on social relationships (Shrum et al. 2013, 2014). Our research explores the implications of this new perspective.

Because the process of developing materialistic values is particularly critical during periods of identity transitions, we focus on adolescence, which is one of the most crucial transitions in one's life, because it is the time when adolescents emerge from the family setting in order to construct their personal identities. To do so, they increasingly rely on their peers, who help them to construct their social identity. More specifically, to reinforce their social identities, adolescents may seek strategic positions in a social peer network: some adolescents are isolated whereas others are socially integrated within their peer group.

This research aims to expand the view of materialism and develop an integrative model that identifies two social determinants of materialism (loneliness and social position within the peer group) and its consequences (life satisfaction). We focus on two subtypes of

materialism that play different roles in adolescents' and life satisfaction: materialism as acquisition of objects and materialism as shared experiences.

Method

Because school is where adolescents interact every day with their peers, we used school class as the unit of analysis to identify peer networks. A questionnaire was distributed to 984 adolescents across 33 school classes. This sample was then randomly divided into two sub-samples. The first sample served to validate the measurement scales. The second sample was used to test the model.

To measure adolescent's social network integration, we created a peer-reported measure of teenagers' social position by asking teenagers to nominate their five closest friends in their school classes. In such networks, the most central teenagers are those most frequently considered by others as being the more active. This "in-degree" centrality measure was chosen because it is less subject to social desirability bias, and thus provides the most accurate instrument to identify the most active teens in the network using sociometric data (Lee et al. 2010). Some adolescents are situated on the extreme periphery and have few contacts; others have many contacts and thus exhibit a greater degree of centrality.

Life satisfaction and materialism as acquisition of objects were measured using Diener et al.'s (1985) and Goldberg et al.'s (2003) scales, respectively. Loneliness was measured with Russell, Peplau, and Cutrona's (1980) scale. To measure sharing practices with others, we proceeded in two stages. First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 adolescents, who were asked to answer the following question: "What are the objects that you share more often with others at school?" This qualitative study enabled us to list 15 shared objects during adolescence. Next, a quantitative study of 150 adolescents was conducted. Among these 15 shared objects, only three were selected (movies, games, and files) because they were those most often shared. Sharing, defined as the extent to which adolescents engage in sharing practices with friends, was measured with a 3-item scale. Confirmatory factor analyses (using AMOS) on the first sample indicated good fit statistics and good composite reliability coefficients.

Results and Discussion

Structural equation modeling was used to test the structural model. The results of this analysis revealed the following. First, consistent with expectations, in-degree centrality was positively related to materialism as shared experiences but unrelated to materialism as acquisition of objects. In contrast, loneliness was positively related to materialism as the acquisition of objects but unrelated to materialism as shared experiences. Importantly, materialism as shared experiences was positively related to life satisfaction whereas materialism as the acquisition of objects was unrelated to life satisfaction.

There are concerns that today's teenagers are more materialistic than ever, because of the material resources they have to achieve a specific, positive social identity through their consumption. In contrast, our results revisit the fundamental question of the extent to which adolescents should be considered materialistic consumers in the conventional sense of the term. This research offers a new conceptualization of adolescents' materialism that refers not only to the acquisition of objects but also to shared experiences, which contributes to adolescent life satisfaction. We provide evidence that adolescents suffering from loneliness seek to acquire objects to compensate for their isolated status, whereas socially integrated adolescents seek to share experiences with their peer group. Their purpose is not merely to "have," but rather to "be" or even to "become."

With Whom Do People Share? The Effects of Upward and Downward Social Comparisons on Willingness to Share Possessions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine that you are a college student preparing for an important exam, and a classmate asks to borrow your notes. Would you be more likely to share with one of the top students in the class, or one of the bottom students? The answer may seem unclear, because you would have both more to gain (e.g., future favors) and more to lose (e.g., class standing) by sharing with a top student.

Individuals must often decide whether and with whom to share their most important material possessions. In this research, we experimentally investigate the role of social comparison in sharing: Are people more likely to share with someone who rates higher or lower than them on a dimension of interest, such as academic performance?

People often compare themselves to others on dimensions such as intelligence, appearance, or status (Festinger 1954). An upward comparison is a comparison to an individual who is superior on that dimension, and a downward comparison is a comparison to an individual who is inferior on that dimension. Upward comparisons can sometimes trigger similarity testing, in which the individual and target are seen as similar to each other, leading to assimilation (Mussweiler 2003). If this assimilation occurs, sharing with the upward comparison target may feel almost like sharing with oneself. Indeed, individuals are more likely to share possessions such as computer files with others with whom they are psychologically or geographically close (Wiese et al. 2011). Moreover, people may prefer to share with upward comparison targets for strategic reasons. Sharing is a communal act that connects us to other people (Belk 2010), and the sharer may wish to ingratiate him/herself with an upward comparison target in order to feel socially closer, or to benefit in the future.

Based on the reasoning above, we predicted that individuals would be more likely to share a significant possession with an upward comparison target than a downward comparison target. We also predicted that several factors might moderate these results. First, we expected to find stronger effects in situations where the shared product was non-relevant to the comparison dimension (such as sharing an apartment with an academic superior) than in situations where the shared product was relevant to the comparison dimension (such as sharing notes with an academic superior, in which case the sharer might lose academic standing). Second, we predicted that when individuals were in a competitive mindset (Toma et al. 2009), they would be less willing to share with anyone, but in particular they would be less willing to share with an upward comparison target, because sharing would potentially allow the target to get even further ahead on the comparison dimension.

The goal of study 1 was to examine the effects of social comparison and product relevance on likelihood to share. Study 1 utilized a 3 (comparison target: upward vs. downward vs. neutral) X (shared product: relevant – class notes, computer vs. non-relevant – sandwich, apartment) between-subject design with 607 participants. For the social comparison manipulation, participants read a scenario about Michael/Michelle, who was a very successful (upward comparison), very unsuccessful (downward comparison) or average (neutral) business student in the same class as the participant (Mussweiler et al. 2004). We matched the gender of the target to the gender of the participant to control for the effects of mating motives. Participants indicated their willingness to share their possession with Michael/Michelle. We pooled the two relevant products and two non-relevant products for analysis purposes. There was a main effect

of social comparison, indicating that participants were more willing to share with an upward versus downward comparison ($M = 5.32$ vs. 4.09 , $F(2, 601) = 31.56$, $p < .001$), with neutral in the middle ($M = 4.59$). There was also a main effect of product relevance, indicating that participants were more likely to share non-relevant versus relevant products ($M = 4.94$ vs. 4.39 , $F(1, 601) = 18.63$, $p < .001$), but these two variables did not interact. Consistent with our theorizing, participants believed they had more to gain from sharing with an upward target ($M = 4.53$ _{upward} vs. 3.94 _{same} vs. 3.6 _{downward}, $F(1, 601) = 34.61$, $p < .001$), and this perceived gain mediated the relationship between social comparison ($r = .30$) and sharing ($r = .44$).

The purpose of study 2 was to examine the moderating role of competitive mindset. Undergraduate students ($N = 128$) participated in a 2 (comparison target: upward vs. downward) X 3 (mindset: competitive vs. cooperative vs. control) experiment. Participants read the same social comparison scenario as in study 1. Then they wrote a short paragraph about a situation where they competed/cooperated with another individual or group of individuals (Toma et al. 2009), or went grocery shopping (control condition). Finally, they indicated their willingness to share their class notes. Results demonstrated a significant main effect of social comparison ($M = 4.12$ downward vs. 5.53 upward, $F(1, 122) = 24.89$, $p < .001$), replicating the findings in Study 1, and a significant comparison X mindset interaction ($F(2, 247) = 3.15$, $p < .04$). Participants were more likely to share with an upward target when they were in a cooperative mindset ($t = 2.50$; $p < .02$) than either a competitive or control mindset ($t = 2.50$; $p < .02$), whereas they were more likely to share with a downward target when they were in a competitive mindset than either a cooperative ($t = -3.09$; $p < .003$) or neutral mindset ($t = -3.77$; $p < .001$).

The goal of study 3 (currently underway) is to further probe the reasons why individuals prefer to share with upward comparison targets. In other words, what exactly do people stand to gain by sharing with their superiors? We designed study 3 very similarly to study 2, but with several follow-up questions about what the participant expects to gain from sharing, including knowledge, favors, respect, trust, and reputational gains. In doing so, we hope to establish a more precise explanation for our findings.

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Consumer Wellbeing: Interpreting Difficulties, Being Resilient, Extending Forgiveness, and Pursuing a “Fresh Start”

Chair: Linda Price, University of Arizona, USA

Paper #1: From Difficulty to Possibility: Interpretation of Experienced Difficulty, Motivation and Behavior

Daphna Oyserman, University of Southern California, USA
Sheida Novin, University of Michigan, USA and Utrecht University, France

George C. Smith, University of Michigan, USA
Kristen Elmore, University of Michigan, USA
Cecile Nurra, University of Grenoble Alpes, France
Oliver Fisher, University of Southern California
Neil Lewis, University of Michigan

Paper #2: Rising Every Time They Fall: The Importance and Determinants of Consumer Resilience

Joan Ball, St. John’s University, USA
Cait Lamberton, University of Pittsburgh, USA

Paper #3: Many Goals–One Choice: Understanding Consumer Forgiveness

Yelena Tsarenko, Monash University, Australia
Yuliya Strizhakova, Rutgers University, USA
Cele Otnes, University of Illinois, USA

Paper #4: Can A “Fresh Start” Help Consumers Achieve Their Goals?

Ainslie Schultz, University of Arizona, USA
Linda L. Price, University of Arizona, USA
Robin Coulter, University of Connecticut, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Wellbeing as a consumer pursuit is one of the most important discourses of our time (Sointu, 2005). Indeed, wellbeing is tied to a myriad of choices and actions taken in pursuit of immediate and far-reaching goals. Consumers’ aspirations to be healthy, wealthy and wise affect choices and goals related to exercise, diet, finances and education. Despite the call to help consumers in their pursuit of wellbeing (Aaker, 2014; Baumgartner and Pieters, 2008; Mick et al. 2012), much remains to be done.

The papers in this session focus on tools that consumers can use to lead adaptive lives and achieve their goals. In the first paper, Daphna Oyserman, Sheida Novin, George C. Smith, Kristen Elmore, and Cecile Nurra use identity-based motivation theory to explain why some people give up and others keep going when they experience difficulties. Based on the results of several experiments, they offer a tool that urges people to, “interpret experienced difficulty as implying that a task is both important and not impossible.” In the second paper, Joan Ball and Cait Lamberton take a different path to answer why some people persist in the face of frustrating consumption experiences, while others give up. Drawing on both qualitative and quantitative findings, they focus on consumer resilience as a tool, arguing that resilient individuals “use plans as guides for maintaining progress.” In the third paper, Yelena Tsarenko, Yuliya Strizhakova, and Cele Otnes, using a case method approach to present their qualitative results, examine a related question of how do consumers respond to disappointments and transgressions. Specifically, they investigate how forgiveness can be used as a tool to help consumers conquer ruminating thoughts. They uncover key goal pursuits that motivate forgiveness, observing that “consumers consider a variety of personal and relational goals” in deciding to forgive. The fourth

paper investigates a tool for helping consumers begin anew and move beyond failure and disappointment. Ainslie Schultz, Linda Price, and Robin Coulter extend their prior research on “Fresh Starts” to demonstrate across several experiments that a “Fresh Start” can be an important adaptive strategy for taking up new goals following failure and re-energizing and renewing engagement with a current goal.

Together, these papers provide a broadened perspective on how consumers interpret and move beyond difficulties, disappointments, and failures to persevere, try again, do different and do better, to improve their wellbeing. Consistent with the conference theme of advancing connections, the papers interplay to create a lively conversation across methodologies and disciplinary boundaries about the everyday utility of these tools for enhancing consumer wellbeing. The topic is likely to have broad appeal and serve as a rich petri dish for future investigations.

From Difficulty to Possibility: Interpretation of Experienced Difficulty, Motivation and Behavior

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People sometimes dig in and other times disengage after experiencing difficulty. To understand why that might be, we use identity-based motivation theory to articulate two different interpretations of what experienced difficulty might mean for engagement in difficult tasks. Prior research has documented that what ease or difficulty implies depends on the situation at hand. We propose that in the situation of school or work, accomplishing tasks with ease can be interpreted as meaning that the tasks are possible with the implication that experienced difficulty is a signal that the tasks may be impossible. However, in the same situations, ease could also be a signal that a task is mundane or trivial, with the implication that experienced difficulty implies that the task is important.

Four experiments test and support our predictions. People led to consider experienced difficulty as implying impossibility were less task focused than those led to consider experienced difficulty as implying importance. When asked to describe their possible selves and strategies, they were less focused on school and academics and instead included a variety of other possibilities and social roles (Study 1). When asked to what extent they would sacrifice to attain their goals, they were less likely to agree that they would (Study 2). Lack of focus translated into worse performance (Study 3 intelligence test, Study 4 standardized writing test). In the first four studies the method used, random assignment to reading either four statements inducing one to consider whether difficulty implies impossible or importance, implies that both interpretations of experienced difficulty are likely represented in memory. Both have everyday utility, facilitating engagement and task switching, by focusing on whether a task is important (as opposed to trivial) or impossible (as opposed to possible). Moreover, much as has been found in stereotype threat research, inducing people to consider the interpretation yielded an effect, it was not necessary that people endorsed the proffered interpretation – endorsement did not moderate the effect of the prime. The initial studies documented that the interpretation of experienced difficulty that was on one’s mind mattered.

In follow-up studies, we assessed the two interpretations of experienced difficulty. This allowed us to examine the extent to which the two interpretations of experienced difficulty were correlated with

each other or with other popular measures of persistence and engagement, in particular, self-reported persistence or ‘grit’ and the belief that ability is fixed and not changeable with effort. Across studies correlations varied but were consistently small, implying that each of these constructs captures unique aspects of the motivation and engagement process. One can persist because one is a “persister”, because one believes that skills are malleable and not fixed, or because difficulty itself cues engagement – implying that the task is important and not impossible. In two final studies we tested this possibility by looking at the relationship between interpretation of experienced difficulty, belief in malleability of skills, and value-expectancy (self-efficacy and self-competence) measures. Here too we find that each of the interpretation difficulty and malleability constructs have independent effects on the value and expectancy constructs.

Across studies the implication is that one of the ways to keep going, stay focused, and succeed when experiencing difficulty is to interpret the experienced difficulty as implying task importance. Interpreting experienced difficulty as task impossibility has an undermining effect and our correlational studies imply that this is independent of the positive consequences of interpreting experienced difficulty as task important. Thus the best possible strategy may be to interpret experienced difficulty as both implying that a task is important and not impossible.

What happens once a task has been interpreted as impossible, at least for the moment? Is it possible to forgive oneself or be given a ‘fresh start’ so that one can re-engage and once more reap the benefits of interpreting difficulty as importance? Our studies did not tackle this important question, but the next set of papers do just that.

Rising Every Time They Fall: The Importance and Determinants of Consumer Resilience

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Nelson Mandela famously pointed out that, “the greatest glory in living lies not in never falling, but in rising every time we fall.” Indeed, academic research has shown that this ability to rebound from failure, also known as resilience, is critical in individual well-being (Scoloveno, 2014; Tugade and Fredrickson, 2004) and can lead to an enhanced sense of life purpose (Rutten et al., 2013). Much resilience research considers the construct in either pathological settings or in the context of extraordinary events where resilience leads to acts of true heroism (see Fletcher and Sarkar, 2013 for review).

We suggest that the next wave of resilience research will consider the ways that resilience is manifest in everyday experiences. Specifically, we propose that *consumer resilience* is a key factor in successful consumption experiences.

We began our study of this topic with an experiment designed to see if trait resilience might have important impacts on marketplace outcomes. This study was conducted using an online panel ($n = 185$, $M_{age} = 32.63$ years, 63% male) who took part in the study in return for a nominal payment. Participants read about two service experiences that involved potential dissatisfaction: one that involved relatively low stakes (a bad haircut) and one that involved much higher stakes (the failure to find an effective medical response to a health problem).

Respondents then used a 1 (not at all likely) to 5 (very likely) scale to report their propensity to respond to this situation in a number of ways, including a way that would signal persistence (asking the stylist to keep working on the haircut with them), the use of coping strategies (making a joke), negative feelings or emotional labor (feeling angry, hiding the feeling). Participants also reported their likelihood of returning to the same service provider (1 = not at all

likely, 7 = very likely), and their likelihood of recommending this service provider to a friend. They then completed a filler task that took approximately 3 minutes, consisting of rating a number of pictures, and then completed the other scenario.

After an additional filler task, participants completed the resilience scale (Campbell-Sills and Stein, 2007), a 10-item measure that includes items such as “I am able to adapt to change” and “I tend to bounce back after illness and hardship,” with responses anchored at “Not at all true of me” (1) and “True of me nearly all of the time,” (5).

We observe a range of trait resilience ($M = 3.74$, range 1.3 to 5). Using this index to predict participants’ likelihood to engage in various responses to the frustrating service experience, we find similar patterns regardless of context. In both low and high-stakes situations, more resilient individuals were significantly more likely to keep working with a service provider to identify a solution or to return to the same service provider, less likely to feel anger or to hide their feelings, and either marginally (low stakes) or significantly (high stakes) more likely to recommend the service provider to others.

Given these findings, we next designed a study to capture the habitual thoughts and behaviors of individuals with a range of trait resilience. A sample of 594 US consumers ($M_{age} = 34.2$ years, 51.6% female) provided both qualitative descriptions of their own resilient and non-resilient behavior and quantitative response to the same Trait Resilience measure used in study 1. They also provided responses related to their experience of life stressors (Holmes and Rahe, 1967), subjective well-being, susceptibility to sunk cost effects, and their use of structure and schedules (make lists and plan) and approaches to goals.

In both qualitative and index measures, we again observed a range in resilience; qualitative responses will be discussed at the conference. The trait measure demonstrated that more resilient consumers tend to experience similar levels of life stress as less resilient consumers. However, regression analyses also showed that more resilient people tended to use structure and plans in their lives more than did less resilient people. Rather than seeing such plans as means of restricting freedom, resilient individuals seemed to use plans as guides for maintaining progress. Further, we find that resilient people do not hold systematically different goals than do other consumers; they simply have a higher degree of optimism that can fulfil them. This finding suggests that firms need not expect resilience only among certain goals segments, but rather, that resilience can be of benefit in a wide range of domains. Interestingly, we also see a greater susceptibility to sunk cost effects among resilient consumers, suggesting that there may be some situations in which consumers’ tendency to persist can become suboptimal – a finding that has not been suggested in prior resilience research.

A third experiment, to be completed by ACR, will build on our finding that planning is a means of fostering resilient behavior. In this experiment, we provide some participants with planning prompts and structure (i.e., “you can make a plan to support the United Way – do a task a day!”), others with salience cues (i.e., don’t forget the United Way!) and some with freedom cues (“support the United Way any way you want, anytime you want.”) To make this donation, participants need to complete a number of tasks over the course of a week, some of which present substantial challenge. We anticipate that resilient participants will be more likely to complete the donation process than less resilient participants. We also anticipate that planning prompts will be more effective than salience or freedom prompts in helping chronically non-resilient participants to complete the donation process, as planning can help promote resilience.

In sum, we argue that *consumer resilience* is a critical yet unrecognized element in successful consumer experience. Given the importance of resilience in a wide range of domains, we believe this work will inspire researchers to focus on its operation in the consumer realm, while also prompting marketers and policymakers to target its development in the individuals they serve.

Many Goals – One Choice: Understanding Consumer Forgiveness

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Within the sociocultural structures of the marketplace, consumers can be wronged by individuals, groups, institutions, or other forces. In response, consumers engage in coping behaviors (Duhachek, 2005), complain (Dunn and Dahl, 2012), badmouth transgressors (Zhang, Feick, and Mittal, 2014), seek revenge (Bechwati and Morrin, 2003), switch providers (Ganesh, Arnold and Reynolds, 2000) or choose a more positive outcome, such as reconciling with the transgressor (Joireman, Grégoire, Devezer, and Tripp, 2013). Previous research also suggests some consumers may choose to forgive transgressors (Grégoire and Fisher, 2006; Zourrig, Chebat and Toffoli, 2009). However, noticeably absent is a focused exploration of why and how consumers choose to forgive marketplace transgressions.

Our paper explores consumer forgiveness as a socially grounded choice to marketplace transgression and makes several important contributions. First, we illuminate consumers' forgiveness experiences in light of service transgressions as goal-directed, socioculturally-grounded gestalts, and demonstrate how this gestalt approach informs and enhances the psychological perspective that dominates extant consumer literature on the topic. Second, our research demonstrates that consumers not only pursue their general well-being but multiple goals in choosing to forgive transgressions. Third, we highlight the salience of marketplace influences in shaping consumers' forgiveness choices. Finally, we explain why some transgressions that might be perceived as relatively mild may lead consumers to terminate relationships with service providers, and equally paradoxically, why some choose to maintain relationships after transgressions that might be perceived as very severe.

Marketplace transgressions are of interest to researchers due to their profound effects on consumers and subsequent implications for marketers. Broadly, such transgressions result in either anti-firm (negative word-of-mouth, third-party complaining, exit, and revenge) or pro-firm (positive word-of-mouth, patronage, and reconciliation) outcomes, complaining to management, and general consumer coping with the elicited distress. Consumer research that explores the various outcomes of marketplace transgressions suggest that emotions, appraisals of the transgressor, reparation and recompense, transgression severity, consumer/provider relationships, personality traits, demographics, social influences and industry structure (manifest through availability of alternatives and switching costs) impact consumer responses to transgressions.

Consumer forgiveness as a possible response to marketplace transgressions receives far less attention. In studies on consumer revenge, authors either speculate that forgiveness may explain instances of low or attenuated effects of revenge (Bechwati and Morrin, 2007; Joireman et al., 2013), or advise firms to explore responses promoting forgiveness as a means of avoiding consumer revenge (Johnson, Matear, and Thomson 2011). In addition, Grégoire and Fisher (2008) find that high-quality relationships with providers do not guarantee forgiveness, but may instead backfire. A few other studies within consumer behavior discuss the mediating role of forgiveness (Fournier, 1998; Tsarenko and Tojib, 2012; Xie and

Peng, 2009). Two qualitative studies explore forgiveness as one of outcomes of consumer responses to conflicts. Ringberg et al. (2007) show that relational consumers (i.e., those focusing on emotional ties with providers) tend to exhibit forgiveness, whereas oppositional consumers (i.e., those who hold oppositional views on the provider) are least likely to forgive. Further, Beverland et al. (2010) discuss forgiveness as dichotomous outcome of conflict resolution (i.e., one either forgives or holds grudges).

To explore consumer forgiveness, we conducted phenomenological, semi-structured interviews with 35 people who had experienced marketplace transgressions with service providers within the two years prior to interviews in the healthcare and financial sectors. Transgressions ranged in severity from minor problems to life-threatening crises. Nevertheless, informants regarded even the less traumatic incidents as impacting their lives. Although informants often discussed their transgression experiences holistically, they attributed the offenses to either service providers at large, or to specific individuals. To present our findings, we rely on the case method approach.

Our interview analyses resulted in four gestalts of forgiveness as a choice which are differentiated by the underlying ruminative strategy. Forgiveness as grace (Victor) is defined by empathetic ruminations shaped by key cultural and social dimensions. As a professional service provider, an athlete and a loving husband/father, Victor's choice to forgive allows him to achieve consistency and harmony in his life, ensure his family's well-being, and act as a role model. Forgiveness as analgesic (Janine) is driven by self-healing ruminations. Her choice to forgive is bounded by the transgression severity and her relationship insecurity that stems from her dependence on future medical care and a limited number of skilled professionals. Janine chooses to forgive to achieve the goals of regaining her most basic life functions (similar to other consumers facing dire choices; Pavia and Mason, 2004) and of adapting to future uncertainty given her disability. A relational goal—being a role model to her family—also motivates her choice. Forgiveness as fate (Frank) is driven by cynical ruminations regarding the industry structure. Frank's identities both as a young yet knowledgeable employee and a devout Christian guide his choice to forgive. Bound by industry constraints, Frank chooses to forgive to follow Christian values—but awareness about a lack of better marketplace alternatives also guide his choice. Finally, forgiveness as atonement (Tracey) is driven by justice ruminations. Tracey's identities as a career woman, a respected networker and a recent immigrant guide her choice to forgive. Tracey chooses to forgive to achieve her personal goals of restoring self-respect and serenity, as well as a relational goal of achieving justice.

We offer a more holistic understanding on forgiveness than a purely psychological perspective allows. In contrast to social-psychological research that focuses on the health benefits of forgiveness or the desire to maintain relationships with transgressors, our research demonstrates that consumers consider a variety of personal and relational goals in making their choice. Interestingly, and in contrast to incidences of interpersonal forgiveness, consumers' choices to forgive are not necessarily associated with their desire to preserve transgressor relationships. When no solution exists to resolve the transgression, the choice to forgive may be the only option for consumers, to restore their basic life functioning. Because these marketplace mistakes are too risky to be repeated, reconciliation is frequently not associated with forgiveness. We further show how some aspects of culture, religion, family and friends play an important role in consumer-forgiveness cases.

Can A “Fresh Start” Help Consumers Achieve Their Goals?

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Belief in the power of “Fresh Starts” to help people move past failures, engage with and achieve lapsed or new goals has a long history in folklore and religious rituals. “Fresh Starts” also have a prominent role in popular culture featured in movies, blogs, ad campaigns and products. Everyday consumers pursue new beginnings related to diet, exercise, financial wellbeing and personal growth. We know that conceptual metaphors such as “Fresh Start” can often be powerful tools for reframing problems and motivating behaviors (Coulter and Zaltman, 1995; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Landau, Keefer and Meier, 2010; Thibodeau and Boroditsky, 2011). However, research has not examined whether “Fresh Starts” can indeed help consumers achieve their goals. In prior research, we define a “fresh start” as consumers’ pursuit of new beginnings, and develop a reliable, valid measure distinct from related constructs such as optimism, hope, entity theory and psychological closure (Schultz, Price, and Coulter, 2014; 2015). We find consumers pursuing new beginnings focus on the future optimistically, construe the future abstractly, have intentions to improve and change behaviors in health, finances, organizing and disposition, and are likely to make novel choices.

This research investigates whether and how “fresh starts” affect goal achievement. Fresh starts may incite action toward goals by shifting focus from the past to the future, widening the gap between a past and future self and building confidence in the ability to reach goals—enabling the new self to act different (Libby and Eibach, 2002). Related research finds that people who feel they are making embodied progress forward are more inclined to reach their goals (Natanzon and Ferguson, 2012) and that people who experience positive affect during a goal increase their odds of achieving that goal (Carver and Scheier, 1990). Across four studies, we show that a “fresh start” helps consumers move past goal failure to succeed at goals similar or different from an initial failed goal, and boosts performance between contingent tasks.

Study 1 asks whether a “Fresh Start” affects goal-directed behavior following failure on a similar independent task. We used a 2 (fresh start, control) x 2 (self-affirmation, no self-affirmation; as self-affirmation is a commonly used strategy to improve goal pursuit following failure) between subjects design (n=136). Undergraduate students first engaged in a five-minute RAT task (Griskevicius et al., 2006; Mednick, 1962), and upon completion received (false) feedback saying they performed worse than average. Then half the participants were affirmed by writing about their top-ranked value and half not affirmed by writing about their 7th ranked value (Steele, 1988). Before completing task 2, in the fresh start condition participants read, “Start anew” and clicked to the next page; those in the control condition simply clicked to the next page. Participants again completed a five-minute RAT, and the number of correct items served as our dependent variable. The analysis revealed the predicted main effect of the fresh start condition, $F(1, 136) = 5.32, p = .02$, with those participants in the fresh start condition significantly outperforming others on the second RAT ($M_{\text{fresh}} = 3.49$, vs. $M_{\text{no fresh}} = 2.68$), suggesting that a “fresh start” helps participants move past failure. We note no significant difference in performance between the self-affirmed and control group $F(1, 136) = .23, p = .63$.

Study 2 extends study 1. In particular, we ask whether following failure if consumers who make a fresh start are better able than controls to succeed at a task in a separate, unrelated domain. Study 2 also provides mediational evidence for the role of positive affect in fresh starts. Undergraduates (n=114) took a five-minute math in-

telligence test (difficult GMAT problems). Upon completion, participants received false feedback, saying they performed worse than average. Participants then solved as many of 8 Remote Associations (RAT), as possible within six minutes with the number answered correctly serving as our dependent variable. Next, participants answered the PANAS scale (Watson, Clark, and Tellegen, 1988). As expected, participants with stronger (vs. weaker) fresh start feelings performed significantly better on the RAT task following failure at an unrelated task, $b = -7.86, t(1, 114) = -1.88, p = .06$. Hayes bootstrapped confidence intervals for mediation analysis revealed that, controlling for positive affect (mediator), a fresh start was no longer a significant predictor of performance, $\beta = .16 [.04 \text{ to } .36]$ as the confidence interval did not contain 0, providing support for the fully mediating role of positive affect.

Study 3 examines whether Fresh Starts are useful when tasks are contingent. In this experiment, we tested to see whether a fresh start could boost performance following failure on a first task where one’s overall performance is based on both tasks. Sixty-six (29 men) undergraduate participants were randomly assigned to the fresh start condition or control condition and provided 8 RAT questions to answer in 4 minutes. Participants graded their own answers. The answer key contained a false standardized curve such that all participants fell in the bottom quartile. In the fresh start condition participants read, “Start anew” and clicked to the next page; control condition participants simply clicked to the next page. Next participants decorated pumpkin-shaped cookies with the goal of creating a creative cookie. Once finished, participants rated each other’s cookies on a scale from 1 (“Very uncreative”) to 7 (“Very creative”) and answered general questions about the study, including, “I am good at decorating cookies.” An ANCOVA with fresh start as the between-subjects factor and “I am good at decorating cookies” as a covariate revealed a one-tailed significant main effect of the fresh start condition on participants peer assessments of creativity, $F(1, 60) = 3.17, p = .04$. Simple effects tests showed that overall participants considered cookies decorated by participants in the fresh start condition ($M_{\text{fresh}} = 4.53$) as more creative than cookies decorated by participants in the control condition ($M_{\text{control}} = 4.27$).

Lastly, a field study demonstrates a “fresh start” improves performance across contingent tasks toward an overall goal. Thirty undergraduates participated. Exam 1 occurred after the first month of class, with the intervention a week before exam 2. In the fresh start intervention participants were motivated to move forward and approach exam 2 as a fresh, new exam, while in the control condition, participants were encouraged to learn from exam 1 and apply those lessons to exam 2. As expected, participants in the fresh start intervention performed significantly better on the second exam than participants in the control intervention ($M_{\text{fresh}} = 107.067, M_{\text{control}} = 102.433; F(1, 30) = 5.97, p = 0.02$; out of 120 possible exam points).

Across four studies, we show that making a fresh start not only aids consumers in pursuing new goals, but also helps them move past goal failure to succeed on similar or different independent goals and on contingent tasks and goal progression.

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Sharing as Caring, Scaring, Bragging and Persuading: Motive Inferences for Sharing Word-of-Mouth on Social Media

Chair: Tejvir Sekhon, Boston University, USA

Paper #1: Does Sharing Signal Caring? Asymmetric Interpretations of the Informativeness of Own and Others' Social Media Communications

Elanor F. Williams, University of California San Diego, USA
Mary Steffel, University of Cincinnati, USA

Paper #2: I Do It Out of Love! The Role of Brand Attachment Cues in Consumption Related Bragging

Tejvir Sekhon, Boston University, USA
Barbara Bickart, Boston University, USA
Remi Trudel, Boston University, USA
Susan Fournier, Boston University, USA

Paper #3: Trust Me, I Know! The Impact of Source Self-Enhancement on Persuasion in Word-of-Mouth Grant Packard, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada

Andrew Gershoff, University of Texas at Austin, USA
David Wooten, University of Michigan, USA

Paper #4: Sharing Turns to Scaring: Explaining Apple Versus Android Brand Community Conflict

Mina Seraj, Bogazici University, Turkey
Robert Kozinets, York University, Canada
Aysegul Toker, Bogazici University, Turkey

SESSION OVERVIEW

Since Dichter's (1966) seminal article on word-of-mouth (WOM) communication, extensive research has looked at what motivates consumers to share product and brand related messages (Berger 2014). Less clear, however, is how WOM recipients ascribe motives to a source and how these motive inferences impact the recipients' attitudes and behaviors. In fact, the general consensus is that consumers trust the motives of WOM sources (Brown, Broderick, and Lee 2007). Literature on skepticism of communicator motives has generally focused on inferences of the persuasive intent in firm-to-consumer communications (Friestad and Wright 1994). However, such suspicion of communication motives is likely to occur for WOM sources too especially when motives for sharing are ambiguous. The papers in this session use different methodologies to examine the consequences of inferring different types of WOM motives, both on attitudes and behaviors towards sources as well as the products and brands mentioned in the WOM communication.

The first paper, by Elanor Williams and Mary Steffel, examines consumers' intuitions about their own and others' WOM communications on social media. Consumers see their own communications as stemming from their status as fans of a brand and as equally genuine regardless of whether they were incentivized to share them, but perceive others as more likely to be influenced by incentives and their incentivized communications as less indicative of their true preferences. This research shows that both marketers and social media users may be miscalibrated about the effects of incentives on perceptions of WOM.

Bragging via mentions of high status brands on social media is the focus of the second paper by Tejvir Sekhon, Barbara Bickart, Remi Trudel and Susan Fournier. This research examines strategies whereby the extrinsic motive inferences that recipients make based on brand mentions on social media can be attenuated. They show that consumption-related bragging does not lead to negative evalua-

tions if the communication includes cues signaling attachment to the mentioned brand since such cues lead to intrinsic (relative to extrinsic) motive inferences for brand mentioning.

The third paper by Grant Packard, Andrew Gershoff and David Wooten examines self-enhancement by WOM sources in online reviews and the importance of trust cues in the impact of such boasting on social persuasion. They show that while negative trust cues signal self-interest and impede persuasion by boastful reviewers, positive trust cues signal expertise and enhance persuasion.

Whereas the first three papers consider individual-level motivations and inferences, the fourth paper explores the social aspects of the phenomenon as indicated in brand community-based motivations and consequences of WOM sharing. Mina Seraj, Robert Kozinets, and Aysegul Toker show how extensive sharing on social media can create pods of communally-conflicted tension as is the case with the conflict between Apple and Android brand communities.

This session offers a holistic understanding of the nature and effects of sharing, and explores ways in which suspicions about motives for WOM sharing can be enhanced or attenuated. Papers in this session raise important questions: 1) As persuasion knowledge leads to suspicion of firm-initiated communication, what is the content of consumers' knowledge about WOM motives that leads to discounting of WOM communication? 2) How are the cues impacting motive inferences for WOM communication similar (such as financial incentives) or different (such as brand attachment) than those for firm-initiated communication?

Does Sharing Signal Caring? Asymmetric Interpretations of the Informativeness of Own and Others' Social Media Communications

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Social media has brought many changes to the way people communicate. Because the effort, care, and intentions behind such communications are hidden to other users, there may be self-other asymmetries in how those communications are interpreted. These asymmetries may be especially prominent when businesses attempt to incentivize consumers to share brand-related content on social media. This research examines how well people believe their social media communications reflect their own or others' true preferences and whether self-other asymmetries arise when marketers incentivize those communications.

There are two ways in which people might interpret their own and others' social media actions differently. One possibility is that consumers may interpret others' communications as genuine reflections of their true preferences but acknowledge that their own communications might be motivated by instrumental reasons. Consistent with pluralistic ignorance, they may assume that others' behavior matches their preferences but realize that their own preferences and behavior may not correspond (Prentice and Miller 1993). Alternatively, consumers may believe that their own communications are genuine and free from bias by external incentives but that other people are more susceptible to the lure of an incentive, as people think others are more prone to bias than themselves (Ehrlinger, Gilovich, and Ross 2005; Pronin and Kugler 2007). Consumers may believe that their own communications reflect their true preferences no mat-

ter what prompted them, but that others are more likely to misrepresent their preferences in exchange for an incentive. In a series of experiments, we test whether consumers draw stronger inferences from their own or others' communications when those communications are incentivized.

In a pretest, we examined people's intuitions about why they or other people like brands on Facebook. Participants ranked the degree to which several reasons motivated them or others to like brands and businesses on Facebook. They believed being "a true fan" had a greater influence on their decisions to like a brand ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 1.40$) than their friends' decisions ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 1.42$; $t(235) = -2.06$, $p = .04$), but being incentivized had more influence on their friends' decisions ($M = 2.45$, $SD = 1.30$) than their own ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.33$; $t(235) = 2.93$, $p = .004$). This suggests that people's interpretations of their own and others' shares are more akin to a bias blind spot, in which people believe that their own communications are motivated by their preferences whereas others can be swayed to misrepresent their preferences. Studies 1 and 2 test this hypothesis.

Study 1 investigated whether people believe that their own or other people's social media actions are more revealing, especially in the presence of an incentive. MTurk participants imagined they were shopping with a friend, Jill, and stopped at a chocolate shop. This shop was debuting some new cake pops. The shop encouraged them to retweet an announcement about the cake pops on Twitter, which either they did or Jill did, depending on condition. Further, for half of participants, this request included an incentive, the chance to win a \$100 gift card; for the other half, there was no incentive, simply the request. Then participants imagined that they were considering buying either the cake pops or some chocolate-covered pretzels as a treat for the person who retweeted the announcement (themselves or Jill). Participants were less likely to choose the cake pops for Jill when she retweeted the ad with an incentive ($M = 4.97$, $SD = 1.89$) than without one ($M = 5.85$, $SD = 1.33$; $t(181.35) = 3.86$, $p < .001$). However, they were equally likely to purchase the cake pops for themselves regardless of whether or not there was an incentive ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.96$, and $M = 5.03$, $SD = 2.05$, respectively; $t(199) = -.60$, $p = .55$). Thus, people indicate that an incentive can lead others to misrepresent their preferences, but that they are not likely to be so swayed.

Study 2 examined whether people believe that others are less likely to behave in line with their professed preferences than they themselves are, when those preferences are elicited by an incentive. Participants imagined they were planning on attending a music festival with a friend, and they or their friend shared a photo on Facebook to spread the word about the festival. Half of the participants knew that the event sponsors were offering discounted admission for sharing the photo; for the other half, there was no mention of a discount. Participants indicated how likely the person who shared the photo would be to buy an advance ticket to another, similar music festival. Participants rated their friend as less likely to attend the second event when an incentive was offered to share the photo ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 1.50$) than when no incentive was offered ($M = 5.59$, $SD = 1.28$; $t(200) = -3.38$, $p = .001$). However, participants indicated they were equally likely to attend the second event regardless of the incentive ($M = 4.79$, $SD = 1.81$ and $M = 4.87$, $SD = 1.75$, respectively; $t(197) = -.30$, $p = .77$). Consumers believe they are more likely to behave in line with their social media shares regardless of circumstance, whereas only others' unincentivized shares are indicative of future behavior.

Our findings show that consumers believe their own social media communications reflect their true preferences regardless of whether those communications were incentivized, but others convey less about their true preferences when they are incentivized than

when they are not. Further, they believe that future brand interactions will follow this same pattern: one's own behavior will match their social media actions, whereas incentives distort others' messages so that they are not predictive of their behavior. This research will help researchers and practitioners understand what drives consumers to share brand-related material via social media, and the inferences they draw from others' such shares. This work will shed new light on the nature of social media and what people share and believe they are sharing with the world.

I Do It Out of Love! The Role of Brand Attachment Cues in Consumption Related Bragging

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In line with Veblen's (1899) conceptualization of conspicuous consumption, the consumption literature has mainly focused on self-presentation via conspicuous 'display' of status signaling possessions to an immediate audience (Han, Nunes, and Dreze 2010). With the advent of social media, however, consumers have an opportunity to craft their self-presentations for a much wider audience via explicit mentions of brands (Schau and Gilly 2003). We define consumption related bragging as conveying an association with a brand that signals status to a particular reference group by mentioning the brand in a message. While consumption-related bragging can create desired status associations, it can also lead to less than favorable impressions of both of the communicator and potentially, of the brand itself (Ferraro, Kirmani, and Matherly 2013). In this research, we examine one way to attenuate the negative evaluations that others make based on consumption related bragging. Specifically, we show that mentioning a high status brand in social media communications does not lead to negative evaluations if the message includes cues signaling attachment to the brand.

Research has shown that if the communication context provides an explanation for bragging, then negative evaluations become less likely (Holtgraves 2002). Kirmani and Zhu (2007) also demonstrated that certain message cues can provide context to a communication making ulterior motives less salient. We suggest that people interpret consumption related bragging in the context of the communicator's relationship with the mentioned brand. Fournier (1998) showed that consumers can form strong relationships with brands. The strength of the bond connecting the brand with the self is defined as brand attachment (Park et al. 2010). Consumers are attached to brands that are inherently tied to their self-concept and thus, these brands are likely to be mentioned for self-expression purposes (Thomson, MacInnis, and Park 2005). People have an inherent tendency to express themselves and self-expression is intrinsically rewarding (Tamir and Mitchell 2012). When brand attachment is conveyed in a message, the audience may infer that the communicator is authentic and is attempting to express his true self. Therefore, inclusion of cues indicating attachment to the mentioned brand leads an audience to infer intrinsic motives (such as self-expression or personal enjoyment) and not extrinsic motives (such as status signaling). These intrinsic inferences mitigate any negative evaluation the audience might have made in the absence of the attachment cues.

To test these hypotheses, we conducted three studies in the context of tweets mentioning high status brands. Based on our exploratory research (Sekhon et al. 2015) and reviews of the literatures on brand attachment (Park et al. 2010), and consumer brand relationships (Batra Ahuvia, and Bagozzi 2012; Fournier 1998), we identified and pretested cues that indicate a consumer's attachment to a brand. In study 1, we tested the effect of attachment cues on the impressions of consumers who mention the high status brand Mer-

cedes in social media communications. MTurk participants ($n=239$) were asked to imagine that they were checking their Twitter feed and saw a tweet from a casual acquaintance named Pat. Then they saw a tweet either with or without attachment cues and responded to a series of questions regarding perceptions of Pat's attachment to the brand, an assessment of Pat's motives for tweeting and attitude towards Pat. We manipulated absence (*presence*) of attachment cues with the tweet—"It (*She*) is looking so good after a wash #MyCar (#MyLove) #Mercedes pic.twitter.com/26WiMSe5v". As hypothesized, presence of attachment cues led to more positive attitude towards the communicator ($M=4.9$) as compared to the no cue condition ($M=4.4$; $p<0.05$). Inferred motives for tweeting were marginally more intrinsic in the cue condition. The effect of attachment cues on attitude was partially mediated through inferred motives.

Study 2 followed the same procedure as Study 1 with the only difference being that the tweet the participants saw either mentioned a high status (Mercedes) or a low status (Ford) car brand based on a pretest. MTurk participants ($n=98$) read the same tweet mentioning either Mercedes or Ford, and either with or without an attachment cue. Then, they responded to the same series of questions as in study 1. We found that the attitude towards the communicator mentioning Ford was not different in the cue ($M=5.12$) and the no cue ($M=5.24$) condition. However, attitude towards the communicator mentioning Mercedes was significantly more positive in the cue condition ($M=5.4$) as compared to the no cue condition ($M=4.1$; $p<0.01$). Similarly, the inferred motives for tweeting were perceived as more intrinsic in the cue condition ($M=3.9$) as compared to the no cue condition ($M=2.9$; $p<0.01$). We also found evidence for moderated mediation such that the presence of attachment cues led to inference of intrinsic motives, which subsequently impacted the attitude towards the communicator mentioning Mercedes but not towards the communicator mentioning Ford.

In study 3 ($n=301$), we replicated the results across multiple high status car brands (Mercedes, BMW, and Audi) with a different set of tweets. We manipulated absence (*presence*) of attachment cues with a different tweet—"Driving around on Friday night #Mercedes/BMW/Audi (#LoveMyMercedes/LoveMyBMW/LoveMyAudi). Presence of attachment cues led to more positive attitude towards the communicator ($M=5.6$) as compared to the no cue condition ($M=4.9$; $p<0.01$). There was no main or interaction effect of the brand suggesting that this effect holds true for mention of any high status brand. Similarly, the inferred motives for tweeting were perceived as being more intrinsic in the cue condition ($M=4.4$) as compared to the no cue condition ($M=3.3$; $p<0.01$). The indirect effect of attachment cues on attitude towards the communicator through inferred motives was significant. However, there was no direct effect of attachment cues on attitude.

Overall, our findings show that brand attachment cues lead to intrinsic motive inferences for brand mentioning mitigating negative evaluations. Future studies will examine the boundary conditions of this effect pertaining to the communicator, the recipient and the communication medium. This research can be a first step towards developing a theory that can guide practitioners on how to encourage brand mentions in ways that can enhance brand value.

Trust Me, I Know! The Impact of Source Self-Enhancement on Persuasion in Word-of-Mouth

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

By some accounts, boasting online has become a social epidemic (Bernstein 2012). For example, over half of people in one recent survey indicate they boast about their travel exploits online even

before they return home (Travelmail Reporter 2012). A recent book documents the pervasiveness of online 'humblebrags'—people who post information using false modesty as cover for their self-enhancing boasts (Wittels 2012). What's more, a growing body of evidence suggests that self-enhancement is a central motive in the transmission of word of mouth information (cf. Berger 2014 review). For example, a consumer returning from a vacation may post a review of a hotel that includes self-enhancing (i.e. boastful) information about herself, such as positive boasts of her travel expertise or experience.

But what are the consequences of source boasting on word of mouth recipients? Much research finds that people have negative perceptions of people who make self-enhancing statements about their own abilities (Godfrey, Jones, and Lord 1986; Robinson, Johnson, and Shields 1995; Sedikides, Gregg, and Hart 2008). This suggests that self-enhancement might decrease the persuasiveness of a boastful source of product information. Yet other work reveals that people seldom perceive 'ulterior motives' in consumer word of mouth sources (Dellarocas 2003; Hennig-Thurau and Walsh 2003), suggesting that boasting could be idle in this context. However, it is also plausible that consumers might perceive information that comes from a boastful source as especially useful. Boastful claims of consumer experience or status might enhance persuasion by influencing perceptions of source expertise, important information that is generally scarce in technology-mediated settings (Dellarocas 2003). To sum, consumer boasting in word-of-mouth transmission may be idle, impede or even improve word of mouth persuasion.

The present research predicts that trust cues are central to determining the meaning of source self-enhancement in word of mouth persuasion. We leverage and extend the persuasion knowledge model (Friestad and Wright 1994), arguing that in addition to negative trust cues, positive trust cues can have an important impact on recipient perceptions and persuasion. First, because consumer (firm) persuasion agents are perceived as normatively other- (self-) interested (Friestad and Wright 1994; Hennig-Thurau and Walsh 2003), boasting will have a null (negative) effect on their persuasiveness. Similar to firm persuasion agents, self-enhancing consumer sources of word of mouth information will be perceived as motivated by self-interest in the presence of a negative trust cue, impeding their persuasion. However, because trustworthy endorsers are likely to be unthinkingly accepted (Priester and Petty 2003), given a positive trust cue, self-enhancing consumer boasting will be accepted as a signal of source expertise, enhancing persuasion. Three studies examine these predictions.

Study 1 provides an initial test of whether the normative motives inferred for different sources of product information (firm vs. consumer persuasion agents) act as trust cues resulting in different baseline responses to persuasion attempts. Participants were presented with an online product opinion in a 2 (source boasting: high, low) x 2 (source: consumer, firm agent) design. Boasting decreased persuasion when the source was normatively associated with distrust (firm agent). However, the same boastful statements failed to impede persuasion when the source was normatively associated with trust (consumer).

Study 2 tests our prediction that the valence of a trust cue may have important consequences in interpersonal persuasion. The study manipulated a known cue of trust in word of mouth: source-recipient similarity (Karmaker and Tormala 2009; Rogers 1995). Participants were presented with a consumer product review in a 2 (source boasting: high, low) x 2 (source-recipient similarity: high, low) design. Given high (low) demographic similarity between the reviewer and recipient, trust was heightened (attenuated), leading to increased (decreased) persuasion by a boastful reviewer.

In Study 3, we directly manipulate the trustworthiness of the source to isolate the process through which trust cues moderate the impact of self-enhancement on persuasion. We predict that the presence of trust cues result in a “change of meaning” (Friestad and Wright 1994) of source boasts of consumer expertise. Trust was manipulated to high or low levels using a “rate the reviewer” score for the source prior to the source’s product review, which was either high or low in source self-enhancement. Given high manipulated trust, the consumer accepted the boastful source’s claims of category expertise with less scrutiny than in the low trust condition (as measured by processing time; Priester and Petty 1995), leading to heightened persuasion. Under low trust, recipients rejected the source’s boastful claims of consumer expertise and their persuasion attempt. Bootstrap tests confirm moderated mediation of the relationship between boasting, trust cues and persuasion by recipient perceptions of source expertise.

Overall, the results suggest that modesty is not in itself a virtue--nor immodesty a vice--when it comes to interpersonal persuasion. Trust cues modify the recipient’s perceptions of source boasting, determining whether self-enhancement is idle, impedes, or increases persuasion. We hope our research may help inform consumers as they evaluate word of mouth information and managers who wish to optimize online social persuasion, and guide future research exploring the impact of source self-enhancement on consumer judgment and decision-making.

Sharing Turns to Scaring: Explaining Apple versus Android Brand Community Conflict

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Social media creates extensive sharing possibilities for people to act in collective fashion. This sharing has been widely noted in the online interactions and experiences of people who assemble virtually around common consumption interests, causes, or brands (Husemann, Ladstaetter, and Luedicke 2015; Kozinets 1997; Rheingold 1993; Von Hippel 2005). Online deeds related to sharing knowledge, experience, ideas, and emotions intensify through the proliferation of online communal engagement; yet these sharing practices also trigger occasions of conflict. Why, we ask in this research, do members of one online group attack the members of another? What motives can we infer?

Although intra-communal conflict has been discussed in a peripheral sense in research focusing on communities related to distance running (Thomas, Price, and Schau 2013), culinary practices (de Valck, van Bruggen, and Wierenga 2009), and premium cola consumption (Husemann, Ladstaetter, and Luedicke 2015), the discussion of inter-communal conflict where divergent communities challenge and attack each other’s consumption choices, convictions, and even identities is an emergent field.

Muniz and O’Guinn (2001) provide relevant conceptualization for the activity in their discussion of consciousness of kind and its apparent consequence, oppositional brand loyalty. Oppositional brand loyalty is defined as a social process that propagates the members of a community to demarcate themselves as different and unique by defining their identities based on their brand utilization as well as their anti-brand attitudes and avoidance of rival brands. This “us” vs. “them” theme is developed in the discussion of cola wars by Muniz and Hamer (2001). However, there is still much conceptual work to be done to follow these pioneering efforts. In particular, we seek to define inter-communal tension as well as the factors that aggravate the reciprocated practices of virtual violence among opposing brand communities.

Our research uses a 38-month long participative netnographic and ethnographic engagement with the phenomenon to study the conflict between Apple and Android brand communities. The engagement encompasses both online and face-to-face settings. The Apple versus Android site provides a clear, contemporary, and technology-brand driven example of inter-communal brand conflict. Personal relationships between people turn into collective conflict through an aggressive rhetoric that is exacerbated by the idealized personality differences that manifest within Apple and Android communities.

How can this brand-related aggression be so widespread and so vitriolic? Certainly, the tension between Apple and Android users can be partly explained by out-group/in-group tensions, social identity and realistic group conflict theories (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Campbell 1965; Husemann, Ladstaetter, and Luedicke 2015; Levine and Campbell 1972). The norms of these relationships have also been culturally shaped and shared by identity-centric mass advertising communications such as Apple’s Mac versus PC guy commercials and the Samsung ads mocking iPhone’s ‘next big thing’ followers. Consistent with advertising portrayals, Apple users tends to be more sociable, loyal, and elitist, while Android users are more individualistic, curious, frustrated and aggressive in nature.

The product of this cultural engineering is that adversarial and oppositional brand relationships in this technology sphere are both attractive norms and behavioral frames. Community members build on these tensions, enjoying the escalating tension in rhetoric that facilitates the community to further define its ethos and identity through conflict as well as to augment its intellectual, social, and cultural value through increasing the possibilities for multidimensional human engagement, including aggression. Thus, autotelic brand violence provides its participants not only with hostility and anger, but humor, identity, communality, and pleasure as well.

Our conceptualization draws on Schinkel (2004), who discusses the concept of autotelic violence as a phenomenon where the means and ends to violence merge. In autotelic violence, violence becomes a performance, aggressive acts happen for the sake of its own intrinsic pleasure rather than in order to reach a specific objective. We hypothesize in this research that social media tendency to reflect and represent personalities amplifies the tendency for autotelic violence to occur. Because individuals are performing for their community, which acts as their audience, a charged and intensified inter-communal brand rivalry is created, where differences are salient and aggressive interaction the norm. Unlike oppositional brand loyalty, challenges in these personal and social media settings occur not only for the sake of challenging brand choices of opposite groups or daring to convert them to the supported brand, but also as entertainment.

From this, we theorize that the conflict we observe is motivated by autotelic violence, a culture of widespread oppositional ideologies, and capitalistic competitive mind-sets. As each side is prodded to respond, conflict endogenously generates and distinguishes opposing idealized communal personalities that reciprocally elicit both auxiliary inter-communal conflict and consistent brand identity-related responses.

The research provides theoretical contributions to brand and consumer research literatures in two broad areas. First, it refines our conception of oppositional brand loyalty by developing the concept of inter-communal conflict based in autotelic violence. Second, it explores the relationship between advertised brand identity and communal personality differences, specifically locating them in the context of social media reciprocal conflict. Why do members of one brand using group attack members of another? A culturally informed answer is that they do it because they identify with oppositional

brand images in advertising, they internalize oppositional brand identities, they are empowered by their brand communal audience, and because they find the aggression entertaining.

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Illusions of Preference Construction

Chair: Aner Sela, University of Florida, USA

Paper #1: “Liking Goes with Liking: An Intuitive Measure of Preferences at a Flip of a Coin”

Coby Morvinski, University of California San Diego, USA
On Amir, University of California San Diego, USA

Paper #2: “The Feeling of Preference”

Aner Sela, University of Florida, USA
Itamar Simonson, Stanford, USA

Paper #3: “Complicating Decisions: The Effort-Outcome Link and the Construction of Effortful Decision Processes”

Rom Schrift, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Ran Kivetz, Columbia University, USA
Oded Netzer, Columbia University, USA

Paper #4: “Evolving Front-runners: Choice under Gradual Construction”

Wendy Liu, University of California San Diego, USA
Itamar Simonson, Stanford, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

It is now widely accepted that “people’s preferences are often constructed in the process of elicitation” (Tversky, Sattath, and Slovic 1988), but despite four decades of research, our understanding of preference construction processes is still far from complete. Whereas most prior research has focused on task characteristics and information processing, the current session explores the role of decision-makers’ intuitions and implicit motives.

Why are people sometimes motivated to deliberately distort their preferences as they construct them? How is the choice construction strategy people use influenced by their intuition? And if intuitive preferences do, in fact, exist outside of the construction context, how might they be best revealed? Four papers explore these and related questions as they look to deepen our understanding of consumer preference construction processes.

The first two papers examine, in different ways, the role of implicit intuitions in the preference construction process, and the notion that certain preference intuitions may exist independent of the elicitation context. **Morvinski and Amir’s** paper shows that consumers intuitively associate preferred options with prominent labels or cues. They further show that incorporating such cues in the preference construction context can decrease system-2 bias and susceptibility to certain context effects. The paper by **Sela and Simonson** examines how the preference construction strategy (i.e., lexicographic vs. tradeoff-based) is impacted by a subjective “feeling of preference,” which can be triggered by situational cues even before any options or attributes are encountered.

The next two papers focus on the dynamics of the construction process itself. The paper by **Schrift, Kivetz, and Netzer** shows that the ingrained intuition that positive outcomes are the fruits of an effortful and diligent decision process may drive people to distort and thereby complicate the process by which they construct their preferences and choice. In the fourth paper, **Liu and Simonson** examine the dual role played by preference instability and preference affirmation in a process called Evolving Front-runners (EF), in which preference is constructed gradually.

Much prior work on preference construction has demonstrated effects of task characteristics and information processing goals and constraints, but little is known about how preference construction is impacted by consumers’ intuitions and implicit motives. Taken

together, the four papers in this session present novel findings that further our understanding of the elusive nature of the mechanisms by which consumers construct their preferences. The session should be of interest not only to researchers who study consumer preference and choice, but also those who are more broadly interested in heuristic and systematic decision making, information processing, and metacognition. Consistent with this ACR’s theme – Advancing Connections – this session incorporates multiple methodologies and speaks to audiences that include theory-inclined academics, consumers, policy-makers, and marketers.

Liking Goes with Liking: An Intuitive Measure of Preferences at a Flip of a Coin

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In a series of five experiments, we explore congruence between preferred products to prominent labels. We find that people intuitively relate high evaluative judgments, such as preferred products, to prominent labels, but this effect is not symmetric as no similar relation was found between low evaluative judgments and non-prominent labels. We discuss the link between prominence and preference and suggest a fluency-based congruence explanation between two positively judged ends. Lastly, we demonstrate an important implication of our finding in which our intuitive measure of relative evaluative judgment helps de-bias compromise effect, an established system-2 bias.

In the initial demonstration of the effect (Experiment 1), participants played a game in which they saw two alternative DVD movie rewards and tossed a virtual coin to determine which movie they hypothetically win. Before tossing the coin, participants decided on the reward they will win in each of the coin-toss outcomes, but the question was framed using the prominent label of heads (Schelling 1960; Bar Hillel et al. 2014), i.e., “In the case of head, which movie will you win?” When the movie “The Alamo” was presented together with a least preferred movie [“Superbabies: Babies Geniuses 2”] as was determined by a pretest from the same population, 81% of the participants assigned heads to this movie. However, when the alternative was a more favorite movie [“Forrest Gump”], only 34% of the participants indicated they want to win the movie “The Alamo” in case the coin landed heads up. Therefore, keeping the reward constant, participants in our study associated the same reward with a prominent label when it was their preferred choice but not when it was their least preferred choice. In Experiment 2, we explored the asymmetry property of the effect in which framing the same assignment task with tails (a non-prominent label) instead of heads, did not yield the reverse results. The likelihood that our participants assigned their least preferred movie to tails did not differ from chance (53%, $p = .78$). This finding also rules out a simple rank-matching explanation (i.e., polarity alignment principle). Additionally, participants in the heads assignment condition, compared to those in the tails assignment condition, did not feel more control over the winning outcome, nor did they feel they had a better chance of winning their preferred reward. In Experiment 3, participants performed 20 consecutive choice tasks, each comprised of a different pair of rewards. After examining a pair of rewards for 5 seconds, one of the rewards started to blink after which participants had only one second to assign either heads or tails to the blinking reward. The results showed a similar pattern of behavior. That is, whether the task involved assign-

ing a choice to a label (Experiments 1-2) or vice versa (Experiment 3) did not change our participants' behavior. More importantly, we replicated our initial findings even when participants had only one second to submit their choice, suggesting that the preference-prominence link is intuitive, not requiring long deliberate thinking. Experiment 4 extended our findings to other prominent labels (i.e., even/odd, card ranks). Lastly, Experiment 5 was designed to demonstrate how the use of the coin-flip task (based on preference-prominence congruity) can help reduce a System-2 bias, a bias that occurs when System 2 processing is inferior to more intuitive judgment. Utilizing the Compromise Effect, a well-established System-2 bias, we demonstrated how the bias significantly decreases when we replaced the standard choice task with the coin-face assignment task. Compared to a 33% bias in the focal product market share in the regular choice task condition, the bias was reduced to 15% in the assignment task condition. It is worth noting that even in the assignment task condition, the compromise effect did not completely disappear and participants' assignments of heads to their "favorite" product differed significantly from chance.

Together, our findings demonstrate that people intuitively relate high evaluative judgments to prominent labels. As one of our online participants bluntly commented: "I chose the item that I thought I would want more: Heads I win, Tails you lose". We refute alternative explanations such as simple rank-matching and subjective probability. We propose that prominent labels are processed more fluently compared with non-prominent ones. Existing evidences support the link between fluency and likable (E.g., Reber, Winkielman & Schwarz 1998) and the fact that fluent cues are hedonically marked (Winkielman et al. 2003). Therefore, high congruence is achieved because both prominence and preference carry positive affective reaction. Consumers are affectively evaluative matching in the same manner as they associate positively valenced stimuli (e.g., positive words) with positive responses (e.g., familiar, known). That is, like goes with like (but not the reverse). We drew our conclusions from existing literature that support the idea that it is pervasive human characteristic to prefer fluent cues such as known to the unknown and familiar to unfamiliar. For example, psychologists have long observed that repeated, unreinforced exposure results in an increased evaluation of stimulus (Zajonc, 1968). On the other hand, things that deviate from the usual and expected are curiosity arousing and under most condition will be positively evaluated (Mandler 1987). We also try to explain the asymmetry property using the concept of markedness. We discuss our findings in light of the existing literature from economic and psychology on focal point (Schelling 1960), perceptual fluency (Reber et al. 1988), hedonic familiarity, and hedonic marking of fluency (Winkielman et al., 2003), as well common used implicit measures of preferences.

Our work concludes with a suggestion for those who are about to make a decision via a coin toss: choose the option you have assigned heads to regardless of the coin toss outcome. Most likely, this is your most preferred option.

The Feeling of Preference

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As has been well established, consumers often do not have well-defined preferences and they construct their preferences on the fly, using ad-hoc decision strategies determined by salient decision goals, processing constraints, and task characteristics (Bettman, Luce, and Payne 1998).

We propose that the construction of preferences is also influenced by a previously unexamined factor, the "feeling of prefer-

ence," which is the sense that one has or should be able to form a preference in a given domain. The feeling of preference (FOP) can be triggered by situational cues pertaining to the ability to formulate or retrieve a preference (e.g., the perception of prior experience), regardless of actual preference retrieval, cognitive ease (i.e., fluency), or a motivation to express a preference.

Unlike the feeling of knowing (Koriat 1993), the feeling of preference can be triggered independently (and is therefore not a by-product) of the preference formation process or experiences of cognitive ease (fluency). Because it is independent of – and can be triggered prior to – the formation of a preference, FOP is also distinct from certainty (Rucker et al. 2014), which is conceptualized as a property of a particular attitude, preference, or judgment.

We demonstrate how FOP impacts the construction of choices from non-dominated, two-attribute, three-option choice sets ("compromise sets"). We use compromise sets because research has shown that, whereas choice of the middle (compromise) option often reflects a tradeoff-based strategy and/or difficulty forming a preference (Dhar and Simonson 2003; Levav, Kivetz, and Cho 2010), choosing one of the extreme options indicates that the decision maker prefers one attribute over another, reflecting more of a lexicographic strategy. We expected that activating a FOP would increase choice of extreme options and decrease compromising. In a series of studies we test alternative mechanisms that trigger and underlie the feeling of preference.

Study 1 activated FOP by manipulating perceived experience. Participants completed a series of choices from several "compromise sets" that are characterized by a high share of the middle option (portable grills, lawnmowers, and flashlights) and before seeing the choice options, rated on a 7-point scale how many times they had made a choice in each domain. We manipulated FOP by varying the anchors of the scale: 1="never"/7="a few times" in the high relative experience condition and 1="a few times"/7="multiple times" in the low relative experience condition. Consistent with our prediction, believing one is experienced and therefore should be able to form a preference increased the tendency to choose extreme options in all three decisions.

Study 2 activated FOP by priming people with preference-related words (e.g., opinion, attitude) or control words (e.g., bird, color). Consistent with our prediction, priming preferences increased choice of extreme options and decreased compromising in two separate choice problems (lawnmowers and microwave ovens). Casting doubt on an alternative account according to which our priming activated certainty, we found no effects of the prime on several measures of certainty and choice confidence (in fact, certainty was slightly lower in the preference prime condition).

One could argue that, rather than activating a general feeling of preference, our prior manipulations activated or brought to mind preexisting preferences in the respective domains. To rule out this possibility, Study 3 used a choice context in which participants could not possibly have had prior preferences. First, we primed preferences by asking half of the participants to describe a situation in which their decision was strongly influenced by personal beliefs, values, or principles. The other half served as control. Then, participants saw a decision problem consisting of a fictitious product ("skimbles") with fictitious attribute names ("atmority" and "predorsity"). Despite the fact that participants could not possibly retrieve preferences for skimbles, priming preferences significantly increased choice of extreme options and decreased compromising. This provides a strong test of our proposition regarding the impact of a general feeling of preference on choice construction, as well as rules out an ease-of-re-

trieval (fluency) account. We again found no differences in certainty or confidence between conditions.

In addition to ruling out preference retrieval and certainty as alternative explanations, Study 3 provides insight into the underlying process. After making their choice, we asked participants to explain their decision in their own words, and then to classify their responses as most closely corresponding to one of five general statements (identified in a pretest). Four statement options pertained to lack of preference and/or an attempt to choose what seemed like a balanced product, whereas the fifth statement read "I had a vague intuition that the option I chose was somehow better or that one attribute was more important than the other". Consistent with our suggestion that priming preferences activated a general feeling of preference that is independent of specific knowledge or attributes, participants were significantly more likely to mention preference intuition as an explanation in the preference prime condition, and this was correlated with choice of extreme options (i.e., "non-compromising").

We further argue that the feeling of preference reflects consumers' perceptions rather than any motivation to have or display a preference. Study 4 tested this motivational explanation by varying whether choice was public (i.e., evaluated by others) or not. We used the same choice task and manipulation of experience from Study 1, but we also varied whether participants thought their choices would be shown to other respondents who will judge the quality of the choices made by the participant (Maimaran and Simonson 2011; Simonson and Nowlis 2000). If our manipulation activated a desire to have or display a preference then expecting to be evaluated should strengthen its effect. Casting doubt on this alternative account, the results revealed a main effect of FOP priming, without an experience x evaluation interaction.

Taken together, the findings show that preference construction (e.g., non/compromising) can be influenced by a feeling of preference: a sense that one has or should be able to form a preference in a given domain. The studies illustrate several situational cues that can activate such a feeling, and show that it can operate independently of retrieval processes, motivation, cognitive ease, and preference certainty.

Complicating Decisions: The Effort-Outcome Link and the Construction of Effortful Decision Processes

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The ethos that effort and hard work yield desired and positive outcomes is ingrained in our lives and many cultures. Whether through bedtime stories at a young age (e.g., *Three Little Pigs* and *The Little Red Hen*) or popular slogans such as "no pain, no gain," the link between effort and positive outcomes is essentially hard-wired into the way we think and behave in many situations. This belief may be functional and serve an important and fundamental purpose, such as fostering the sense that one can impact the world in predictable ways (e.g., the just-world hypothesis; Lerner 1980). However, can the belief in the effort-outcome link (hereafter EOL) impede decision-making when important decisions seem too easy?

In this paper we postulate that since decision-makers believe that positive outcomes are the fruits of effortful decision-making processes, when confronted with a decision that feels too easy, decision-makers will artificially construct more effortful choice processes (i.e., complicate their choice). The notion that decision-makers complicate their choices under certain conditions is consistent with recent findings (e.g., Schrift, Netzer, and Kivetz 2011; Sela and Berger 2012). In particular, Schrift et al. demonstrate that decision-makers seek to attain compatibility between the effort they anticipate

in a certain decision context and the effort they actually exert. Building on these findings, the main contribution of this research is to (i) delve deeper into the mechanism that triggers complicating behavior, namely belief in the EOL and (ii) demonstrate additional and unique ways by which decision makers complicate their impending decisions.

In Study 1 participants were first asked to rate 10 fictitious company logos on their level of attractiveness. In the second part of the study we manipulated participants' strength of EOL beliefs using a well-established (and pretested¹) paradigm of manipulating meta-cognitive experiences (Schwarz et al. 1991). In the third and final section of the study participants imagined that they had recently created their own new company, and read an excerpt emphasizing the importance of choosing a company logo. Participants then received (in a between-subjects design) a choice between two fictitious logos at varying degrees of choice difficulty (based on participants' own pre-measured preferences). Prior to making their choice, participants were asked to re-rate the attractiveness of the logos, enabling us to examine the degree and direction by which participants distorted their preferences. We find that when facing a relatively easy decision, participants distorted their preferences in a manner that intensified their conflict in choice² (after controlling for statistical artifacts possibly arising from the test-retest design). Further, consistent with our hypothesis, we find that strength of EOL beliefs moderate such tendency to complicate³.

In Study 2, participants reviewed information about 12 job candidates before deciding whom to hire for a senior position in their company. Later, participants were asked to choose one of two candidates and were given partial information of that they originally reviewed about the candidates. Based on the available information, one candidate was clearly superior over the other. Aside from choosing, participants were also asked to recall the missing information from memory. In this study, three factors were examined. First, we measured participants' chronic tendency to link effort with positive outcomes using the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE) scale (Mirels & Garrett, 1971). Second, we manipulated (between subjects) the stage in which participants were asked to recall the missing information (pre-decisional vs. post-decisional stage). Finally, we also manipulated the degree to which the decision was framed as important (based on Jecker 1964). We find that when decisions are relatively easy, individuals with stronger PWE beliefs distort the information they recall about potential dates (Study 2a) and job candidates (Study 2b) in a manner that artificially increases their choice-conflict (i.e., complicating behavior). Consistent with our motivational account and inconsistent with several rival accounts (e.g., market-efficiency inferences and conversational norms) such patterns were (i) observed only in the pre-decisional stage (and not after the choice is made) and (ii) were more pronounced when the decision was framed as important⁴.

In Study 3 we again manipulate perceptions of the EOL using a pretested⁵ priming procedure (based on Quinn & Crocker 1999) and demonstrate that decision-makers not only distort the information they recall, but also selectively interpret incoming information about the alternatives. We find that participants distort and interpret other consumers' recommendations in a manner that detracts from the superior car, thus increasing conflict in choice. Further supporting a motivational account (and inconsistent with inferential processes), such distortions were observed only when participants were facing a decision and not when such evaluations were done outside the context of an impending choice⁶.

In Studies 4 and 5 we examine whether individuals with a stronger EOL beliefs would actively exert more effort in choice by

seeking more information and spending more time before finalizing their decision. In Study 4, when choosing either a difficult or easy choice of a company logo, decision-makers spent more time and searched for more information before finalizing their choice compared to when the decision was moderately difficult. That is, we find a U-shape pattern of decision time and information search as a function of choice difficulty⁷. Moreover, the tendency to conduct this superfluous information search when facing easy decisions was more pronounced for individuals with stronger EOL beliefs⁸. In Study 5 a similar pattern was observed for individuals that chose different models (to advertise their company's brand)⁹.

To summarize, whether choosing which job candidate to hire, which person to date, or which property to buy, sometimes an apparently easy choice is indeed ripe for the making. In this article, we argue that a belief that positive outcomes are attained only through diligent and effortful decisions may backfire and cause people to artificially construct a more effortful decision even when such choice conflict is unwarranted. Such superfluous deliberations may waste valuable resources, cause people to miss out on opportunities, and even lead to inferior choices. Six studies validate the EOL as the underlying mechanism, rule out several rival accounts, and demonstrate unique ways in which individuals complicate their choice.

Evolving Front-runners: Choice under Gradual Construction

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

How do people make a choice among a larger set of options (of more than two or three)? Although much previous research examines choice sets of two or three options, when there are more options, less is known about the process by which people sort through the choice set to arrive at a final decision, especially when options are introduced not all at once. For example, do people mentally keep all options in mind, or do people engage in interim comparisons and eliminations, and if so, how? And furthermore, how does the choice outcome change depending on the process involved? In this research, we examine one process that people might use to make a choice among multiple options, namely, the Evolving Front-runners (EF) process. We argue that even though in real life people might not engage in a pure version of this process, choices among multiple options can often have an EF component. In 17 experiments we study the EF process. Our findings have implications for understanding preference construction in larger choice sets.

The EF process works as follows: Imagine a consumer is looking to buy a dress from a designer. There are 10 new dresses this season, and she will be presented with the dresses sequentially. Further, she will be advised to make eliminations as she goes along. Specifically, she will first see two dresses, and will decide which of the two she prefers. The preferred dress will be held for her, whereas the other one will be eliminated from her consideration. The person is then presented with the third dress. She now compares this third dress to the one held. If the third dress is better than the one held, the third dress will be held to be compared to the fourth dress, while the old incumbent is eliminated. If the third dress is not better than the one held, then the third dress is eliminated, and the held dress will still be held, and will be compared to option 4. The process goes on whereby a newly introduced option is always compared to the current incumbent, and can either "beat it" and replace it, or fail and let the incumbent live on. Finally, the last option is revealed, and the person makes a choice between this option and the final incumbent, and the chosen option is the final selection for the entire set.

Thus in this EF procedure, a newly introduced option needs to compare to only one of the previous options, namely, the incumbent, as opposed to all earlier options. This greatly cuts down the amount of processing required to make a selection. This process may be used when a decision maker does not wish to carry information of all options in one's mind, but instead just focuses on a forerunner at any stage.

Our research focuses on the following questions: what are the properties of this choice process? Is it accurate? Does it create systematic preference shifts compared to a default simultaneous choice? And do decision makers like this procedure?

We answer these questions in 17 real incentive experiments. We find that preference instability plays a large role in choice outcome under EF. Further, an incumbent often gets compared to a number of new options, and this creates a process of repeated preference affirmation for the incumbent. We find preference affirmation to have a positive effect on subsequent preferences. The combined effect of preference instability and preference affirmation leads to systematic shifts in preferences compared to a default simultaneous choice. Specifically, options introduced late are the most advantaged, whereas middle options are the most disadvantaged. Implications for understanding preferences in larger choice sets are discussed.

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Understanding and Overcoming Financial Challenges: Process Insights, Pitfalls, and Recommendations

Chairs: Rachel Meng, Columbia University, USA
Esha Sharma, Dartmouth College, USA

Paper #1: Poverty as Helplessness: How Loss of Control Affects Impulsivity and Risk-Taking

Ayelet Gneezy, University of California San Diego, USA
Alex Imas, Carnegie Mellon University, USA

Paper #2: Thinking About Financial Deprivation: Rumination and Decision Making Among the Poor

Gita Johar, Columbia University, USA
Rachel Meng, Columbia University, USA
Keith Wilcox, Columbia University, USA

Paper #3: An Urgency Effect in Responses to Future Rate Increases

Shirley Zhang, University of Chicago, USA
Christopher Hsee, University of Chicago, USA
Abigail Sussman, University of Chicago, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

People routinely face financial challenges that may impede their financial and overall well-being. For example, chronic and situational financial deprivation can result in costly errors involving consequential decisions: when to repay debts, whether to borrow, and how much to save. While much research has explored such pitfalls, relatively less well-understood are the psychological mechanisms associated with these obstacles and how people aim to overcome them. To this end, this session explores causes and consequences of economic challenges such as feeling poor and bearing the burden of debt repayment. The featured papers impart insights into the psychological and behavioral consequences of experiencing financial challenges and suggest some recommendations for combating them. In particular, attention is focused on uncovering process evidence underlying the relationship between financial constraints and suboptimal behavior (Papers 1 and 2) as well as the routes people take in the face of environmental obstacles (Paper 3).

The session opens with a discussion of potential causes of impaired decision-making among the financially constrained. Gneezy and Imas (Paper 1) examine the role of feelings of helplessness on impulsivity and risk taking. Specifically, they find that lower-income increases perceived helplessness, which in turn engenders higher discount rates and risk taking. Johar, Meng, and Wilcox (Paper 2) implicate another source of suboptimal behavior among the poor: that of cognitive rumination. While the poor are more likely to chronically suppress and express thoughts about financial concerns than the rich, rumination seems to better explain their heightened impulsivity and lower cognitive performance. Paper 3 investigates how people manage resources in the face of external financial constraints and shocks. Zhang, Hsee, and Sussman find evidence of an “urgency bias” whereby people choose to repay debt faster when they know the interest rate will increase in the future compared to when they know the rate is already at a high level.

Together, these papers combine secondary data, lab experiments, and field studies to raise important questions about (1) how affective and cognitive processes can impair behavior among the poor, as well as (2) the effect of exogenous factors that influence how we manage our financial resources in anticipation of the future. Papers 1 and 2 examine how economic constraints influence decisions from both an affective perspective (Gneezy and Imas) and

an information-processing perspective (Johar, Meng, and Wilcox). Complementarily, Paper 3 investigates how consumers prepare for their financial future (Zhang, Hsee, and Sussman). Diving into the causes and consequences of financial challenges, this session aims to contribute to improved ability to understand and counteract some of the detrimental effects associated with these obstacles.

Poverty as Helplessness: How Loss of Control Affects Impulsivity and Risk-Taking

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research has shown that individuals living in poverty display greater impatience and elevated valuation of high-risk prospects such as lottery tickets, leading to choices that further undermine their chances to emerge from poverty (Lawrance 1991; Haisley, Mostafa, and Loewenstein 2008; Lynch and Zauberman 2006). One line of research posits that the poor are mired in a “culture of poverty” in which biased preferences and deviant values such as myopia and increased risk-seeking cause them to become, and remain, poor (Banfield 1970; Lewis 1970). However, recent work suggests that it is the state of living in poverty that changes individuals’ preferences and behavior (Mani et al. 2013; Vohs 2013). In outlining a mechanism for how poverty shapes preferences, Rabow, Berkman and Kessler (1983) argue that feelings of helplessness endemic to living in poverty give rise to the elevated levels of impatience and risk-seeking the poor often display.

The helplessness theory of poverty suggests that the scarcity inherent in being poor severely restricts individuals’ choice sets, resulting in a loss of agency and feelings of not being in control of one’s life. This state of helplessness increases impulsivity and risk-seeking that drive suboptimal decisions such as buying lottery tickets, gambling, and taking payday (Kane 1987). The result is a grim cycle in which individuals’ choices further reinforce their abject states, creating poverty traps in which those who become poor stay poor. However, although helplessness is often comorbid with an increased preference for immediate rewards and high-risk prospects, studies have yet to establish the causal link between these constructs—critical for the helplessness account of poverty. This paper combines insights from marketing, sociology and behavioral economics to present the first causal evidence for the role of helplessness in relative greater discounting of the future and increased preference for high-risk rewards.

We first establish a link between low income and an increased sense of helplessness using a large data set from the World Values Survey comprised of 60,094 individuals from 48 countries. To capture sense of helplessness, we used participants’ responses to the question of how much free choice and control they have over their lives. We used responses on income class as a measure of *relative* income. Running a fixed-effects regression of the helplessness measure on relative income, our analysis revealed the predicted significant relationship between income and helplessness, with poorer individuals reporting feelings of having less control over their lives ($\beta = -.31$; $p < .001$).

To first demonstrate a relationship between poverty and impatience, we elicited and compared the discount rates of poorer individuals and those who are financially better off. The first group

comprised of unemployed individuals approached around an unemployment-benefits center in City Heights, a low-income neighborhood in Southern California. The second group comprised of employed individuals in the same area. We elicited time preferences by having participants respond to a series of 27 hypothetical choices between receiving a smaller amount now or a larger amount later (Kirby, Petry, and Bickel 1999). Indeed, the unemployed individuals displayed greater impulsivity, choosing the smaller-sooner reward on average 61% of the time, whereas the employed individuals from the same low-income neighborhood chose the smaller-sooner reward 48% of the time ($p=.03$). Estimating parameter k of a hyperbolic discounting function revealed that unemployed individuals discounted the future to a significantly greater extent than the employed group (mean $k=.020$ vs. $.008$, respectively; $p=.015$).

To directly test the effect of helplessness on time preferences, we manipulated sense of control over an aversive stimulus in a standard laboratory subject pool and then elicited their time discount rates. Using a novel experimental paradigm based on the classic learned helplessness studies (Alloy and Abramson 1982; Hiroto and Seligman 1975), we induced helplessness by exposing participants to aversive, uncontrollable noise, and empowered about half of them with the option to control the noise, thereby increasing their sense of control. Critically, we made the ability to exercise control costly, discouraging empowered participants from actually changing the level of noise, resulting in helpless and empowered participants experiencing the same aversive stimulus. After being exposed to the noise, we elicited time preferences using the same set of 27 choices over time. Our analyses revealed that inducing helplessness exogenously generated a similar shift in time preferences as financial scarcity: those in the Helpless treatment chose the smaller-sooner reward 60% of the time, whereas Empowered participants chose it only 50% of the time, $p=.002$. The mean hyperbolic discounting parameter k of the Helpless group ($M=.015$) was significantly higher than that of the Empowered group ($M=.007$; $SD=.01$), $p<.01$.

Similar to the first study, we sought to demonstrate a link between low income and greater risk-seeking by eliciting valuations of high-risk, high-reward prospects from two groups of individuals that differed in their level of wealth. The first group comprised of unemployed individuals approached in a low-income neighborhood in Pittsburgh (PA) and the second group comprised of employed individuals in the same neighborhood. We elicited participants' willingness to pay for either a high-risk prospect or a low-risk prospect, each with the same large reward. Adopting the protocol of Rottenreich and Hsee (2001), the gamble was either a 1% or a 99% chance of winning a European vacation. Indeed, unemployed individuals reported a significantly higher willingness to pay for the high-risk lottery ($M=24.31$) than the employed individuals ($M=13.16$), $p=.021$. However, we found no significant difference in willingness to pay for the low-risk lottery ($M=194.12$ vs. $M=241.22$), $p=.45$. To show that inducing helplessness generates a similar shift in risk attitudes, we used the same helplessness manipulation as in the previous study and then elicited participants' willingness to pay for either the low or high-risk gamble. Indeed, participants in the Helpless treatment reported significantly higher willingness to pay for the high-risk lottery ($M=41.86$) compared with Empowered participants ($M=18.13$), $p=.038$. At the same time, participants' willingness to pay for the low-risk lottery was not affected by experimental treatment ($M=377.08$ vs. $M=352.87$), $p=.70$.

Thinking About Financial Deprivation: Rumination and Decision Making Among the Poor

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Why are the poor often susceptible to impaired decision-making? Recent work demonstrates that people who face scarce financial resources make suboptimal decisions and perform worse on a variety of cognitive tasks compared to those who do not face such constraints (Mani et al. 2013; Shah, Mullainathan, and Shafir 2012). The current research aims to illuminate the precise cognitive mechanism potentially responsible for these impaired decisions in order to derive implementable interventions.

Aversive thoughts about money are likely to be more accessible for the poor than the rich; given this, the poor may be predisposed to ruminate on, or dwell upon, their financial concerns. Indeed, a pilot study found that lower-income individuals were more prone to agree with statements such as "I have thoughts that I cannot stop" and "My thoughts frequently return to one idea" than the rich (select items from the White Bear Suppression Index, or WBSI; Wegner and Zanakos 1994). A large body of work has implicated the role of rumination in negative mood and a host of psychopathologies, including depression, anxiety, binge eating and drinking, and self-harm (Nolen-Hoeksema, Wisco, and Lyubomirsky 2008). In two field studies, we examine the effect of income on rumination about financial concerns in particular and highlight some downstream negative consequences of rumination on decision making. A third study investigates the efficacy of interventions such as suppressing thoughts about financial concerns, versus encouraging their free expression, on impulsivity.

Study 1 used a representative U.S. panel ($N=517$) to test the mediating role of rumination on impulsivity and cognitive function. Participants completed a monetary intertemporal titrator composed of 11 choices between a smaller, immediate reward and a larger, delayed reward (Green, Fry, and Myerson 1994), followed by a measure of cognitive performance and ability (Cognitive Reflection Task; Frederick, 2005). We then administered the WBSI and an adapted financial rumination scale (Scott and McIntosh 1999), along with alternative mediators hypothesized *ex ante* to be psychologically relevant (i.e., self-efficacy, desirability of control, self-control, and tightwad-spendthrift scores).

To analyze impulsivity, we interpolated an indifference point for each individual and estimated a discount rate parameter assuming a hyperbolic value function (Mazur 1987). The results demonstrate that the poor—both when classified as having incomes below \$40,000 and on a continuous scale—discounted the future more (i.e., chose smaller-sooner rewards more often) and ruminated more on their finances than the rich. Rumination fully mediated the relationship between income and impatience. A similar pattern obtained for CRT scores (after controlling for numeracy). In additional, rumination mediated the relationship between income and several consequential financial behaviors: namely, the likelihood of having taken a payday loan in the past, using a pawn shop, being able to raise \$2,000 for an emergency, and spending more than one's income over the past year.

Study 2 ($N=949$) extends these findings using a naturally occurring event to create conditions that would make the poor more likely to ruminate on their finances. Previous research finds that the poor tend to display impaired decision-making just before they receive a windfall gain. This tendency is best illustrated by Mani et al. (2013), who found that farmers' cognitive function was impeded immediately before harvest compared to after harvest. We recruited participants (all with annual household incomes below \$40,000) and compared rumination among those who claimed the Earned Income

Tax Credit (EITC) on their 2014 tax return relative to those who did not plan to claim EITC. Results reveal that compared to those who did not plan to claim this credit, rumination was higher among people who either received, were awaiting, or were planning to file for the EITC. Again, rumination significantly mediated the relationship between EITC status and impatience, as well as between EITC and CRT scores. These patterns suggest that the effects of rumination hold even when there is no variation in real income—in other words, the mediating role of financial rumination may generalize to situations involving both chronic and situational (or perceived) poverty.

If the poor focus too much on their financial concerns, one solution is simply to encourage them not to. However, literature on the “ironic processes” of mental control has shown that inhibiting attention to a target thought often backfires, triggering the very thoughts we wish to suppress (if I tell you not to think about a white bear, you will invariably think about a white bear; Wegner et al. 1987). From this perspective, suppressing thoughts of poverty when it is the “white bear” in the room may lead people to do worse—by overborrowing, say, or engaging in other reckless behaviors. A third study found, however, that while financial rumination exacerbated impulsivity, thought suppression did not produce significant gaps in time preferences between the poor and the well-off. Specifically, 538 Amazon Mechanical Turk participants were told to either (a) freely type their thoughts, including any financial concerns (express condition), (b) freely type their thoughts, excluding any financial concerns (suppress condition), or (c) list the names of streets near their hometown (control). Discount rates were imputed using the same monetary intertemporal choice titrator from Studies 1 and 2. As anticipated, the poor discounted the future more than the rich. Further, while no differences by condition emerged among higher-income individuals, the poor exhibited much higher discount rates only in the express condition. Hence, simply allowing for the free expression of money-related thoughts and scarcity caused the poor to behave more impulsively.

In sum, our findings suggest that the poor are chronically more disposed to ruminate on their finances, and that this tendency may in turn give way to myopic preferences (higher discount rates) and cognitive decrements (lower scores on the CRT). If rumination, then, is to blame for “worse” decisions among the poor, what actionable steps can we take to attenuate or eliminate its negative effects? As a next step in this research program, we plan to test the efficacy of different interventions that reduce rumination on financial concerns to try to correct for the detrimental downstream consequences on impulsivity and other decisions.

An Urgency Effect in Responses to Future Rate Increases

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Total consumer debt outstanding has been increasing since 2010 and reached over 3 trillion dollars in 2014 (Federal Reserve, 2014). Existing literature in financial decision making has shown that consumers have trouble dealing with their debts, understanding their credit card use and optimizing their repayment plans (e.g., Amar et al. 2011; David and McShane 2012). Studies have also shown that consumers have trouble figuring out how interest rates affect their finances and underestimate the effort required to pay off their debts (e.g., Soll, Keeney, and Larrick 2013).

The current research focuses on debt repayment behavior. Specifically, we examined how knowledge of the timing of future interest rate increases influences a person’s decision about when to repay their debts. We found that when the interest rate is already high, or is expected to increase in the very near future, people pay their debts

more slowly than when it is currently at a lower level and expected to rise in the (not very near) future. We also investigated the underlying mechanism of this pattern, uncovered boundary conditions, and sought to generalize the pattern beyond debt payments to other domains of consumer behavior.

In Study 1, we asked 60 MTurk participants to imagine that they had taken out a loan last year. The interest rate on the loan was flexible and would increase from 2% to 5% at some point. We manipulated when the interest rate increased. In the rate-already-increased condition, we told participants that the lender had notified them that the rate had increased three months ago. In the rate-will-increase condition, we told participants that the lender notified them that the rate will increase in three months. Then, participants stated when they would like to pay back the loan. Participants in the rate-will-increase condition decided to pay off the loan significantly faster than those in the rate-already-increased condition ($M=10.27$ vs. 7.27 months, $p<.01$), despite the fact that the accumulated interest (total cost) was higher in the rate-already-increased condition.

Study 2 aimed to replicate the basic effect we found in Study 1 and to show that the effect goes beyond past-future asymmetry (i.e., valuing future events more than equivalent past events, Caruso et al. 2008). In Study 2, we asked participants when they would pay back a loan, varying when in the future the interest rate would increase: immediately (this coming month), in a certain future time (four months from now) or in an uncertain future time (sometime between this month and 12 months from now). We found that participants in the certain-future ($M=6.41$ months) and uncertain-future ($M=7.69$) conditions decided to pay off the loan significantly faster than participants in the increase-immediately condition ($M=11.17$ months, $p<.01$ for this month vs. four months; $p<.05$ for this month vs. uncertain future).

One possible explanation is that overly aggressive goals might bring counterproductive consequences (e.g., Locke and Latham 2006; Soman and Cheema 2004). Participants may adopt the temporal cue (i.e., when the rate increases) as a deadline and automatically set up a goal to pay the money back before the deadline, but this only happens when the temporal cue is achievable. Therefore, when participants knew that the rate would increase in the coming month, that temporal cue did not trigger either the setting of an automatic goal (a deadline) or the motivation to pursue it, because they did not consider the goal achievable. They would otherwise repay the debt following their own pace. However, deadline-setting cannot fully explain why participants decided to repay sooner in the uncertain-future condition.

Another possible explanation is an “urgency bias.” Research has shown that people are more sensitive to changes than the status quo (Kahneman and Tversky 1979). People should normatively prioritize their repayment effort according to the interest rate. However, the rate increase looms larger than the objective amount of that rate in people’s decisions. In other words, people perceive the anticipation of an increased rate to be more urgent than a static high interest rate. Therefore, they pay more attention to the urgent cue (increasing tendency) than the important cue (interest rate) when making decisions.

In Study 3 and Study 4, we proposed two ways to draw consumers’ attention back to the interest rate. Study 3 tested whether evaluation mode (Hsee and Zhang 2010) would moderate the urgency bias. We manipulated perceived urgency (rate has increased vs. rate will increase) and evaluation mode (single vs. joint evaluation). We replicated the basic effect in single evaluation, but found that participants were more rational in joint evaluation: participants decided to pay off the rate-has-increased loan faster than the rate-will-increase

loan when the two loans were presented side by side. Study 4 tested whether contemplating on the interest rate would alleviate the urgency bias. Results showed that the urgency bias went away when we asked participants to focus on the rate itself and consider whether the increased rate was too high or too low before they made their decisions.

The urgency bias exists not only in financial decision making with punitive interest rates, but also in other consumer behavior domains. In Studies 5 and 6, we looked at consumer purchasing behavior when the price of the product changes. We found that consumers purchased more when they received a discount for only one item than if they received a discount for four items. We have tested this effect with hypothetical scenarios (e.g., buying oysters, renting a bike) and are now running studies involving real consequences.

The above studies showed that when the interest rate is already at a high level, or is expected to increase in the very near future, people pay their debts more slowly than when it is currently at a lower level and expected to rise in the (not very near) future.

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Pragmatism and Consumer Research

Chairs: Iain Davies, University of Bath, UK

Dan Silcock, University of Bath, UK

Paper #1: Marketing Pragmatism: A Constructive Review of Pragmatic Philosophy and Implications for Consumer Research

Dan Silcock, University of Bath, UK

Paper #2: Pragmatism, New Science and Sustainability

Richard Varey, University of Waikato, New Zealand

Paper #3: “Theory” into “Knowledge”: Operationalizing consumption research into behavioural change with Pragmatism

Iain Davies, University of Bath, UK

Paper #4: Can the pragmatist logic of inquiry inform consumer led market design?

Ronika Chakrabarti, Lancaster University, UK

Katy Mason, Lancaster University, UK

SESSION OVERVIEW

The objective of this session is to promote the use of pragmatism within consumer research. This topic is particularly important and relevant to the conference theme of ‘Advancing Connections’. Pragmatism maintains the demand for rigor but allows a range of methods and techniques to be employed within research, offering no preference or predetermination in this area. This means that academics are more likely to be interested by, and appreciate of, work taking a different approach to their own, as opposed to vying for credibility with them. Further, pragmatism contains certain similarities with both ends of the methodological spectrum and so would not be completely alien to anyone within the community.

The enhanced emphasis on developing workable solutions to practical problems could also help to strengthen connections with practitioners, public policy makers and consumers. Here the focus on usability of findings and the style of work produced means that impact becomes a natural part of the research process, rather than something to be searched for at the end of a project. The topic therefore speaks to a range of key consumer research context areas that span the methodological divide, for example sustainability, ethical consumption, health, well-being, finance, poverty, as well as inequality reduction more generally.

Each paper in the session is either dedicated to, or strongly influenced by, pragmatic research philosophy. Dan Silcock’s paper reviews pragmatic philosophy and contributes by delineating previous literature into three distinct versions of pragmatism. He also details several advantages to a wider adoption of pragmatic thought, including potential for improving the connection between research camps. Richard Varey’s contribution relates pragmatism to a specific area of consumer research, highlighting problems within the field of sustainability and how pragmatic new science could help solve these issues.

Iain Davies’ article centres on using pragmatism to improve connections between theory and practice, exploring how consumer research theory could be operationalized into ‘knowledge’ given the pragmatic understanding of this term, and illustrates this process with work on ethical consumption. The final paper from Ronika Chakrabarti and Katy Mason provides a concrete case where pragmatic inquiry has advanced knowledge, relating to consumer-led market design, and shows how such an approach could be utilized to inform other socio-politically pertinent areas.

The session raises several challenging questions, for instance, can pragmatism appeal to a wider selection of consumer research

scholars? And imperatively given the current research climate, can consumer research afford not to take the pragmatic path?

Marketing Pragmatism: A Constructive Review of Pragmatic Philosophy and Implications for Consumer Research

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This paper promotes pragmatism as a viable middle ground philosophy for consumer research. This is not in itself a novel or new suggestion, indeed numerous leading figures within marketing have either promoted or utilized pragmatist thought (e.g. Brown, 2012; Chakrabarti & Mason, 2014; Firat & Dholakia, 2006; Hatch, 2012; Thompson, Stern & Arnould, 1998; Varey, 2012), and these ideas are gaining considerable momentum outside of marketing (e.g. Corley & Gioia, 2011, Johnson & Duberley, 2000; Kellemen & Rumens, 2013; Kitcher, 2012; Morgan, 2007, 2014; Suddaby, 2006; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002; Weick, 1995, 2001).

However pragmatism remains stricken with internal variation and this has been a major factor in holding back its popularity and uptake. Therefore rather than suggesting another singular vision of pragmatism that should be adopted, this article contributes by delineating previous literature into three distinct versions of pragmatism. These versions are introduced within this abstract, explained in detail in the full paper, and presented in a form that can be taught and applied.

The article additionally outlines several advantages to a wider adoption of pragmatism within consumer research, namely the improvement of connections between methodological camps, potential influence on policy, the development of theory, and enhancement of the PhD process. Finally the paper provides a framework for understanding the evaluation of pragmatic research. The remainder of this abstract includes a brief overview of each section.

The history of pragmatism is covered first, from the ‘pragmatic maxim’ (Peirce, 1878) and the popularisation of ‘pragmatism’ by James in 1898, to Dewey’s (1929) ‘warranted assertions’ and ‘practical adequacy’. The central tenets to pragmatism are then explored, and here the rejection of correspondence theory is not unique, but this in combination with an emphasis on the practical nature of knowledge distinguishes pragmatism from other philosophical schools.

The three versions of pragmatism identified share similar epistemological considerations (accepting the socially constructed *and* practical nature of knowledge); however they are separated by the occupation of varying ontological positions. The first could be described as ontologically neutral, asserting that ontological considerations are not actually that important or useful (in fact suggesting that these become a hindrance), and is most predominantly associated with William James (e.g. 1897, 1907). The second is termed ontologically realist, believing in a single transcendent reality that bounds and limits our social constructions, and is mostly drawn from some of the work of John Dewey (e.g. 1929). The third is named ontologically relativist, where there are as many realities as there are constructions, and this view is most prominently advocated by more modern authors (e.g. Rorty, 1979, 1982). Each version has been followed or pursued by different authors and these are highlighted throughout. It is worth noting here that this paper does not advocate

any one version over the others, and all share the potential to provide a series of advantages.

Within each version of pragmatism the data collection methods and analytical techniques to be used in a study are not predetermined by the philosophical persuasion, rather the emphasis is simply on what methods and techniques will produce the most useful findings in relation to the particular questions or problems being addressed (Feilzer, 2010; Hanson, 2008; Rescher, 1977). This is not only beneficial for individual projects but has wider positive implications. The freedom offered within pragmatism fosters an environment where academics develop a thorough understanding of a variety of methods and techniques from across the philosophical spectrum. This encourages the ability and desire to read, draw from, and constructively critique contextually relevant work from differing methodological perspectives. Such an environment could therefore facilitate connections that would allow a more combined progress on key managerial, societal and political issues, as opposed to the situation where completely separate streams of research attempt to tackle the same problem.

The practical focus within pragmatism makes it particularly appealing given current trends within research in relation to policy, engagement and impact. With practical outcomes embedded into the whole research process, engagement and impact opportunities are a natural consequence of pragmatic research, not a supplementary consideration. In fact, a situation where a piece of research had no potential for engagement or impact would be very unlikely to occur in the first place. This practical focus would certainly not denigrate marketing's ability to generate original, novel and influential theory. In contrast, it is argued that this might be more likely, that the applied nature of marketing research makes theory better not worse, and that acknowledging this could actually lead to a more equal theoretical exchange with other disciplines.

Another advantage outlined relates to the experience of new PhD students, who are still often presented with an either/or decision in regards to research philosophy. This is possibly the most difficult and complex scholarly problem that they will ever face, and yet they are expected to make this decision, which has serious and significant connotations for the rest of their career, within the first few months of their studies. Pragmatism provides another option for this decision, which is possibly more palatable, and would leave emerging scholars equipped with enough methodological understanding to be able to either confirm, or change, their persuasion as they go through further intellectual development.

An associated problem for the expansion of pragmatism relates to the evaluation of research findings. While positivism and interpretivism both now offer widely accepted procedures and systems for evaluating research, few middle ground philosophies can boast such a weapon. This paper therefore additionally provides a framework for understanding the evaluation of pragmatic research in an attempt to help rectify this situation.

Pragmatism, New Science and Sustainability

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

For how long and to what extent is consumer culture sustainable? An ethic is needed that provides moral limits on consumption and directs production into a less harmful path, while still allowing consumer experience to nourish and enrich human existence. What is needed is a reconceptualization of the relationship between humans and nature.

Rogene Buchholz, in 'Reforming Capitalism: The Scientific Worldview and Business' (2012), urges readers to question the costs

to both themselves and society of maintaining the classical scientific worldview of 'normal science' in economics. Buchholz argues that the classical scientific worldview brings values into aspects of life – ethics, economics, politics, culture, and our relationship with nature – such that we are deprived of true meaning. The characteristics of classical science are reductionism, atomism, quantification, determinism, and the assumption of mechanism. The meaning of the parts provides meaning of the whole. This science is supposed to be passive and disinterested; there are only facts, and there are no values. The normal scientific worldview objectifies nature as a useful resource for humans to manipulate to their interests; otherwise it is of no value. In terms of use(-up) and waste disposal, the environment simply poses a challenge to continued economic growth.

Buchholz (2012) proposes a 'new science', based on Pragmatism, which shows a view of a world that is organic and holistic. The meaning of the whole is the basis for the meaning of parts. There is a fact-value distinction, and both are necessary for understanding the multitude of environments in which business is embedded. The way in which business relates to these multiple environments has profound implications for the society in which businesses operate. Re-thinking science in a holistic, relational philosophy treats ordinary lived experience as a form of knowledge, and does not reject scientific knowledge, but crucially accepts morality as essential in human experience. General characteristics of Pragmatism (originated by Charles Pierce, William James, John Dewey, C I Lewis, and George Herbert Mead) are therefore emergence, holism, continuity, quality, and indeterminism.

In Pragmatism's understanding of our world, knowledge emerges through intelligent reflection on experience within nature, and is thus fallible and tested by its consequences in experience. The nature of value is not considered real (i.e. objective) knowledge in a scientific worldview – it is no more than a subjective feeling. In Pragmatism, values emerge out of human experience in interaction with the environment in which humans live. Things experienced possess qualities (for example fulfilling or stultifying, appealing or unappealing) that are real emergents in the context of interactions with cultural and natural environments; 'valuing experiences are not the experience of evaluating experience from the outside . . . but arise from the immediate "having" of experience' (Buchholz 2012, p. 142). Further, 'valuings are turned into the valuable by the organizing activity of the mind in the ongoing course of experience as experimental' (p. 143).

Recent work on sustainability presents a striking picture: use of natural resources has already surpassed sustainable limits (Heinberg, 2011; Senge Smith, Kruschwitz, Laur & Schley, 2010), marketing theory and practice has contributed to this problem (Lawson, 2009; Smart, 2010), and fundamental shifts are needed (Belz & Peattie, 2009; Ophulus, 2011; Sheth & Sisodia, 2012; Varey, 2012). Changes are beginning to occur, both in practice (Benett & O'Reilly, 2010) and in theory (Martin & Schouten, 2012). Pragmatic thought can help the field inform policy makers who wish to see such change accelerate by providing workable solutions to real-world problems.

The consequences of adopting a 'New science' approach have profound implications for business. Industrial capitalism can no longer power prosperity. The mass society worldview is giving way to individualisation. The 'standard enterprise logic' is challenged. Marketing has operated as an attention technology for sellers competing to capture customers. However, in an intention economy buyers are a scarce commodity, and it is intentions that drive production for specific needs. Change in marketing is overdue. Despite increased social disharmony and the mounting evidence of looming environmental disasters, progress is stagnant and often negative, as market-

ing exacerbates the problem by misallocating negative value goods. The commonality in the contemporary crises of financial meltdown, humanmade climate change, economic inequality, distrust of government, and the social corrosion of consumerism, is the moral limit of markets in civic society. Sustainable living provides the higher purpose of marketing: well-being and human flourishing. Sustainability is a socio-cultural, inherently ethical, respectful, intellectual construct for a life of careful and equitable resource use within limits and inter-dependencies. It is not the antithesis of competitive business, indeed business can flourish by competing on, and being rewarded for, the accomplishment of enduringly valuable outcomes.

“Theory” into “Knowledge”: Operationalizing Consumption Research into Behavioral Change with Pragmatism

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As a former fair trade marketer and now marketing ethics scholar operating around changing consumption markets and behaviors I find myself increasingly frustrated by the abstract nature of scholarly exploration in consumption research. Schaefer and Crane (2005) highlighted the polarisation of the ethical consumption field into rational information processing approach vs. socio-anthropological approach, highlighting the void between both fields and lack of research on the reality of changing consumption patterns. A decade on, and despite the emergence of Transformative Consumer Research (Mick, 2006), little has changing in ethical consumption, and disappointingly in consumption research generally.

The rational approach is underpinned by the assumption that consumers cognitively translate their concerns towards society or the environment into expressed buying behavior (Andorfer and Liebe 2012; Carrington et al. 2010; De Pelsmacker et al. 2005; Fukukawa and Ennew 2010; Gleim et al. 2013; Shaw, Shiu and Clark 2000), often drawing on linear behavioral models such as The Theory of Reasoned Action / Planned Behavior (Fishbein and Ajzen 1975; Ajzen 1991). However, the de-contextualization of this stream of research has made it all but irrelevant to our understanding of how and why consumers consume sustainable products (Eckhardt et al. 2010; Foxall 1993).

In contrast, the socio-anthropological school focuses on consumption as a means of self-identity creation and here sustainable consumption is often framed as a mechanism for demonstrating resistance to the mainstream, as a method for gaining in-group membership, or as part of an identity project (Craig-Lees and Hill 2002; Fournier 1998; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Price and Penalzo 1993; Rumbo 2002; Thompson and Arsel 2004), with notable examples including voluntary simplicity (Craig-lees and Hill 2002), political purchasing (Connolly and Prothero 2008; Prothero et al., 2011), economic voting (Gabriel and Lang 1995), and anti-consumption (Zavestoski 2002).

Following this line, resisting one type of consumption often forms the basis for another type of consumption - sustainable consumption (Arnould 2007; Holt 2002; Hollenbeck and Zinkhan 2006; Kozinets 2002). Therefore the socio-anthropological literature frames the ethical consumer as on the fringe (Eckhardt et al. 2010; Shaw and Riach 2011; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007), radical (Bezenco and Blili 2010; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Luedicke, Thompson and Giesler 2010), or anti-corporate (Thompson and Arsel 2004). However, from a pragmatic stand-point, it is hard to envision the consumption of a fair trade KitKat, H&M organic clothing, or Ben and Jerry's Ice-cream, as resistance to the mainstream.

William James (1842-1910) coined the phrases tender-minded and tough-minded to classify the differing schools of philosophical/scientific thought of his day. He typified the tender-minded as intellectualistic, idealistic, optimistic, free-willist, monistic, and dogmatic; insisting on going by principles, whereas the tough-minded were sensationalistic (understanding the world through senses), materialistic, pessimistic, fatalistic, pluralistic, and sceptical; insisting on going by facts. Setting aside the alternative meanings these words have developed of the last century, James highlighted, over the course of 8 public lectures on philosophy, the biases and misdirection inherent in rigid adherence to either school. However as I turn the pages of our hallowed scriptures in leading marketing periodicals I return time and again to James' observation: "You want a system that will combine both things, the scientific loyalty to facts and willingness to take account of them, the spirit of adaptation and accommodation, in short, but also the old confidence in human values and the resultant spontaneity, whether of the religious or of the romantic type" (James, 1907: 8).

Our subject has polarized with the emergence of required publication tariffs, making volume more important than quality. We have thus isolated ourselves into competing schools that do not inter-relate or talk with each other. At the extremes we see the burgeoning dominance of lab-based experimentation seeking abstracted generalizations which would never stand up to contextual reality, and on the other we have extreme contextual reality, often explicitly operationalized with outlier samples, masquerading as theory. Both may be producing relevant learning which would benefit the other, but neither is producing what Dewey (1938) referred to as "Knowledge".

Knowledge, to a pragmatist, is the ultimate set of truths which lead us to take better action in context. In essence, it is what a theorist may refer to as a universal theory. However, knowledge must be active; used for a purpose. Therefore information which does not lead a protagonist to achieve a specific goal in its employment is not useful - or knowledge. Yes "There is nothing so practical as a good theory" (Lewin, 1951: 169), but how do we interpret these words in a modern consumer research space?

Kurt Lewin, as social psychologist, obviously had a certain world view underpinning these words. I borrow here from Greenwald (2012: 99), another social psychologist, who provides this interpretation: "When a theory is 'good' ... its rules of correspondence go beyond assigning conceptual labels to laboratory research procedures. They extend the theory's concepts and principles to the non-laboratory world—in other words, to the possibility of useful applications." In other words, 'good theory' is nascent 'Knowledge'.

In this paper I explore what it would mean to operationalize the existing field of ethical / sustainable consumption into a field of Knowledge rather than a field of academic contribution. Taking Pierce's (1878: 300) proposition that "Different minds may set out with the most antagonistic views, but the progress of investigation carries them by a force outside of themselves to one and the same conclusion", I outline what we "know" about influencing consumption habits and explore means of investigating the subject more effectively in the future. I discuss what it means to conduct pragmatic research in a modern consumer research and publication environment, looking at steps in the research process and the process of pragmatic inquiry. I then go on to explain the pros and cons of taking a pragmatic approach in a discipline and employment environment which does not always favour the expansive, mixed-methods, multi-disciplinary, longitudinal approaches required for true Knowledge generation.

Can the Pragmatist Logic of Inquiry Inform Consumer Led Market Design?

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We are interested in how the pragmatist notion of inquiry and experimentation proposed by John Dewey can inform consumer led market design. In Dewey's (1938) vision of political philosophy he advocates logic as a method of inquiry firmly grounded in *experience* aimed at improving human lives and social progress. As a key concept in pragmatism, *experience (or intelligent action)* holds both personal and contextual accounts of reality. In order to understand reality (or how to organize things in reality), the pragmatists focus on how reality is experienced. They consider how experiences are used to gain an understanding about what is happening in the world or to envision what ought to be happening (Keulartz et al., 2004). As such, Dewey claims that democracies are forms of organized intelligence and social action from where to pursue socio-political ideals. In a similar vein, markets are also viewed as practical outcomes of organizing efforts (Araujo et al., 2010) that are always 'in the making' and being constructed (Latour, 1987).

If reality is an existence verifiable to inquiry then questioning free imagination and intellectual possibilities are necessary to shape it. Since pragmatic philosophy recognizes the contingent and changing elements of livelihoods based on the 'experiences', it has important implications for understanding how patterns of inquiry can inform consumer learning and how we can be en-cultured within a consumer environment. By understanding how consumer practices can inform market design through a process of inquiry and experimentation; we can begin to make sense of 'what matters are' from a consumer perspective and create space for what markets could be. In Dewey's logic, methods of inquiry are applicable to real problems, which he calls an "indeterminate situation" (Dewey, 1929; 1938). What constitutes a situation to be undetermined is essentially a state of doubt or a felt difficulty (Dewey, 1910) or imbalance within an ecological environment. For Dewey, a critical difference exists between the state of 'knowing' and 'the known'. If what is known is based on previous inquiries (or facts) then what is to be known (or knowing) is more eventual and in a process of becoming. Knowing is therefore inquiry that is directed to what is indeterminate (or of concern) and also significant within a situation. At the heart of his pragmatist theory is a resolution for an indeterminate situation.

Inquiry can then only really end when an original indeterminate situation becomes more determinate (Dewey, 1938). This 'in-determination' offers a unique methodological lens from which to view the nature of inquiry as a series of phases: (1) *The Antecedent Conditions of Inquiry: The Indeterminate Situation (i.e. questionability)*; (2) *Institution of a Problem (how a problem is conceived, defined, observed and located)*; (3) *The Determination of a Problem-Solution (as "ideas" or "suggestions")*; (4) *Reasoning (or the equating of "ideas")* and (5) *The Operational Character of Facts- Meanings (or the interaction of facts and ideas and the need for experiments)*. We proffer that using Dewey's logic of inquiry could offer unique insights into both current and imagined market futures in consumer research. For example, by considering bottom-up market design as an unfolding process of inquiry (See Chakrabarti and Mason, 2014) we show how a process of inquiry can imagine and introduce new objects to configure market actors' practices in ways that make imagined markets at the subsistence level become real (Araujo et al., 2010; Cochoy, 2008). As the notion of practices allows for a recursive performance, bottom-up design enables this performance to continue to happen and democratize what new social norms will be in the market. Therefore, problematizing and designing are im-

portant for the bundling of practices and to create the right kind of market for the poor.

Dewey's arguments on pragmatism and democracy question how a democratic view of the world can be construed and interpreted to ensure that 'intellectual warranty' is achieved through judgments of practice. These judgements of practices are informed by multiple agencies and the connections that they make. For example, the intellectual warranty of consumers may invoke other forms of expertise essential to market design - regulators, NGOs, scientists, technologies etc. In this way Dewey's inquiry foregrounds the consumer but does not restrict it to the consumer alone. Instead, his approach offers not only a democratic view but one that is mobilising of collective action. In terms of future research, it would be interesting to explore through a processes of inquiry how markets are being shaped by the rise of important actors (e.g. the consumer-producers (Karnani, 2007)) who are influencing public policy discussions and new modes of governmentality. By using a process of inquiry in wider 'indeterminate markets' we may stand to unfold market designs that work well for both the communities and institutions that perform them and offer insights from a consumer research perspective into how inquiry might lead to new and better ways of doing things. We encourage scholars to use a pragmatist logic of inquiry to further explore markets that engage vulnerable consumers (cf. Piacentini et al., 2014), those in the arts, social care, war zones, ecological high risk zones (i.e. the need for low-carbon and renewable energy consumption), healthcare etc. that in times of austerity and socio-political insecurities are threatened by the nature of their indeterminate realities.

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The Malleable Past: The Formation and Function of Memory for Experiences

Chair: Jackie Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #1: Photographic Memory: The Effects of Photo-Taking on Memory for Auditory and Visual Information

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Jackie Silverman, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Kristin Diehl, University of Southern California, USA
Alixandra Barasch, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #2: Malleability of Taste Perception: Biasing Effects of Rating Scale Format on Taste Recognition, Product Evaluation, and Willingness to Pay

Antonia Mantonakis, Brock University, Canada
Norbert Schwarz, University of Southern California, USA
Amanda Wudarszewski, University of Waterloo, Canada
Carolyn Yoon, University of Michigan, USA

Paper #3: Risk Preferences for Experiences, or How Desserts Are Like Losses

Jolie M. Martin, Pinterest, USA
Martin Reimann, University of Arizona, USA
Michael I. Norton, Harvard Business School, USA

Paper #4: We'll Always Have Paris (Though We May Not Think of It): Consumers Overestimate How Often They Will Retrospect about Experiences

Stephanie Tully, University of Southern California, USA
Tom Meyvis, New York University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

The unique set of experiences that people accumulate over the course of their lives comes to define who they are as individuals. Recalling the memories of these experiences can increase one's sense of meaning and well-being (Wildschut et al. 2006; Holbrook 1993). Accordingly, people engage in certain actions in the present to create memories they can draw on in the future (Elster and Loewenstein 1992; Keinan and Kivetz 2011). They also strongly value opportunities to preserve and protect their memories (Zauberman, Ratner, and Kim 2009; Baumgartner, Sujan, and Bettman 1992). Given that memories of experiences are so valuable, it is important to understand what factors affect the formation and recollection of these memories, and how these memories impact future decisions.

The first two papers in this session focus on how factors present during the experience can influence memory of the experience. **Zauberman, Silverman, Diehl, and Barasch** investigate how taking photos during an experience can affect memory accuracy for different aspects of the experience. They find that taking photos improves recognition of visual aspects of the experience, but impairs recognition of auditory and higher-level information present during the experience. **Mantonakis, Schwarz, Wudarszewski, and Yoon** examine how using different ways to rate experiences affects memories of these experiences. They show that using bipolar (vs. unipolar) scales leads to more extreme ratings of taste attributes, such as concentration of a beverage, and that memory for the experience subsequently follows these ratings. For positively valued attributes, such recollections can heighten evaluations and willingness to pay for future taste experiences.

The final two papers focus on the role of memories of experiences in consumers' lives. **Martin, Reimann, and Norton** examine how memories for experiences affect whether consumers are risk seeking or risk averse when choosing future experiences. They show that for experiences, consumers recall more extreme experiences as

references points, leading them to become risk averse for negative experiences but risk seeking for positive experiences. Finally, while consumers may intend to revisit memories of experiences to make future decisions, **Tully and Meyvis** show that they systematically overestimate *how much* they will retrospect on any given experience. The authors show that unless tangible reminders cue people's thinking, they are unlikely to do so as frequently as they expect.

Experiences are the building blocks of people's lives, and remembering them is not only essential for personal identity and satisfaction (Singer and Blagov, 2004; Van Boven & Gilovich, 2003), but also integral in consumer decision-making (Bettman 1979). Together, this session highlights the diverse ways in which memories of experiences impact our daily lives. All four projects are working papers with at least three studies completed. Given the widespread applicability of the issues discussed, we expect this session to attract researchers interested in memory, experiential purchases, risk preferences, picture-taking, taste, and measurement tools. In the spirit of the conference theme "Advancing Connections," we hope that the diverse approaches to studying this topic will generate a lively and fruitful discussion.

Photographic Memory: The Effects of Photo-Taking on Memory for Auditory and Visual Information

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Memory plays a key role across a wide range of contexts such as childhood development (Nelson and Fivush 2004), the formation of self-identity (Howe and Courage 1997), and decision-making (Lynch and Srull 1982; Alba and Hutchinson 1987). Since memory is fallible, people frequently create external memory records such as lists and diaries to capture knowledge and experiences (e.g. Block and Morwitz 1999). Today, photography in particular plays an integral role in how we document our experiences for the future. Given the prevalence of the behavior, it is important to understand how the act of taking pictures itself influences people's memory of their experiences, even *without* revisiting those photos.

Prior work on memory and photography has focused on the role photos can play in cueing past memories (Neisser and Libby 2000; Wade et al. 2002; Glenberg and Grimes 1995). However, this work has focused on the role of revisiting photos after the event. Only one recent paper (Henkel 2014) examined the effect of photo-taking on memory and showed that being directed to take pictures can impair visual recognition of objects. However, by instructing people when to take photos, this paper was unable to examine how freely deciding when and what to take pictures of affects memory. This autonomy is integral to photo-taking and may be crucial in examining its effect on memory. On one hand, taking photos may cause people to remember more from their experiences. Photo-taking has been shown to make people more engaged in their experience (Barasch, Diehl, and Zauberman 2015), which could cause people to remember more details. On the other hand, taking photos may lead people to remember less about their experiences; the photographer may pass off the responsibility of remembering the details to the photos, much like people can shift their memory of information to computers when they expect to access it later (Sparrow, Liu, and Wegner 2011). Additionally, retaining other aspects of the experience (e.g. auditory information) may be particularly important as that information is not documented by photo-taking. In general auditory and visual stimuli are recalled

at similar rates (Brand and Jolles 1985) and recall of auditory and visual memories occur along the same neural pathway (Buckner et al. 1996). However, due to its visual nature photo-taking may focus photographers more on the visual aspects of an experience to the detriment of other aspects.

In four studies we examine the effect of photo-taking on visual and auditory memory. We find that photo-takers consistently remember visual information better but remember auditory information worse.

In studies 1 through 3, lab participants use a unique computer interface that allows them to “experience” an event by watching a first-hand video and taking pictures by clicking a button. This procedure provided consistency across experiences in each condition, thus ensuring high internal validity.

In study 1, we examined how taking photos affects visual memory. 251 MTurk participants took photos during, or simply experienced, a bus tour of London. This video contained only instrumental background music without any auditory information in order to eliminate any chance for auditory cues to influence participants’ photo-taking behavior or their memory. After watching the bus tour, participants answered 11 visual recognition questions.

We found that taking photos affects memory for visual information; in a two-way ANOVA, participants in the camera condition remembered more of what they had seen ($M=58.1\%$, $SD=20.3$) compared to participants in the control condition ($M=52.8\%$, $SD=19.7$, $F(1, 249)=4.46$, $p=.036$).

In study 2, we shifted our focus from visual to auditory information. 171 lab participants were randomly assigned to take pictures during, or simply experience, the Hershey Park factory tour ride. Afterwards, participants answered 10 auditory recognition questions.

Contrary to our findings for memory of visual information, a two-way ANOVA reveals that participants who took pictures remembered less ($M=51.5\%$, $SD=26.2$) than participants who were not given a camera ($M=58.6\%$, $SD=26.1$, $F(1, 169)=6.27$, $p=.013$).

In study 3 we examined on the effect of photo-taking on both visual and auditory memory simultaneously, as would be expected in a real life experience. 306 MTurk participants were randomly assigned to take pictures, or simply experience, three narrated tours of three different art galleries. Participants then answered 7 visual and 8 auditory recognition questions about the experience.

In a mixed ANOVA, there is a main effect of type of question ($F(1,63)=114.44$, $p<.001$), such that participants remembered more visual than auditory information. There is also a significant interaction between type of question and condition ($F(1,304)=461.28$, $p<.001$). While participants in the camera condition remember significantly more visual information ($M=87.2\%$, $SD=18.5$) than participants in the control condition ($M=76.3\%$, $SD=23.3$, $F(1,304)=20.46$, $p<.001$), participants in the camera condition remember significantly less auditory information ($M=43.9\%$, $SD=21.7$) than those in the control condition ($M=56.0\%$, $SD=21.3$, $F(1,304)=24.54$, $p<.001$).

To assess the external validity of our lab findings, we conducted a field study in a museum exhibit. 203 participants were given a map and audio guide and were randomly assigned to take photos as they wished, or simply experience, a self-guided tour of an exhibit. Afterwards, they answered 9 visual and 9 auditory recognition questions (time 1). A week later, 142 participants answered 7 visual and 5 auditory recognition (time 2).

In a three-way mixed ANOVA, participants remember more at time 1 ($M_{\text{time 1}}=72.5\%$, $SD=15.9$; $M_{\text{time 2}}=63.8\%$, $SD=21.3$) and more visual information ($M_{\text{visual}}=73.6\%$, $SD=16.6$; $M_{\text{auditory}}=65.4\%$, $SD=20.1$). Replicating the previous studies, there is a two-way interaction between condition and type of question ($F(1,200)=11.33$,

$p<.001$); participants in the camera condition remember more visual information than participants in the control condition ($M_{\text{camera}}=72.5\%$, $SD=1.4$; $M_{\text{control}}=68.2\%$, $SD=1.7$) but less auditory information ($M_{\text{camera}}=59.4\%$, $SD=1.6$; $M_{\text{control}}=64.4\%$, $SD=1.8$). There is also a two-way interaction between time and type of question ($F(1,200)=7.64$, $p=.006$); participants remember less at time 2, but the decrease is significantly larger for auditory memory ($M_{\text{time 1}}=68.7\%$, $SD=1.4$; $M_{\text{time 2}}=55.1\%$, $SD=1.9$) than for visual memory ($M_{\text{time 1}}=73.5\%$, $SD=1.2$; $M_{\text{time 2}}=67.3\%$, $SD=1.7$).

Overall, we find that photo-taking improves visual recognition but hinders auditory recognition. These results hold when participants’ auditory and visual memory are tested individually or simultaneously, and in an externally valid field study.

Malleability of Taste Perception: Biasing Effects of Rating Scale Format on Taste Recognition, Product Evaluation, and Willingness to Pay

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Subjective experiences are fleeting and poorly represented in memory; people resort to reconstruction strategies shortly after an experience (Schwarz, 2007). As in other domains of autobiographical memory (Schwarz & Sudman, 1994), people will draw on any accessible piece of information that may be useful to reconstruct the experience, including general knowledge about the domain and memorable features of the episode related to the experience. We propose that the same logic applies to taste experiences: the experience itself is fleeting and not well represented in memory; hence, consumers can introspect on it while they are having the experience, but need to reconstruct it later on. This leaves the door open for systematic errors of memory for taste that can affect downstream intentions and behaviors.

According to sensory testing experts, tasters are typically asked to indicate their experiences on rating scales (S. Kirkmeyer, personal communication, August 3, 2011), and remember them later or compare them with the taste of other samples. Similarly, consumers who sample products need to remember their sensory experiences for later purchase decisions. Whereas potential biases on sensory perceptions arising from non-sensory information like the brand (Hoegg & Alba, 2007), color (Garber, Hyatt & Starr, 2000), price (Plassmann, O’Doherty, Shiv, & Rangel, 2008) or information about the ingredients (Lee, Frederick, & Ariely, 2006) have been examined, other likely sources of bias have gone unnoticed, such as the format in which consumers report their taste experience.

Suppose that consumers at a winery taste a new ice wine and rate its attributes along rating scales. In one condition, an 11-point scale ranges from “not at all sweet” = 0 to “very sweet” = 10; and in the other condition, it ranges from “not at all sweet” = -5 to “very sweet” = +5. Previous research on social judgments (Schwarz, et al., 1991) showed that the latter set of values results in more extreme ratings. Would this effect of rating scales also apply to a product that is tasted?

In **Experiment 1**, participants sampled an unlabeled orange juice. Depending on condition, they were assigned to rate attributes of the juice on either a bipolar (-5 to +5) or unipolar (0 to 10) scale. Participants then completed a taste recognition task. They sampled three orange juices and attempted to identify the one they had tasted earlier; the original sample was presented along with a more concentrated one as well as a less concentrated one. We predicted that the sampled drink would receive higher attribute ratings when participants were given a bipolar than unipolar scale (**hypothesis 1**), and that participants in the bipolar scale condition would be more likely to misidentify the more concentrated test sample as the one

they had originally tasted, consistent with the higher taste attribute ratings they provided (**hypothesis 2**).

As predicted (hypothesis 1), participants gave higher attribute ratings on the bipolar ($M = 7.16$) than on the unipolar ($M = 6.31$) scale, $F(1, 126) = 6.11, p < .01$. This confirms the success of the scale manipulation (Schwarz et al., 1991). Accuracy at identifying the correct orange juice as the one sampled earlier was higher in the unipolar ($M = .53$) than the bipolar condition ($M = .46$), z -contrast = 4.72, $p < .01$. As predicted (hypothesis 2), the error was systematic: the more concentrated juice was more likely to be misidentified as the one sampled earlier when participants had made the initial attribute ratings along a bipolar ($M = .23$) rather than unipolar scale ($M = .17$), z -contrast = 3.11, $p = .01$.

We predicted that this this biased reconstruction will also influence subsequent evaluations of the product (**hypothesis 3**), and affect consumers' subsequent WTP (**hypothesis 4**). We tested these ideas in **Experiment 2**, where we extended the range of dependent variables to consumers' overall product evaluations and willingness to pay.

Attribute ratings were higher on the bipolar ($M = 6.05$) than on the unipolar ($M = 4.90$) scale, $F(1, 163) = 20.96, p < .001$. Supporting hypotheses 3 and 4, respectively, participants rated the standard sample of orange juice more highly when they had rated its attributes on bipolar ($M = 6.05$) rather than unipolar ($M = 4.28$) scales, $F(1, 163) = 22.24, p < .001$. The former participants were willing to pay more for the juice ($M = \$2.38$) than the latter ($M = \1.67), $F(1, 163) = 25.87, p < .001$.

Accuracy at identifying the correct sample as the one sampled earlier was higher in the unipolar ($M = .56$) than the bipolar ($M = .43$) scale condition, z -contrast = 3.69, $p < .001$. Again, the more concentrated juice sample was twice as likely to be misidentified as the one sampled earlier in the bipolar ($M = .29$) than unipolar ($M = .14$) rating conditions, z -contrast = 4.26, $p < .001$.

We expect that these influences are less pronounced for experts than for novices in a given product domain (**hypothesis 5**), because they would be less biased by the scale. In **Experiment 3**, we gave participants wine to sample, and to rate attributes of it on either a bipolar (-5 to +5) or unipolar (0 to 10) scale. Next, we gave participants questions pertaining to the wine (e.g., "How much would you be willing to pay for a bottle of this wine?"), and their level of wine expertise.

Ratings on the 4 attributes were combined to produce a single evaluation index. We examined mean differences between the conditions, with expertise as a covariate. Evaluation was higher for the bipolar ($M = 7.14$) than the unipolar condition ($M = 6.53$), $F(1, 77) = 5.51, p < .03$. To examine whether the numerical values manipulation affected WTP, we examined mean differences between the conditions, with expertise as a covariate. WTP was higher for the bipolar condition than the unipolar condition (WTP means = \$17.51 and \$15.05; log(WTP) means = 2.80 and 2.61; $F(1, 77) = 4.07, p < .05$).

Thus, managers may be able to influence purchase-related variables such as willingness to pay by using the right response scales.

Risk Preferences for Experiences, or How Desserts Are Like Losses

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

How can we predict, when people make choices in everyday life, whether they will be risk-seeking or risk-averse? If these choices relate to money, we know the answer fairly confidently; extensive research has been devoted to risk preferences for money, demonstrating that people are risk-seeking when choosing between monetary

losses and risk-averse when choosing between monetary gains (e.g., Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Rabin & Thaler, 2001; Stewart, Chater, Stott, & Reimers, 2003; Wang & Johnson, 2012). Despite this well-documented research on risk preferences for money, surprisingly little attention has been paid to risk preferences for non-monetary experiences, either negative (disgusting foods and visits to the dentist) or positive (desserts and visits to the movies). Facing a choice between seeing a "safe" movie that receives many 3-star ratings and a "risky" movie that receives many 5-star but also many 1-star ratings, how do people evaluate the potential risks and rewards? Generally speaking, how will memories of experiences influence the way we form risk preferences?

Given the established contrast between risk preferences for positive and negative gambles, valence offers an intuitively appealing prediction about risk preferences for experiences: negative experiences (e.g., dentist visits) might be similar to monetary losses, while positive experiences (e.g., desserts) might be similar to monetary gains, implying risk-seeking for negative experiences and risk-aversion for positive experiences. However, we propose and provide convergent evidence stemming from six experiments reported below that people are generally risk-seeking for positive experiences and risk-averse for negative experiences, the mirror image of choices for money: people gamble on desserts, but not on dentists.

We suggest that this reversal is because the reference points that are commonly drawn upon when making decisions about experiences and money are based on different types of memories. Reference points are critical to understanding risk preferences because they serve as the basis against which possible outcomes are compared; outcomes are treated as losses whenever they fall below some reference point but as gains when they exceed that reference point (March & Shapira, 1992; Payne, Laughhunn, & Crum, 1980). For monetary prospects, zero change in wealth (i.e., the status quo) serves as a salient reference point, such that monetary gambles with positive values are typically treated as gains and those with negative values are treated as losses (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Rabin & Thaler, 2001; Tversky & Kahneman, 1992). For experiences, on the other hand, research shows that reference points may be determined not by neutral memories but rather by extreme memories (e.g., the best dessert and the worst dentist visit): individuals asked to recall *typical* instances of past experiences in positive and negative domains in fact recall the *most extreme* positive and negative experiences they have had in those domains (Gershoff, Mukherjee, & Mukhopadhyay, 2003; Morewedge, Gilbert, & Wilson, 2005), and these readily available memories offer convenient reference points (Koszegi & Rabin, 2006; Novemsky & Dhar, 2005; Thaler & Johnson, 1990). Should the memory of the best dessert one has ever eaten serve as a reference point when choosing between desserts, then ironically many of the available options, despite being positive experiences, will be treated as comparative losses – precisely because they fall below the salient reference point (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). Similarly, should the memory of the most burdensome chore come to mind when choosing which chore to tackle, many of the available options – despite being negative experiences – will be treated as comparative gains.

This account suggests several interrelated hypotheses, which we test in six experiments. In Experiment 1a, we find support for our first hypothesis that people are generally more risk-averse for negative categories of experience and risk-seeking for positive categories of experience, a reversal of the relationship between valence and risk preferences observed for money. In Experiment 1b, we assess external validity by employing an incentive-compatible experiment with a real choice. In Experiment 2, we document that this reversal in risk preferences is due to a fundamental difference between risk

in the quality of experiences and risk in quantities of money. Indeed, we observe similar risk preferences for quantities of experiences and quantities of money of the same valence, but again the opposite pattern for experiential quality. In Experiment 3, we rule out alternative explanations relating solely to the way that people use rating scales for experience quality. When participants list equivalent experiences and monetary outcomes, from which we construct “equivalent” risky choices, they exhibit different risk preferences depending on whether these choices are expressed as experiential outcomes or their monetary equivalents. In Experiment 4, we assess the reference points that individuals use to make choices; reference points for gambles are closer to zero, whereas reference points for experiences are closer to extremes. In Experiment 5, we show that subjective utility functions are convex for positive experiences and monetary losses, but concave for negative experiences and monetary gains, consistent with extreme reference points for experiences; these utility curves also predict risky choices across all four domains.

“We’ll Always Have Paris (Though We May Not Think of It): Consumers Overestimate How Often They Will Retrospect about Experiences.”

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People enjoy retrospectively about past experiences and appear to do it quite often. Past research suggests that we spend upwards of 50% of relaxed, social conversation talking about our experiences (Dunbar, Marriott, and Duncan 1997) and that sharing information about ourselves and our experiences is intrinsically rewarding (Tamir and Mitchell 2012). Memories also appear to be one of the reasons why consumers are happier with their experiences than with their material goods (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). Furthermore, consumers seem to anticipate the future retrospection that experiences provide as they sometimes choose experiences as a function of their retrospective value (Keinan and Kivetz 2011; Ratner, Kahn, and Kahneman 1999). But how accurate are consumers at predicting the extent of their retrospection?

Because sharing one’s experiences is intrinsically rewarding, people should want to talk about their experiences. However, given the abundance of experiences people live through, people cannot and do not continue to talk about all of their experiences indefinitely. Memories of experiences are less likely to come to mind over time. Indeed, the majority of memories that people remember and think about have recently occurred (Crovitz and Schiffman 1974). Yet, since consumers have a strong desire to retrospect about their experiences, they may underestimate the difficulty of bringing past experiences to mind. In support of this idea, a recent study found that people were not able to remember details of a previous conversation despite a previous belief that they would be able to (Zhang et al. 2014). We therefore expect consumers to systematically overestimate how much they will retrospect about an experience. We show that this overestimation is not the result of misconstrual of the event (it persists after the experience occurred), is moderated by the positivity of the experience, and is attenuated when physical reminders are present to facilitate retrospection.

In a first study, participants were asked to consider an experience that had occurred 3-6 months in the past or that would occur 3-6 months in the future. After describing the experience, participants indicated how often they did (past condition) or would (future condition) think about and talk about the experience during the two months following the experience. Next, they rated the experience on a number of dimensions. As expected, participants in the future condition predicted greater retrospection than participants in the past

condition actually recalled ($F(1,157) = 15.08, p < .001$). This result held when adjusting for differences in participants’ perception of their experience ($F(1, 154) = 8.18, p = .005$) and when adjusting for the type of experiences people wrote about ($F(1,117) = 8.79, p = .004$). Thus, people considering a future experience predict more frequent retrospection than participants report having actually engaged in after a past experience.

Study 2 was designed to rule out misconstrual of the future experience as an explanation for the overestimation of future retrospection. To this end, attendants of the U.S. Open tennis tournament were asked to predict their future retrospection a day *after* they attended the tournament. Two months later, we measured their actual retrospection. As expected, participants predicted they would talk about their U.S. Open experience more often than they reported having done at time 2 ($F(1,139) = 259.62, p < .001$). This overestimation was moderated by their willingness to recommend the experience ($F(1,138) = 10.46, p = .002$). These findings indicate that the overestimation is not simply misconstrual of a future, unknown experience, and that it is more pronounced for people who feel more positively about the experience—suggesting a motivated reasoning process.

In study 3, we replicated the results of study 2 with an experience for which retrospection should be a particularly important contributor to the value of the experience. A group going on an African safari completed the survey days after returning to the U.S. and completed a follow-up survey two months later. In this study, we measured the estimated frequency of looking at pictures of the event rather than the estimated frequency of thinking about the event, since the former should be easier to objectively recall at time 2. Replicating earlier studies, participants overestimated how much they would retrospect about the safari ($F(1,26) = 21.42, p < .001$). In line with a motivational explanation, this overestimation was moderated by how much participants reported wanting to talk about the trip at time 1 ($F(1,25) = 6.078, p = .021$).

We have proposed that the overestimation of retrospection occurs because people want to recall experiences, but do not recognize the difficulty of spontaneously recalling previous experiences. In the last 2 studies, we examined this latter proposition by demonstrating that overestimation is attenuated when physical objects serve as reminders to cue retrospection.

In a fourth study, participants in an obstacle course fun run completed a survey in the days following the run and completed a follow-up survey two months later. In addition to indicating their frequency of talking and looking at pictures, respondents indicated whether they had purchased a souvenir. Replicating previous studies, people overestimated how much they would retrospect about the race ($F(1,152) = 97.24, p < .001$). However, a significant time by souvenir interaction showed that this overestimation was attenuated for people who purchased a souvenir ($F(1,152) = 4.32, p = .039$): souvenirs increased actual, but not predicted retrospection (people do not intuit their impact).

In the final study, participants predicted how much they would talk and think about a purchase that was either an experience or a material good. A month later, participants indicated how often they did in fact talk and think about the purchase. Since material goods persist physically, we expected that the overestimation would be unique to experiences. As predicted, overestimation depended on purchase type ($F(1, 73) = 8.41, p = .005$): participants (marginally) overestimated how often they would talk and think about their experiences ($F(1, 73) = 3.25, p = .076$), but *underestimated* how often they would talk and think about their material purchases ($F(1, 73) = 5.16, p = .026$), indicating that people’s overestimation is specific to experiences.

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What makes you pay?

Features of incentives and the distribution of benefits in financial behavior

Chair: Shalena Srna, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #1: Taking One for the Team: Motivating Prosocial Volunteering by Varying the Size and the (Un)Certainty of its Impact on Collective Welfare

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Paper #2: Using Gambling to Incentivize Prudent Financial Decisions

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Rourke L. O'Brien, Harvard University, USA

Paper #3: Lifting the Veil: The Benefits of Cost Transparency

Bhavya Mohan, Harvard Business School, USA
Ryan Buell, Harvard Business School, USA
Leslie John, Harvard Business School, USA

Paper #4: The impact of income tax and redistribution of tax money on productivity, satisfaction, and perceptions of fairness

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Gal Zauberan, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Schrift Rom Y., University of Pennsylvania, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Incentives can be especially powerful in driving desirable behavior. However, social psychology and consumer behavior have found that people respond differently to different incentive structures and framing of rewards (Gneezy, Meier, & Rey-Biel, 2011; Goldsmith & Dhar, 2013). In addition, people are sensitive to cost structure, fairness, and how benefits are redistributed (Fehr & Gächter, 2000; Kahneman et al., 1986). Thus, it is important to understand the effectiveness of incentive structures and distribution of benefits in encouraging behavior change. This session contributes to this literature through novel experimental research that explores how individuals' sensitivity to incentives and their perception of the fairness of incentive structures can be harnessed to increase collective welfare.

The first two papers focus on people's sensitivity to different incentive structures and the distribution of benefits and its implications to personal and public wellbeing. **Olivola, Kim, Merzel, Kareev, Avrahami, and Ritov** use a Volunteer's Dilemma Game (VDG) to explore how varying the number of players, the size of the benefits associated with volunteering, and the certainty of these benefits influences prosocial contributions. The results indicate that people are sensitive to the size and the certainty of welfare impact, but this sensitivity varies across cultures and gender. **Sussman and O'Brien** demonstrate that low income consumers are more motivated to pay off debt in accounts that incentivize repayments with lottery prizes than with a known payoff of equal expected value. Additionally, the concreteness of the goal to repay debt can make people particularly sensitive to certain lottery incentives. These two papers show how designing incentive schemes not only enhances personal welfare but also increases the distribution of benefits to others through contributions.

While the first two papers examine how people's sensitivity to incentives can increase contributions, the last two papers explore

how people can be incentivized when they know how costs and benefits will be distributed. **Mohan, Buell, and John** show that disclosing favorable or unfavorable variable costs associated with a good's production increases purchase interest and sales because of brand attraction. However, this result only holds when the price is a fair markup. **Srna, Zauberan, and Schrift** investigate how people's effort, satisfaction, and perceptions of fairness in response to different flat tax rates and the redistribution of tax money are counter to intuitions in an experimental pay-per-performance setting. These two papers demonstrate the importance of sharing cost information, and find that fairness is an important contributor to people's willingness to invest.

Taken together, these four projects highlight the importance of sensitivity to different incentive structures and the distribution of benefits to understanding consumer perceptions and behavior in four different domains of banking, volunteering, sales, and taxation. In line with the conference theme "Advancing Connections," the widespread applicability of these papers' findings could attract researchers interested in incentives, prosocial behavior, consumer behavior, and financial decision-making and have a broader impact on policy and practitioners. This session will create a productive discussion because of the theoretical and practical implications of each presentation.

Taking One for the Team: Motivating Prosocial Volunteering by Varying the Size and the (Un)Certainty of its Impact on Collective Welfare

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

What factors motivate or deter volunteering? This paper explores how culture, gender, and welfare impact, jointly influence prosocial decisions in a special type of social dilemma: The volunteer's dilemma game (VDG; Diekmann, 1985). The VDG provides a controlled experimental method for studying volunteering behaviors in an anonymous interactive environment (e.g., Barron & Yechiam, 2002; Diekmann, 1993; Murnighan, Kim, & Metzger, 1993).

Each player in the VDG is given a starting budget and has to decide whether or not to pay a fee in order to improve the final payoff (i.e., welfare) of all players. The contribution of one player is sufficient to produce the collective benefit but every player who chooses to pay must do so—irrespective of what the other players chose. Thus, if no one volunteers then no one receives the benefit; if a player does not volunteer but someone else does, the player receives the full benefit; and if a player volunteers, that player receives the benefit minus the cost of volunteering. All players make the decision (to volunteer or not) simultaneously. Critically, while all players benefit from one person volunteering, these benefits do not increase further if more than one player volunteers. Therefore, there is a coordination and efficiency problem to be solved in the VDG: every player prefers to volunteer if no one else will, but volunteering becomes pointless if at least one other person is already going to do so. In other words, it is suboptimal if no one volunteers (as it represents a missed opportunity to increase final payoffs), but it is inefficient if several people volunteer (as it implies wasted "effort" on the part of every additional player, beyond the first, who volunteers).

We developed six variations of the VDG, in which we manipulated the number of players in the game (and thus the number of potential benefactors of volunteering), the size of the welfare benefits associated with volunteering (i.e., how much people benefit from one's decision to volunteer), and whether volunteering led to certain or merely probabilistic increases in welfare (i.e., whether or not volunteering is sure to be effective), all while holding its expected value constant. We administered these 6 variations to economics students in five different cultures: Bali, England, India, Israel, and Java (total $N = 603$).

Overall, participants were sensitive to the welfare benefits of volunteering, but this sensitivity varied across cultures. Specifically, we found that Balinese participants' decisions to volunteer were less influenced by the returns to volunteering. This can be explained by the fact that Balinese culture places a strong emphasis on communal volunteering, as a sacred value (Veszteg & Narhetali, 2010), which could lead to scope insensitivity regarding the perceived benefit of volunteering. In contrast to the size of the welfare benefits, volunteering decisions were unaffected by the number of players present. This could be because the increased welfare benefits of volunteering when more players are involved were offset by the diffusion of responsibility that comes with more players (Darley & Latané, 1968; Latané & Darley, 1968; 1970; Latané & Rodin, 1969). Finally, we found that culture interacted with the (un)certainly of the benefits associated with volunteering, to influence volunteering decisions. Specifically, we found that, whereas Balinese, English, Israeli, and Javanese participants were equally likely to volunteer when doing so was associated with certain vs. uncertain welfare benefits, Indian participants were much more likely to volunteer when the returns to doing so were uncertain (albeit, with the same expected benefits, on average). Additional analyses showed that this tendency was unrelated to their general risk preferences, however.

Beyond culture, we found two other predictors of volunteering: religiosity and gender. First, we found that religiosity increases volunteering, and this was true for all major religions represented in our study. To the best of our knowledge, this is one of the first studies to show that religiosity increases prosocial choices in social dilemma games (Galen, 2012). Second, we found that men are less likely (than women) to volunteer when the returns to doing so are certain. By contrast, men and women are equally likely to volunteer when the welfare benefits of doing so are uncertain. To the best of our knowledge, this is only the third study to examine the effects of gender on volunteering in a controlled social dilemma experiment (Rapoport, 1988; Vesterlund, Babcock, & Weingart, 2014).

In sum, we investigated several determinants of volunteering. In particular we examined interactions between culture, gender, and welfare impact, on decisions to volunteer in an experimental social dilemma game. We show that, in deciding whether to volunteer, people are sensitive to the size of the welfare impact of volunteering and whether this impact is certain or uncertain. However, this sensitivity to size and (un)certainly varies across cultures and genders.

Using Gambling to Incentivize Prudent Financial Decisions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

US consumers struggle with their finances—both building savings and paying down debt. Despite the importance of savings as protection against financial shocks, a large percentage of households hold little to no saving (Lusardi, Schneider, and Tufano 2011). Additionally, US consumers carry over \$800 billion dollars of credit

card debt in aggregate, despite high financial and psychological costs associated with debt.

Prize-linked savings accounts have been used effectively to increase savings among consumers throughout the world (e.g., Kearney et al., 2010). These accounts are similar to traditional savings accounts except account-holders forgo (some or all) interest dividends in return for the chance to win lottery-like payouts. They are particularly appealing to low-income individuals, and evidence suggests that investment in this product can serve as a substitute for lottery or casino gambling (Cole, Iverson, Tufano, 2014; Cookson, 2014). Importantly, legislation passed in late 2014 will allow prize-linked savings accounts to be offered by banks and credit unions in the US.

Although prize-linked accounts have previously been used only in the context of building savings, we propose that a similar incentive structure could be used to help consumers reach another important financial goal—repaying their debt. Prize-linked debt products may be particularly attractive as an incentive in the context of consumers who hold nonperforming loans and may otherwise be unlikely to repay the full amount of the loan. Across four studies, we examine interest these products (prize-linked debt and savings), investigate differences in beliefs about savings and debt that would make each product appealing, and explore how considering goal-setting can be used to recommend specific design parameters.

Study 1 investigated whether consumers would express any interest in a prize-linked account to assist with debt repayment, and how this interest would compare to interest in prize-linked savings. 52 online participants were told to imagine that they had \$10,000 to allocate across four different options: (1) a traditional savings account (2) prize-linked savings account (3) repaying credit card debt with a constant bonus and (4) prize-linked debt account. In the two debt accounts, the cards were described as offering a promotion where consumers received a bonus for making payments on their debt. The expected value of bonuses was equated across all four account types. A 2 (credit vs savings) x 2 (traditional vs lottery) within-subject ANOVA revealed that participants put significantly more money towards credit repayment (\$5,716) than savings (\$4,283, $p < .05$). Participants were more likely to put more money towards the traditional (\$8,341) than lottery-based products (\$1,658, $p < .05$), but they were as attracted to the prize-linked debt account (\$1,077) as the prize linked savings account (\$593, *ns*), suggesting that the novel prize-linked debt account may be an effective remedy for debt repayment in some populations.

Study 2 examined relative interest in prize-linked savings versus debt products relative to traditional accounts by asking 100 participants to allocate funds across prize-linked savings versus traditional savings or prize-linked debt repayment versus traditional debt repayment options, in a between-subjects design. Results showed that the prize-linked debt account garnered significantly more interest (\$2,402) from participants than the prize-linked savings accounts (\$1,051, $p < .05$) when compared to their respective traditional accounts.

Study 3 moved to a national sample with overrepresentation from low-income households, to determine characteristics of people interested in each type of product. This study included a large range of individual difference measures. Relying on a study design similar to Study 1, results revealed that overall interest in lottery-based products was predicted by liberalism, gender, age, race, income, risk tolerance, and propensity to play the lottery. Additionally, we examined a range of attitudinal measures to better understand perspectives towards savings and debt. Among other factors, we found that having a plan for reaching one's debt goal was a positive predictor of

lottery use while having a plan for reaching one's savings goal was a negative predictor, and that the importance of debt repayment is a significant predictor of the relative preference for the debt lottery relative to the savings lottery. To better understand the appeal of a prize-linked credit account (relative to prize-linked savings), we also examined differences in beliefs about building savings and repaying debt. This analysis revealed that participants considered building savings to be a more gradual process than repaying debt, and that people have more concrete views of their debt goals relative to savings goals.

Leveraging insights gained about the psychology of debt repayment, Study 4 aimed to understand how the presence of concrete savings goals and beliefs that debt repayment is not always gradual could help with product design. One way debt differs from savings is that many people may have the same, concrete debt-goal (i.e., become debt free) whereas savings goals are more personalized and amounts are malleable (e.g., have enough money to retire). This suggests that a debt product that offers the opportunity for a consumer to clear her debt could be particularly compelling, while no exact parallel exists in the savings domain. To test this hypothesis, 100 participants read a scenario in which they had a preset amount of credit card debt and choose between a consumption (TV purchase) and lottery-based debt repayment opportunity (1-7 Likert scale). Each of the debt repayment options included several \$1,000 payouts. This amount was either (a) insufficient for repaying all outstanding debt (b) equal to outstanding debt or (c) described as eliminating all of the winner's debt (rather than stating an amount, equivalent to \$1,000 in the scenario provided). Participants in the explicit debt elimination condition were significantly more likely to repay their debt ($M_c=5.93$) than those in either of the other two conditions ($M_b=4.77$, $M_a=4.88$, $p_s<.05$). These findings suggest that (holding expected value constant) allowing for the possibility of clearing a customer's total debt, and highlighting this feature, may be most effective in encouraging debt repayment.

Overall, we provide additional insight into existing prize-linked savings accounts. More importantly, we introduce a new product to help consumers repay their debt, demonstrate interest in this product, and recommend using goals to encourage take-up.

Lifting the Veil: The Benefits of Cost Transparency

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A firm's costs are typically tightly-guarded secrets. However, a significant body of literature on the social psychology of disclosure suggests that those who disclose intimate information can be seen as more likeable and attractive (Collins & Miller, 1994; Laurenceau, 1998; Moon, 2000). We suggest that cost transparency – revealing a firm's variable costs of production – is a particularly intimate form of disclosure by a firm to the consumer. Using six laboratory experiments and a field study, we examine the effect of cost transparency on consumer purchase behavior.

Our first study was a natural experiment with an online accessories retailer. We found that the addition of a 'cost transparency' graphic denoting the variable costs of producing a wallet significantly increased sales over a two-month period. Using the estimates from a fully-specified model, we calculated that the introduction of the cost transparency infographic increased daily unit sales by 88.1%.

In study 2, we tested the effect of cost transparency on consumers' willingness to buy in a simulated online retail environment. Participants saw an online shopping interface featuring a model wearing a t-shirt. This interface served as the baseline in all of our experiments. In the operational transparency condition, an additional

infographic depicted six operational steps to produce the t-shirt – cotton, cutting, sewing, dyeing, finishing, and transport. In the cost transparency condition, the true cost of each of the six operational steps was also provided, i.e., \$2.75, \$0.35, \$1.35, \$0.50, \$1.25, and \$0.50 respectively. Participants indicated their willingness to buy the t-shirt on a 7-point scale. Willingness to buy was greater in the cost transparency condition relative to both the control condition ($M_{\text{cost}} = 4.16$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 3.31$, $t(177) = 2.95$, $p < 0.01$) and the operational transparency condition ($M_{\text{operational}} = 3.57$, $t(180) = 2.10$, $p = 0.04$).

In study 3, we tested whether a weak form of cost transparency – simply divulging the total summed cost to produce the product – is sufficient to be beneficial. Cost transparency was found to be more effective in boosting purchase interest in a \$10 t-shirt than summed cost alone ($M_{\text{cost}} = 4.91$ vs. $M_{\text{sum}} = 4.07$, $t(185) = 3.45$, $p < 0.01$), which was not significantly better than the control condition ($M_{\text{none}} = 4.15$, $t(197) = 0.77$, $p = 0.90$).

Importantly, Study 3 also explored the process underlying the beneficial effect of cost transparency. We measured a potential mediator, attraction to the brand, using a modified version of Moon's 4-item (2000) scale ($\alpha = .93$). Relative to control, brand attraction was significantly higher in the cost transparency condition ($M_{\text{cost}} = 5.40$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 4.86$, $t(200) = 5.33$, $p < 0.01$). Consistent with previous research on disclosure and attraction, the effect of cost transparency on willingness to buy was fully mediated by consumers' attraction to the disclosing firm (95% CI: 0.32, 0.81); we replicated this finding thrice in the following studies.

It is possible that the beneficial effect of cost transparency in studies 1-3 was driven by the specific allocation of costs among the different cost components. In study 4, we tested whether the results generalize to unfavorable cost allocations (i.e. when costs of intangible components – such as transportation – are relatively high). Relative to control, willingness to buy was significantly higher in both favorable and unfavorable cost allocation conditions (p 's < 0.01). The difference between disclosing favorable and unfavorable cost allocations was not significant ($M_{\text{favorable}} = 4.90$ vs. $M_{\text{unfavorable}} = 4.86$, $p = 0.60$). Thus, we found that the capacity for cost transparency to boost willingness to buy persists even when costs are allocated in a relatively undesirable way.

In study 5, we tested whether cost transparency substitutes or complements consumer-brand relationships. Participants were told that a brand was either a familiar or new brand. There was no interaction between brand relationship and transparency ($(F(1,325) = 0.32$, $p = 0.57)$). Thus, we found that brand relationship does not moderate the effect of cost transparency on willingness to buy – cost transparency is appealing to consumers regardless of their prior relationship with a brand ($M_{\text{cost}} = 4.52$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 3.96$, $t(327) = 2.65$, $p < 0.01$).

Of course, not all disclosure leads to attraction; prior research suggests a curvilinear relationship between disclosure intimacy and liking (Cozby, 1972). In study 6, we tested how revealing high profit margins (i.e., a high price relative to cost) moderated the effect of cost transparency on a consumer's willingness to purchase a good from a firm. We used the online website of a popular department store to determine a relevant range of t-shirt prices (\$10-\$100), and manipulated the price of the product while keeping costs constant. As expected, willingness to buy decreased as price increased ($F(1,954) = 121.2$, $p < 0.01$). Moreover, there was a significant interaction between price and cost transparency on willingness to buy ($F(1,954) = 6.05$, $p = 0.01$) The benefits of cost transparency weakened – but did not reverse – when a firm disclosed higher prices relative to cost.

When might cost transparency backfire? Although consumers understand and accept that firms must make profits (Bolton, Warlop, & Alba, 2003; Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1986), they pun-

ish firms that violate established norms of price fairness (Campbell, 1999; Xia, Monroe, & Cox, 2004). In study 7, we tested whether making a markup more salient would diminish the effectiveness of cost transparency. For instance, we noted that a similar shirt sold by a competitor is priced at \$25, a 3.7X markup over the estimated cost of production. Thus, at the \$30 price point, the firm's markup of 4.5X was higher, and therefore, less desirable than that of its' competitor. Relative to the control, willingness to buy was significantly lower versus the control when an undesirable markup was made salient ($M_{\text{markup}} = 2.17$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 3.34$, $t(60) = 2.37$, $p = 0.02$). This suggests that when markups are counter-normatively high compared to competitors, cost transparency diminishes purchase intentions.

The provocative implication of this research is that by revealing costs – typically tightly-guarded secrets – marketers can potentially improve both brand attraction and sales.

The impact of income tax and redistribution of tax money on productivity, satisfaction, and perceptions of fairness

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers face different levels of taxation, which have potentially important implications for their perceptions and behavior. Existing experimental evidence suggests that people are tax averse, causing them to avoid costs associated with taxes beyond equivalent costs in their purchase and policy decisions (e.g., Hardisty, Johnson, & Weber, 2010; Sussman & Olivola, 2011). This research proposes that people indeed predict they will be income tax averse, but their actual behavior in response to income tax is not nearly as extreme and is influenced by how tax money is redistributed.

Perceptions of tax policy might affect people's decisions, including residence decisions and voting on policy. Therefore, it is important to understand people's intuitions about the impact of income tax and redistribution schedules. In the first two studies, participants predicted how they (Study 1a) or an average "Joe" (Study 1b) would behave and feel if their task earnings were subject to an income tax and redistribution schedule. In Study 1a, participants (N=202) read about a hypothetical study that taxed their earnings and were asked to predict their own behavior and feelings. The study design was within participants and compared tax levels of no tax, 10%, 40%, and 55%. Participants were instructed that tax money was either evenly redistributed among all participants or withheld to support research. Participants predicted that they would be less productive the higher the tax ($p < .001$) and reported lower satisfaction ($p < .001$) with the task and payment fairness ($p < .001$). Participants also predicted that they would be more productive with an even redistribution of tax money than when it was withheld to support research ($p < .001$). In order to determine the results' robustness, Study 1b replicated Study 1a using third-person rather than first-person framing. Thus, in Study 1b, participants (N=201) predicted how an average "Joe" would behave and feel when his earnings from a task were subject to different tax and redistribution schedules. We find the results of Study 1a extend to this context.

Given the results of Studies 1a and 1b, we sought to test participants' intuitions in a controlled incentive compatible experiment. While these experiments do not mirror taxes' complexities in the real world, the incentives, taxation, and redistribution of tax money are real, and thus give important psychological insights. Participants' (N=627) earnings were taxed at 10% or 40% such that participants made the same amount after taxes regardless of the tax rate and participants were told that the tax money either supported research or was redistributed evenly among participants. When the tax money

was evenly redistributed, each participant received an equal share regardless of earnings. After working on an incentive-compatible task, participants received their payment information. Contrary to intuitions, the results suggest that participants are slightly more productive with higher tax rates ($p = .03$) possibly because they compensate for lost wages by working more. There were no differences in satisfaction with task, payment, or payment structure fairness due to higher taxes ($\alpha = .83$, $p = .87$). Despite higher satisfaction with an even allocation of tax money ($p = .002$) and receiving redistribution money, participants were less productive when tax money was evenly redistributed ($p = .03$). Consistent with public goods literature, our findings suggest that in this context people also reduce effort when benefits can be received with no contribution (Fehr & Gächter, 2000).

Admittedly, it could be argued that participants' insensitivity to different tax rates was because 10% and 40% tax rates fall within the realm of normal income taxes, or alternatively, that participants were unclear regarding what constitutes a "normal tax rate" in this scenario. Thus, in Study 3 we held constant before tax earnings in order to make sure participants were actually experiencing the penalty of taxation. To ensure there was no ambiguity about the task and payment structure, Study 3 employed a two-stage design where all participants (N=488) first worked on a task taxed at 0%, 10% or 55%, (manipulated between participants). After completing the first task, participants either predicted how much they will work or actually worked on the second target task, which was also taxed at 0%, 10% or 55% (both factors were manipulated between participants). We find that participants were less productive (correctly complete 7 less problems on average) and satisfied on the second task when taxes were raised from 10% in the first task to 55% in the second task and were more productive (correctly complete 1 more problem) when taxes were lowered from 55% to 10%. Furthermore, participants predicted much higher productivity on the second task than they actually performed ($p < .0001$). The study's results, however, cannot determine whether the change in productivity is because of tax aversion or a change in compensation.

In order to address this question, Study 4 compared after tax earnings with or without the mention of taxes. Participants (N=484) worked on two different tasks in which they were either taxed or not. In the first and second tasks, they were either subject to a 0%, 10%, or 55% tax or were paid the equivalent after tax amounts with no mention of taxation. We find participants' difference in productivity between the tasks is due to changes in incentives for both tasks ($p < .001$) but not from being averse to the mention of taxes. Thus, the results show that taxation does not have a differential impact on productivity beyond that of an equivalent decrease in incentives. This finding is inconsistent with participants' intuition that they would exhibit tax aversion in this study.

In summary, people intuit that higher taxes and no distribution of tax money among participants decrease productivity and satisfaction beyond the impact of lower payments. However, our results provide evidence that, while people are sensitive to incentive schemes and how tax money is redistributed, their actual effort is not tax averse. We discuss the important implications of these findings to psychology, consumer research, and public policy.

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The Pleasures and Perils of Gift-Giving

Chairs: Mary Steffel, Northeastern University, USA
Lisa Cavanaugh, University of Southern California, USA

Paper #1: Ensouling Gifts with Closeness

Evan Polman, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Sam J. Maglio, University of Toronto Scarborough, Canada

Paper #2: When Doing Good Is Bad in Gift Giving: Mispredicting Appreciation of Socially Responsible Gifts

Lisa A. Cavanaugh, University of Southern California, USA
Francesca Gino, Harvard University, USA
Gavan Fitzsimons, Duke University, USA

Paper #3: Overly Specific Gift Giving: Givers Choose Personalized but Less-Versatile and Less-Preferred Gifts

Mary Steffel, Northeastern University, USA
Elanor F. Williams, University of California, San Diego, USA
Robyn A. LeBoeuf, Washington University in St. Louis, USA

Paper #4: How Reasons Can Undermine the Symbolic Value of Gifts

Laurence Ashworth, Queen's School of Business, Canada
Katherine White, University of British Columbia, Canada
Darren Dahl, University of British Columbia, Canada

SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers employ a variety of strategies to select gifts that will enable them to please and connect with their intended recipients, with varying results. Whereas some of these strategies can lead to success, others are more likely to lead givers astray. The purpose of this symposium is to identify the strategies that givers use to imbue gifts with value and meaning, understand how givers come to develop deft or daft intuitions, and predict how such strategies are likely to affect recipients' appreciation for the gifts they receive as well as for the givers who gave them. Together these four papers address those key questions.

First, Evan Polman and Sam J. Maglio propose that one way in which givers attempt to please and connect with recipients is by "companionizing" their gifts – whereby givers gift something that they also buy for themselves. This strategy generates greater feelings of closeness among recipients toward givers and increases their appreciation for their gifts, even when such gifts are less-than-desirable.

Next, Lisa Cavanaugh, Francesca Gino, and Gavan Fitzsimons examine another strategy that givers use: givers choose socially responsible gifts (e.g., a charitable donation in the recipient's name) to make recipients feel good about supporting a worthy cause. Although this intuition is generally well-founded, givers underestimate close others' appreciation for socially responsible gifts and overestimate distant others' appreciation for such gifts.

Mary Steffel, Elanor F. Williams, and Robyn A. LeBoeuf investigate another way in which givers mispredict recipients' preferences: by choosing gifts that are more specific and less versatile than what recipients prefer. Givers focus on recipients' stable traits and choose gifts that are specifically tailored to those qualities, whereas recipients focus on their multiple, varying wants and needs and prefer gifts that can fulfill whatever those might be. This mismatch is greatest when givers choose gifts for close versus distant others and can lead to gift nonuse.

Finally, Laurence Ashworth, Katherine White, and Darren Dahl show that, whereas givers may find it intuitive to convey to recipients why they chose certain gifts on their behalf, this strategy may often

backfire. In the absence of an explanation, recipients tend to naturally attribute gifts to symbolic or sentimental motives. Thus, the presence of information that provides another possible reason for why the gift was chosen (e.g., the gift was on sale) can undermine the symbolic value of the gift and reduce recipients' appreciation for it.

Together, these studies contribute to consumer theory by illuminating how consumers strive to gratify and connect with other people through the gifts that they give them, how such efforts may come to be well-placed or misguided, and how recipients respond to these gestures. It further identifies factors—such as relationship closeness, perspective taking, and behavioral attributions—that may bias givers' perceptions and contribute to givers' success or failure. This research is of broad interest to researchers in consumer psychology in general and to researchers in gift giving, prosocial behavior, and judgment and decision making in particular.

Ensouling Gifts with Closeness

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When it comes to gift-giving, consumers often experience ambivalent feelings: Many relish the opportunity to buy gifts because gift-giving offers a means by which to build stronger bonds with one's closest peers (Ward and Broniarczyk 2011), yet consumers are often inaccurate in what they think will delight their peers (Baskin, Wakslak, Trope, and Novemsky 2014; Flynn and Adams 2009; Gino and Flynn 2011; Steffel and LeBoeuf 2014). Typically, such deficits are discussed in terms of givers struggling to take the perspective of recipients (Zhang and Epley 2012) – indeed, much research has found that people are susceptible to egocentrism, social projection, and multiple attribution errors (Ross 1977).

In our research, we take a different approach to this topic. Rather than examining the effects of givers' egocentrism dampening recipients' satisfaction, we develop links between gift-giving and the separate literature streams on interpersonal closeness and a special type of sharing that we refer to as "companionizing." In marketing research, sharing is usually viewed as jointly consuming something, like sharing the same dessert, or sharing a meal together – however, other instances of sharing have been documented as well. For example, sharing can also mean to use, occupy, or enjoy something jointly with others (e.g., sharing a house together in the Hamptons); to tell someone about something personal (e.g., sharing a secret); or to possess something in common with others (e.g., sharing the same sweater as someone else). It is this last example that is the focus of our work.

Broadly, we document a new type of sharing that results of owning the same product as others. Specifically, our studies build on past work on interpersonal closeness by proposing that this type of sharing also may play an important role in gift-giving. As a general pattern, sharing "goes hand in hand with trust and bonding" (Belk 2010, 717) – it is for this reason that when consumers want to *fit in* with others, they appropriate the same items as those others (Mead, Baumeister, Stillman, Rawn, and Vohs 2011); similarly, it is for this same reason that when consumers want to *stand out* from others, they deliberately avoid buying the same items as those others (Berger and Heath 2007, 2008). These examples show that sharing creates closeness – from sharing attitudes with others, to birthdays, or clothes, people feel closer to those similar others (Gentina 2014;

Liang, Hoegg, Dahl, and Chattopadhyay 2010; Miller, Downs, and Prentice 1998).

We applied this idea of sharing to the context of gift-giving. In three studies in which participant-recipients evaluated gifts ranging from blankets, bonsais, books, bourbon, to bowls, we investigated whether companionizing – whereby givers gift something that they also buy themselves – generates a higher valuation for gifts.

In study 1, we investigated participants' valuation of 10 gifts. We randomly presented participants with one of two conditions; the companionized condition, which accompanied this message, *Imagine you receive a gift for a special occasion. You open the present, and inside is a new [gift], with a card that reads, "I hope you like the [gift] -- I got myself the same [gift] too!"* and the control condition, which accompanied this message, *Imagine you receive a gift for a special occasion. You open the present, and inside is a new [gift], with a card that reads, "I hope you like the [gift]!"*. Then, participants rated the gift, on scales of likability, thoughtfulness, and considerateness – we collapsed these items into one item, valuation ($\alpha=.89$). We found that participants in the companionized condition valued their gift more ($M=4.87$, $SD=1.38$) than participants in the control condition ($M=4.56$, $SD=1.56$), $F(1, 9.87)=10.60$, $p=.009$.

Quite possibly, the results to study 1 could be because participants inferred that companionized gifts are high quality. In study 2, we aimed to investigate this possibility. The procedure was the same as study 1, except we used different gifts and added a quality condition which accompanied this message, *"Imagine you receive a gift for a special occasion from a friend. You open the present, and inside is a [gift], with a card that reads, "I hope you like the [gift] -- it got great reviews online!"*. We found a significant difference between conditions, $F(2,4.56)=11.95$, $p=.015$. Specifically, post hoc analyses (LSD) revealed participants in the companionized condition valued their gift more ($M=4.55$, $SD=1.42$) than participants in both the control ($M=4.22$, $SD=1.52$) and quality condition ($M=4.05$, $SD=1.49$), $ps<.054$.

Thus, in study 2, we ruled out an interpretation based on quality; in study 3 we aimed to rule in an explanation based on social bonds. In this study, we precisely measured the closeness receivers report with givers, and tested if this feeling mediates the relation between companionizing and the value receivers ascribe to their gifts. The procedure was the same as in study 1, except we used different gifts and added a mediator item, asking "How close would you feel to the giver of this gift?". We found participants in the companionized condition valued their gift more ($M=4.74$, $SD=1.35$) than participants in the control condition ($M=4.26$, $SD=1.38$), $F(1,2.39)=14.73$, $p=.046$. Additionally, participants in the companionized condition felt closer to their givers ($M=5.00$, $SD=1.29$) than participants in the control condition ($M=4.23$, $SD=1.511$), $F(1,2.55)=42.23$, $p=.012$. Furthermore, we tested mediation using bootstrapping while controlling for gift (Hayes, 2013). One thousand resamples were taken from the data to compute the indirect effect ($\beta=.55$, $SE=.17$). This indirect effect was estimated to lie within the non-zero-containing 95% confidence interval, 0.22 and 0.86, suggesting that companionizing a gift increased the felt bond between recipient and giver, which in turn led recipients to value their gifts more.

Our investigation suggests a rather easy way to improve the feeling one has when receiving a gift. Beyond highlighting a straightforward way that anyone can use to boost a recipient's gift valuation, we further discuss the theoretical, economic and environmental implications of our research, as well as suggest boundary conditions. Quite possibly, to the extent that people have the ability to buy experiential gifts for others they may be just as well off if they bought sentimental, material gifts.

When Doing Good Is Bad in Gift Giving: Mispredicting Appreciation of Socially Responsible Gifts

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As a socially important phenomenon, gift-giving helps individuals signal their commitment and caring in social relationships (Belk 1976; Caplow 1982). Individuals face numerous occasions in which they need to choose gifts for others with whom they have a personal (family, friends, neighbors) or professional (assistants, bosses, interns, co-workers) relationship. Often consumers find themselves in situations where they need to choose a gift for someone whose explicit preferences are unknown. An increasing number of gift givers are turning to "gifts that give twice"—that is, gifts supporting a worthy cause (Maciejewsky 2008). Such gift choices are often motivated by people's desire to "do good" (Andreoni 1990) and identification with moral identity (Aquino and Reed 2002). We examine whether such gifts have the expected outcomes.

Most research on gift giving has focused on gifts that benefit the recipient directly, such as products, monetary gifts, or gift certificates. Past research has examined how a variety of gift characteristics impact appreciation, including whether a gift is requested (e.g., gift registry; Bradford and Sherry 2013; Gino and Flynn 2011; Ward and Broniarczyk 2011), expensive (Flynn and Adams 2009) or material vs. experiential (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). Socially responsible gifts, such as a charitable donation made in the recipient's name, do not benefit the recipient directly; rather, they are intended to produce an indirect psychological benefit to the recipient, namely a sense of satisfaction and happiness from helping a third party in need (e.g., a charity) and perhaps connoting recognition of an altruistic or moral identity. Moreover, socially responsible gifts are often intangible and their cost transparent (e.g., \$50 donation in your name). As such, socially responsible gifts provide an interesting context for understanding when symbolic meaning is most likely to impact givers' predicted and recipients' actual appreciation.

Building on prior work documenting mispredictions in gift-giving (e.g., Adams, Flynn, and Norton 2012; Flynn and Adams 2009; Gino and Flynn 2011; Zhang and Epley 2012), we argue that, under certain conditions, socially responsible gifts are substantially less appreciated by recipients than givers anticipate. We propose that reactions to socially responsible gifts and interpretation of their meaning largely depend on *relational closeness* between the gift giver and the receiver. Specifically, we find that givers consistently mispredict appreciation of socially responsible gifts, underestimating appreciation for *close* and overestimating appreciation for more *distant others*.

Our research is the first to explore 1) whether socially responsible gifts are appreciated, 2) what socially responsible gifts communicate in the minds of those giving vs. receiving them, and 3) when mispredictions of appreciation are most likely to occur. We identify relational closeness as an important moderator to documented mispredictions in appreciation of symbolic gifts. We present four studies that support our hypotheses, comparing non-tangible, socially responsible gifts (e.g., a charitable donation in the recipient's name) to both tangible and non-tangible gifts that produce direct benefits to the recipient (e.g., a gift basket or a gift certificate).

Study 1A & 1B

Participants (N=154) randomly assigned to a giver (vs. receiver) condition were asked to imagine that they (or a close friend) had selected a birthday gift: a \$50 donation to Oxfam to support coffee growers. They then completed dependent measures for feelings of appreciation, thoughtfulness (Flynn and Adams 2009), offensiveness,

favorability, and symbolizing commitment to the recipient on 7pt scales. Study 1B (N=311) provided a conceptual replication with a 2 (role: giver vs. receiver) X 2 (alternative gift option: known vs. unknown) design and different gift stimuli. Results show that, in close relationships, givers do not accurately predict how much recipients will appreciate socially responsible gifts whether the alternative gift options are known or unknown (all $p < .01$).

Study 2

To investigate the role of relationship closeness as an important moderator, participants (N=151) were randomly assigned to a 2 (role: giver vs. receiver) X 2 (relational closeness: close vs. not close) design. Results revealed the predicted role X relationship closeness interaction on all measures: appreciation, thoughtfulness, favorability, offensiveness and the gift symbolizing commitment to the relationship (all $p < .002$). On all measures, givers predicted that the recipient would appreciate the socially responsible gift much more in the case of a distant rather than a close friend ($p < .001$). However, in close relationships, givers underestimated how much recipients would appreciate socially responsible gifts ($p < .003$). Moreover, givers believed receivers would appreciate the donation more when the recipient was a *distant* rather than a *close* friend.

Study 3

To test the generalizability and external validity of our findings, we examined the phenomenon using real gifts and real relationships (close and distant). University students (N=245) were randomly assigned to a 2 role (gift giver/ gift recipient) X 2 relationship closeness (close/ not close) X 2 gift type (socially responsible gift/ traditional gift) design, described as a gifting study in exchange for credit or \$5 gift-card. In advance of their lab session, participants identified multiple friends, and we randomly selected and contacted one of the listed friends. Friends were contacted via email and asked to make a \$25 gift choice from six options for the person named. After making their choice, gift-givers completed all the same dependent measures. When student participants arrived at the lab for their in-person session, the gift chosen by their friend was presented to them. After collapsing across gift type (traditional vs. socially responsible gift), results showed that 39.1% of givers chose the socially responsible gifts and 60.9% chose traditional gifts for friends. We found a significant relationship closeness by gift type interaction ($p < .03$) and a significant three-way role by gift type by relationship closeness interaction ($p < .02$). The simple role by relationship closeness interaction was significant for socially responsible gifts ($p < .02$), but not traditional gifts ($p < .44$). Probing with the Johnson-Neyman technique showed that givers significantly overestimated recipients' appreciation for socially responsible gifts at low levels of closeness (below 3.1030), i.e. distant relationships. Together these four studies show that givers mispredict appreciation for socially responsible gifts, and that their mispredictions depend on the nature of their relationship to the recipient.

Overly Specific Gift Giving: Givers Choose Personalized But Less-Versatile And Less-Preferred Gifts

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Gift givers often fail to anticipate that the gifts they prefer to give are not necessarily the ones recipients prefer to receive. We propose that one way in which givers misgauge recipients' preferences is by favoring gifts that are specific and personalized to recipients but are less versatile than what recipients prefer to receive.

Givers frequently tailor gifts to recipients, as it is not just the act of giving a gift, but the meaning of that gift, that matters (Belk 1996; Schwartz 1967). When selecting and tailoring gifts, givers may focus on recipients' stable and unique traits to select what seem like the most appropriate gifts, but recipients may be more aware that what they want may depend on the situation and may frequently change (e.g., Jones and Nisbett 1971; Nisbett et al. 1973). As a consequence, givers may gravitate toward gifts that are tailored to recipients' traits but are too specific to meet recipients' varying wants and needs.

Studies 1a, 1b, and 1c examine whether givers tend to choose gifts that are more specific than recipients prefer to receive. In study 1, participants imagined either giving or receiving a gift card and chose between a Visa gift card or a gift card for the recipient's favorite store. Recipients were more likely to want to receive the Visa gift card than givers were to give it ($\chi^2(1, N = 294) = 44.50, p < .001$). Study 1b illustrates the generality of this discrepancy by showing that recipients are more likely than givers to prefer a gift card meant for several stores over one meant for a single store ($t(115) = -2.36, p = .02, d = .43$), a gift card over a gift ($t(117) = -2.73, p = .007, d = .50$), and cash over a gift ($t(118) = -4.05, p < .001, d = .74$). Study 1c shows that this discrepancy extends to tangible gifts as well: recipients preferred a multi-purpose gift over a single-purpose gift more than did givers ($t(268.28) = -5.08, p < .001, d = .61$).

Study 2 investigates whether givers persist in choosing overly specific gifts even when they first consider what they themselves would prefer to receive. Indeed, givers chose overly specific gift cards even when they assumed the roles of both recipient and giver sequentially (paired $t(341) = 12.66, p < .001, d = .71$). Study 3 shows that this is because givers and recipients have different ideas about which gifts are more thoughtful and better liked. Recipients were more likely to consider a Visa gift card to be more thoughtful (relative to a store gift card) than were givers ($\chi^2(1, N = 238) = 21.20, p < .001$). Additionally, recipients liked the Visa gift card more than givers thought they would ($t(236) = 4.04, p < .001$), and liked the store gift card less than givers thought they would ($t(213.36) = -2.77, p = .006$).

Studies 4a and 4b show that this discrepancy is rooted in the tendency for givers to focus on recipients' stable traits and for recipients to focus on their own variable wants and needs. In study 4a, givers rated themselves more likely to consider what their friend was like as a person when choosing a gift than recipients were to consider what they were like as a person when suggesting gifts they would want to receive ($t(169) = 5.58, p < .001, d = .84$). And, givers were less likely than recipients to consider the recipient's current wants and needs when choosing gifts ($t(169) = -2.30, p = .02, d = .35$). In study 4b, givers rated themselves more likely to choose a Visa gift card over the store gift card when they first thought about what their recipient *would like* than when they first thought about what their recipient *was like* ($t(206) = 2.33, p = .02, d = .32$).

Study 5 shows that givers are more likely to choose overly specific gifts for close than distant others, presumably because they are especially motivated to be thoughtful and personalize gifts for close others. Givers preferred giving a tailored store gift card over a Visa gift card to a greater extent for a romantic partner than a friend ($t(197) = 4.01, p < .001, d = .57$), but recipients' preferences between the gift cards did not vary based on their relationship to the giver ($t(180.31) = .74, p = .46, d = .11$).

Studies 6a and 6b show that this giver-recipient discrepancy can contribute to gift non-use. In study 6a, participants recalled a gift card that they gave [received] and indicated how long it took the recipient [them] to redeem it (if at all). Gift cards were coded for specificity based on the number of product categories for which they could be

redeemed. Recipients took longer to redeem gift cards (if at all) the more specific they were ($\beta = -.31, t = -4.08, p < .001$), but givers failed to anticipate this ($\beta = -.13, t = -1.61, p = .11$). In study 6b, we analyzed all gifts that were given in 2013 and redeemed via Gifty, a service that allows givers to give gift cards with a suggestion of what to get and where to get it and allows recipients to receive their gifts as a credit to their credit card or PayPal account. Controlling for gift value and method of receipt, recipients took longer to redeem gifts that came with a specific suggestion of an item or place where the gift should be used than ones that did not ($F(1, 9,355) = 75.89, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .008$).

This research contributes to a growing body of research showing that givers often fail to accurately anticipate what recipients would most like. It further suggests that giver-recipient discrepancies in judgment may be one reason why so many gift cards go unredeemed. It also suggests a solution: focusing on what recipients would like may encourage givers to choose gifts that are more likely to be used and appreciated.

How Reasons Can Undermine the Symbolic Value of Gifts

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers' spend a great deal of money on gifts – by some estimates, over 4% of household income (Caplow 1982; Garner and Wagner 1991). A fair amount of research has explored the social function of gifts (e.g., Sherry 1983). Less, however, has examined how receivers respond to the gifts that they receive. The current work examines an attributional framework for understanding recipients' reactions. Our basic premise is that recipients typically attribute gifts to positive giver sentiments. This makes recipients relatively forgiving when it comes to the quality of the gift, but it also means they should be sensitive to information that suggests alternative reasons for the givers' choice. We examine this idea in the context of discounts, where we suggest that knowing a gift was bought on sale provides an alternative reason for the givers' choice that undermines recipients' appreciation.

Choosing the right gift is a difficult task. Givers appear to routinely misjudge what recipients would like (Flynn and Adams 2009; Gino and Flynn 2011), resulting in a deadweight loss (Waldfogel 1993) and many returned gifts (NRF 2015). Despite this, current evidence suggests that gift recipients are nevertheless appreciative of the gifts that they receive. Gino and Flynn (2011) found that recipients were happier to receive a solicited (vs. unsolicited) gift than givers believed they would be. Flynn and Adams (2009) found that recipients were insensitive to cost, despite givers' beliefs that more expensive gifts would convey greater thoughtfulness. In short, recipients appear to be more appreciative of a wider variety of gifts than givers appear to recognize.

One suggestion for this is because recipients may be relatively unlikely to contemplate an alternative gift. Instead, they may compare their gift to the counterfactual of receiving no gift at all (Flynn and Adams 2009). This implies that recipients' will be appreciative of a wide variety of gifts because relative to no gift, it is a thoughtful gesture. However, this also suggests that recipients might be sensitive to information that suggests alternative reasons for the givers' behavior. Consistent with principles of attributional discounting (Morris and Larrick 1995), competing accounts of the behavior should undermine any one explanation. Specifically, we predict that recipients will discount their assumption that the gift reflects positive giver sentiments when there is information that suggests other reasons for givers' choice. We test this in the context

of discounts, where we predict that a discount provides an alternative reason for givers' choice which should reduce the symbolic value of the gift, undermining recipients' appreciation. Two studies test this basic prediction.

Study 1

Two-hundred and six students participated in a 2 (Price: \$20 vs. \$40) x 2 (Discounted: Yes vs. No) between-subjects experiment. Participants read a scenario in which they received a gift from a friend at their birthday party. The following day participants happen to see the gift while shopping for \$20 (vs. \$40) and discounted by 50% (vs. not). Six items measured participants' happiness with the gift ($\alpha = .90$). Consistent with past research, price did not affect happiness ($F(1, 202) = .01, p > .90$). The discount, however, did reduce happiness ($M_s = 4.62$ vs. 6.01 ; $F(1, 202) = 97.75, p < .001$). A significant interaction ($F(1, 202) = 5.08, p < .05$) indicated this was enhanced for the more expensive gift ($M_{\$40s} = 4.47$ vs. 6.18 ; $M_{\$20s} = 4.77$ vs. 5.84). Note that a gift discounted from \$40 to \$20 was less appreciated than a non-discounted \$20 gift ($M_s = 4.47$ vs. 5.84 ; $p < .001$). Overall, there was no evidence that the absolute amount spent mattered (at least within the price range examined), but a discounted gift did lower recipients' happiness.

Study 2

Study 2 examined whether the negative effect of the discount would be reduced in situations where the giver was less responsible for the discount. This was manipulated by having the gift come from the recipients' wish list (vs. not). Some work suggests that recipients should be sensitive to this information, although the correspondence bias suggests they might not. Ninety-three students participated in a 2 (Wish List Item: Yes vs. No) x 2 (Discount: Yes vs. No) between-subjects experiment. The gift always cost \$20 and was discounted from \$40 (vs. not). Happiness with the gift was measured with the same items ($\alpha = .90$). Consistent with the previous study, a discounted gift reduced recipients' appreciation relative to a non-discounted gift ($M_s = 4.90$ vs. 5.59 ; $F(1, 89) = 10.38, p < .01$), even when the gift came from the recipient's wish list (no other effects were significant). Overall, discounted gifts reduced recipients' appreciation. This occurred regardless of the price of the gift, and even when the recipient chose the gift.

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New Insights into Creative Cognition

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Paper #1: The Light Side of Creativity: Moral Reminders Can Boost Creativity

Anne Laure Sellier, HEC Paris, France
Darren W. Dahl, University of British Columbia, Canada

Paper #2: Does Self-Regulatory Resource Depletion Reduce or Enhance Creativity?

Ding (Allen) Tian, Wuhan University, China
Gerald Häubl, University of Alberta, Canada

Paper #3: Good or Bad? Exploring Differential Effects of Creativity on Pro-social Behavior

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SESSION OVERVIEW

Creativity permeates today's consumption environment. Consumers increasingly engage in various creative activities, from co-creating with companies to consuming creative products (Burroughs and Mick 2004; Dahl and Moreau 2007). Thus, it is critical to understand what factors enhance consumer creativity and what downstream consequences engaging in creative thinking engender. This session seeks to provide new insights into creative cognition. The first paper, by Sellier and Dahl, examines the effect of an ethical mindset versus a moral mindset on creativity. In contrast to prior work suggesting a bidirectional positive relationship between creativity and dishonesty, this research proposes that creativity can also be positively associated with morality. Results show that compared to a moral mindset and a neutral mindset, an ethical mindset facilitates individual creativity through elevating autonomy. In contrast, when a creativity task requires teamwork, a moral mindset enhances creative performance as compared to an ethical mindset because it fuels group cohesion during the creativity production process. The second paper, by Tian and Häubl, examines when self-regulatory resource depletion helps versus hinders creativity. They posit that while resource depletion has been documented to be maladaptive and harmful, it can be beneficial under certain circumstances by facilitating creative ideation. Results demonstrate that resource depletion enhances creativity in terms of divergent thinking by weakening cognitive inhibition and promoting a broad search of individuals' associative networks. Conversely, resource depletion jeopardizes creativity in terms of convergent thinking, which calls for a strongly constrained search process and cognitive inhibition. The third paper, by Xu and Mehta, investigates downstream effects of creative engagement on prosocial behavior. Reconciling conflicting predictions suggested by prior literature, they show that whether creative engagement increases or decreases prosocial behavior depends on the thinking style adopted in a creative task. Specifically, engaging in a creative task involving divergent thinking promotes prosocial behavior by activating a deliberative mindset that triggers open-mindedness, whereas engaging in a creative task involving convergent thinking hinders prosocial behavior by activating an implemental mindset that decreases open-mindedness.

Unified by a focus on creativity yet built on diverse theoretical bases, the three papers deepen our understanding of creativity by providing new, interdisciplinary insights into its causes and consequences. This session echoes the theme of ACR 2015 by connecting creativity with seemingly unrelated factors and providing academics,

consumers, marketers, and public policy makers with suggestions for promoting and making good use of creativity.

The Light Side of Creativity: Moral Reminders Can Boost Creativity

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Considerable consumer research has established that a critical area of study is the investigation of contextual factors that enable consumers to be creative (e.g., Moreau and Dahl 2005). Alarming-ly, recent research documented that creativity can negatively affect ethical behavior (e.g., Gino and Ariely 2012; Gino and Wiltermuth 2014). This research flips this perspective to show that creators reminded of moral intuitions can enjoy greater creativity (study 1 and 2). We further show that reminding creators of the moral law can similarly serve as a creative boost (study 3). In sum, "good" can increase creativity.

We examine how contextually reminding creators of their moral intuition (e.g., being good) versus the moral law (e.g., following a dogma) shapes subsequent creative cognitive processing. Prior research pinpointed constraints as a critical antecedent of creativity (e.g., Dahl and Moreau 2007). Both moral intuitions and the moral law constrain the creative process in that they both increase the salience of a set of moral rules that are internally (moral intuitions) versus externally produced (moral law). Further, reminding creators of moral intuitions increases their perceived autonomy, because moral intuitions allow the internal justification of one's actions. By contrast, the moral law stifles autonomy—it is the law. For these reasons, we expect that reminders of moral intuitions will foster individual creativity more than reminders of the moral law and than a non-constraining, neutral mindset.

We tested this prediction in a first study in which 92 students (45 men, age = 20.1 years) completed creative tasks after having been primed with moral intuition-related, moral law-related, or neutral words. They were told that they would take part in two studies. The first study was a word search task. We varied the list of words, so that most of the words either related to moral intuitions, the moral law, or were neutral. Participants subsequently reported how creative, original, novel, inspired, artistic, and innovative they perceived their alien to be (1-7; not at all/very), their mood, and other measures. Next, participants participated in an ostensibly unrelated creativity study. Their first task was to be as creative as possible in drawing an alien (Ward 1994). Next, they were given the Duncker candle task, for which only one solution exists.

Once all data from creators were collected, 16 peers independently rated each alien's creativity, indicating how creative, original, novel, inspired, artistic, innovative (1-7; not at all/very; α for the averaged creativity score across peers = .99) the aliens were. Subsequently, they rated each alien's attractiveness (6 items, all α 's > .85). Seven participants did not follow the study instructions, and were therefore excluded from the sample. We report our analyses for the remaining 85 participants. We computed a self-perceived creativity index by averaging creators' creativity ratings ($\alpha = .91$), and subjected this index to an ANOVA. We found a significant impact of Mindset, $F(1, 85) = 3.15, p < .05, r^2 = .04$, such that creators reminded of moral intuitions perceived their aliens to be significantly more creative than creators reminded of the moral law ($M_{\text{moral intuitions}}$

= 4.10 vs. $M_{\text{moral law}} = 3.44$, $t(82) = 1.94$, $p = .05$, $r^2 = .04$); and than creators in the control condition ($M_{\text{control}} = 3.28$, $t(82) = 2.34$, $p < .03$, $r^2 = .06$). Moral law and control creators rated themselves as equally creative, $t < 1$.

Next, we computed an objective creativity index by averaging peers' creativity ratings (all $as > .85$). An ANOVA using this index as the dependent variable showed a significant impact of Moral Prime, $F(1, 85) = 3.16$, $p < .05$, $r^2 = .04$, such that the moral intuitions aliens were judged more creative than the moral law aliens, $M_{\text{moral intuitions}} = 4.34$ vs. $M_{\text{moral law}} = 3.77$, $t(82) = 2.27$, $p < .03$, $r^2 = .06$; and than the control aliens, $M_{\text{control}} = 3.81$, $t(82) = 1.94$, $p = .05$, $r^2 = .04$. Moral and control aliens were rated as equally creative, $t < 1$.

Focusing on the Duncker candle problem, we found that 54% of participants reminded of moral intuitions found the correct answer, a greater performance than participants reminded of the moral law (29% solved correctly, $\chi^2 = 3.62$, one-tail $p < .03$), and than control participants (30%, $\chi^2 = 3.24$, one-tail $p < .04$). We found no influence of mood or peers' alien attractiveness ratings on our results, all p 's $> .08$.

In a second study, we replicated the creativity findings in study 1 with a different task, one in which creators were asked to develop a new product solution for eating while at the wheel. In addition, study 2 demonstrates that the process through which creators reminded of moral intuitions have a creative advantage over creators reminded of the moral law is because reminders of moral intuitions activate creators' autonomy.

A third study examines when reminders of the moral law can boost creativity above and beyond reminders of moral intuitions. Following research in moral psychology (Haidt 2007), we suggest that the moral law (vs. moral intuitions) will foster greater creativity when creators work in groups, because it activates group cohesion and facilitation processes during the creative process. In contrast, because they boosts autonomy, reminders of moral intuitions compromise group cohesion. We primed 90 participants with moral intuitions or the moral law as in study 1, before they worked on designing a new product as in study 2. Subsequently, they rated the extent to which they felt the group worked well and enjoyed cohesion. We found that moral law groups produced more creative products than the moral intuitions groups, $p < .05$. Further, we found that groups' ratings of how well they worked together mediated this effect.

Together, our results suggest that, if creativity can lead to dishonesty, honesty can also produce a creative advantage.

Does Self-Regulatory Resource Depletion Reduce or Enhance Creativity?

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers often have to engage in self-control in order to attain their virtuous goals by overriding impulsive responses that are immediately gratifying yet deleterious in the long run. Prior research suggests that all acts of self-control rely on a common, limited pool of resources, which can be temporarily depleted after an initial exertion of self-control, thus undermining subsequent self-control endeavors (Baumeister et al. 1998; Muraven, Tice, and Baumeister 1998). It is well documented that self-regulatory resource depletion gives rise to a variety of undesirable consequences, including overeating (Vohs and Heatherton 2000), increased impulse buying (Vohs and Faber 2007), impaired task performance (Schmeichel, Vohs, and Baumeister 2003), reduced prosocial behavior (DeWall et al. 2008), inappropriate sexual responses (Gailliot and Baumeister 2007), ineffective self-presentation (Vohs, Baumeister, and Ciarocco 2005), and heightened unethical behavior (Gino et al. 2011). However, recent

work (Lisjak and Lee 2014) suggests that self-regulatory resource depletion may not always be harmful or maladaptive. This raises the question of how, given the prevalence of depletion in daily life, consumers might take advantage of, as opposed to merely avoiding falling prey to, a depleted state? The present research tackles this question in the domain of creative cognition, and it does so by examining under what circumstances self-regulatory resource depletion promotes (vs. hinders) creativity.

Prior research indicates that self-control acts and other acts of executive function (e.g., decision-making) draw on the same finite pool of resources (Pocheptsova et al. 2009; Schmeichel 2007; Vohs et al. 2008). Thus, acts of self-regulation deplete a common resource that is required for the exercise of various executive functions. This suggests that, cognitive inhibition, an important executive function, may be weakened after self-regulatory resource depletion. Cognitive inhibition refers to the capacity to withhold (seemingly) irrelevant, distracting information from ongoing mental processes (Bjorklund and Harnishfeger 1995), and it is central to selective attention and working memory functioning (Hasher and Zacks 1988). Consequently, reduced cognitive inhibitory functioning is accompanied by impaired ability to ignore unrelated or peripheral information and to selectively attend to information most pertinent to dealing with current tasks, thereby leading to divided or diffuse attention. According to prior research on creativity, creative individuals are characterized by a lack of cognitive inhibition (Eysenck 1993; Carson, Peterson, and Higgins 2003; Martindale 1999), and diffuse attention is associated with creative ideation (Kasof 1997; Rawlings 1985; Takeuchi et al. 2011). Thus, resource depletion that decreases cognitive inhibition may lead to diffuse attention and a broadened attention span, thereby lifting unnecessary constraints imposed on individuals' thinking process and promoting a broad search of their associative networks. As a result, depletion may facilitate divergent thinking, a key aspect of creativity, which involves flexible switching among a broad range of categories (Nijstad, De Dreu, and Rietzschel 2010) and allows people to generate as many target-related responses as possible (Guilford 1967). Specifically, we propose that self-regulatory resource depletion *boosts* creativity in terms of divergent thinking, and that this effect is the result of reduced cognitive inhibition. However, creativity can also be driven by convergent thinking, which involves following a particular set of logical steps to arrive at a single correct solution to a problem (Guilford 1967). As this is a constrained search process, convergent thinking requires cognitive inhibitory abilities and therefore consumes executive resources. Thus, we posit that self-regulatory resource depletion *undermines* creativity in terms of convergent thinking.

Evidence from three studies provides support for these propositions. Study 1 examines whether resource depletion facilitates divergent thinking. It has been shown that resolving trade-offs in choices depletes self-control resources (Wang et al. 2010). First, participants made a series of product choices involving either difficult trade-offs (depletion condition) or no trade-offs (control condition). Then, participants performed a divergent thinking task (Alternate Uses Task (AUT), Guilford 1967), in which they were asked to identify as many unusual (yet feasible) uses of a brick. As hypothesized, depleted participants generated significantly more unusual uses of a brick ($M = 4.76$) than non-depleted participants ($M = 3.84$; $F(1, 144) = 4.07$, $p < .05$).

Study 2 provides a conceptual replication of the creativity-enhancing effect of resource depletion using a different depletion manipulation, and it sheds light on the mental process underlying this effect. Participants first completed an essay-writing task that served as a self-control depletion manipulation (Schmeichel 2007), and then

performed the same divergent thinking task as in study 1. In the writing task, participants were instructed to write about what they had done the previous day without using any words containing the letters “A” or “N” (depletion condition) or “X” or “Z” (control condition). As predicted, participants in the depletion condition generated significantly more creative uses of a brick ($M = 5.89$) than those in the control condition ($M = 4.39$; $F(1, 91) = 4.77, p < .05$). Moreover, the results reveal that reduced cognitive inhibition fully mediates this effect (95% CI [.0525, 1.1878]).

Study 3 contrasts the effect of resource depletion on creativity in domains where divergent versus convergent thinking is required. After making a series of product choices as in study 1, participants performed either a divergent thinking task (AUT) or a convergent thinking task (Remote Associates Test (RAT), Mednick 1962). As hypothesized, depleted participants demonstrated greater divergent thinking ($M = 4.25$) than non-depleted participants ($M = 3.55$; $F(1, 118) = 4.24, p < .05$), whereas depleted participants exhibited less convergent thinking ($M = 5.63$) than non-depleted participants ($M = 6.67$; $F(1, 118) = 4.48, p < .05$), indicating that depletion facilitates divergent thinking but inhibits convergent thinking.

This research presents the first empirical investigation of the influence of self-regulatory resource depletion on creativity. Our findings bridge the self-control literature and the literature on creativity by demonstrating that depletion can either enhance or hinder creativity, depending on whether divergent thinking or convergent thinking is required by a creativity task. Moreover, these findings deepen our understanding of self-regulatory resource depletion by showing that depletion does not necessarily lead to maladaptive behaviors, and that it can instead be beneficial – under certain, predictable circumstances.

Good or Bad? Exploring Differential Effects of Creativity on Pro-social Behavior

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Previous research examining the effects of being creative on social behaviors has produced conflicting results. A part of research has shown positive effects of being creative, like enhancement of sense of autonomy and competence (Dahl and Moreau 2007), prevention of automatic stereotyping (Sassenberg and Moskowitz 2005), and conflict resolution (Gruber 2000). Yet another stream of research suggests just the opposite and demonstrates negative effects of being creative on personal and social behaviors, like threatening of social connection and relationships (Ardnt et al. 1999), and increased dishonest behaviors (Gino and Ariely 2012).

The present work aims to resolve this existing inconsistency in the literature by illuminating the cognitive processes through which creative engagement may affect social behaviors in general and pro-social behaviors in particular. Specifically, we propose that the style of creative thinking (i.e., divergent versus convergent thinking; Guilford 1957; Cropley 2006; Runco 2003) consumers adopt during creative engagement uniquely affects their pro-social behavior. We suggest that engaging in divergent versus convergent thinking induces competing mindsets, which in turn differentially impact subsequent pro-social behaviors. In particular, thinking divergently (convergently) while engaged in a creative task, we propose, induces a deliberative (implemental) mindset that in turn enhances (reduces) pro-social behaviors (Gollwitzer and Bayer 1999).

Divergent thinking requires individuals to engage in broad cognitive search in different directions and being receptive to all available information (Guilford 1959; Chermahini and Hommel 2012). Such cognitive processes that require broad search and deliberation

of information induces a deliberative mindset (Gollwitzer 1990). On the other hand, convergent thinking requires individuals to engage in a constrained information processing and focus on the implementation of potential solutions, which we propose induces an implemental mindset (Chermahini and Hommel 2010; Cropley 2006). Further, we argue that when a deliberative (implemental) mindset is activated, individuals are more open-minded (closed-minded), which allows them to take perspective of others and be more empathic to others (Nelson 2009), and positively affects their pro-social behavior (Eisenberg and Miller 1987). We test our hypothesis in a set of five studies as detailed next.

Study 1A and B tested our focal hypothesis, that is, whether engaging in different thinking styles differentially affects one’s pro-social behavior. In study 1A participants completed either a divergent thinking task (draw an alien; Ward 1994), or a comparable control task (draw a human). In study 1B participants completed either a convergent thinking task (Remote Associates Test; Mednick 1962), or a comparable control task (proofreading; Mehta and Zhu 2009). After completing the subject tasks, participants in both studies were presented with an advertisement seeking donations and asked to indicate their likelihood of donating money at that moment in time. Supporting our hypothesis, one-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of thinking style on pro-social behavior in both the studies. In study 1A participants in the divergent thinking condition ($M = 4.55$) indicated higher likelihood to donate as compared to those in the control condition ($M = 3.46$; $F(1, 44) = 4.28, p < .05$). In study 1B, however, participants in control condition indicated higher likelihood to donate ($M = 4.75$) as compared to those in the convergent thinking condition ($M = 3.81$; $F(1, 61) = 5.99, p < .05$).

Study 2 directly examined the effect of the two different creative thinking styles on pro-social behavior. For the thinking style manipulation, participants were presented with the shoe-shine problem (Burroughs and Mick 2004) and asked to either come up with as many creative solutions as possible (divergent thinking) or one most creative solution (convergent thinking). The participants then indicated an amount they would be willing to donate in response to a donation appeal. As hypothesized, those who engaged in divergent thinking ($M = 11.52$) reported higher donation amounts than those who engaged in convergent thinking ($M = 5.38$; $F(1, 47) = 4.03, p = .05$).

Study 3 tested for the proposed mechanism. Participants engaged in either divergent thinking (they were presented with one word and were asked to come up with at least three words that were related to the mentioned word) or convergent thinking (they were presented with three words and were asked to come up with one word that was related with all other words) and completed deliberative versus implemental mindset measures (adapted from Magee 2009). All participants then responded to four scenarios measuring pro-social behavior (Rushton, Chrisjohn, and Fekken 1981). People thinking divergently indicated marginally higher willingness to engage in pro-social behavior than those thinking convergently ($M_{\text{divergent}} = 4.32$ vs. $M_{\text{convergent}} = 3.84$; $F(1, 98) = 6.03, p = .07$). More importantly, mediation analysis revealed that indeed deliberative vs. implemental mindset mediated this relationship (CI = [.05, .51]).

Study 4 manipulated both thinking style (divergent vs. convergent thinking) and mindset (deliberative vs. implemental mindset; Büttner et al. 2014) and found a significant two-way interaction between the two for willingness to donate measures ($F(1, 157) = 6.44, p = .01$), with all four contrasts being either significant or marginally significant.

To sum, this research promises to make several contributions. First, it offers to reconcile an apparent inconsistency in the litera-

ture on how being creative affects pro-social behaviors. Next, this research adds to the limited literature aimed at understanding the consequences of being creative and further illuminates the processes through which being creative may influence social behaviors. This current work also advances the creativity literature by providing new insights on divergent and convergent thinking; on how these two types of creative thinking may induce competing mindsets and thus differentially impact subsequent social behaviors. Finally, this research adds to the mindset literature by suggesting type of creative thinking as an antecedent of deliberative versus implemental mindset.

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Evaluations of Hedonic Experiences

Chair: Stephanie M. Tully, University of Southern California, USA

Paper #1: Questioning the End Effect: Endings Do Not Inherently Have a Disproportionate Impact on Evaluations of Experiences

Stephanie M. Tully, University of Southern California, USA
Tom Meyvis, New York University, USA

Paper #2: Experience Heterogeneity Moderates the Peak Effect in Retrospective Evaluations

Robert Latimer, University of Toronto, Canada

Paper #3: Modes of Enjoyment for Multifaceted Experiences

Michael C. Covey, University of Minnesota, USA
Joseph P. Redden, University of Minnesota, USA

Paper #4: Feeling Like an Expert: Subjective Expertise and Consumption Enjoyment

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Dan Ariely, Duke University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Human lives are a collection of experiences and an extraordinary amount of money is spent acquiring hedonic experiences. In 2013 alone, Americans spent twenty two billion dollars on bars and nightclubs, \$140 billion on hotels, bed and breakfasts, and hostels, \$15 billion at amusement parks, and well over \$400 billion eating at restaurants (IBISWorld 2013). Given the prevalence of experiences, understanding how consumers' form evaluations of experiences is increasingly important. The goal of this session is to re-examine factors currently understood to influence the evaluations of experiences and to uncover new factors that influence such evaluations. Examining both established and novel factors, the papers included in this session offer important new insights to better understand how consumers form evaluations of experiences.

The first two papers re-examine one of the most well-established findings in the current literature: the peak-end effect, which suggests that people over-weight the peak (i.e., most intense) and end (i.e., final moments) of an experience when forming evaluations. These re-examinations provide greater clarity on if and when such moments are indeed over-weighted. First, Tully and Meyvis systematically re-examine existing evidence for the end effect. This paper did not set out to identify moderators or boundary conditions, but rather to re-examine the existence of a basic end effect. The findings in this paper indicate that endings are not inherently over-weighted in retrospective evaluations. Their results demonstrate that prior demonstrations attributed to an end effect are in fact the result of other processes associated with the end under specific conditions. In the second paper, Robert Latimer demonstrates when peaks are over-weighted in evaluations providing a boundary condition as well as offering a mechanism to better understand previous findings. He demonstrates that the heterogeneity of an experience influences whether people use global or local processing which in turn impacts whether the experience is stored as a prototype representation affecting the extent to which a peak is weighted in evaluations.

The other two papers reveal new factors that systematically impact evaluations of experiences. Complementing the findings of the second study, the third paper also demonstrates that processing style affects evaluations. However, instead of examining the peak of a unitary experience, this research examines multifaceted experiences (experiences that consist of multiple components simultaneously). Their results suggest that, compared to using a destructionist mode

where components are appreciated independently, the constructionist mode, where components are evaluated holistically (e.g., globally), increases overall evaluations above the rating of either of the individual components. The last paper, by Campbell and Ariely, pieces together existing findings on expertise and consumption enjoyment to identify subjective expertise (i.e., feeling like an expert in the "experience" area) as an important influence that differentially impacts consumption and process enjoyment of experiences. Their findings suggest that subjective expertise increases process enjoyment and consumption enjoyment of high quality experiences. However, for low quality experiences, subjective expertise increases process enjoyment, but not consumption enjoyment.

Questioning the End Effect: Endings Do Not Inherently Have a Disproportionate Impact on Evaluations of Experiences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This research adds to the existing understanding of how the structure of an experience affects its overall evaluation, by reexamining one of the most basic findings in this area: the end effect. The end effect suggests that people over-weight the final moments when evaluating an experience (e.g., Fredrickson and Kahneman 1993). Although demonstrations of the end effect abound, prior research also has identified several boundary conditions under which the effect fails to obtain (e.g., Miron-Shatz 2009). Rather than examining boundary conditions, the current work revisits the basic effect to test if the end of an experience is in fact inherently over-weighted. While we certainly acknowledge that endings can have a disproportionate impact on retrospective evaluations at times, our findings suggest that people do not readily over-weight the end of an experience in evaluations.

In study 1, participants listened to one of two sound clips of a vacuum cleaner noise. The clips were identical, but reversed in sequence, such that the ending was either softer (better-end) or louder (worse-end) than average. Participants in the better-end condition rated the end of the clip as significantly better than participants in the worse-end condition ($F(1, 294)=273.67, p<.001$). Despite this effective manipulation, there was no significant difference in their overall irritation ratings ($F< 1$). In this study, the sample size was sufficiently large to detect a small effect (Cohen's $d=.2$) with a 93% probability. The remaining studies reconcile our inability to find an end effect here with previous demonstrations of the effect.

We first turned to previous demonstrations that retrospective evaluations of an aversive experience improve when a better end is added to it. We tested whether this effect was due to an improvement in the average of the experience rather than an over-weighting of the end. In study 2, participants were assigned to listen to one of three noise profiles: better-middle, better-end, and added-end. The better-middle and better-end sound clips were equally long but differed in whether a less aversive (i.e., better) segment was positioned in the middle or the end. The added-end clip consisted of the better-middle clip, adding an additional, less aversive segment to the end. Thus, the better-middle and added-end clips differed in both average intensity and the intensity of the end (as in previous demonstrations), whereas the better-middle and better-end clips had the same average intensity and only differed in the intensity of the end. Replicating previous demonstrations, participants in the added-end condition reported less

irritation with the noise than participants in the better-end and better-middle conditions ($F(1, 220)=4.43, p=.036$). However, there was no significant difference in irritation between the better-middle and better-end ($F<1$), indicating that the intensity of the end didn't matter when average irritation was held constant.

Study 3 conceptually replicated study 2 using positive stimuli by creating compilations of music. Since the overall experience was positive, we added a less enjoyable component to the compilation for some participants, and varied the positioning of this component. Participants in the control condition enjoyed the music compilation more than did participants who had a less enjoyable part added, either to the end or to the middle ($F(1, 880)=4.37, p=.037$). There was no significant difference between the last two conditions ($F<1$). Thus, while adding a less enjoyable component lowered evaluations, the positioning of this component did not matter. In sum, studies 2 and 3 indicate that adding a better (or worse) end changes evaluations by changing the average, rather than by changing the final moments.

We next turn to prior research that has observed end effects within-subjects. We examined whether providing multiple experiences that vary only in structure compels people to incorporate opinions of the structure into evaluations. In study 4, participants listened to two aversive sounds that were identical, but reversed in sequence, such that one ended well and one ended poorly. The order of the sounds was counterbalanced. The within-subject analysis replicates previous demonstrations of the end effect: participants rated their better-end experience as less irritating than their worse-end experience, $F(1, 199)=73.45, p<.001$. However, the between-subjects analysis showed no difference in ratings of the better-end and worse-end sounds at time 1 ($F<1$). It was only at time 2 that participants who listened to the better-end reported less irritation than those who heard the worse-end sound ($F(1, 198)=53.44, p<.001$).

Study 5 replicated study 4 using positive stimuli. The within-subject analysis replicated the end effect as demonstrated in prior research ($F(1, 488)=15.52, p<.001$). However, between-subjects analysis indicated that, at time 1, there was no difference in enjoyment between participants who received the worse-end experience and those who received the worse-middle experience ($F<1$). Only at time 2 did participants who received the worse-end experience rate their experience as less enjoyable than those who received the worse-middle experience ($F(1, 487)=5.10, p=.024$). In other words, the end effect did not appear until participants were exposed to both experiences.

Finally, in study 6, participants listened to two aversive sounds that varied in structure, with one sound ending relatively better and one ending relatively worse. However, half of the participants heard two sounds of the same type (e.g., a vacuum) while the other half heard two different types (e.g., a vacuum then a drill). Thus, the same-sounds condition differed only in the intensity of the end as in previous within-subjects demonstrations of the end effect whereas the mixed-sounds condition varied in both intensity of the end and sound type. As predicted, there was a 3-way interaction ($F(1, 298)=4.163, p=.043$). Again, there was no end effect at time 1. Further, in line with our predictions, the end effect was only significant at time 2 for people in the same-sounds condition—for whom the structure was the only aspect available to differentiate ratings of the first and second sound. For those in the different-sounds condition—who had another aspect to consider—there was still no end effect at time 2. Thus, the end effect may only occur when people evaluate multiple experiences that only differ in structure which encourages a reliance on the intuitive preference for improving sequences.

Experience Heterogeneity Moderates the Peak Effect in Retrospective Evaluations

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We explore how the heterogeneity of an experience changes the influence of the most intense moment of an experience (peak) on retrospective evaluations of the experience as a whole. Prior research has shown the peak is a powerful predictor of overall evaluations (Fredrickson, 2000). This phenomenon—described by the peak-end rule—is an example of judgment by prototype (Kahneman, 2003) or gestalt (Ariely & Carmon, 2000). Instead of representing the entirety of an experience in memory, people instead store an abstraction of the experience drawn from a few key moments. In this paper we manipulate the heterogeneity of experiences in order to change reliance on a prototype representation.

Two streams of research suggest that heterogeneity of an experience may moderate the peak effect. Replications of the peak-end rule across different types of experiences reveal that the peak effect is less robust for long, complex experiences such as vacations (Kemp, Burt, & Furneaux, 2008) or the events of a week (Ben-Zeev, Young, & Madsen, 2009) or day (Miron-Shatz, 2009). This pattern is consistent with the literature on categorization. Prototype models tend to perform best for simple stimuli such as patterns of dots (e.g., Smith & Minda, 2002). Exemplar models, in which every stimulus is stored in memory, better predict categorization for complex, feature-rich stimuli such as imaginary creatures (Yamauchi & Markman, 2000). If heterogeneity increases the complexity and feature-richness of an experience, people should shift from using a prototype representation to an exemplar representation. This shift may reduce the peak's impact on retrospective evaluations.

Study 1 ($N=930$) was designed as both a pretest and an opportunity to test the effect of heterogeneity on the predictive power of peaks and ends. Participants viewed and rated their liking of 20 paintings and each painting's similarity to the other paintings in the set. Participants viewed either 20 paintings of the same style (homogenous condition, 9 style replicates) or 20 paintings drawn randomly from all 9 styles (heterogeneous condition). Finally, participants indicated their overall enjoyment of the set.

Following Kahneman and colleagues (e.g., Shreiber & Kahneman, 2002; Fredrickson & Kahneman, 1993), we tested the peak-end rule by examining the correlations between online and retrospective evaluations. Both peak and end liking ratings were more closely correlated to overall enjoyment in the homogenous condition ($z_{\text{peak}} = 3.8, p < .0001$; $z_{\text{end}} = 4.11, p < .0001$; Steiger, 1980).

Study 2A ($N=386$) demonstrates that the addition of a highly enjoyable peak (vs. moderately enjoyable peak) produces greater retrospective enjoyment for participants viewing a more homogenous set of art. Participants viewed 10 paintings for 20 seconds each. As in Study 1 heterogeneity was manipulated by presenting participants with paintings of the same style (homogenous) or 2 paintings from each of five styles (heterogeneous). Both conditions had five replicates that were collapsed together during the analysis. In all conditions, eight of the paintings were selected to be moderately liked based ratings in Study 1 ($M_{\text{background}} = 45.3$). For half of the participants we added two highly liked paintings ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 74.2$) and for the remaining participants we added two moderately liked paintings ($M_{\text{lopeak}} = 59.8$). Participants in the homogenous condition indicated a greater increase in retrospective enjoyment due to the higher peak ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 68.2, M_{\text{lopeak}} = 54.6$) than participants in the heterogeneous condition ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 64.0, M_{\text{lopeak}} = 59.3$) ($F(1, 382) = 5.21, p < .05$).

In Study 2A, participants in the high peak condition also experienced a set with a higher mean liking rating. Study 2B corrected

this by changing the 8 moderately liked paintings across conditions to keep the mean consistent despite the changing intensity of the peak ($M_{\text{overall}} = 51.1$). The same high and low peaks were used as in Study 2A and the remainder of the procedure was identical. Replicating Study 2A, participants in the homogenous condition indicated a greater increase in retrospective enjoyment due to the higher peak ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 74.8$, $M_{\text{lopeak}} = 63.4$) than participants in the heterogeneous condition ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 65.6$, $M_{\text{lopeak}} = 67.4$) ($F(1, 609) = 6.80$, $p < .01$).

In Studies 1 and 2, heterogeneity was achieved by mixing art from disparate styles. However, the styles themselves also vary in how similar one painting is to the next. Using the similarity ratings from Study 1, we selected the styles for which paintings were most similar to one another (Pollock Drip) and most different from one another (Watercolor Portraits). For just these styles, participants in Study 3 ($N = 562$) were presented with sets containing either high or low peaks, as in Study 2B. Participants with the more similar set indicated a greater increase in retrospective enjoyment due to the higher peak ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 74.8$, $M_{\text{lopeak}} = 63.4$) than participants with the less similar set ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 65.6$, $M_{\text{lopeak}} = 67.4$) ($F(1, 558) = 8.32$, $p < .01$).

In Study 4 ($N=784$), we manipulated the perceived homogeneity of a set with processing style. Participants viewed a series of 8 Navon figures—large letters made up of many smaller letters—(Navon, 1977) and were prompted to respond with either the large letter (global processing) or the smaller letter (local processing). Local processing may reduce the perceived similarity between stimuli, in turn reducing reliance on prototypes and decreasing the magnitude of the peak effect. In all other aspects Study 4 replicates the homogenous condition of Study 2b. Participants in the global processing condition indicated a greater increase in retrospective enjoyment due to the higher peak ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 78.8$, $M_{\text{lopeak}} = 69.8$) than participants with the less similar set ($M_{\text{hipeak}} = 68.3$, $M_{\text{lopeak}} = 64.5$) ($F(1, 558) = 8.32$, $p < .01$).

Over four studies we demonstrate that high peaks have a larger influence on retrospective evaluations of experiences when those experiences are more homogenous or are processed more globally. Our results both provide evidence for the mechanism underlying the peak effect—prototype representations of experiences—and suggest boundaries—heterogeneous experiences. Although we happily concede that other mechanisms may also produce peak effects (e.g., distinctive, memorable peaks represented as exemplars, Montgomery & Unava, 2009).

Modes of Enjoyment for Multifaceted Experiences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumer experiences are typically multifaceted. For example, an overall experience (e.g., a night at the cinema) is comprised by constituent parts that are enjoyed simultaneously (watching a movie while eating popcorn). If the movie is more enjoyable than the popcorn, how much do people enjoy the overall cinematic experience? On the one hand, overall enjoyment could be *greater* than the utility that either the movie or the popcorn alone could provide. On the other hand, overall enjoyment may lie somewhere *between* the utility derived from a highly-liked movie and from middling popcorn.

Through four studies, we demonstrate that either of these results are possible depending on the mode of enjoyment consumers use while having a multifaceted experience. First, consumers can use a Constructive Mode, wherein the individual components are fused and are seen as one inseparable Gestalt whole. As a result, using a Constructive Mode means that overall enjoyment is greater than the enjoyment gained from having either of the components alone.

Second, consumers can use a Deconstructive Mode, which leads to the perception that the individual components are seen as separable, distinct entities. Consequently, a Deconstructive Mode leads to a preference for having the better-liked component by itself, because overall enjoyment is dragged down by the presence of a less-liked component.

Imagine eating cheese that has great taste but mediocre texture. Although early attitude models viewed a product's attributes as separable drivers of liking, this does not necessarily follow for hedonic psychology. It is difficult to cognitively separate taste and texture and arrive at a rational evaluation of the cheese. Taste and texture are interwoven, resulting in a composite hedonic response. In this way, we predict that people often use a default Constructive Mode when evaluating experiences. We further predict that this Constructive Mode leads people to enjoy an overall experience more than either of its components alone. These predictions are supported by research in cognitive psychology, which suggests that people are equipped with the ability to perceive an object as either a unified whole or as the smaller parts that comprise it (Palmer 1977). Although the use of these processing strategies can change depending on how stimuli are presented (Kimchi 1992), people are often better equipped to use the former strategy (Navon 1977; Kahneman, 2003), favoring the forest over the trees. In contrast, we predict that people will use a Deconstructive Mode when experiences are broken apart and attention is drawn to the individual components. This will lead people to enjoy a better-liked component more than the overall experience, which is being "dragged down" by the lesser-liked component. We conducted four studies to test these ideas.

Study 1 tested our core prediction as stated above. 146 participants received a (pretested) lesser-liked music sample and a better-liked chocolate. We manipulated whether participants experienced these two components combined or separately. All participants indicated their enjoyment of the individual components. Combined-experiencers indicated their enjoyment of the overall chocolate-music experience; separate-experiencers predicted how enjoyable this combination would be. We found that combined-experiencers rated the overall experience as more enjoyable than the chocolate alone and the music alone. However, separate-experiencers predicted that the overall experience would be less enjoyable than chocolate, but more enjoyable than music. This is consistent with our theorizing: Combined-experiencers exhibited a Constructive Mode of enjoyment (because the components were interwoven), whereas separate-experiencers exhibited a Deconstructive Mode (because the components were fragmented).

Our second study sheds more light on the proposed process. 211 participants received (pretested) lesser-liked music and better-liked artwork. Whether the components were combined or separated was manipulated. Our DV was how much participants preferred to have the artwork with or without the music. Participants also answered, "How similar (different) were the art and the music?" which served as the proposed mediator. Results were consistent with the theory. Combined-experiencers (compared to separate-experiencers) had a stronger preference to have artwork with music, and this effect was fully mediated by the perception of similarity between the components. Essentially, having a multifaceted experience elicited a Constructive Mode of enjoyment (seeing components as interwoven), where overall enjoyment was greater than individual components alone. Breaking up an experience promoted a Deconstructive Mode (seeing components as independent), where a highly-liked component was perceived to be more enjoyable than an overall experience.

Study 3 provides more process evidence. 68 participants were given the same stimuli and DV from Study 2. Afterward, they filled

out the Attention to Detail subscale (Baron-Cohen et al. 2001), which determines the extent to which participants naturally deconstruct an experience into constituent parts. The scale was found to be correlated with our outcome variable. Participants who naturally use a Deconstructive Mode (Constructive Mode) were more likely to prefer having highly-liked artwork alone (artwork and music together).

Our final study elicits the core finding using a different manipulation. All participants enjoyed music and art simultaneously. During the experience, half of the participants were told to alternate their focus between components; the remaining participants were given no instructions. Finally, all participants were asked to indicate whether they preferred to have the music and the art together, the art by itself, or the music by itself. The results showed that participants who were given no instructions used the default Constructive Mode, overwhelmingly preferring to have the music and the art together. However, when participants were asked to break up the experience and alternate focus (eliciting a Deconstructive Mode), more participants preferred to have the better-liked component (artwork) by itself.

In sum, these four studies advance the idea that people have two fundamental ways of thinking about multifaceted experiences. They can either see an experience as components coming together (Constructive), or as components existing independently (Deconstructive). Although hedonic psychology has experienced a surge of interest in the last decade, there is no previous research that has explored what happens when consumers enjoy more than one thing at a time. Our research seeks to be the first to fill this void by proposing a unique intersection between cognitive and hedonic psychology.

Feeling Like an Expert: Subjective Expertise and Consumption Enjoyment

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Past findings show that beliefs and expectations are some of the most powerful forces that affect consumption enjoyment. Fortunately, these forces are within the feasible capability of marketers and consumption designers to influence. For instance, marketing materials that highlight a wine as expensive improve consumers' enjoyment of the wine (Plassmann et al., 2008). Similarly, meats and sweets taste better to consumers when marketed with delicious and less healthy sounding labels (Wasnink and Van Ittersum, 2006). Across many studies, marketing researchers have found alteration of external beliefs and expectations about products' qualities (e.g., how well-crafted a wine is) affect consumption enjoyment.

In this project, we explore a similar but new question; how do internal beliefs about one's own consumer expertise (e.g. one's belief in their personal ability to detect qualities of a well-crafted wine) affect evaluations of a consumption experience. Specifically we explore subjective expertise, defined as consumers' beliefs about their ability and knowledge in a consumption domain (Alba and Hutchinson 2000; Hadar, Sood, and Fox, 2013).

We join a general trend that has spanned marketing (Mochon et al. 2012), psychology (Deci and Ryan 2010), and management literatures (Grant and Parker, 2009), that seeks to examine the effects of subjective expertise on various outcomes. We add to the existing body of literature by illustrating the nuanced effect subjective expertise has on evaluations of a consumption experience. Doing so allows researchers to better understand the importance of expertise as a construct and provides useful knowledge for managers since this is a type of expertise that can often be feasibly influenced by external factors.

In this investigation, we draw an important distinction between two different sources of enjoyment: item-enjoyment (the enjoyment

of an item's qualities such as liking an item's flavor, appreciating its qualities) and process-enjoyment (the enjoyment of consumer processes such as thoughtfully evaluating an item's flavor or other engagement processes). Such a distinction is related to many larger perspectives on procedural versus non-procedural elements (McFarlin and Sweeney, 1992), engagement versus satisfaction (Calder, Malthouse, and Schaedel 2008; van Doorn et al. 2010), and recent work on enjoyment of consumer processes such as assembly (Dahl and Moreau 2007; Mochon et al. 2012, Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). However, empirical research in marketing has not widely examined when these two types of enjoyment diverge from one another and the specific and variable effects subjective expertise can have on them—for instance across items of high versus low quality.

We conducted eleven experiments using multiple online panels and a lab (individual cell $n_s > 30$ in all experiments but one). In each experiment, we first manipulated participants' subjective expertise of a single specific consumption domain using a classic test plus false feedback manipulation. Next, in general participants consumed content from that consumption domain, which depending on the experiment involved watching a film clip, reading literary excerpts, drinking tea, or perusing stylish branded advertisements. Next we measured enjoyment of these consumption experiences (and in two separate experiments the predicted enjoyment of a film and wine).

Next, the findings are reported with reference to the three dependent variables assessed, rather than by experiment. Every time each dependent variable was assessed across the experiments, we mention the findings. All reported differences and interactions had $p_s < .05$, unless otherwise noted.

Item-Enjoyment. All eleven experiments measured and provided significant support that subjective expertise in a domain increases item-enjoyment of items in that domain (example measure: how much did you enjoy the qualities of item itself). Feedback that indicated high expertise lead to more consumption enjoyment compared to conditions with either low or no feedback. Further, one experiment tested and found that the effects of the subjective expertise manipulation are domain specific and do not affect enjoyment in other domains.

Three experiments demonstrate that the effect on item-enjoyment is dependent on quality. When domain items were noticeable low in quality either due to an explicit label or other traits about the item (e.g. a known low quality author), subjective expertise did not increase item enjoyment (a null effect). Meditational analyses found that participants increased feelings of general domain subjective expertise and specific perceived ability to distinguish unique qualities in of the certain specific stimuli items mediated the experimental effect of subjective expertise on item enjoyment.

Improvement Processes. Two experiments tested and found that subjective expertise leads people to be significantly more likely to engage in actions to improve consumption, such as taking the time to properly stir a hot tea to "improve the taste."

Process Enjoyment. While watching a movie, a consumer may not enjoy the qualities of the movie but may enjoy aspects of the consumption process (e.g. critiquing the movie). We investigated this type of process enjoyment: the process of consuming/critiquing enjoyment. The measurement of this enjoyment involved: both asking people to post hoc reflect on their enjoyment of critiquing during a consumption experience for which no direction to critique had been given, and separately by directly asking participants to engage in a critiquing consumption process and measuring enjoyment of the process. Although subjective expertise only increased item enjoyment for high quality items, subjective expertise increased process enjoyment for both high and low quality items. Meditational analyses (me-

diator: generalized feelings of subjective expertise) supported this three-way interaction of manipulated subjective expertise by item quality by type of enjoyment (item or process).

Summary. The current research pieces together existing findings on expertise (Dahl and Moreau 2007; Deci and Ryan 2000; White 1959) and consumption enjoyment (Loewenstein 1999; Vohs et al. 2013) to distinguish subjective expertise as an important, distinct, and nuanced influence on evaluations of a consumption experience. The findings help researchers to make better predictions regarding how subjective expertise will affect different types of enjoyment, under what conditions these patterns will vary, and what behaviors subjective expertise might encourage.

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Experiences in the Moment

Chair: Francesca Valsesia, University of Southern California, USA

Paper #1: Based on True Events: The Effects of Veracity on the Consumption Experience

Francesca Valsesia, University of Southern California, USA
Kristin Diehl, University of Southern California, USA
Joseph C. Nunes, University of Southern California, USA

Paper #2: The Revision Bias: Preferences for Revised Experiences Absent Objective Improvement

Leslie K. John, Harvard Business School, USA
Michael K. Norton, Harvard Business School, USA

Paper #3: FOMO: How the Fear of Missing Out Leads to Missing Out

Jacqueline Rifkin, Duke University, USA
Cindy Chan, University of Toronto, Canada
Barbara Kahn, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #4: My Phone is My Diary: Using Mobile Diaries for TV Viewing Measurement

Mitchell Lovett, University of Rochester, USA
Renana Peres, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

SESSION OVERVIEW

“Every Moment is an Experience”—J. Roberts

Experiences tend to provide more enduring satisfaction than material possessions (Van Boven and Gilovich, 2003; Nicolao, Irwin, and Goodman, 2009) and come to constitute a fundamental part of the self (Carter and Gilovich 2012). However, very little is known about what influences how events are experienced in the moment. While some research has measured experiences in the moment (e.g. Wirtz et al. 2003), such research did so to explain the experience as a whole. The papers in this session specifically focus on how experiences in the moment are affected by information that consumers have *prior* to an event, as well as information that they receive *during* the event. Further, the four papers employ an array of methodologies that allow a deeper understanding of how experiences unfold over time.

The first two papers, in particular, examine how experiences are shaped by information consumers receive prior to the experience. **Valsesia, Diehl, and Nunes** explore how the veracity of a narrative, the belief that a story did or did not happen in reality, affects consumer experiences. They find that knowing a movie plot is based on true events alters viewers' moment-to-moment reactions to the movie. Further, using secondary data, they show that such beliefs also lead to more positive review ratings. **John and Norton** show that consumers' knowledge that they are experiencing a “revised” (as opposed to an “original”) version of an experience influences how the experience is evaluated. They find that consumers have a “revision bias” – modified experiences are perceived as being of higher tastiness and higher quality than versions they were told were “originals.” **Rifkin, Chan and Kahn** show that information that consumers receive *during* the experience also influences the experience itself. They find that enjoyment of an ongoing experience can be negatively affected when one becomes aware of concurrent social events (e.g. via social media) due to what they call “Fear of Missing Out”. Finally, the work by **Lovett and Peres** complements these papers by examining mobile diaries as valid tools to measure experiences in the moment. The authors study mobile diaries in the context of TV viewing which allows them to compare self-reported diary

with metered (PeopleMeter) viewing records. The authors observe a high correspondence between diary and metered records for longer metered TV viewing experiences (e.g., >30 minutes).

Taken together, these working papers shed light on how events are experienced in the moment. They do so using an array of methodological approaches (ranging from moment-to-moment ratings and mobile diaries, to retrospective evaluations and secondary review data).

Given the primacy of experiences in consumers' lives, we expect this session to generate interest among researchers studying experiential purchases, social judgment, consumer decision-making, entertainment and cultural goods, as well as measurement tools. In the spirit of the conference theme “Advancing Connections,” we believe that the diverse background of the authors as well as the varied methodological approaches will provoke a discussion at ACR that is both fruitful and engaging.

Based on True Events: The Effects of Veracity on the Consumption Experience

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Movies, books and even songs are often marketed as being “inspired by” or “based on true events.” While this familiar disclaimer is a frequent and long-established practice for dramatic movies, today, even horror movies (e.g. “The Possession”) and sitcoms (e.g. “Fresh off the Boat”) use the tagline “inspired by a true story.” Marketers apparently believe that promoting a story in this way will be beneficial to their success. Indeed, prior research suggests that, *a priori*, consumers expect stories described as reality-based to be more emotionally intense (Ebert and Meyvis 2014). However *following* the experience, the effect does not manifest for people's recollections of the emotional intensity (Ebert and Meyvis 2014) or reported enjoyment (Argo et al 2008).

In this work, we propose that the apparent contradiction between marketers' beliefs and academic evidence is driven by the fact that not every narrative benefits from being labeled as reality-based. We suggest that only those stories that lack verisimilitude - defined as a low likelihood the events actually may have happened (Leary et al 2014) - benefit from a veracity claim such as “based on a true story”. Verisimilitude is known to increase positive feelings if the story is one people can imagine (Busselle and Bilandzic 2008). We propose that veracity claims have a positive effect on an experience only when there is a lack of verisimilitude.

We first examine secondary movie data for evidence of a positive effect of being labeled as reality-based on both critics' and consumers' evaluations. We then examine experimentally the extent to which consumers' reactions to reality-based stories depend on the story's verisimilitude. Across these different methodological approaches we find that veracity claims lead to more positive reviews, but the effect is limited to narratives that lack verisimilitude and would otherwise be deemed implausible by consumers.

We begin by examining the role of veracity claims on review ratings in the real world. Consumer ratings are widely publicized and are an important driver of consumer choice, particularly in the movie industry (Liu 2006). In study 1, we utilize a unique, real-world data set to understand whether reality-based (as opposed to fictional) movies receive different ratings by consumers as well as critics. The data include information about the 1,000 movies that entered the Top

100 Box Office ranking from 2003 through 2012. Each movie was dummy-coded based on whether or not it was promoted as being based on true events. Our main dependent variables are the average rating each movie received from both consumers and critics. Consumer ratings were obtained from the IMDB website and ranged from zero to ten stars. Critic ratings were taken from metacritic.com and ranged from 0 to 100. We find that being based on a true story has a positive effect on consumers ($\beta = 0.49$, $t = 3.37$, $p < .01$) and critics ($\beta = 10.18$, $t = 4.21$, $p < .01$) while controlling for genre, budget, star power, MPAA ratings, and year. Further, we find that reality-based movies are also more likely to garner industry recognition in the form of winning Academy Awards for Best Picture ($\beta = 1.54$, $Wald = 13.89$, $p < .01$).

This data suggests that veracity claims do affect the way movies are evaluated by lay consumers as well as experts. However, we argue that this effect is driven by movies low in verisimilitude actually receiving and benefitting from such a label. Hence in Study 2, we test for the moderating role of verisimilitude. One hundred and fifty-one participants read a short story based on the film *Compliance*. Details of the story were changed in order to vary verisimilitude ($M_{High} = 6.03$, $M_{Low} = 4.76$, $F(1,148) = 8.78$, $p < .01$). We manipulated the veracity claim along with verisimilitude. We find that, in line with our expectations, knowing a movie is reality-based increased consumers' attitudes towards the story in the low-verisimilitude version ($M_{True} = 5.78$ vs $M_{Fictional} = 4.61$, $t(1,148) = 2.64$, $p < .01$), but not in the high-verisimilitude version ($M_{True} = 5.63$, $M_{Fictional} = 5.56$, $t(1,148) = -.18$, $p = .86$).

Study 3 overcomes a potential limitation of study 2, namely that we modified some details of the narrative to vary its plausibility. In study 3 all 442 participants watched the same short movie, *Giving*. Once again, we manipulated the veracity claim associated with the video. We expected that characteristics of the respondent (i.e. ethnicity) would affect perceived verisimilitude and hence moderate the effect of veracity claims on attitudes. The movie was set in Asia and featured Asian protagonists. We a priori expected that Asian respondents would find the story more plausible to start with and hence that non-Asian (but not Asians) would be affected by learning that a story is reality-based. Indeed, non-Asians found the narrative to be less plausible compared to Asians ($M_{Non-Asian} = 5.20$, $M_{Asian} = 5.66$, $F(1,440) = 3.72$, $p = .05$). More importantly, ethnicity moderated the effect of veracity claims ($F(1, 438) = 4.86$, $p = .03$). As predicted, knowing the movie is reality-based increased attitudes for non-Asian respondents ($M_{True} = 7.56$ vs $M_{Fictional} = 7.17$, $t(1,438) = 2.20$, $p = .03$) who deemed the story on its own less plausible. However veracity claims did not affect attitudes of Asian respondents ($M_{True} = 7.41$, $M_{Fictional} = 7.79$, $t(1,438) = -1.25$, $p = .21$) to whom the story was more plausible to start with. Additionally, part of the respondents also rated their moment-to-moment (MTM) enjoyment while watching the video. We observe the same pattern of effects on this measure; enjoyment was greater when the video was described as reality-based, but only for Non-Asians ($M_{True} = 63.52$ vs $M_{Fictional} = 57.19$, $t(1, 182) = 2.22$, $p = .03$) and not for Asians ($M_{True} = 57.50$, $M_{Fictional} = 58.95$, $t(1, 182) = -.30$, $p = .77$).

Using a multi-method approach, this research contributes to our understanding of when and how information about the veracity of a narrative influences consumer attitudes. Further our research contributes to research emphasizing the importance of understanding how consumers experience events in the moment.

The Revision Bias: Preferences for Revised Experiences Absent Objective Improvement

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many authors (academic and otherwise) have felt that although critics and reviewers preferred revised versions of their work, the original version was the better product – that reviewers preferred the revision simply because it was revised, rather than improved. In three experiments, we offer empirical evidence of this “revision bias”: people prefer experiences and products that have been revised over time, regardless of whether newer versions are objectively better than their predecessors. Moreover, we show that the revision bias is independent of the input bias (Chinander and Schweitzer 2003), which refers to the confounding of effort with quality – people, often sensibly, think that the more effort that is put into producing something the higher the quality (see also Buell and Norton 2011; Kruger, Wirtz, Van Boven, and Altermatt 2004).

In Study 1, we document the revision bias in an experiential context in which participants ($N = 239$) consumed two gummy candies. The study was a within-subjects design in which participants were told that one of the candies used a refined recipe and were given no such information about the other candy. Specifically, participants were given a candy and told that it was the “final, market-ready version of the recipe” but that “before the recipe was finalized, the company had tried several different recipes before finalizing the current formulation” (*revision condition*). Participants then ate the candy and rated its quality and tastiness. They were given another candy and simply ate it and rated its quality and tastiness (*control condition*). As control factors, between-subjects, we randomized the order of candy version and the ascription of candy to version; these factors had no effect on ratings, and so we collapse across them. As predicted, participants deemed the revised version to be better tasting and of higher quality than the control version, $t(238)=2.41$, $p=.017$. These results held even when we controlled for participants' perceptions of the effort that the candy manufacturer put into making the candy.

In Study 2, we extend the revision bias to a new context: writing. Participants ($N = 199$) were shown two versions of a person's resume – a “first draft” and a “revision” – and rated the overall appeal of each. Critically, the only difference between the two drafts was trivial, the font: one of the resumes appeared in Times New Roman while the other resume appeared in Arial. We manipulated the ascription of font to draft: for some participants, the “first draft” was in Arial whereas the “revision” was in Times New Roman, while the reverse was true for other participants (we collapse across this factor in our analyses). As predicted, participants rated the revised version as significantly more appealing relative to the first draft, $t(198) = 4.02$, $p < .0005$. We find this effect particularly surprising given that the triviality of the revision was fully transparent: the two versions were presented side-by-side on the same page of the survey. Therefore, participants could plainly see that the resumes were not substantively different but nonetheless rated the revision to be better.

In Study 3, we differentiate revision bias from input bias (Chinander and Schweitzer, 2003). The preference for the revised resume in Study 2 could arise because the total effort put into it is necessarily greater than that put into the first draft (since the revised draft represents the sum of all effort put into the first draft, *plus* that put into the revision). Study 3 addresses this alternative explanation by pitting effort (operationalized by the total amount of time the candidate has spent on the resume drafts) against revision status. As in Study 1, participants ($N = 210$) rated the appeal of a resume. Between-subjects, we manipulated the total amount of time spent on the drafts (*10 minutes* versus *30 minutes*) and revision status (*first draft* versus

revision). As in Study 2, the two versions differed only in font. As predicted, we found only a main effect of revision status, $F(1, 206) = 4.52, p = .035$. Regardless of effort, participants found the revised resume more appealing. Indeed, participants rated a revised resume on which a person had ostensibly spent a total of 10 minutes as more appealing than a first draft on which a person had spent a total of 30 minutes.

Taken together, these experiments suggest that authors' feeling that reviewers prefer revisions simply because they are revisions may – at least in some cases – be warranted. Controlling for the actual quality of both foods and resumes, people rated revisions as being of higher tastiness and higher quality than versions they were told were “originals.” While in these experiments we did not ask participants themselves to give feedback on originals and then sample products revised in response to their concerns, we suspect that people are likely to rate revisions on which they have provided input as particularly stellar – again, independent of any actual improvement.

FOMO: How the Fear of Missing Out Leads to Missing Out

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Fear of Missing Out (FOMO) is defined as “a pervasive apprehension that others might be having rewarding experiences from which one is absent” (Przybylski et al., 2013). This research explores FOMO's antecedents and consequences, and how it is driven by social belonging uncertainty. We establish that seeing social media photos of a missed social-group event triggers a two-pronged “FOMO effect”: a decrease in enjoyment of one's current experience, and an increase in expected enjoyment of the missed experience.

In Study 1, we asked 198 participants, “What does FOMO mean to you?” and coded their responses. We found that 75% of participants mentioned their social group or friends. Of the participants who mentioned when they experienced FOMO, the majority (54%) reported experiencing FOMO during a missed event, compared to before (22%) or after (30%) an event. Finally, subsequent questions revealed that more active social media users experience FOMO more frequently ($r = .23, p = .001$), and that FOMO occurs most often in social situations with friends (84.4%), compared to with family members (48.3%) or coworkers (53.7%).

In Study 2, we examined how social media photos affect experience enjoyment by experimentally manipulating whether one saw Facebook photos of a missed event and whether one posted photos of one's concurrent event. Ninety-one participants imagined they faced a social dilemma: attend a “once-in-a-lifetime” concert with a friend, or a regularly-scheduled party with their social group. All participants were told that they chose the concert (confirmed by pre-test to be the most realistic choice). Participants rated their pre-event expected enjoyment of both the concert and party, and then were randomly assigned to one of four conditions: While at the concert, they saw [did not see] photos of the party on Facebook, and they posted [did not post] their own concert photos. Following the photo manipulations, participants rated their enjoyment of the current event (concert) and their expected enjoyment of the missed event (party); participants also rated their post-event retrospective enjoyment. We analyzed enjoyment ratings in a 2 between (Viewed Photos: see, do not see party photos) \times 2 between (Concert Photos: post, do not post) \times 2 within (Event: concert, party) \times 2 within (Time: before-to-during, during-to-after) mixed ANOVA. Results revealed a significant interaction of Viewed Photos, Event, and Time, $F = 24.90, p < .0001$. Seeing (vs. not seeing) party photos produced the two-pronged “FOMO effect”: decreased current event enjoyment ($M_{concert, party\ photos}$

$= -0.40$ vs. $M_{concert, no\ party\ photos} = -0.06$), $F = 4.09, p < .04$, and increased missed event expected enjoyment ($M_{party, party\ photos} = 0.31$ vs. $M_{party, no\ party\ photos} = -0.41$), $F = 18.02, p < .0001$. Notably, the FOMO effect was observed even though participants perceived the concert as more enjoyable than the party ($M_{concert} = 6.47$ vs. $M_{party} = 5.25, t = 7.32, p < .0001$). Finally, we found that posting one's own concert photos did not mitigate FOMO, suggesting that FOMO is not driven by the desire to “keep up” with others' social media activity.

Study 3 used the concert-versus-party scenario from Study 2, but also included an additional “Viewed Photos” condition (a friend posting conference photos) to rule out the alternative explanation that FOMO is caused by distraction. Submitting participants' ($N = 179$) over-time enjoyment ratings of the current and missed events to a mixed ANOVA, we replicated the FOMO effect (Viewed Photos \times Event interaction, $F = 6.59, p < .002$): Seeing (vs. not seeing) party photos decreased participants' current event enjoyment ($M_{concert, party\ photos} = -0.49$ vs. $M_{concert, no\ party\ photos} = -0.12$), $F = 6.96, p < .009$, and increased their missed event expected enjoyment ($M_{party, party\ photos} = 0.12$ vs. $M_{party, no\ party\ photos} = -0.24$), $F = 6.47, p < .02$. Further, as predicted, seeing conference photos did not elicit FOMO (changes in concert and party enjoyment $ps > .2$), indicating that distraction is not sufficient to elicit FOMO. We also measured participants' proclivity to worry about missed events using a trait FOMO scale (Przybylski et al., 2013). A Viewed Photos \times trait FOMO mixed ANOVA predicting concert enjoyment revealed a significant interaction, $t = 2.34, p < .03$, with those higher in trait FOMO experiencing sharper declines in current event enjoyment after viewing photos of the missed social event.

Study 4 tested our theory that FOMO is driven by uncertainty about social belonging. Participants ($N=147$) first listed the name of a social group they belonged to, then reported how uncertain they felt about their group belonging (measured as feeling the need to protect their status as a group member). Next, participants read the concert-versus-party scenario from Study 2, and imagined they saw [vs. did not see] party photos. Participants rated their enjoyment and expected enjoyment both before and during the events. Replicating the FOMO effect (Viewed Photos \times Event interaction, $F = 31.35, p < .001$), we found that seeing (vs. not seeing) party photos decreased current event enjoyment ($M_{concert, party\ photos} = -0.47$ vs. $M_{concert, no\ party\ photos} = -0.07$), $F = 12.6, p = .001$ and increased missed event expected enjoyment ($M_{party, party\ photos} = 0.26$ vs. $M_{party, no\ party\ photos} = -0.36$), $F = 18.00, p < .001$). We also found a significant Viewed Photos \times Social Belonging Uncertainty interaction on current event enjoyment, $t = 2.76, p = .007$: Among those who saw party photos, higher social belonging uncertainty was associated with lower current event enjoyment.

These studies demonstrate that seeing social media photos of a missed social-group event produces “FOMO”: decreased enjoyment of the current event, and increased expected enjoyment of the missed event. FOMO was triggered even when the current event was considered more enjoyable and experienced with a friend (Studies 2-3), and it was exacerbated by social belonging uncertainty (Study 4). FOMO was not triggered when social media photos were unrelated to the social group (Study 3), nor attenuated by posting one's own photos to social media (Study 2). This research thus shows how exposure to social media photos can negatively affect one's experiences and reveals the underlying role of social belonging uncertainty.

My Phone is My Diary: Using Mobile Diaries for TV Viewing Measurement

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumer diaries have been a popular tool for capturing behaviors, habits, communication, and consumption over time. The ubiquity of mobile phone makes them a natural platform for diary studies. Such studies are increasingly used in medical and communication research (e.g., Bolger, Davis, and Rafaeli 2003; Broderick 2008; Shiffman, Stone, and Hubbard 2008), and mobile panels have been gaining increased popularity among marketing practitioners. However, their use in academic marketing research is still relatively scarce.

We study mobile diaries in the context of TV viewing measurement with two goals. First, we investigate the level and nature of the accuracy of self-report mobile diaries compared to observable PeopleMeter data. This goal leads us to provide insight into how to best apply and analyze long diaries lasting multiple weeks. Second, we provide substantive results about how these mobile diaries can complement PeopleMeter data to better understand television viewing. Although PeopleMeter measurement has undergone considerable validation (e.g., Danaher and Beed 1993), it continues to face controversy as technology and viewing changes (Carter and Steel 2014).

Our data include a mobile diary for a representative sample of 1702 respondents who reported viewing and communications about prime time TV for 3-6 weeks during the fall season of 2013. The respondents were given random alarms twice during the day and three times during prime-time hours and they were allowed to self-initiate entries at any time. Response to alarms was 47% on average and self-initiated reports accounted for 33% of all reports. The patterns of reporting suggest that daytime and prime-time participation reasonably matches the frequency of alarms, but that weekends have lower participation. Interesting, during less frequently alarmed daytime period self-initiation consisted of 48% of entries, and during prime-time with more frequent alarms, self-initiation was 26% of entries.

For a subsample of 146 respondents, we also have their Nielsen PeopleMeter (NPM) records. We examine each direction of the match between NPM records and mobile diary entries.

For the link from NPM records to the mobile diary entries, only a subset of the entries/records are relevant. First, the instructions for the diary suggest a limited time window (prime time with incentives for only 3 weeks of diary). Second, PeopleMeter captures viewing minute by minute, whereas diary entries are reported only when a viewing is long enough to warrant it. We find that viewings less than 3 minutes long had very low reporting rates, but that as the viewing length increased so did the reporting rate. Third, our data indicate a response pattern in which individuals were either active or inactive in their viewing reports on particular days. By focusing on the active days, reporting completeness increases by over 15%. Finally, respondents on occasion reported that they watched multiple episodes (5% of diary entries) in a single record. We accumulate viewings of the same program to control for this "binge-viewing" concern and find that reporting completeness increases another 8% on average. As a result, for shows on prime time viewed more than 30 minutes during the first 3 weeks of the diary and reported on active days, over 70% of PeopleMeter records have corresponding diary entries.

Considering how the completeness varies, we found little correlation with demographics or reporting activity, but day of the week has a distinct and significant pattern (e.g., Saturday is lowest). Interestingly, the reporting completeness rate is quite stable for the first 4

weeks of diary tenure (and only the first 3 weeks are incentivized). This suggests even longer mobile diary studies are possible and that incentives need not be as large.

We now start from the mobile diary entries and examining whether matching NPM records exist. We find that 67% of mobile diary viewing entries have a matching NPM viewing and another 7% were diary viewing reported as not on TV (i.e., no NPM match is expected). Hence, 74% match well with expectations. However, despite instructions to complete entries during or after viewing, 6% of the matching entries were completed before the viewing and 60% during the airing.

The unmatched cases include two categories--diary viewing on TV that has no matching NPM record (14%) and diary viewing that has an NPM record at the same time, but for a different program (12%). In both cases two possible explanations exist. First, the entries or records could be incorrect. For example, diary entries could be made in error or NPM records could incorrectly identify the household member who is watching. Second, the unmatched cases could reflect viewing not captured by the NPM on un-metered devices (TVs out of the home or un-metered in the home).

These unmatched entries are relatively concentrated with 17% of respondents accounting for 50% of the unmatched cases. These cases are more likely to come from younger people, during non-prime time hours, and from self-initiated reports. All three relationships are consistent with accurate, but non-metered viewing (e.g., viewing away from home during daytime). Further, intuitively, the self-initiated diary entries would on the surface seem most likely to be accurate.

These findings have implications for the use of mobile diaries and their ability to complement PeopleMeter viewing measurement. First, we suggest not only that mobile diaries are reasonably complete and accurate, but that even lengthy mobile diaries can achieve these completeness rates if properly accounting for activity levels and the exact instructions for the diary. While the completeness rates may not be high enough for some purposes, for other purposes there is no other way to obtain the data. Second, we argue that mobile diaries are able to identify both viewing that is not metered (on other devices or out-of-home) and viewing that could be inaccurate (e.g., household ID's not accurately entered). At the same time, mobile diaries can track other useful information about communications that shape viewing behaviors, yet PeopleMeter is unable to track. We do not suggest mobile diaries as a replacement to PeopleMeter, but they could augment the existing viewing measurement system.

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Nutrition and Numerosity: The Effects of Non-Used and Non-Consumed Items on Consumption Experiences and Outcomes

Chair: Noah VanBergen, University of Miami, USA

Paper #1: Motivated Ignorance: The Hedonic Cost of Nutritional Information

Scott Davis, Texas A&M University, USA
Kelly L. Haws, Vanderbilt University, USA

Paper #2: The Influence of Package Formats on Consumers' Perceptions of Product Adequacy and Efficacy Responses

Veronika Ilyuk, Hofstra University, USA
Lauren Block, Baruch College, USA

Paper #3: Present but Not Consumed: The Interaction of Assortment Size and Product Familiarity on Expected and Actual Product Efficacy

Noah VanBergen, University of Miami, USA
Caglar Irmak, University of Miami, USA
Julio Sevilla, University of Georgia, USA

Paper #4: In Pieces: Food Is More Filling when Served in Several Pieces

Aner Tal, Cornell University, USA
Brian Wansink, Cornell University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

An individual engaged in the process of food consumption is exposed to myriad subtle cues and pieces of information, each of which may or may not be attended to and incorporated into the consumption experience. Extant research has shown that even irrelevant information (e.g., the size and color of dinnerware; the color of juice one consumes; Hoegg and Alba 2007; Van Ittersum and Wansink 2012) has important impacts on consumption. Yet, several ubiquitous aspects of consumption contexts, such as product numerosity and nutritional information, remain relatively less explored—particularly from a perspective of non-usage or non-consumption.

The authors in this session focus on how the usage vs. non-usage of subtle features of the consumption environment affects a range of consumption-relevant outcomes. In particular, we shift our focus away from the typical emphasis on how what *is* consumed affects consumption experiences, to instead ask: How do features of the consumption environment that are *not* consumed or *not* attended to affect consumption experiences?

In the first paper, Davis and Haws show that not receiving nutritional information impacts consumers' enjoyment of hedonic foods, an effect they term "motivated ignorance." Their studies show that consumers who are lower in eating self-control seek less and spend less time evaluating nutritional information relating to unhealthy foods to avoid the hedonic cost of this information and increase predicted and actual enjoyment of the foods.

Ilyuk and Block show that packaging may affect the perceived and actual efficacy derived from products such as energy-enhancers and medication. Their studies show that consuming the same amount of such products from a single-serving (vs. multi-serving) package may lead to greater product efficacy due to the perception of consuming all available resources (vs. a fraction of all available resources), respectively.

While the presence of non-consumed products hurts efficacy in some cases, VanBergen, Irmak, and Sevilla show that present but non-consumed products can improve efficacy in others. In particular, their results show that consumers who are unfamiliar with an energy-

enhancing product derive greater benefits from a single consumed unit if the consumed unit is alongside several non-consumed units. Consumers familiar with the product show the opposite pattern of results, performing better in the absence of non-consumed products.

Finally, Tal and Wansink show that satiety—an outcome explicitly related to food consumption—can be influenced by the way the units of a food item are presented. Their studies show that consumers feel fullest when food is divided into more units and spaced closely together. More distal spacing makes the consumed food appear smaller relative to the total food space (i.e., the sum of consumed and non-consumed area), reducing perceptions of satiation.

Together, the authors in this session provide insight into the variety of ways that non-consumed aspects of the consumption environment affect the experience of food consumption. Given the growing importance of health and wellness research, we believe this session has implications for consumers and practitioners alike and will interest a wide audience of researchers studying aspects of food consumption, nutritional information, and numerosity.

Motivated Ignorance: The Hedonic Cost of Nutritional Information

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Prior research has suggested that disclosure of nutritional information is only effective in reducing obesity when consumers are motivated to seek out and process such information (Howlett et al., 2009). Since consumers generally believe that unhealthy items taste better (Ragunathan, Naylor, & Hoyer, 2006), there may be a substantial hedonic cost when objective nutritional facts are known to the consumer. Research has shown that consumers are sometimes willfully ignorant of easily obtainable product attributes when these attributes conflict with goals and generate negative emotions (Ehrich and Irwin 2005). Due to heightened conflict with hedonic goals, we propose and examine across four studies that individuals low in eating self-control will be motivated to ignore available nutritional information for indulgent foods, and doing so will heighten their enjoyment.

Study 1 introduced 128 participants (54% female) to a product evaluation task involving relatively healthy Baked Ruffles potato chips or relatively unhealthy Doritos, depending on condition. The packaging for the chips was shown on-screen including the nutrition facts panel. Participants were asked to carefully review the packaging and time spent doing so was recorded. Next, we captured an individual difference measure self-control (SC) using Tangney et al.'s (2004) scale items. The interaction between the condition and SC was significant in predicting the time spent reviewing the packaging ($F(1,124) = 6.96, p < .01$). A spotlight analysis at 1 SD above and below the SC mean revealed the effect of the experimental condition on time spent reviewing the packaging to be marginally significant at both one SD below ($\beta = -8.99, SE = 4.62, p = .05$) and above the self-control mean ($\beta = 8.30, SE = 4.61, p = .07$). Individuals lower (higher) in self-control tended to pay less (more) attention to nutritional information for unhealthy Doritos relative to healthier Baked Ruffles.

In study 2, we examined the effects of information choice on downstream enjoyment. Specifically, 103 participants (34% female) were asked to choose to view or skip nutritional information for a large slice of chocolate cake. Those who chose "view" were shown

that the large indulgence contained 960 calories and 52 grams of fat. Regardless of whether they chose to view or skip, participants next imagined eating a bite of cake and rated enjoyment on a 9-point scale. In a logistic regression, we found that lower levels of self-control corresponded to a greater likelihood of skipping the nutritional information ($\beta = .55, p < .001$). Importantly, we found a significant interaction between information choice and self-control ($F(1,99) = 6.96, p < .01$). A spotlight analysis at 1 standard deviation below the self-control mean showed that individuals lower in self-control who chose to skip nutritional information anticipated significantly higher enjoyment for the chocolate cake dessert relative to those who viewed ($\beta = 1.85, p < .01$). High self-control participants at 1 standard deviation above the mean did not show significantly varying enjoyment between the choices ($\beta = -.43, NS$).

In study 3, 170 participants (47% female) were instructed to evaluate chocolate truffles that were present at their workstations. Each participant ate two truffles and, depending on experimental condition, viewed nutritional information either before consuming the first truffle or between consuming the first and second truffles. Enjoyment was measured after each truffle was eaten. Self-control tendencies and demographics were collected at the end of the session. Our analysis revealed a significant interaction of the timing of nutritional information and SC in predicting the enjoyment differential between the first and second truffle ($F(1,162) = 7.58, p < .01$). Measured enjoyment of the first and second truffle varied significantly between experimental conditions for those lower in self-control ($\beta = .89, p < .01$) but not for those higher in self-control ($\beta = -.19, NS$). Individuals lower in self-control experienced a significant drop in enjoyment when viewing nutritional information between the first and second truffle, supporting our prediction that such information produces a hedonic cost.

We next investigated whether hedonic costs result in reduced consumption in study 4. Participants ($n=194$, 62% female) were asked to sample one chocolate-covered almond and then choose whether to view nutritional information or customer reviews for the product. After viewing the information they selected, they were invited to consume the chocolate-covered almond snack (up to 40g) as they watched a video. Our analysis revealed a significant interaction between information choice and self-control ($F(1,181) = 4.12, p < .05$), such that those low in self-control consumed marginally more of the snack when they chose to view customer reviews vs. nutritional information ($\beta = 3.26, SE = 1.80, p < .08$). Those higher in self-control did not significantly differ in consumption for the two information types ($\beta = -1.77, SE = 1.82, NS$). Additionally, an indirect effect of eating enjoyment linked the information choice and self-control interaction to the quantity of almonds consumed ($\beta = -1.53, SE = .79, 95\%$ bias-corrected bootstrap $CI: -3.18, -.08$).

Across four studies, we examine the efficacy of providing nutritional information by exploring whether individuals lower in self-control tend to avoid available nutritional information for more indulgent foods and whether such exposure influences consumption. We measured tendencies to view nutritional information through time spent looking at packaging (study 1) and explicit choices to view or not view nutrition facts (studies 2-4). Further, we find that people with low self-control tend to consume more unhealthy food when they avoid nutritional information (studies 2 and 4) and enjoy unhealthy food more (less) when avoiding (viewing) nutritional information (studies 2-4). These findings, using different food stimuli and various formats of information, show that nutritional disclosure may be a promising intervention for individuals lower in self-control but there are obstacles to clear in getting these consumers to view and process the information provided.

The Influence of Package Formats on Consumers' Perceptions of Product Adequacy and Efficacy Responses

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Marketers offer products in a variety of package formats—from large containers to smaller, single-serve, individually-wrapped and travel-size alternatives. Although much of prior research has focused on the effects of portion, serving, and package size on consumption of foods (for a review see Zlatevska, Dubelaar, and Holden 2014), little inquiry has been made into the effects of product packaging on consumers' perceptions of product efficacy. In this research, we build on extant research on the effects of resource availability and product packaging on consumption (Morewedge, Holtzman, and Epley 2007; Wansink 1996) and implicate package format—single-serve vs. multi-serve packages—as a source of product efficacy experiences and expectations.

During consumption, a product's package necessarily defines the accessible "resource inventory" and the serving/dosage defines the consumption quantity. Although the ratio of consumption quantity to resource availability is, in and of itself, uninformative to product efficacy inference, we suggest that consumers may erroneously rely on the size of the resource inventory when making efficacy judgments when processing capacity (herein PC) is limited. We propose and demonstrate that consuming a particular serving/dosage of a product from a smaller resource inventory (i.e., the entirety of a single-serve package, a "whole") may subjectively feel *more adequate* than consuming the *same amount* from a larger resource inventory (i.e., a multi-serve package, namely one containing many servings/doses). Across three studies, we used a 2(Package Format: Single-Serve vs. Multi-Serve) X 2(PC: High vs. Low) between-subjects design; PC was manipulated by imposing a cognitive load.

In study 1, participants were given 1-ounce of *Gatorade G-Series Pro 02 Perform* powder to mix into a water bottle from either an individually-wrapped, 1-ounce, packet (single-serve condition) or a 32-ounce container (multi-serve condition). They were asked to drink the mixture (purportedly capable of increasing mental acuity) as needed while they performed a verbal GMAT task; actual efficacy experiences were captured by task performance (Ilyuk, Block, and Faro 2014; Shiv, Carmon, and Arieli 2005; Wright et al. 2013). As hypothesized, an ANCOVA revealed a significant package format by PC interaction on task performance, controlling for how much participants drank and how well they usually perform on standardized tests ($F(1,93)=5.44, p<.05$). Contrast analysis indicated that when PC was low, task performance was higher when participants were given Gatorade powder from the single-serve package ($M=50.33\%$) than an equivalent amount from a multi-serve package ($M=40.01\%$; $F(1,93)=4.21, p<.05$). However, when PC was high, there was no difference in task performance between the two package conditions ($M_{\text{single-serve}}=43.38\%$ vs. $M_{\text{multi-serve}}=49.40\%$; $F(1,93)=1.56, p=.21$). Perceived product adequacy exhibited a similar pattern: when PC was limited, perceptions of having an adequate quantity were higher for those who received 1-ounce of powder from a single-serve ($M=5.65$) than from the multi-serve package ($M=4.78$; $F(1,95)=3.80, p=.05$). However, when PC was high, there was no significant difference in perceptions of adequacy ($M_{\text{single-serve}}=4.85$ vs. $M_{\text{multi-serve}}=5.48$; $F(1,95)=2.18, p=.14$). Moderated mediation analysis showed that perceived product adequacy mediated the effect of package format on task performance in the low (CI[-3.3866,-1.206]) but not high PC condition (CI[-.0368,2.9676]).

In study 2, we held package size completely constant while varying the resource inventory (number of servings). All participants were given a packet of Sport Beans® (caffeinated jelly beans); they

were asked to eat one serving of 5 Sport Beans® and to perform three cognitive tasks. We manipulated the quantity of servings in the packets prior to distribution: those in the single-serve condition received a packet containing 5 Sport Beans® whereas those in the multi-serve condition received a packet containing 15. Analysis of task performance for all three tasks replicated the pattern found in study 1: when PC was low, task performance was higher in the single-serve, 5-pack condition, than in the multi-serve, 15-pack condition. However, when PC was high, there was no difference in performance between the two package conditions. Further, perceived product adequacy exhibited a similar pattern: when PC was limited, perceptions of having an adequate quantity of Sport Beans® were higher for those in the single-serve ($M=5.36$) than in the multi-serve condition ($M=4.11$; $F(1,108)=10.61$, $p<.005$). However, when PC was high, there was no significant difference in perceptions of adequacy ($F<1$). Analyses of moderated mediation for each task revealed that perceived product adequacy mediated the effect of package format on task performance in the low but not high PC condition.

In study 3, given the inability to test the effects on actual efficacy experiences due to the nature of the utilized product (pain medication), we gauged product efficacy *expectations*. Participants imagined experiencing a painful headache. They were given a description of a popular OTC pain reliever—Advil®—and asked to imagine taking a dose of 2 tablets from either a 2-tablet travel-size packet (single-dose condition) or a bottle (multi-dose condition); an image was provided in both conditions. In line with the results of the previous studies, contrast analysis showed that in the low PC condition, efficacy expectations (5-items; $\alpha=.85$) were higher when participants imagined consuming the medication from the single-dose packet ($M=4.96$) than from the multi-dose bottle ($M=4.30$; $F(1,98)=4.59$, $p<.05$). However, in the high PC condition, there was no difference in efficacy expectations ($F<1$). Similarly, when PC was limited, perceptions of product adequacy (to relieve the symptoms) were higher for those in the single-dose ($M=5.19$) than in the multi-dose condition ($M=3.90$; $F(1,98)=6.53$, $p=.01$); in the high PC condition, there was no significant difference in perceptions of adequacy ($M_{\text{single-dose}}=4.08$ vs. $M_{\text{multi-dose}}=4.64$; $F(1,98)=1.23$, $p=.27$). Perceived product adequacy mediated the effect of package format on efficacy expectations in the low (CI [-.2254, -.0043]) but not high PC condition (CI [-.0139, .1417]).

Together, these studies document a new bias in which consumers rely on the quantity of servings within a package to infer whether a fixed amount (serving/dose) is adequate to produce the desired result. Accordingly, we introduce a previously unexplored antecedent to efficacy perceptions/experiences: feelings of (in)adequate consumption. Also, whereas prior work has shown how available resources may change consumption levels, this research demonstrates how available resources affect behavioral outcomes when consumption is *fixed*. We suggest that this research has implications for consumer health and well-being.

Present but Not Consumed: The Interaction of Assortment Size and Product Familiarity on Expected and Actual Product Efficacy

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The use of performance-enhancing products (e.g., energy drinks) has been increasing rapidly over the past decade (Wong 2013), a trend accompanied by increasing numbers of health-related conditions related to over-consumption of these products (SAMHSA 2014). While knowledge of the physiological effects performance-enhancing products (PEPs) have on consumers is obviously critical,

it is also necessary to understand the psychological factors influencing consumption of PEPs, given that consumption depends heavily on perception and expectations (Hsee 1996; Shiv, Carmon, and Ariely 2005).

Building on extant research on the effect of expectations on actual product efficacy (Irmak, Block and Fitzsimons 2005; Shiv et al. 2005), this research contributes to our knowledge of the psychological influences of perceptions on experiences involving PEPs. Specifically, we examine how the number of products included in an assortment from which consumers take a product influences consumption experiences. In so doing, we show how an often-neglected but ubiquitous aspect of consumption—the presence of products that are *not* consumed in an assortment—affects the experience of consumption.

Extant research provides some insight into the ways that non-consumed products will impact product efficacy. Individuals often rely on quantitative heuristics as they evaluate products (Josephs, Giesler, and Silvera 1994; Pelham, Sumarta, and Myaskovsky 1994). One such quantitative heuristic likely implicated in expectation formation is the number of products available for consumption. Individuals often use the proportion, rather than the absolute amount, of material used or consumed as the basis for judgments of product efficacy (Silvera, Josephs, and Giesler 2001). When this proportion is higher, consumers perceive greater product effectiveness. Applied here, this implies that PEPs present but not consumed in an assortment will detract from the efficacy of consumed PEPs.

Importantly, however, we argue that individuals' familiarity with the consumed PEP will impact their product efficacy judgments and, hence, actual product efficacy. Specifically, we propose that a consumer unfamiliar with a PEP will form greater product efficacy expectations when more units of the PEP are present in the assortment. This is because when consumers are unsure of a product's efficacy, a larger assortment size will enhance perceived availability and, thus, credibility of the product, leading to greater expected and actual product efficacy. When consumers are familiar with the PEP, on the other hand, consuming one unit of the product from a large assortment will lower performance as the non-consumed units in the assortment will reduce the perceived proportion consumed. We test these predictions in three studies and find consistent support.

In our first study, we tested the impact of non-consumed products on performance for a highly familiar product: Red Bull energy drinks. We asked participants to imagine they were up late studying for an exam and decided to have a Red Bull. We showed participants a picture of a single can of Red Bull (vs. a 24-pack of Red Bull cans) and asked them to imagine they purchased (one of) the can(s) they were shown. We then asked the extent to which they believed their physical performance would improve as a result of consuming the can of Red Bull. As expected, individuals expected to derive a greater benefit from this familiar product when they imagined consuming a lone can vs. the can from a large assortment ($p = .05$).

Our second study built on study 1 in two important ways. First, we used a product that is familiar to some participants and less familiar to others. Second, we showed that actual behavioral performance, not only expectations, is affected by consuming energy-enhancing products taken from small vs. large assortments. To achieve these goals, we asked participants to consume a single Gatorade Energy Chew (a relatively new product at the time of the study) taken from a baggie containing either one single chew or six total chews. After consuming the chew, participants completed two measures of performance, one requiring speed and accuracy (correctly identifying the number of dots shown on a screen in under two seconds) and the other drawing more on cognitive resources (rearranging letters

in a 10-letter word to form new words). After completing the tasks, we asked participants how familiar they were with Gatorade Energy Chews (1 = *not at all familiar*; 9 = *extremely familiar*). We expected that individuals who were familiar with the product would show better performance in the single-chew condition, while less familiar individuals would show better performance in the six-chews condition.

Results on both measures of performance supported our expectations. Participants' score on the word task showed a significant 2-way interaction between condition (1 vs. 6 chews) and mean-centered product familiarity ($p < .05$): Participants more familiar with the product performed better in the 1- vs. 6-chew condition, while the opposite pattern was observed for less familiar individuals. Similar 2-way interactions were seen on participants' reaction times (2-way interaction $p = .05$) and the number of correct responses on the dot task (2-way interaction $p = .08$).

Finally, in study 3 we extended the generalizability of the effect by using a different type of "product": classical music. Research on the "Mozart Effect" suggests that listening to classical music can enhance performance (Angel, Polzella, and Elvers 2010). We thus asked participants to listen to a 4-minute composition by Mozart that was either accompanied by five other song titles on the screen or not. After listening to the song, participants completed a different measure of performance. Afterwards we asked whether or not participants had heard of the Mozart Effect before the study. As expected, a significant 2-way interaction ($p < .05$) showed that, for participants who had (had not) heard of the Mozart Effect, performance was better when the song they heard was the only (one of six) song(s) presented on the screen.

Together, these studies show that consumption and product efficacy experiences are not only affected by what *is* consumed, but also by what is *not* consumed. These results have both practical (e.g., packaging considerations, particularly for new product introductions) and theoretical implications in the areas of food consumption, numerosity, and product efficacy.

In Pieces:

Food Is More Filling when Served in Several Pieces

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Would eating a bagel cut into pieces make it more filling? Satiety, or the sense of how full one is, is driven by psychological, as well as physiological, factors (Wansink 2007; Redden and Galak 2013). People feel full or empty, and assess their need to eat more, based not only on how much they've eaten, but on external cues as to quantity eaten, as well on their perspective regarding the meal, for instance whether it counts as a meal or a snack (Wansink et al. 2010). Broadly speaking, if people *think* they ate a more substantial meal, they feel fuller.

Eating behavior in general is affected by external cues (Wansink 2004). People clear off the food from their plate, and take the amount of food on the plate to imply the quantity they should eat. Accordingly, while there is food on the plate, people tend to continue eating (Wansink et al. 2005). Accordingly, eating from bigger containers tend to lead to increased consumption (Young & Nestle 2002; Wansink & Kim 2005).

Such behavior may be partially driven by perceptual distortions, whereby people's judgment of the size of their meal is affected by contextual variables such as how big the food portion appears relative to their plate (van Ittersum and Wansink 2012). Labeling products as larger can also lead people to think that they are eating more. Thinking that less was eaten can in turn lead people to consume more food (Aydinoğlu & Krishna, 2010).

The perception of quantity can affect not just how much one would eat, but their sense of psychological satiety (Redden and Galak 2013). For example, seeing one's leftovers may serve as an indication as to how much one has eaten, increasing satiety (Wansink 2007). Even cues to quantity eaten that do not in fact indicate how much one has eaten may lead to increased reported satiety (Tal and Wansink 2014).

In the current work we explore the notion that the number of units one thinks they have eaten affects their satiety. A prior study (Wadhera et al. 2012) found that having a bagel cut into 4 pieces led to decreased food consumption in a subsequent meal compared to eating a bagel whole. The authors conjectured that perceptions of the volume of the bagel on the plate increased satiety. A bagel cut into 4 pieces fills the plate to a greater extent, leading to increased volume perception, and consequently a sense that one has eaten more.

In the current study, we examine whether volume perceptions indeed affect satiety by providing an additional condition. In one of our 4-piece conditions the bagel is spread across the plate, to fill up more volume. In another, the pieces of the cut bagel are kept together. We conjectured that it is the perception of number of units eaten, rather than volume perception, that increases satiety, and that spacing the pieces of the bagel, rather than increasing satiety, would in fact reduce satiety since it makes the size of the bagel pieces appear smaller. We also employed a direct measure of felt satiety, rather than consumption in a subsequent meal.

Participants (N=43) were randomly assigned to one of three groups. All groups ate a mini bagel with cream cheese in a lab setting. One group got the bagel in one piece. The other two groups got the bagel cut into four pieces: for one group pieces were spread out on the plate, and for another the pieces were kept together. Participants reported on their fullness across 3 measures: hunger, fullness, and satiation, all measured on 9 point likert scales. They reported fullness before and after eating the bagels. We created a summary satiety score, and calculated the difference score between pre and post eating fullness as our dependent measure.

Increased satiety was highest when participants received the pieces close together (4.77). Satiety was higher in this condition than when participants received the bagel whole (3.75). However, receiving the 4 pieces spread apart led to reduced satiety (2.18). Differences were significant at a .04 level: $F(2,41)=3.26$. Participants report greater satiety when eating a food cut into several pieces, but only when those pieces are close together.

This result was subsequently replicated with a larger sample (N=72). In this study, we examined whether liking for the bagel moderated our results. Liking was measured on a 9-point likert scale. We analyzed results in a GLM model with difference in satiety as the dependent measure, and bagel condition, rated tastiness, and the interaction of the two as independent variables. There was a significant effect of condition on satiety: $F(2,64)=4.21, p=.02$. Having the bagel cut to 4 increased satiety (3.29) relative to eating the bagel whole (2.63). Those who received the cut bagel spread on the plate reported the least increase in satiety (1.72). There was also a marginally significant interaction of liking and condition: $F(2,64)=3.02, p=.056$. Those who expressed greater liking for the bagel were less influenced by condition.

Together, the studies attest that food is felt to be more filling when eaten in several pieces. However, the effects of eating the food in pieces are mitigated if the pieces are spread apart such as the serving appears smaller (each piece would appear smaller when separated from the others, creating an overall appearance of a smaller serving). In other words, it appears that eating more pieces increases satiety, as long as the perception of volume is maintained.

Further research should corroborate the mechanisms behind this phenomenon. For example, research could measure consumers' self-reports of perceived volume of the serving as well as quantity eaten. Research could also examine whether the effect increases as the number of servings increases. Finally, research could examine whether splitting the pieces but keeping them in close proximity such that the gestalt appears larger would enhance, rather than decrease, the effects of cutting.

These findings have clear implications for public health. Serving food in pieces would create a sense of increased satiety. This would allow consumers to feel full with less food, reducing consumption.

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Access In Transition: Understanding Evolving Marketplace Access for Stigmatized Consumers

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Paper #1: Pursuing Marriage Equality in the Marketplace: Stigmatized Consumers' Responses to Mainstream Marketplace Access

Sunaina R. Velagaleti, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

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Paper #2: Problem or Opportunity: Marketplace Access and Legitimacy for the Multiracial Consumer

Robert L. Harrison III, Western Michigan University, USA

Kevin D. Thomas, University of Texas at Austin, USA

Samantha N. Cross, Iowa State University, USA

Paper #3: Marginalization, Resistance, and Stealth Shopping: Subalternity in the Gendered Marketplace

Elizabeth Crosby, University of Wisconsin – La Crosse, USA

Kim McKeage, Hamline University, USA

Terri Rittenburg, University of Wyoming, USA

Paper #4: Ban the Word Feminist? Control and Subversion of Feminism in Social Movements and Consumer Culture

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SESSION OVERVIEW:

The papers in this session explore the issue of marketplace access for stigmatized consumers. More specifically, they examine access in transition. Capturing moments of access is consequential, as these instances represent the attainment of more equal terms in society often following prolonged histories of exclusion and devaluation. Stigmatized consumers, or those possessing a discrediting attribute that taints or discounts (Goffman 1963), often face marketplace neglect, or even explicit rejection (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013, Scaraboto and Fischer 2013, Adkins and Ozanne 2005, Sandikci and Ger 2010). Our session spans the experiences of transgender individuals, multiracial families, same-sex couples, and feminists who face various levels of exclusion from the marketplace. As the works in this session demonstrate, however, marketplace access is often evolving and at times even increasing for marginalized consumers. Focusing attention toward these situations of increased access enables exploration into the processes and players that shape these transitions as well as consumers' diverse responses to marketplace evolution.

Situating stigmatized consumers within their institutional environment, these works join others to explore how shifting social systems composed of rules (regulatory), morals (normative), and understandings (cultural-cognitive) impact legitimacy (Arnold, Kozinets, and Handelman 2001; Handelman and Arnold 1999; Humphrey 2010a, 2010b, Sandikci and Ger 2010; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). Efforts to acquire legitimation—"a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate" within a particular context (Suchman 1995, 574)—can (but do not always) result in increasing marketplace access, which raises important questions: 1) How does the institutional environment (influence consumer legitimacy and shape marketplace access for stigmatized groups? To what extent do the different forms of legitimacy – regulatory, normative, cultural-cognitive – impact evolving access? 2) Does greater legitimacy necessarily result in greater marketplace

access? What factors complicate this relationship? Taken together, the papers address these questions by looking at the relationship between access and legitimacy. Paper 1 (Velagaleti and Epp) studies the recent unprecedented shifts in public opinion and regulatory gains around same-sex marriage, the subsequent increased attention from the marketplace, and same-sex couples' responses to this increased access. In contrast, Paper 2 (Harrison, Thomas, and Cross) examines how multiracial families with long-established regulatory gains can still face such limited marketplace access, owing to slow progress in achieving cultural validation as a family form. Paper 3 (Crosby, McKeage, and Rittenburg) investigates how transgender individuals with limited legitimacy in all forms and almost non-existent marketplace representation still find moments of temporal reprieve, when their social transgression is condoned or even celebrated. Lastly, Paper 4 (Coleman and Tuncay Zayer) looks at discursive access, tracing how stigmatizing associations have called into question the legitimacy of feminism, resulting in constrained accessibility to feminist discourse in the marketplace.

In the spirit of the conference theme, "advancing connections" these papers promote an intersectional approach to understanding marginality in society, by considering various aspects of identity across papers – gender, sexuality, and race. Similarly, our discussion will focus on looking across papers to think more broadly about how forms of legitimacy and stigmatized identity shape marketplace access.

Pursuing Marriage Equality in the Marketplace: Stigmatized Consumers' Responses to Mainstream Marketplace Access

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Stigmatized consumers, or those possessing a discrediting attribute that taints or discounts (Goffman 1963), often lack access to the mainstream marketplace. Examples include limited plus-sized clothing options (Scaraboto and Fischer 2013) and scarce childcare accessories for at-home fathers (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013). As "a social process implicated within relations of power" (Sandikci and Ger 2010, 17), however, stigma's status or impact can change with a shift in the beliefs of powerful groups or by altering power dynamics that allow these groups "to make their cognitions the dominant one" (Link and Phelan 2001, 381). The marketplace – as a domain where power is reproduced and contested – is not immune to these changes (Sandikci and Ger 2010, 17). More specifically, a stigmatized population or practice, once restricted from the mainstream marketplace, can gain increasing access.

An example can be found in the context of same-sex couples' pursuit of marriage. Although those who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) have faced prolonged stigmatization, a cultural shift has occurred in the past decade, reflected in part by increased public support for the legalization of same-sex marriage as well as legislative action to secure it (Freedom to Marry; McCarthy 2014; Pew Research). Public backing and regulatory victories alter the power dynamics and lessen the ability and desire of dominant parties to enforce stigma through institutional channels, including the marketplace. One implication of these power shifts is increased

marketplace access for same-sex couples as marketers respond to a commercial opportunity around marriage.

This study explores shifting access through two central questions. First, how do stigmatized consumers interpret and respond to newfound access? Specifically, what diversity exists within their perceptions and actions? Second, how might the heterogeneity within a stigmatized group contribute to variation in responses to access? In terms of capital or resources, while LGBT consumers as a whole arguably still lack its symbolic form (e.g. social recognition, status), other varieties (cultural, social, and economic) exist, though differentially distributed among its members. Bourdieuan applications in consumer research explore how differences in distributions of capital within marginalized communities impact their marketplace experiences and coping mechanisms (Adkins and Ozanne 2005; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013; Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). We extend this work by exploring the impact of resource heterogeneity in contexts of mainstream access. In line with this focus on heterogeneity, we also incorporate stigma theory and its mechanisms – such as discrimination – to ensure recognition of how same-sex couples generate intragroup diversity in the understanding, experience, and impact of a stigmatized identity.

Using in-depth interviews with 30 same-sex couples with varying responses to access (e.g. receptive, ambivalent, or resistant) and ethnographic observation at wedding expos, we developed a theoretical framework that demonstrates how within-group heterogeneity generates diversity in responses to increased marketplace access. More specifically, it details how heterogeneity in individual experiences with tensions, stigma identity, and social capital impact consumers' responses. The framework conceptualizes increasing access as a continuum, with earlier periods being typified by inconsistency. Marketplace visibility is constrained to socially legitimized aspects of the community. Service provision is restricted, as it is often unclear which vendors are willing to serve stigmatized consumers and rejection is common. Product and service offerings remain dominant-group-centric, and updates to marketplace infrastructure (e.g. forms) and prior logics (e.g. heteronormative and gender-normative assumptions) are neither automatic nor uniform.

Responses to access include consumers' approaches to the marketplace and reactions to constraint. Consumers describe engagement with the marketplace as a constant "coming out" to vendors, and vigilance is exerted to minimize experiences with discrimination or rejection. For instance, consumers avoid unfamiliar retailers, choose not to disclose their stigma status, assess a retailer's position before disclosing, or simply prepare for rejection. Another aspect of approach is the types of resources utilized. Despite being seen as marginalizing, mainstream resources are heavily leveraged to normalize same-sex couples' performance of marriage. In contrast, "alternative" (not limited to LGBT-specific) resources are utilized by those in search of non-traditional ideas and are presumed to be more accepting. Variation also exists in consumers' reactions to constraint, including strategies such as correcting vendors through education, affording marketers the opportunity to "recalibrate," discontinuing use, accepting limitations as a product of early-stage access, ignoring constraint, or compensating for resource deficiencies.

Diversity in responses to access is, in part, the result of heterogeneity in individual experiences of tensions, stigma identity, and social capital. For instance, tensions – including liberation from tradition versus desire to normalize (Tension 1) and celebrating visibility versus apprehension in disclosure (Tension 2) – shape which resources are used as well as a consumer's approach to their use (e.g. decisions to disclose stigma status or correct). In addition, how one experiences a stigma identity – the result of an individual's unique

history of discrimination along with his/her interpretations of the label (e.g. liability) – shapes expectations of marketplace treatment and the degree of caution exercised. Lastly, social capital protects, facilitates, and legitimizes in the context of increased marketplace access. It protects through identifying inclusive vendors. It facilitates by securing resources not readily available in the marketplace. Lastly, it legitimizes through others' recognition and collaboration. Social capital also connects to stigma identification, with support combatting fears of rejection, while its absence reinforces them. Social capital can also motivate tensions around normalization, encouraging inclusion of traditional practices or objects in order to create a "relatable" ceremony. Within-group variability in response to access has consequences. More assertive approaches generate visibility for consumers as well as the privilege to provide marketplace instruction on how to cater to stigmatized entrants. This finding reflects Bourdieu's (1986) idea of the logic of representation, as more assertive consumers shape the marketplace's perception of the greater "LGBT consumer." It also suggests what Goffman (1963) terms codes or "certain standard manners" that define the "desirable pattern of revealing and concealing" (109) – in this case, how consumers and marketers can "appropriately" handle marketplace access.

Problem or Opportunity: Marketplace Access and Legitimacy for the Multiracial Consumer

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

"*Loving* [vs. Virginia case] marks the moment when our families, families that transgress law and the color line, became legitimated, permissible, cognizable dimensions of our national landscape. *Loving* said something powerful and new about our parents and the choices they had made about whom to love and with whom to make a family." (Professor Martha S. Jones, University of Michigan, Michigan Law's Martin Luther King Jr. Day lecture, 01/19/2015)

The struggle to legitimize multiracial identity has been long and arduous. However, in recent years we have witnessed several gains towards legitimation. In 1967, anti-miscegenation laws in the U.S. were overturned by the Supreme Court ruling in the landmark *Loving vs. Virginia* case, which declared that all US couples could marry regardless of their racial backgrounds. This case provided regulative legitimacy to multiracial couples (Scott 1995). In 2000, regulative legitimacy was extended to the offspring of multiracial couples when the U.S. Census expanded its racial categorization system to include a multiracial option. Since the Census change, the Selig Center for Economic Growth, which tracks the buying power of several U.S. consumer segments, has also begun to do so for multiracial Americans. Recent Selig Center data states that there are more than nine million multiracial Americans that hold a combined buying power of \$161 billion. The tracking and reporting of such data provides multiracial individuals with newfound cultural-cognitive legitimacy, as they are collectively represented as a viable consumer segment.

Even with these achievements, it is debatable whether members of multiracial families have achieved full marketplace access and legitimacy as consumers. According to Professor Martha Jones (2015) co-director of the Program in Race, Law and History at the University of Michigan, who grew up in a multi-racial household: "There will be more anecdotes and ways to think about how courts, legal culture, and our culture at large think about and grapple with the fact, the possibility, the problem that mixed-race people represent." The virulent online comments against the 2013 Cheerios commercial featuring a Caucasian mother, African-American father, and their biracial daughter raised concerns that many in society still deny full legitimacy to multiracial individuals and their families. Over the

past decade and increasingly in the last few years, when attempts are made to recognize this consumer segment, there is still considerable consumer backlash. Thus, it is clear that while multiracial individuals have made significant strides in attaining regulative legitimacy, they continue to struggle to gain normative and cognitive/cultural legitimacy in the marketplace and society at large.

Full legitimization of multiracial groups may bring with it a range of public policy and marketplace issues. For instance, adoption of multiracial as a legitimate racial category by government entities (e.g. US Census) has impacted how governmental funds and resources are distributed, particularly among racial/ethnic minority populations (Williams 2006). Additionally, representation of multiracial consumers in commercial media can be problematic. Due to the ubiquitous nature of marketing communication, if marketers utilize a narrow range of phenotypic characteristics and body types when representing multiracial populations, a myopic and essentialized understanding of who is (and is not) multiracial can result. Such a situation could not only negatively impact the development of multiracial individuals who reside outside the narrowly constructed boundaries of “multiracialness,” but may also affect their consumption behavior and overall retail experience in adverse ways. Thus, from a broader societal perspective, multiracial individuals’ socialization experiences as consumers and members of society may differ markedly from the experiences of their mono-racial counterparts. It is therefore even more important that we understand how multiracial consumers learn and, by their very presence, define the expectations of marketers, retailers, and public policy administrators.

This paper explores the experiences of multiracial consumers in this paradoxical environment. We ask the following key research questions: 1) What are multiracial consumers’ perceptions of current marketplace practices? 2) What is the experience of multiracial consumers and their family units as legal recognition transfers to marketplace legitimacy and societal acceptance? We focus on adult female offspring of multiracial unions. We employ a phenomenological approach emphasizing their lived experience both individually and within their family units, by studying “the totality of human-being-in-world” (Thompson et al. 1989, 135). We conducted interviews with 21 mixed-race women between the ages of 19-25. “Mixed race” was defined as having both a black and a white U.S.-born parent. Socio-historically, this racial combination maintains the highest level of social juxtaposition and therefore offered the greatest opportunity to investigate the dynamics of multiracial identity development (Rockquemore and Brunnsma 2008). Interviews spanned 60-75 minutes, were audiotaped and transcribed, and were analyzed following phenomenological procedures (Moustakas 1994).

Findings reveal that in spite of legal and census policy changes which have attempted to remove societal and marketplace barriers, longstanding views make such emancipatory policies particularly complex for the multiracial consumer. While multiracial consumers may be members of the U.S. multicultural marketplace, their lived experiences, socialization processes and perception by society make them different from others who share the same multicultural classification. The process of constantly moving between two disparate worlds, not fully accepted by either, may cause some individuals to focus their efforts on one world or the other. In an attempt to successfully navigate between their heritage backgrounds, multiracial individuals consume (or eschew) the symbolic value of marketplace commodities, using brands and marketplace access to enhance (or suppress) association with specific aspects of their racial backgrounds. For example, identity markers, such as uniquely textured hair, which we coin “the mighty ringlets,” emerge as a key visual representation of multiracial identity for the vast majority of infor-

nants. For this particular identity marker, hair products and self-help hair care books, specifically marketed to and for multiracial women, legitimize their liminal racial space.

Marginalization, Resistance, and Stealth Shopping: Subalternity in the Gendered Marketplace

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The concept of gender is socially constructed and pervasive (West and Zimmerman 1987). Gendered products and services include clothing, hairstyles, cosmetics, bags (totes, purses, etc.), colors, toys, and books. Within the dominant social discourse, individuals are expected to conform to the gender norms that are associated with their biological sex. People that violate this norm often experience stigmatization (Gagné and Tewksbury 1998, Kosenko et al. 2013). They are devalued and face social exclusion in many aspects of their lives, including the marketplace. In this research, we explore transgender consumers’ experiences in the market by addressing the following research questions: (1) How does the market marginalize transgender consumers? (2) How do these individuals cope with this marginalization?

Transgender is “an umbrella term for people whose gender identity differs from . . . the sex they were assigned at birth” (GLAAD 2013, 1). We conducted 24 depth interviews with informants having a wide range of gender identities. For the purposes of this research, we focus on those who identify as the opposite gender from what they were assigned at birth. Respondents also constructed collages depicting their gender identity. The interviews generated more than 775 pages of text along with 24 collages. In analyzing the data, we searched for emergent themes while engaging in dialectical tacking (Strauss and Corbin 1998).

Our findings concerning how the market marginalizes transgender consumers echo Baker, Gentry, and Rittenburg (2005) who argue that consumers can experience powerlessness in multiple marketing contexts. Many of our informants perceived the market as unfriendly, and reported four major areas of marginalization: (1) products, (2) service, (3) retail space, and (4) advertising. In the product area, informants discuss having limited options. For example, transgender consumers often have difficulty finding clothing and shoes in appropriate sizes. Clothing is a significant factor in communicating gender, so limited product options can stifle consumers’ ability to express their identity. Service providers also play a key role in market experiences. Informants report that service providers have treated them poorly in the marketplace after realizing that they are transgender. For example, a store employee insisted that one informant try on clothing in a back room rather than the store’s dressing room. Others report salespeople making fun of them and in some cases calling them derogatory names. Informants also discuss how the retail space itself is uninviting and in some cases hostile, with accessing the correct gendered spaces safely (such as bathrooms and dressing rooms) being a constant struggle.

Lastly, media and advertising can marginalize transgender consumers. Advertising significantly contributes to the social construction of gender (Pollay 1986). Informants point out that these stereotypes are difficult to meet, making it even harder for them to be accepted as their true gender. The need to conform in order to have one’s gender read correctly has implications for discrimination, harassment, and personal safety. Therefore, some of these consumers can be extremely susceptible to marketing promises of fitting in and looking “right.”

Marketplace marginalization can leave transgender consumers feeling powerless and as if they do not belong. Informants often dis-

cuss being devalued and discriminated against. Related to Baker et al.'s (2005) regulating emotions, some informants report trying to use marginalizing episodes as teaching opportunities, especially with service providers. However, having to constantly do this is exhausting for many who do not want to have to always defend themselves. Often due to the marginalization, transgender consumers withdraw from the market. In some cases, this can be seen as a form of resistance. Similar to other findings, these consumers actively work to escape the restrictive and in some instances oppressive marketplace (e.g., Murray and Ozanne 1991, Firat and Venkatesh 1995, Kozinets 2002). They may band together to fulfill their consumption needs within the gender nonconforming community. It is important to note that these individuals are not just resisting the market because they find it exploitative or restricting in general; they are resisting at least in part because of the significant marginalizing practices.

Informants also use other adaptive strategies to cope with the marginalization. Some transgender consumers engage in stealth shopping. For example, several informants discuss shopping for clothing around Halloween when an individual perceived as male can buy women's clothing (or vice versa) without fear of stigmatization as it could be a costume. What is generally seen as a gender transgression becomes legitimated by society. Informants discuss the immense relief to be able to purchase items without the cloud of stigmatization over them during this temporary window of time. Many also make purchases online for access to a wider range of sizes and to limit market interaction where they are constantly misgendered. While the Internet may provide a safe place, it also further isolates these consumers from the bricks and mortar marketplace and increases feelings of disenfranchisement and dissatisfaction. These negative feelings and responses to the marketplace can also increase feelings of marginalization.

Transgender consumers' negative responses seem especially regrettable given that in many cases the issues that these consumers encounter in the market do not have to be there. They are, rather, a result of relatively unthinking and unquestioned habits and assumptions. Currently, the market is starting to manifest shifts toward gender-free spaces and products that respond in a more thoughtful manner. Ultimately, transgender consumers ask marketers to think, question, and change the marketplace in ways that are more inclusive and will benefit all consumers.

Ban the Word Feminist? Control and Subversion of Stigma in Social Movements and Consumer Culture

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The feminist label, with its contested meanings (Bennett 2014; McRobbie 2008), has long carried a stigma that is deployed to discredit (Goffman 1963) those identified as feminists and the underlying tenets of feminist movements (Lind and Salo 2002; Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012). In a 2014 poll, *Time* magazine proposed a ban on the word "feminist," arguing it had become a celebrity buzzword. With help from online anti-feminist campaigns, "feminist" was winning (Merlan 2014). This example evokes enduring discourses surrounding the "feminist" stigma. For years, high-profile women from entertainers Madonna, Beyonce, and Taylor Swift to Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, despite supporting gender equality, would not "cop to the F-bomb" (McDonough 2013). Yet some of these same women—Beyonce and Taylor Swift to name two—have recently labeled themselves feminist (Bennett 2014; Thomas 2014), a move some have argued legitimizes feminism for the masses (Bennett 2014). These discourses are further reflected in consumer culture and marketing. A recent *Ad Age* article argues social media has

facilitated change, and marketers "now subject to the social media jury" are "challenging cultural norms and notions about how we talk about—and to—women" (Zmuda and Diaz 2014). Yet despite recent attention to empowerment marketing, go-girl marketing, and femvertising (Davidson 2015), "marketers are being careful not to label themselves or their marketing messages as feminist" (Zmuda and Diaz 2014). In this way, possibilities have opened up for conversations about feminism, yet "feminism" as a label may be restricted in discourses and representations in marketing.

Drawing from Kozinets's (2010, p. 39) argument that "online communities change the way that people seek to change their world," we examine transition in discourses on feminism through communicative acts that consumers perform online. In the context of social media, which has been touted as a democratizing force, and stigmatization, which involves power and dis/empowerment (Sandikci and Ger 2010; Kozinets 2001), we examine stigmatization and subversion in communicative acts surrounding discourses of feminism. We ask: To what extent do different forms of legitimacy influence evolving access to feminist discourses and representations online? What is the nature of discourses and representations evident in these communicative acts?

Following Kozinets's (2010) recommendations on netnographic analysis, we examine two sets of online conversations, both emerging feminist discourses. One is in the context of American socio-political events and the other in the context of a brand. The Twitter movement #YesAllWomen initially sought to bring attention to violence against women in response to the May 23, 2014 killing spree by a young man near the University of California Santa Barbara campus. Before killing himself, the shooter posted a YouTube video discussing his hatred towards women who rejected him, among other things. #YesAllWomen morphed into a larger movement seeking to highlight the ubiquitous sexism that all women face in their daily lives and in part to counter #NotAllMen ("not all men are like that"). Within five days, there were one million tweets using #YesAllWomen. We collected over 750 tweets using the hashtags #YesAllWomen and #NotAllMen in the days following the California shootings, which feminist voices such as Rebecca Solnit (2014), activist and contributing editor at *Harper's Magazine*, called a "watershed moment in the history of feminism."

In June 2014, the brand Always launched their Like a Girl campaign. The brand sought to tackle negative connotations surrounding the phrase "like a girl" (e.g., throwing like a girl), while also utilizing the hashtag #likeagirl. Their agency Leo Burnett later placed the ad during Super Bowl 2015, where it garnered significant media attention. We collected more than 2,300 tweets during the first five days of the launch of the original campaign and immediately following Super Bowl spot. Additionally, we collected more than 800 tweets using the hashtag #likeaboy. #likeaboy emerged online shortly after the Super Bowl and was reported to be a response by some men who found #likeagirl to be "exclusionary and sexist" (Chittal 2014), reminiscent of arguments stigmatizing feminists as "man-haters" (Cavanagh 2014).

Our initial analysis of both sets of data reveals the emergence of online voices who employ stigmas as a way to control and divert the conversation, a tacit others claim (e.g., Zimmerman 2014) that is a common response to feminist arguments. With regard to institutional forces, while substantial legal measures regulate various levels of marketplace participation for women in some areas of the world (e.g., Coleman 2012), cultural-cognitive and normative forces are utilized to regulate feminist dialogue in both the socio-political events surrounding #YesAllWomen and Always's branding campaign with #likeagirl. Yet we find that attempts to participate, and

to some extent control, discourse go both ways. Where #likeaboy was used to control the conversation of cultural gender norms, the #YesAllWomen movement was in part a response to the #NotAllMen discourses that position sexism as an individual issue, rather than a structural and institutional one. It is, in part, a collective effort (Scaraboto and Fischer 2010) in an emergent online conversation to subvert stigma. Our analysis of #likeagirl/#likeaboy considers previous critiques that the prevailing message of consumer culture is anti-feminist (McRobbie 2009), taking feminism “‘into account,’ while simultaneously dismissing it” (Myers 2013, p. 198). Thus, feminist language is given attention and simultaneously marginalized. Understanding stigmatization of and subversion through feminist discourses in the two online environments in this study is important for several reasons. Scholars note that media help fashion gender role norms (Jhally 1987). Moreover, emergence of social media has altered the manner in which people seek to change the world and how they serve as social agents of change (Kozinets 2010, p. 39). Exploring stigmatization and legitimization of feminist discourse merits attention, particularly for consumer researchers as feminism has received renewed attention (Shirk 2014) from the market and brands are embracing female empowerment discourses for the 21st century. Research should examine whether online social movements and brand discourses evoking variations of feminist themes (e.g. go-girl marketing, femvertising) affect substantial social change as individuals engage with them on social media.

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“Understanding Uncertainty: The Mechanisms Behind the Adaptive Nature of Decision-making Under Uncertainty”

Chairs: Vinod Venkatraman, Temple University, USA
Uma Karmarkar, Harvard Business School, USA

Paper #1: Development of an Individual Measure of Loss Aversion

John Payne, Duke University, USA
Suzanne Shu, University of California Los Angeles, USA
Elizabeth Webb, Columbia University, USA
Namika Sagara, Duke University, USA

Paper #2: Biases in Using Information to Evaluate Uncertain Financial Prospects

Uma Karmarkar, Harvard Business School, USA
Alexander Peysakhovich, Harvard University, USA

Paper #3: Overall Probability of Winning Heuristic in Decisions Under Uncertainty and Ambiguity

Vinod Venkatraman, Temple University, USA
Sangsuk Yoon, Temple University, USA
Khoi Vo, Temple University, USA

Paper #4: Updating Under Ambiguity: Insights from Neuroscience

Ming Hsu, University of California Berkeley, USA
Kenji Kobayashi, University of California Berkeley, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers face uncertainty in a wide range of choices that they encounter daily. Some of these reflect risks, in which people are well informed about the likelihoods of possible outcomes, though those outcomes are uncertain. Others involve ambiguity, in which people have little, or incomplete, information about a situation with uncertain outcomes. It is well known that consumers find many instances of such uncertainty and/or ambiguity aversive, making these decisions difficult and frustrating. This can lead to an array of biases, or even simply avoidance of important choices in uncertain realms. The papers in this session explore the mechanisms underlying uncertain decision-making, how they change with experience, and how they impact real (incentivized) choices. Specifically, we seek to address the following questions: (i) do simple measures of decisions under uncertainty like loss aversion predict real world decisions? (ii) how do consumers use information to reduce uncertainty across various situations, and (iii) how they might learn from their experiences to improve the quality of decisions.

The first paper from Payne and colleagues explores loss aversion as a key construct that predicts how individuals react to uncertainty. They show that a simple measure of loss aversion reliably predicts consumer financial preferences for retirement savings investments, Social Security claiming, and life annuity preferences. In the second paper, Karmarkar and Peysakhovich examine how people incorporate partial or incomplete information as it is added in uncertain situations, depending on its valence. Though loss aversion might suggest that individuals give more weight to unfavorable information, they find that people appear to overweight favorable information when estimating the worth of uncertain financial prospects. Notably, this net behavioral effect arises from a complex set of mechanisms involving how information impacts *feelings* of certainty.

While adding information can be seen as one type of “updating”, Venkatraman and colleagues demonstrate the adaptive nature of decision-making across decision contexts using eye-tracking. They

show that the decision-making strategies are consistent even for decisions under ambiguity, where individuals have to learn the underlying probabilities through experience. In the final paper, Hsu and colleagues take a neural perspective on adaptive types of changes, also focusing on how people behave in dynamic situations where ambiguity can be reduced over time. Using fMRI, they show that the updating process involves more cognitive regions unlike traditional decisions under ambiguity, which have been associated with more emotional processing.

This session will appeal to researchers interested in motivation, goals, situation/context effects, and self-control as well as risk and uncertainty. In accordance with the “Advancing Connections” conference theme, these papers bring together data from a wealth of methodologies including laboratory experiments, eye-tracking, large-scale field surveys, and neuroimaging to better understand the processes involved in decision-making in uncertain situations and the dynamics of how these processes develop and change with experience over time. As such, these findings have important implications for designing choice architecture in used in marketing and public policy. They additionally speak to issues regarding the welfare of individual consumers, particularly in the realm of consumer financial decision-making.

Development of an Individual Measure of Loss Aversion

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many of the complex, and difficult, consumer financial decisions we face such as choices for mortgages, health insurance, and when to collect Social Security benefits involve options that have multiple “mixed” outcomes in the sense that there is both risk of loss and opportunity for gain. A key concept in explaining such decisions is loss aversion. Kahneman (2011) defines loss aversion in terms of the direct comparison of gains with losses - the idea that “losses loom larger than gains” - and makes it clear that individuals will differ in their loss aversion. For marketers of financial services, or public policy experts who may wish to nudge individuals’ risky decisions, having a simple and easy to use individual loss aversion measure is useful for customizing their advice.

Given the importance of loss aversion in explaining behaviors, several approaches for measuring it at the individual level have been developed. Most of the approaches assume an underlying model of decisions under risk (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), and use simple 50:50 two-outcome gambles. While sophisticated model-based estimation techniques have much to recommend them, we offer an alternative approach that is model-free and based on choices made between slightly more complex mixed three-outcome gambles. In particular, our loss aversion measure is based on ideas presented in Brooks and Zank (2005). They offer several reasons for adopting a more model free approach to measuring loss aversion, including the avoidance of 50:50 gambles; we also note that a choice between two options differing on two dimensions of value (gain versus loss) evokes more System 2 thinking (Kahneman, 2011). Many important “real-world” consumer decisions under risk involve more than simple two-outcome gambles.

To obtain a precise measure of individual differences in degrees of loss aversion we present participants with a series of gamble

choices. Participants are asked at each step to choose between two mixed three-outcome gambles, A and B. Each gamble has one positive outcome at 45% chance, a zero outcome at 10% chance, and one negative outcome at 45% chance. We find, for example, that most respondents (often above 70%) express some degree of loss aversion by preferring a loss averse (LA) gamble (\$400, .45; \$0, .10; -\$400, .45) to a matched gain seeking (GS) gamble (\$600, .45; \$0, .10; -\$600, .45). Building on this base gamble, we go beyond prior literature and systematically change the amounts to be gained (or lost) for either A or B in each pair. The different pairs of gambles with different levels of gain vs. loss tradeoffs are presented to the respondents in random order. The ultimate result is that this series of simple paired comparison choices yields an overall measure of loss aversion per participant.

We report on the results of a meta-analysis that tests this measure of loss aversion with over 7,000 participants from online studies with national survey panel companies. All of the results presented are for respondents whose choices satisfy first-order stochastic dominance. We focus on four main questions: (1) whether the individual measures of loss aversion collected from participants match the typical overall distribution of loss aversion found in other studies; (2) how individual loss aversion measures correlate with other individual differences such as gender, age, and time preferences; (3) whether these measures are predictive of other behaviors and choices, especially within the realm of consumer financial decision-making; and (4) the predictive power of our loss aversion measure relative to traditional measures of risk taking.

To summarize our results, we find that the overall pattern of loss aversion scores we collected is consistent with the results found in other studies. We check robustness by testing the measure with different probability values; the similarity in responses across different probability amounts suggests that respondents are focusing on comparisons between gain and loss amounts and not simply expected value differences. Next, we find that other individual differences are correlated with our loss aversion measure in meaningful ways, such as females indicating higher loss aversion. More importantly, we find that this choice-based loss aversion measure is highly predictive of a range of expressed preferences for financial decisions. For example, we consistently find that higher levels of loss aversion predict individuals' preference for claiming Social Security benefits early. We also find that loss aversion is predictive of decisions about retirement savings, life annuities, and investment preferences, such choices between bond and stock funds.

Lastly, we have studied the predictive power of our loss aversion measure against other traditional measures of risk taking. In an online study with 99 participants, we tested risk likelihood and risk perception for a series of gambles under different choice brackets (narrow, broad) and gamble types (positive EV mixed, negative EV mixed, and strictly negative). We then collected individual measures of loss aversion via our nine-point scale, loss aversion using the DEEP measure (Toubia et al 2013), subjective risk aversion, and a measure of risk aversion from the economics literature (Kapteyn & Teppa 2011). We find that our loss aversion measure is significantly positively correlated with the DEEP loss aversion measure ($r=.35$, $p<.05$). On the other hand, it is not significantly correlated with either subjective risk aversion ($r=-.04$) or economic risk aversion ($r=-.20$) measures, suggesting that loss aversion is capturing a different construct from risk aversion. Importantly, our loss aversion measure has a significant negative effect on choosing to gamble ($B = -0.07$, $p = 0.03$) across all gamble choices, even after controlling for risk perception (the greatest predictor of risk-taking in the extant literature). This finding suggests that our loss aversion measure has predictive

value over and above what risk perception captures; specifically, it suggests that loss aversion measures aspects of risk-taking preference that are not completely captured by subjective beliefs about the level of risk in a financial gamble. Many financial services firms currently employ generic risk perception questions when working with new clients; this new loss aversion measure offers them the ability to gather individual information that is more predictive of actual financial choices.

Biases in Using Information to Evaluate Uncertain Financial Prospects

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consider a trader contemplating the value of a stock, or an individual choosing where to invest a windfall. Often they have *some* relevant favorable and unfavorable information, but their overall knowledge is incomplete. Unlike risky situations, in which the likelihood of a good vs. bad outcome is known, ambiguous situations like these arise from uncertainty about outcome probabilities (e.g. Ellsberg 1961). Since people are disproportionately averse to losses and negatives in general (e.g. Kahneman and Tversky 1979; Baumeister et al. 2001; Rozin and Royzman 2001) one might predict that a decision-maker would overweight unfavorable information. Instead, across a series of experiments, we show that favorable information is "overweighted" when determining the value of uncertain financial prospects. We find that this bias is driven by the interaction of multiple mechanisms.

In our first study, individuals indicated their willingness-to-pay (WTP) for gambles where one poker chip was randomly drawn from a bag of 100 red and blue chips. Participants read the following: "This bag contains at least X red chips and at least Y blue chips," and learned that a red chip resulted in a monetary payout, and a blue chip had no payout. Thus X represented the amount of favorable information available while Y represented the amount of unfavorable information, and both could be varied independently ($X=\{0, 25, 50\}$; $Y=\{0, 25, 50\}$). Regression analyses demonstrated that unfavorable information had much less impact on WTP than favorable information (absolute magnitude=5% of favorable, test for equality of regression coefficients $p<.01$.) This bias persisted when tested in the domain of losses, that is, even when unfavorable information signaled a distinct monetary loss as opposed to merely absence of a win.

In such "constrained" ambiguity experiments, participants were aware of the limited total number of chips (and thus the total amount of information possibly available). Addressing this, we tested WTP for gambles with more subjectively interpretable, or "unconstrained" situations based on trivia questions. Participants continued to overweight favorable information and even overclassify information as being favorable towards their desired outcome.

Though these findings suggest a bias arising (only) from engagement with favorable information, we hypothesized a second mechanism based on individuals' aversion to feelings of ignorance and ambiguity (e.g. Fox and Tversky 1995). We considered that information can be used both to estimate the probability of winning, and to reduce the uncertainty felt about those estimates. We conducted a study in which participants indicated their WTP, their estimate of the likelihood that a red or blue chip would be drawn, and their certainty in that estimate. This multi-trial, incentive compatible experiment replicated the net bias in WTP. From a mechanistic standpoint, we found that that favorable information increased perceived likelihood of winning, and unfavorable information appropriately decreased it. However, favorable *and* unfavorable information significantly increased felt certainty. And in turn, both likelihood and

certainty variables explained a significant amount of the positive effect of information on WTP. Put another way, we show that people will pay more when they feel more certain, even when that certainty comes from negative information.

Thus we find a complex set of mechanisms driving biases in how favorable and unfavorable information is used to estimate value and make decisions. In financial situations, though unfavorable information decreases the estimated likelihood of a desired outcome, it also increases felt certainty about this estimate. These elements act in opposition, minimizing the effects of unfavorable information, and deepening the asymmetry in information processing. This multi-mechanism framework is supported by preliminary fMRI data showing that valenced information is represented in different ways across multiple neural loci when individuals are making incentive-compatible decisions under uncertainty.

Our findings demonstrate a real and robust role for subjective, or felt certainty in these types of financial decisions. While increasing easily interpretable information can increase certainty in the financial domain, it has been shown to have more complex effects when the information is more complex (Hadar, Sood and Fox, 2013) or when people are choosing romantic partners (Norton, Frost and Ariely, 2007). We discuss how our insights about certainty relate to these findings, and can be extended across various choice domains.

Overall Probability of Winning Heuristic in Decisions Under Uncertainty and Ambiguity

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Over the past few decades, there has been considerable debate about the role of inherent preferences that are stable and time-invariant versus constructed preferences, which are influenced by the context and cognitive resources. Several studies in behavioral economics, consumer behavior, and judgment and decision-making have shown that people adaptively make judgments and decisions depending on different descriptions and procedures of given tasks or choice options (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986), which seem to support the preference construction framework. However, those adaptive behaviors have been studied mostly with risky decision-making tasks where outcomes and probabilities are known, but relatively less has been investigated under ambiguity where the outcomes and/or probabilities are unknown (Fox & Hadar, 2006; Knight, 1921). Here, we explore further the adaptive nature of preferences under uncertainty and ambiguity by two different decision-making paradigms across three studies (Hertwig, Barron, Weber, & Erev, 2004; Ludvig & Spetch, 2011).

We report findings from three independent studies. All studies were approved by Temple University IRB, and participants received course credit in exchange for their participation. In study 1, 29 participants completed a series of risky-choice problems involving mixed gambles (Venkatraman et al., 2014), while seated in front of a Tobii T60XL eye tracking system. In each trial, three gambles were presented in the form of a 4x4 grid, with the columns rank-ordered from the highest gain to greatest losses. The probabilities occupied the top row. Each gamble consisted of three outcomes (one gain, one loss and one intermediate), each with its own probability. One alternative was associated with the highest gain outcome (Gain maximizing or Gmax), one alternative was associated with the lowest loss outcome (loss minimizing or Lmin) and the third alternative was associated with superior value for the intermediate outcome. Trials were classified as either OP (overall probability) available or OP unavailable. In the OP available trials, the intermediate alternative was associated with a greater overall probability of winning (Pwin) compared to the

other alternatives. In the OP unavailable trials, there was no change in overall probability of winning across all alternatives.

A total of 30 additional participants completed a follow-up Study 2. Here, we varied the presentation formats (fixed, random), such that the columns were no longer rank-ordered in some trials. Therefore, most common attribute-based decision-making strategies (e.g., lexicographic, take the best) were unavailable on certain trials. In Study 3, a total of 47 participants ($M = 21.75$, $SD = 2.98$; $Male = 16$) completed a similar risky-choice task with mixed gambles. However, no probability information was presented for each of the gambles and participants had to learn this information by repeatedly sampling the outcomes from each of the gambles (Camilleri & Newell, 2013; Hertwig et al., 2004). Three boxes (corresponding to the three gamble alternatives) were presented on the computer screen. Participants could sample one gamble at a time by pressing the corresponding button, and a randomly chosen outcome (based on the underlying probabilities) from that gamble was revealed within that box for 500ms. They could sample each gamble as many times as they wanted without any restriction in the sampling order. When participants felt that they had sufficient information to make their decision, they could indicate their choice. In all studies, we were primarily interested in the relative preference for the overall probability of winning option (Venkatraman et al., 2014).

In Study 1, participants showed a strong preference for the intermediate outcome only when it changed the overall probability of winning (53%), but not in the OP unavailable trials (34%). In Study 2, we replicated the findings from Study 1 with participants showing a strong preference for Pwin choices in OP available trials. Crucially, we also found a strong effect of presentation format. In trials where the information was presented in a randomized format, the preference for Pwin choices increased (64%) for OP available trials. Strikingly, the introduction of random trials lead to systematic changes in decision-making strategies as indexed by eye-tracking measures, even for fixed trials when compared to similar trials from Study 1. In Study 3 for decisions under ambiguity, initial analysis indicated that participants showed a reduced preference for Pwin choices when information had to be learned through sampling unlike Studies 1 and 2, but these preferences still adapted with trial types. We next investigated whether the effects could have been masked by the actual samples experienced. We used a conditional logistic regression to determine the effects of predefined overall probability of winning (set-OP) and experienced overall probability of winning (exp-OP) on choice. The result showed that set-OP negatively influenced the choice of an option ($b = -0.39$, $SE = 0.12$, $p = .001$, $e^b = 0.67$), while exp-OP positively influenced the choice of option ($b = 0.99$, $SE = 0.14$, $p < .001$, $e^b = 2.69$), and the effect of exp-OP was significantly greater than the effect of set-OP ($e^b = 0.25$, $SE = 0.06$, $z = -5.70$, $p < .001$). These findings suggest that participants demonstrate a bias for the overall probability of winning even when making decisions under ambiguity.

We show that both preferences and decision-making strategies are systematically influenced by format in which information is presented, consistent with the notion of constructed preferences. Crucially, we extend the recent developments from the decisions-from-experience paradigm for risky choice to show that such adaptivity may also extend to decisions under ambiguity - situations where the probabilities are unknown and need to be learned from experience, but only if information about learning is integrated into the models.

Updating Under Ambiguity: Insights From Neuroscience

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Some of the most important decisions consumers make involve ambiguity where probabilities of potential outcomes are unknown or partially known. Empirically, behavioral experiments have repeatedly shown that in gambling decisions most participants are averse to ambiguous bets involving unknown probabilities, e.g., an urn containing 100 balls with unknown proportions of red and black, compared to risky bets with known probabilities, e.g., an urn containing 50 red balls and 50 black balls (Ellsberg 1961; Slovic and Tversky 1974; Sarin and Winkler 1992).

This aversion to ambiguity has important implications for a number of aspects of consumer decision-making, among others timing of purchase, brand choice (Muthukrishnan 1995). Scientifically, it has resulted in a rich literature on psychological antecedents to ambiguity (e.g., Curley, Yates, and Abrams 1986; Fox and Weber 2002; Trautmann, Vieider, and Wakker 2008). In particular, these studies have suggested the importance of emotional processes associated with consideration of ambiguous options, such as the fear of negative evaluation (FNE) by others (Curley et al. 1986; Trautmann et al. 2008).

More recently, these accounts have received support from neuroscientific studies that allow researchers to directly access psychological processes underlying behavior. In particular, consistent with accounts of bias resulting from emotional systems, these studies have implicated regions involved in emotion processing in decisions under ambiguity, in particular the amygdala and the lateral orbitofrontal cortex (Hsu et al. 2005; Levy et al. 2010).

In contrast, much less is known about how people behave in dynamic situations where ambiguity is reducible over time. Such an understanding is important for developing marketing strategies, such as those involving new brand and product introduction decisions. One possibility is that the same systems involved in choices under ambiguity are also involved in updating, such that updating, like choice, would be colored by emotional processes. An alternative account is that updating will engage analytical regions of the brain, such as frontoparietal circuits engaged in more sophisticated forms of Bayesian reasoning processes (Botvinick, Niv, and Barto 2009; Gläscher et al. 2010) in the form of a reward prediction error (RPE), and that the influence of emotional processes are restricted to choice.

To provide direct evidence of the constructive process behind updating of behavior in ambiguous settings, we conducted a functional neuroimaging study using a series of decisions involving the so-called Ellsberg's Three-Colored Urn problem. In the Three-Color Urn problem, an agent is presented with an urn containing some number balls of three possible colors—yellow, red, and green. Furthermore the agent knows about the exact number of balls in one color (referred to as the “risky color”), but not in the other two colors (“ambiguous colors”). For example, if the yellow ball is risky, it means the green and red are ambiguous. The agent wins some monetary prize if the drawn ball matches a pre-determined “winning” color, for example green. We next introduce updating to this decision problem in the form of an “observed draw”. A ball is randomly drawn from the urn, observed by the agents and returned back, before the gamble is resolved. Valuation for the urn both before and after the observed draw was elicited as willingness to pay to play the gamble (WTP).

A total of 20 participants made 90 decisions over a series of 12 different three-color urns while undergoing functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). Behaviorally, we first examined how participants updated WTP under three types of information condi-

tions in our experiment: (i) “good news” in cases where the observed draw was an ambiguous ball matching the winning color, thereby improving one’s likelihood of winning, (ii) “bad news” where the observed draw was an ambiguous ball that did not match the winning color, therefore lowering one’s likelihood of winning, and (iii) “no news” where the draw was a risky ball. We found that the direction of WTP changes overwhelmingly conformed to prediction (chi-square test of independence, $\chi^2(4) = 1493.4, p < 10^{-10}$), such that WTP values changed positively (negatively) under good (bad) news, and did not change when there was no news.

Next, we investigated how the brain responded to these different types of information. Specifically, we sought to characterize brain regions that responded to (i) updating of information of urn contents and (ii) updating of the value of the urns. We found that a set of frontoparietal regions responded to updating of information of urn contents, in particular bilateral dorsolateral prefrontal cortex and intraparietal sulcus ($p < 0.001$). In contrast, we found that the updating of urn value was correlated with brain activity in the ventromedial prefrontal cortex.

Compared to previous findings involving choice under ambiguity, these results provide striking contrast in the dissociations observed between these processes. That is, unlike *choice* under ambiguity which engages brain regions known to subservise emotion-related processes, *updating* under ambiguity engages an entirely different set of frontoparietal systems thought to subservise sophisticated reasoning processes (Daw et al. 2011). This has potential implications for marketing strategies involving new brand and product introduction decisions. It suggests that although initial introduction are likely to be met with emotion-related ambiguity-averse responses that suppress demand for new brands and products, they may be mitigated by the use of more reason-based strategies in subsequent interactions that allows consumers to overcome the initial aversion. Future studies are needed to assess whether this also holds for real products.

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Inconsistent Preferences Under Risk

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Paper #1: Contextual Gambles Bias Odds in Sports Betting Markets

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Paper #2: When and Why Do Consumers Devalue Risky Prospects?

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Paper #3: Malleability of Revealed Risk Preferences

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Paper #4: Less Likely Outcomes are Valued Less

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SESSION OVERVIEW

The tenet that preferences are constructed underlies much of consumer behavior research and marketing practice. Consumer preferences for goods and services can be influenced through advertising, the choice context, the way preferences are elicited, etc. Consumer preferences for risk, in contrast, are typically treated as consistent. Consumers are either assumed to be risk-averse or to follow the fourfold pattern of risk aversion suggested by prospect theory (Tversky & Wakker 1995). Neither risk preference pattern, however, can account for some consumers actively seeking risk in some domains (e.g., recreation, gambling, finance) and at the same time avoiding risks of similar magnitude and consequences in other domains (health, safety, social; cf., Weber, Blais & Betz 2002; Blais & Weber 2006). The proposed session provides evidence that revealed risk preferences—like preferences for goods and services—are malleable, and hence inconsistent (as has been argued by Loewenstein et al. 2001). Three papers demonstrate inconsistent risk preferences, and the fourth paper shows a novel instance of inconsistent preferences under risk.

The first paper by Meyer, Hundtofte, and Frederick demonstrates that risk preferences are context dependent. Using historical odds from multiple sports betting markets, the authors show that independent gambles within a reference class, for example two bets involving a heavy and a slight underdog, are perceived as too similar. As a result, market betting returns are biased such that returns of bets on heavy (slight) underdogs are too low (high). The second and third paper show that consumers can be risk-seeking and risk-averse for the same risky prospect. Moon and Nelson demonstrate that participants are willing to pay less for a risky prospect than for its worst outcome (i.e., the uncertainty effect, Gneezy, List & Wu 2006), but at the same time expect to enjoy the risky prospect as much as its best outcome, a pattern consistent with risk seeking. Vosgerau and Peer show that consumers are willing to pay (WTP) and ask to be paid (WTA) to take on the same risk. Such opposing revealed risk preferences are shown for hypothetical and real gambles, and when WTP and WTA are manipulated within-subjects and are elicited incentive-compatible. The fourth paper by Paolacci and Vosgerau shows that probability of occurrence not only affects consumers' valuation of a risky prospect, but also the valuation of the prospect's outcomes.

Less likely outcomes are valued less, leading to preference reversals when valuing risky and riskless outcomes.

Together, the four papers demonstrate new conditions under which risk preferences and preferences under risk are inconsistent. Risk preferences are influenced by the context (Meyer et al.), and consumers can be risk-seeking and risk-averse for the same risky prospects (Moon & Nelson, Vosgerau & Peer). Finally, risk not only affects valuations of risky prospects but also valuations of their constituent outcomes (Paolacci & Vosgerau). The findings deepen our understanding of how consumers evaluate risk, and may contribute to designing new interventions in marketing and public policy aimed at influencing how consumers evaluate health, environmental, and financial risks.

Contextual Gambles Bias Odds in Sports Betting Markets

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We examine historical odds on sporting events in multiple markets and find that the valuations of independent gambles within a reference class are too similar to one another. We argue that this compression of odds within a reference class reflects an effect of irrelevant context on gambler choice: comparisons to the returns of other similar and salient gambles make a particular gamble seem more or less appealing.

We presented participants with two independent sporting events and asked them to place a hypothetical bet on each. For each event, participants chose whether to bet on the “favorite” or on the “underdog.” The odds on the second event were fixed across conditions while the odds on the first event varied by experimental condition.

Participants were more likely to bet on the favorite in competition 2 when the favorite in competition 1 offered a \$110 return than when the favorite in competition 1 offered a \$170 return. We assume that the “favorite” and “underdog” column headers in the experimental materials created two “reference classes” within-which participants judged the appropriate returns for members of the class; \$130 seems like a good return for a favorite when compared to \$110, but a bad return for a favorite when compared to \$170.

Sports betting markets are an ideal real-world context in which to document this effect on actual consumer choices. If actual gamblers were influenced by contextual gambles in the way that our experimental participants were, demand for a bet would increase when it was presented alongside similar bets offering lower returns, and decrease when it was presented alongside similar bets offering higher returns. In response, bookmakers would lower potential returns when a bet was presented alongside similar bets offering lower returns, and raise potential returns when a bet was presented alongside similar bets offering higher returns. Within a reference class, these adjustments would cause high return bets not to be high enough, and low return bets not to be low enough. All returns within the reference class would be slightly compressed toward the center of the class. The actual rates of outcomes provide fundamental values against which to measure this pricing bias, and the dates on which competitions take place allow us to create a proxy for the reference point.

In addition to laboratory demonstrations of the context effect, we examine two historical datasets of market closing odds: one on 3,597 Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) fights scheduled to take place

from June of 2007 to February of 2013, and one on 94,221 European soccer games scheduled to take place from June of 2000 to January of 2013. In the MMA dataset, notational differences between the presentation of favorite and underdog odds suggest comparisons within those types of bets. In the Soccer dataset, the layout of the betting card suggests three types: home team, away team, and draw. In both cases, we assume that bettors compare odds to bets of the same type from the previous week. This proxies for the reference class. We then take the median odds within the reference class to proxy for the reference point.

Consistent with the bookmaker's best response to the experimentally observed bias, we find that within a reference class, high return bets are particularly unprofitable for the bettor, and low return bets are more profitable than they should be. Incorporating our class compression framework into a simple out-of-sample test of a betting strategy can lead to positive returns approaching 5% per bet placed. Our estimates are robust to controls for the well-known longshot bias, in which high return bets are particularly unprofitable without respect to reference class (see Griffith, 1949; Snowberg & Wolfers, 2011).

In addition to the primary compression, our causal hypothesis makes a number of secondary predictions. Compression toward bets likely to have been presented to bettors within the same time period should be greater than compression toward a historical class midpoint, and compression toward the odds on past gambles should be greater than compression toward future gambles. We find support for both. Further, compression should be greater when the reference class is clearer. For example, in Soccer, we follow the layout of the betting card to assume win-bet reference classes of Home and Away. But some bettors may instead (or also) be comparing favorites to favorites and away teams to away teams. Because these two comparisons sometimes predict cancelling biases, we should find smaller estimates of compression for these win bets than for bets to draw, where there is only one reasonable reference set: other bets to draw. We find this as well.

The prices that we observe are set by a bookmaker. But we assume that the observed pricing bias reflects a response to a bias in bettor choice, rather than a biased bookmaker himself. In the MMA dataset, we observe market opening prices before bettor demand can influence price. We find no evidence of compression there, suggesting that bettor demand is necessary to create the bias. Further, we directly observe compression over the course of the market: mean absolute distance from the assumed reference point falls by over 17% from market open to market close.

We follow up with more laboratory experiments, showing that the bias on gambler choice can be easily moderated by slight changes to the experimental materials. Two simple changes each halve the effect of the referent: presenting the referent return in different units than the focal return, and employing different syntax to describe the referent gamble than to describe the focal gamble.

In conclusion, we demonstrate that sport market betting odds are biased by simple context effects. Bookmakers respond to the effect of context on betting volumes, which leads to biased returns in the market place.

When and Why Do Consumers Devalue Risky Prospects?

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In 2006, Gneezy, List, and Wu discovered a perplexing phenomenon they called the "uncertainty effect" (UE): people valued lotteries less than their worst possible outcomes. In particular, participants were asked to report their willingness-to-pay (WTP) for ei-

ther: (1) a \$50 Barnes & Noble (B&N) gift certificate, or (2) a lottery ticket that would for sure provide them with a reward of a \$50 B&N gift certificate or a \$100 B&N gift certificate with equal probability. Participants were WTP around \$38 on average for the \$50 gift certificate, but surprisingly, they were only WTP around \$28 for the lottery between the \$50 and the \$100 gift certificates. This effect held in both hypothetical and real-stakes scenarios, with other goods (e.g., a field experiment with baseball trading cards) and notably, using other elicitation methods (i.e., choice between the prospect and \$25 in cash).

Why does the UE occur? Although Gneezy et al. (2006) hypothesized that the effect is due to risk aversion, a plethora of other explanations have been tested and ruled out, such as: (1) disappointment aversion (Newman & Mochoch, 2012), (2) joint evaluations in the lottery versus separate evaluations in the certain conditions (Simonsohn, 2009), and (3) misunderstanding of instructions (Simonsohn, 2009; Rydval et al., 2009; Keren & Willemsen, 2009). Therefore, despite numerous alternative explanations that have been proposed for the UE, without clear-cut opposing evidence, the default explanation is that of "direct risk aversion" (coined by Simonsohn [2009]). Specifically, people simply dislike uncertainty which leads them to devalue risky prospects.

Seemingly contrary to this explanation, Yang, Vosgerau, and Loewenstein (2013) found that when the uncertain prospects were framed as uncertain gift cards, people were WTP just as much for the uncertain prospect as the lowest possible outcome. Furthermore, they found that this framing influenced WTP but not willingness-to-accept (WTA). Yang et al. (2013) proposed that the UE was explained by an aversion to bad deals, which led buyers to be more sensitive to cues of risk (e.g., lottery rather than gift card) than sellers. Though this explanation is not entirely incompatible with the direct risk aversion explanation, it provides another explanation as to why the UE may occur.

In several studies, we provided more direct tests of both the direct risk aversion and the bad deal aversion accounts of the UE. To test the direct risk aversion account, Studies 1A, 1B, and 2 examined how uncertainty influenced expected enjoyment. To test the bad deal aversion account, Study 3 examined whether eliminating the bad deal aspect of a risky prospect would also eliminate the UE.

Study 1A. 201 undergraduates watched trailers for two upcoming movies and ranked them. After being randomly assigned to one of two conditions: Certain (told which movie they would watch) or Uncertain (not yet told which movie they would watch), participants rated their expected enjoyment of the movie.

Inconsistent with the UE, Uncertain participants expected to enjoy the movie ($M=4.83$, $SD=1.29$) as much as those who were told that they would watch the movie they ranked higher ($M=5.18$, $SD=1.32$; $t(154)=1.61$; $p=.11$), and significantly more than those who were told that they would be watching the movie they ranked lower ($M=3.78$, $SD=1.54$; $t(144)=4.30$, $p<.001$).

Study 1B. Using a similar procedure as Study 1A, Study 1B replicated the UE with WTP using these stimuli ($N=156$).

Study 2. 303 MTurk participants completed an online study using a 3 (Certainty: Certain – Match vs. Certain – Mismatch vs. Uncertain) x 2 (DV: Enjoy vs. WTP) between-subjects design. After watching trailers for two movies and ranking them, participants were randomly assigned to one of three certainty conditions: Certain - Match (asked about movie they liked), Certain - Mismatch (asked about movie they did not like), or Uncertain (asked about a lottery between the two). Participants either reported their expected enjoyment or WTP.

Replicating Study 1A, Uncertain participants expected to enjoy the movie ($M=5.78$, $SD=1.15$) just as much as Certain - Match

participants ($M=5.79$, $SD=1.14$, $t(105)=.05$, $p=.96$, and significantly more than Certain – Mismatch participants ($M=3.74$, $SD=1.68$; $t(92)=6.95$, $p<.001$ and $t(97)=7.22$, $p<.001$, respectively).

Replicating the UE, Uncertain participants were WTP less ($M=\$2.25$, $SD=\$2.10$) than Certain – Mismatch participants ($M=\$5.48$, $SD=\$2.98$; $t(107)=6.26$, $p<.001$).

Study 3. 203 MTurk participants completed an online study using a 2 (Certainty: Certain vs. Uncertain) x 2 (Refundable: Non-Refundable vs. Refundable) between-subjects design. The Non-Refundable conditions were the same as those of the original UE. The Refundable conditions stated that there was a 30-day return policy; for the Uncertain Refundable condition, the return policy allowed the consumer to return the lottery ticket *even after* finding out the outcome. This should considerably reduce the worry of paying for a bad deal. Participants first stated their WTP for the prospect, then they rated how worried they were about the prospect being a bad deal on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = Not At All, 7 = Extremely).

For ratings of bad deal, there was a significant interaction effect, $F(1, 199)=6.65$, $p=.01$. There was no effect of refundability for the Certain conditions; however, there was an effect for the Uncertain conditions: the lottery was deemed less of a bad deal when it was refundable ($M=2.59$, $SD=1.56$) than when it was not ($M=3.84$, $SD=2.08$).

For WTP, there was only a main effect of Certainty, such that participants in the Uncertain condition were WTP significantly less ($M=\$40.80$, $SD=\$10.35$) than participants in the Certain condition ($M=\$29.33$, $SD=\$21.77$), $F(1, 199)=22.8$, $p<.001$. Even when the lottery was less of a bad deal, people were not WTP as much as the worst possible outcome.

Across several studies, we tested two different accounts of the UE. Studies 1A, 1B, and 2 demonstrated that though people are less WTP for risky prospects, they expect to enjoy the same risky prospects, which provides evidence that consumers may not dislike uncertainty. Study 3 found that even when uncertain prospects are not “bad deals,” people still exhibit the UE. Taken together, these studies suggest that another explanation for the UE is needed. We offer some alternative accounts based on our studies.

Malleability of Revealed Risk Preferences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

All theories of decision making under risk presume (revealed) risk preferences to be stable such that for identical risky prospects, people are either risk seeking or risk averse. Classical expected utility models, for example, assume general risk aversion expressed by the diminishing marginal utility of wealth (Rabin 2000). In prospect theory, a four-fold pattern of risk seeking/aversion emerges from the interplay of the subjective value and probability weighting functions (Tversky & Wakker 1995). In the perceived relative argument model (PRAM) by Loomes (2010), risk preferences are determined by the comparison of risky prospects' outcome and probability ratios.

Weber, Blais, and Betz (2002), however, suggest that people can be risk seeking in one domain (e.g., finance) and risk averse in another (e.g., social). We argue that risk preferences—like preferences for riskless prospects—are to a large extent constructed (cf., Ariely, Loewenstein, & Prelec 2006; Loewenstein et al. 2001), and may thus be inconsistent even within the same domain. In six experiments with hypothetical and real gambles, we show that people ask to be paid (WTA) and at the same time are willing to pay (WTP) to play the same gamble. All six experiments involved gambles with a 60% chance of winning \$X, and a 40% chance of losing \$X. Both the

stake X in the gamble and whether WTA or WTP were elicited was manipulated between- and within-subjects.

In Experiment 1 (N = 308, MTurk), participants indicated their WTA or WTP for two hypothetical gambles, where X = \$10 (small stake) or X = \$100 (large stake; WTA/WTP and stakes were manipulated btw-sbj.). For both small and large stake gambles, over 85% of participants asked to be paid (i.e., indicated a WTA > \$0), and over 68 % were willing to pay (i.e., indicated a WTP > \$0) to play the gambles. Thus, participants were more risk-averse in the WTA conditions (over 85% indicated WTA > \$0) than in the WTP conditions (only 32% indicated WTP = \$0; all $p < .001$), indicating that risk-preferences differed across WTA/WTP conditions. Such risk preference reversals were observed for both small and large stake gambles. Experiment 2 (N = 149, MTurk, hypothetical) replicated these findings with stakes manipulated within-participants.

Since the WTA/WTP measures are truncated at \$0 (i.e., any amount greater than \$0 is interpreted as evidence for a risk preference change), our results may not necessarily indicate true risk preference reversals but represent a demand effect or stem from participants' misunderstanding of the scales/instructions. We tested this possibility by a) manipulating WTA/WTP within-participants, b) playing gambles for real, and c) setting the WTA/WTP default to \$0 and reminding participants that they can set their WTA/WTP to \$0.

In experiment 3 (N = 485, MTurk, hypothetical), we manipulated WTA/WTP within-participants, thereby exposing participants to opposing experimental demands. Each participant indicated her WTA for the low stake and her WTP for the high stake gamble (same gambles as in experiment 1) or vice versa (order was counterbalanced). Again, the majority of participants asked to be paid (> 85%) and was willing to pay (> 70%) to play the gambles, demonstrating more risk-aversion in the WTA (over 85% indicated WTA > \$0) than the WTP conditions (only 30% indicated WTP = \$0; all p 's < .001). Furthermore, WTA and WTP correlated positively ($r = .49$, $p < .001$), the more participants asked to be paid to take on risk, the more they were also willing to pay to take on risk. Note that if risk preferences were based on a stable underlying construct, WTA and WTP should have correlated negatively.

In experiment 4 (N = 101) and 5 (N = 53), WTA/WTP (btw-sbj.) were elicited with the Becker, De Groot, and Marschak (1964) incentive-compatible procedure, and gambles were played out for real. In experiment 4, X = \$0.10 or X = \$1.00 (btw-sbj.), in experiment 5 X = \$7. In both experiments (and in all stake conditions), risk preferences reversed, participants were more risk averse in the WTA (over 85% set their WTA > \$0) than the WTP conditions (max 50% set their WTP = \$0; all p 's < .01).

Experiment 6 tested a boundary condition for the observed risk preference reversals. In the WTA conditions, WTA can be used to hedge against a potential loss. At the extreme of setting WTA = X (the stake in the gamble) the decision maker is completely insured against the possibility of losing X. As a consequence, WTA should increase proportionally to increases in X. The opposite holds for the WTP conditions, the higher WTP the more a decision maker hedges against a potential win, at the extreme setting WTP = X which ‘insures’ the decision maker completely against the possibility of winning X. Hence, as X increases WTP will not increase proportionally but quickly reach a maximum. To test this, in experiment 6 (N = 425, MTurk, hypothetical) WTA/WTP was manipulated between-subjects. To make sure participants understood that they can enter any amount including \$0, participants were presented with a scale ranging from \$0 to \$1000, with the scale pointer positioned at \$0 by default. In addition, participants were reminded that they could indicate \$0. The stake X was manipulated within-subjects at three lev-

els: \$10 vs. \$100 vs \$1000. Significant risk preference changes were again observed across the WTA/WTP conditions for all three levels of X (all $p < .001$). WTA increased almost linearly in X (X = \$10, $Median_{WTA} = \$10$; X = \$100, $Median_{WTA} = \$100$; X = \$1000, $Median_{WTA} = \$709$; nonparametric $p < .001$), whereas WTP increased much less in X (X = \$10, $Median_{WTP} = \$2$; X = \$100, $Median_{WTP} = \$9$; X = \$1000, $Median_{WTP} = \$14$; nonparametric $p < .001$). The results suggest that assessing consumers' WTA/WTP does not make losses/gains or winning/losing probabilities more salient, or trigger avoidance/approach motivation. Rather, the WTA/WTP manipulation appears to truly change revealed risk preferences, risk-averse consumers become risk-seeking.

Less Likely Outcomes are Valued Less

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A risk-neutral decision maker would—according to expected utility theory (Von Neumann & Morgenstern 1944)—value a 50% chance of obtaining a \$50 gift certificate at \$25. Both entities, probability and outcome, are assumed to be independent; the likelihood of occurrence does not depend on the desirability of the outcome, and the desirability of the outcome does not depend on the outcome's likelihood. More recent theories of decision making under risk have relaxed the first assumption (e.g., Quiggin 1982; Tversky & Kahneman 1992), and can hence accommodate wishful thinking-type of anomalies where desirability of outcomes increases the subjective likelihood of their occurrence (cf., Krizan & Windschitl 2007; Vosgerau 2010). Interestingly, the opposite possibility of probabilities influencing the desirability of outcomes—first proposed by McGuire (1960)—has received scant attention. In the only empirical investigation to date, Pyszczynski (1982) found participants being less attracted to a prize when it was uncertain whether they would obtain it.

In four studies, we tested whether the mere presence of uncertainty reduces outcome valuations. Specifically, we tested whether such devaluation is observed a) when valuations are elicited incentive-compatible, b) for high, moderate, and low probabilities, and c) for gains and losses. The latter manipulation allowed us to test two competing explanations for the devaluation of outcomes, anticipated disappointment and psychological distance.

In Study 1, participants (MTurk, N = 203, incentive-compatible) were informed that one participant would be selected at random and endowed with a \$50 bonus payment. Willingness to pay (WTP) for an outcome was elicited incentive-compatible with the Becker, De Groot, and Marschak (1964; BDM) procedure. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. In the *certain* condition, participants were asked about the highest amount they were willing to pay for a \$50 Amazon certificate. In the *10% probability* condition, participants were told that there was a 10% probability that they would be eligible to buy a \$50 Amazon certificate. Participants were then asked "If it turns out that you can buy the gift certificate, what is the highest amount you would be willing to pay for it?" As hypothesized, WTP was lower in the *10% probability* condition ($Median = \$25.00$) than in the *certain* condition ($Median = \$30.50$; $p = .004$; we report p -values of non-parametric tests throughout; results are qualitatively identical with parametric tests.)

In Study 2 (MTurk, N = 401, hypothetical), we employed a 2 (gift certificate: \$80 Amazon vs. \$100 Overstock) x 2 (uncertainty: certain vs. 10% probability) between-subjects design using the same (but hypothetical) scenario from Study 1. Replicating our previous result, participants valued both gift certificates less when probability of obtaining them was uncertain ($Median_{certain} = \$70.00$; $Median_{uncertain} = \$51.00$; $p < .001$). This led to preference reversals when

purchase of one gift certificate was uncertain. Participants valued the Amazon gift certificate ($Median_{\$80\text{-Amazon}} = \70.00) more than the Overstock certificate ($Median_{\$100\text{-Overstock}} = \50.00 , $p = .007$) when it was uncertain whether they could buy the latter. In contrast, participants valued the Amazon certificate ($Median_{\$80\text{-Amazon}} = \60.00) less than the Overstock certificate ($Median_{\$100\text{-Overstock}} = \75.00 ; $p < .001$) when it was uncertain whether they could buy the former.

In Study 3 (MTurk, N = 401, incentive-compatible), we varied between-subjects the probability of being eligible to purchase the \$50 Amazon gift certificate (10% vs. 50% vs. 90% vs. 100%). WTP varied significantly across conditions (independent-samples Kruskal-Wallis test $p < .001$), with probability predicting WTP in a linear regression with robust error estimation ($B = 0.088$, *robust SD* = 0.021, $p < .001$; see figure, the dashed lines show 95% confidence intervals).

There are two possible explanations for the results of Studies 1-3. When valuing an uncertain outcome, people may anticipate the disappointment of not obtaining the outcome, and reduce this disappointment by decreasing the value of the outcome (Zeelenberg et al. 1998; 2000). Alternatively, uncertainty may increase the psychological distance to the outcome, which—like increases in temporal distance—would lead to lower valuations of the outcome (Prelec & Loewenstein 1991, Todorov et al. 2007, Weber & Chapman 2005; Chandran & Menon 2004). In Study 4, we tested these two competing explanations by manipulating the valence of the outcomes (gains versus losses). For gains, both theories predict that uncertainty will lead to lower valuations of outcomes. For losses, anticipated disappointment increases with the likelihood of the negative outcome occurring (van Dijk & Zeelenberg 2006). As disappointment can be reduced by devaluing the outcome, WTP to avoid the loss should be lower the more likely the loss is. Probability as an instance of psychological distance, in contrast, predicts the opposite pattern. Because uncertain negative outcomes are perceived as less threatening (Chandran and Menon 2004), WTP to avoid a loss should be lower the lower the outcome's probability is.

Study 4 (MTurk, N = 401, hypothetical) employed a 2 (certain vs. uncertain) x 2 (gain vs. lose gift certificate) between-subjects design. We used the same gain scenarios as in Study 1. For losses, participants were told to imagine that they owned a \$50 Amazon gift certificate, and were asked how much they were willing to pay to avoid losing it. We replicated the effect of uncertainty for gains ($Median_{certain} = \$40.0$ vs. $Median_{10\%} = \$25.0$, $p < .001$). The same pattern was observed for losses, uncertainty reduced WTP to avoid losing the certificate ($Median_{certain} = \$13.0$ vs. $Median_{10\%} = \$10.0$, $p = .022$). These results support the hypothesis that less likely outcomes are valued less because they are perceived as more remote.

Devaluation of uncertain (positive and negative) outcomes bears theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, the extent of risk aversion in previous studies may have been underestimated if less likely outcomes are valued less. Practically, consumers' reluctance to alter their behavior in face of potential negative outcomes (e.g., cancer due to smoking, sea-level rises and extreme weather due to pollution) may be partly driven by consumers believing these outcomes to be less severe as long as they are not certain.

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Paying-it-Forward: How Greed, Generosity, and (un)Fairness Spread Through Social Networks

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Paper #1: Social and Material Concerns in Paying it Forward: People are Selfish, But Only in Secret

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Michael I. Norton, Harvard Business School, USA
Kurt Gray, University of North Carolina, USA

Paper #2: When is it Better to Give or Receive? Kindness, Happiness, and Reciprocity in the Chain of Giving

Minah H. Jung, New York University, USA
Silva K. Kurtisa, Georgetown University, USA
Leif D. Nelson, University of California Berkeley, USA

Paper #3: Looking Forward, Looking Back: How Communal Orientation and Perceived Impact Influence Paying it Forward

Narayan Janakiraman, University of Texas at Arlington, USA
Zhiyong Yang, University of Texas at Arlington, USA
Karen Page Winterich, Pennsylvania State University, USA

Paper #4: Moral Responsibility and Paying it Forward: The Effects of Social Distance and Queue Length on Paying Forward Generosity

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SESSION OVERVIEW

The concept of “paying it forward” is prevalent in game theory, psychology, and popular culture. This concept is a simple one: A is kind to B, and B—rather than paying that kindness *back* to A—pays it *forward* to C. C then pays that kindness forward to D, D pays it forward to E, and so on, creating a never-ending chain of good will.

However, reality is not so simple. On any given day, consumers may receive not just kindness, but also cruelty. They may be motivated by self-interest, pressured by social norms, or influenced by individual differences. In this session, we look at how various internal and external factors may influence the likelihood of paying forward both positive and negative outcomes. In so doing, we shed light on how greed and generosity, fairness and unfairness, and prosocial and antisocial behavior may spread through social networks.

The first paper (Ward, Norton, and Gray) investigates how two potential incentives—material gain and reputational concerns—may influence the likelihood of paying forward both positive and negative outcomes; results suggest that adults use sophisticated cognitive abilities to maximize material benefits while minimizing social costs.

The second paper (Jung, Nelson, and Kurtisa) analyzes the separate influences of reciprocity and generosity on paying-it-forward; results from this work shed light on multiple components motivating pay-it-forward behavior and suggest that prosocial behavior may often be motivated by misguided beliefs about the effects of one’s actions on others’ happiness.

The third paper (Janakiraman, Yang, and Winterich) investigates how individual differences in communal vs. exchange orientation and differences in potential recipients’ perceived needs interact to produce different levels of paying-it-forward; results from this work indicate that individuals who are sensitive to others’ needs are affected by the salience of these needs, while those who are relatively insensitive to others are not.

Finally, the fourth paper (Yang, Janakiraman, and Ward) investigates the perceived importance of individuals’ actions in a

different light. This work suggests that longer chains of recipients—which objectively increase the potential effectiveness of a prosocial action—ironically reduce the likelihood of paying forward positive outcomes due to a diffused sense of moral responsibility.

Together, these papers add to a growing area of research acknowledging that prosocial (and antisocial) behavior such as giving (and taking) is often determined by social context; both the outcomes people experience and the impact they believe they might have feed into their decisions about how to treat others. These data provide evidence that consumer behavior cannot be considered in a social vacuum; rather, pay-it-forward chains connect consumers’ actions to the actions of those around them.

Social and Material Concerns in Paying it Forward: People are Selfish, But Only in Secret

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Daily life is filled with opportunities to be greedy or generous, cruel or kind, antisocial or prosocial. A growing body of research suggests that one of the most powerful influences on people’s choices between these alternatives is the way they have been treated in the immediate past (e.g., Gray, Ward, and Norton 2014; Leimgruber, et al. 2014), and that people may be more likely to pay this treatment *forward* (AàBàC) than to pay it *back* (AàBàA) (e.g., Herne, Lappalainen, and Kestilä-Kekkonen 2013; Stanca 2007).

In two experiments, we investigate the effects of both material (financial) and social (reputational) concerns on paying forward both positive and negative outcomes. These experiments add to a growing body of literature that recognizes the potential ripple effects of both pro- and antisocial interactions (e.g., Gray, Ward, and Norton 2014), contribute to theory by providing new insights into the determinants of paying-it-forward (PIF), and reveal broad principles for both maximizing prosocial and minimizing antisocial PIF behavior—principles that may be particularly relevant in a world increasingly defined by anonymous interactions.

Each participant in each experiment served as the central link in a PIF chain of financial allocation decisions. Participants first played the role of “receiver,” accepting some amount of money left to them by a previous participant, then played the role of “decider,” choosing how much money from a second endowment to leave for a future participant. Participants’ behavior in the “decider” phase served as our measure of “paying it forward.”

Both prior treatment and social/reputational concerns were manipulated within each experiment according to a 2 (receive: *negative, positive*) × 2 (anonymity: *anonymous, non-anonymous*) design. Participants in the *anonymous* condition never saw the future participant. Participants in the *non-anonymous* condition experienced only minimal contact with the future participant; they stood in this person’s presence for a few seconds, but were not introduced or allowed to speak.

Material/financial concerns varied across the two experiments. Experiment 1 utilized a zero-sum dictator game; participants in the “decider” phase were endowed with \$6 to split between themselves and a future participant. Because leaving money for future others required participants to sacrifice a portion of their own endowments, generosity in this experiment represented materially costly prosocial behavior. Experiment 2 utilized a non-zero-sum dictator game;

participants in the “decider” phase received the same amount (\$4) regardless of whether they chose to leave a negative (\$1) or positive (\$4) outcome for a future participant. This design allowed participants to engage in materially costless prosocial behavior.

The constellation of results across these two experiments provides insight into the effects of all possible combinations of negative vs. positive prior treatment, salient vs. non-salient social concerns, and present vs. absent material concerns on PIF behavior.

In experiment 1 ($N = 91$; $M_{age} = 26.15$ years), the material costs of generosity were pitted against the potential social costs of greed for participants in the *non-anonymous* condition; for participants in the *anonymous* condition, however, social concerns were irrelevant. Results from this experiment revealed two significant main effects on the amount of money paid forward: one of receive condition, $M_{negative} = \$2.19$ vs. $M_{positive} = \$3.93$, $F(1, 87) = 21.59$, $p < .001$, and one of anonymity condition, $M_{anonymous} = \$2.42$ vs. $M_{non-anonymous} = \$3.71$, $F(1, 87) = 11.93$, $p = .001$; there was no interaction effect, $p = .80$.

Participants in *anonymous* situations behaved consistently with prior research indicating that people asymmetrically pay forward negative outcomes (e.g., Gray, Ward, and Norton 2014). Participants who received *negative* outcomes paid this greed forward, leaving significantly less than an equitable split for the future participant, $M = \$1.59$, $t(21) = 4.71$, $p < .001$; participants who received *positive* outcomes did not pay generosity forward, although they did leave future participants an amount statistically indistinguishable from an equitable split, $M = \$3.24$, $t(20) = .44$, $p = .67$. Participants in *non-anonymous* situations, on the other hand, were moderately generous. Those who received *negative* outcomes treated future others better than they themselves had been treated, paying forward an amount statistically indistinguishable from an equitable split (\$3), $M = \$2.79$, $t(23) = .82$, $p = .42$; those who received *positive* outcomes paid this generosity forward, paying forward significantly more than an equitable split, $M = \$4.63$, $t(23) = 4.39$, $p < .001$.

Experiment 1 pitted material gains against social costs; in experiment 2, we removed the possibility of material gains by examining PIF behavior in the context of a non-zero-sum dictator game. This design removed both the material costs associated with allocating positive outcomes to a future participant and the material benefits associated with allocating negative outcomes to this participant. Like in experiment 1, social concerns were only relevant for those in the *non-anonymous* condition. Results from this experiment suggest that when prosociality is costless, people pay forward positive outcomes regardless of how they have been treated in the past. A logistic regression with anonymity, received outcome, gender, and age as predictors revealed no effect of anonymity (Wald's $X^2(1) = 0.099$, $p = .753$) or received outcome (Wald's $X^2(1) = 0.00$, $p = .997$) on allocation decisions. Received outcomes (*negative*, *positive*) did not affect PIF behavior in either the *anonymous* ($n = 40$, Fisher's exact, $p = .49$) or the *non-anonymous* conditions ($n = 35$, Fisher's exact, $p = .13$).

Taken together, the results of these two experiments suggest that removing material concerns by holding outcomes constant for “deciders” may stop people from paying forward negative outcomes even under conditions of anonymity; across all conditions in experiment 2, 94.67% of participants paid forward positive outcomes. However, such an approach is not always feasible in practice; a more tractable method for maximizing prosocial behavior in PIF settings may be to increase social concerns by providing social cues. When collapsing across *receive* conditions in experiment 1, participants in *non-anonymous* situations paid forward an average of \$1.29 more than those in *anonymous* situations; simply introducing minimal

social contact induced people to pay forward 79.46% more than they would have under conditions of anonymity.

When is it Better to Give or Receive? Kindness, Happiness, and Reciprocity in the Chain of Giving

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People are kinder when paying for someone else than for themselves (Jung, Nelson, Gneezy, and Gneezy, 2014). This effect is at least partially driven by people's incorrect perceptions of others' behavioral tendencies; people tend to overestimate others' kindness and raise their own payment to match their perception of social norms.

Paying-it-forward (PIF) has two quite different stages: receiving a gift and giving a gift. These stages are associated with reciprocity and generosity (respectively), and each stage may both have an influence on and be influenced by misperceptions of others' behavioral tendencies. In three studies, we examined the underlying mechanisms behind PIF by disentangling the social forces of reciprocity and generosity.

There is some evidence suggesting that generosity toward others might be a more powerful force than reciprocity. Grant and Dutton (2012) argued that people were kinder when they reflected on giving benefits to others than receiving because giving enforces a prosocial identity as a caring and capable person, while receiving makes the people to feel indebted and incompetent. Study 1 tested this argument in the PIF framework by manipulating the salience of reciprocity vs. generosity.

We conducted Study 1 at a local Indian restaurant. Karma Kitchen has been using the PIF model for its Sunday lunch operation for many years. In this study, we varied the salience of the giving vs. receiving feature of PIF and recorded customers' payments for their meals. All diners ($N=94$) were informed that their meals had been paid for by another customer and they had a chance to pay-it-forward to another customer. At the end of their meal, each group of diners received their check with a card that said either “Someone who came earlier paid for your meal as a gift.” or “Now you have a chance to pay for the meal for as a gift for someone who will come later.” All participants indicated their payment amount on the card. Customers paid more when their card emphasized giving than when it emphasized receiving, ($M_s = \$20.42$ vs. \$11.09).

The results of Study 1 suggest that generosity might be a stronger force than reciprocity in influencing consumers' PIF behavior. It could be that the social pressure from the reciprocity emphasis might induce customers to pay the minimum amount that was considered appropriate, whereas the generosity emphasis might lead them to pay an amount that sufficiently makes them feel generous (DellaVigna, List, and Malmendier 2009). That is, the salience of reciprocity vs. generosity might be invoking different norms. Study 2 aimed to further examine how these forces operated in the presence or absence of direct social pressure. We conducted our experiment at an art museum using the same salience manipulation as in Study 1. Museum visitors ($N=836$ individuals; 470 groups) were asked to pay-it-forward either anonymously by placing their payment in an envelope or directly to the receptionist. Visitors paid more paying anonymously ($M_s = \$3.42$ vs. \$2.82). But they paid similar amounts regardless of the receiving and giving salience ($M_s = \$3.18$ vs. \$3.06). The interaction between these two variables was significant; in the giving condition, people paid forward a similar amount whether they were paying anonymously or directly, ($M_s = \$3.08$ vs. \$3.27), but in the receiving condition, people paid significantly more when paying directly than anonymously, ($M_s = \$3.76$ vs. \$2.37). When reminded of reciprocity, people were sensitive to the presence of

direct social pressure and were less kind when their payment was not observed, but they were equally kind when reminded of generosity regardless of anonymity.

People's behavior in Study 2 might reflect that they perceive different norms when receiving vs. giving a gift. But it is also possible that people's kind behavior reflected how happy they felt about giving and receiving a gift. If people were kinder when reminded of giving vs. receiving, does giving make people feel happier than receiving? In Study 3, we further examined givers' and receivers' feelings and their beliefs about others' feelings by comparing their predicted and actual levels of happiness. In addition, we measured how connected they felt toward others before and after their kind act.

In Study 3, we collaborated with the Social Coin, a company that provides its clients a customizable online platform to foster and track acts of kindness across generations of participants in a PIF chain. The Social Coin mints its own coins that allow users to track their coin as it changes hands when s/he pays forward an act of kindness to another person. We used social coins and tracked participants' PIF behavior and happiness on our customized website.

Participants ($N=206$) were randomly assigned to one of two implicit reference points for kind acts; they were encouraged to complete either a small (e.g., make/buy a cup of coffee) or a large act of kindness (e.g., make/buy dinner) for someone. Before and after paying forward kind acts, they reported forecasted and experienced happiness of others and themselves, and self-reported connection to others on our online platform. We hired nine independent coders to read participants' descriptions of their PIF experience and rate the extent of their kindness, difficulties of completing kind acts, and social connection to others.

Givers of a kind act were happier when they completed a small act of kindness than a large one, ($M_s=5.69$ vs. 5.88) but recipients were equally happy regardless of the size of the kind act ($M_s=6.37$ vs. 6.34). Givers and recipients of a kind act displayed asymmetric beliefs about others' happiness. Recipients were happier than givers predicted them to be, ($M_s=6.54$ vs. 6.17) and givers were less happy than recipients predicted them to be, ($M_s=5.69$ vs. 6.28). These results suggest that the power of giving might come from givers' underestimation of how positive recipients view the givers' kind act.

In summary, three studies examined the underlying mechanisms of paying-it-forward. In the absence of social pressure, people were kinder when reminded of giving (vs. receiving). However, giving a kind act did not make people happier than receiving one; participants displayed asymmetric beliefs about their own and others' feelings of happiness when paying-it-forward.

Looking Forward, Looking Back: How Communal Orientation and Perceived Impact Influence Paying it Forward

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine the person before you in line unexpectedly purchased you a cup of coffee. You turn around and see the person after you is either a struggling college student or a well-dressed executive. How likely are you to reciprocate the giver's gesture to the person after you?

"Pay-It-Forward" is a growing field, studying actions where one cannot reciprocate directly with the giver, but can instead "pay forward" outcomes to someone else. Previous research on this topic has mainly focused on the extent to which an individual reciprocates kindness versus selfishness (Gray, Ward, and Norton 2014) and the degree to which outcomes are paid forward. Little is known about the motivations underlying the behavior. The majority of potential explanations are "push" factors such as feelings of gratitude

(DeSteno et al. 2010), feelings of obligation (Pitulla et al. 2003), or adherence to social norms (Leimgruber et al. 2014).

We focus on a particular "pull" factor—namely, the perceived need of a potential receiver. Since individuals differ in their sensitivity to others' needs, we incorporate individual differences in communal/exchange orientation into our framework. We predict that perceived need of the recipient increases the willingness to pay-it-forward among individuals with high communal orientation (CO), but doesn't affect those with exchange orientation (EO). Perceived impact is the process underlying these effects. The rationale underlying our prediction is that individuals with different orientations are driven by different goals (Chen, Lee-Chai and Bargh 2001). While CO individuals are driven by social responsibility goals, those with EO are driven by self-interest goals.

Four experiments support our proposed effects. Study 1 featured a 2 (need: high vs. low) \times 2 (orientation: communal vs. exchange) mixed design, using 118 students from a major Southwestern university. In the high [low] need condition, participants were asked to imagine that they were buying a cup of coffee at a coffee shop in a bad [good] neighborhood. After they placed the order, the cashier told them that the person before them had already paid for them. They were then asked for how likely they would be to pay this behavior forward and completed a CO-EO scale. We derived an orientation score by subtracting EO ($\alpha=.81$) from CO ($\alpha=.82$), with a higher number reflecting a greater degree of CO. A regression analysis using pay-it-forward likelihood as a DV supported our hypothesis, with a significant interaction between relative CO and neighborhood ($\beta=.98$, $t=1.98$, $p<.05$). Spotlight analyses at one standard deviation above and below the mean of relative CO showed that high CO participants reported greater pay-it-forward likelihood in a bad neighborhood than in a good neighborhood ($\beta=.41$, $t=3.89$, $p<.01$), whereas high EO participants were indifferent between good and bad neighborhoods ($\beta=.12$, $t=.98$, $p>.50$).

Study 2 ($N = 113$) replicated study 1's findings in a between-subjects design and provided direct evidence of the proposed mediator. The procedure was the same as that in study 1, with two exceptions: (1) CO vs. EO was manipulated and (2) perceived impact was measured after participants made the pay-it-forward decision. Consistent with study 1, the orientation \times need interaction was significant ($F(1,112)=5.46$, $p<.02$). Participants primed with CO had greater pay-it-forward likelihood when perceived need was high ($M_{\text{BadNeighborhood}}=5.22$ vs. $M_{\text{GoodNeighborhood}}=3.69$, $F(1,112)=8.35$, $p<.01$). However, those primed with EO were equally likely to pay-it-forward regardless of need ($M_{\text{BadNeighborhood}}=4.03$ vs. $M_{\text{GoodNeighborhood}}=4.18$, $F(1,112)=.097$, $p>.50$). Mediation analyses showed that the indirect effect of perceived impact was significant (95% CI: from .05 to 1.07).

Study 3 examined real-world pay-it-forward behavior in 117 students one week before final exams. Participants were first asked to practice an enjoyable task (rating an English-version of a joke) and an unenjoyable task (counting the number of vowels in the Italian-version of the same joke). After getting familiar with the tasks, they were then exposed to the orientation- and need-priming manipulations used in study 2. After finishing the priming tasks, they were told that the previous individual had shared with them 9 enjoyable tasks and 1 unenjoyable task, and then asked to split 10 additional tasks (5 enjoyable, 5 unenjoyable) with the person behind them. They had to actually finish the remaining tasks that they did not assign to the next person. Perceived need was manipulated by providing an indication of how busy the next person was and how much time she needed to prepare for her upcoming exam. We performed an ANOVA using the number of good tasks paid forward as the DV. Consistent with the findings in earlier studies, perceived

need of the next person affected participants in CO conditions ($M_{\text{high need}}=3.42$, $M_{\text{low need}}=1.36$; $t=4.31$, $p<.001$), but not in EO conditions ($M_{\text{high need}}=2.53$, $M_{\text{low need}}=2.46$; ns).

Study 4 directly manipulated the mediator—perceived impact—in a 2 (orientation) \times 2 (impact) design. Using 116 people from mTurk, we examined how likely they would pass forward good tasks as a function of their CO/EO and perceived impact. In all conditions, participants were told that they had to divide 4 tasks (two word-association and two vowel-counting) between themselves and a future participant: they could complete two word-association tasks, two vowel-counting tasks, or one of each. The word-association tasks were easy to complete, while the vowel-counting tasks were difficult. They were told that the person before them had assigned them two easy tasks that they would need to complete in addition to the ones they were left with, after deciding what would be passed onto the next person. The DV was a binary value of whether they passed forward both the easy tasks or not. In the high [low] perceived impact condition, the participants were told that the person behind them had earned \$2 so far, and “*your decision on how much to help would have a huge [small] difference in how much they would earn today*”. The orientation \times impact interaction was significant ($\chi^2(1,116)=4.08$, $p<.04$), with high CO having higher proportion of passing forward under high-impact (45%) than under low-impact (12%) condition; while those primed with EO showing no difference in passing forward proportion under high-impact (18%) or low-impact (15%) condition.

Moral Responsibility and Paying it Forward: The Effects of Social Distance and Queue Length on Paying Forward Generosity

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine you are in line at a coffee shop and the person in front of you purchases a coffee for you. Are you more likely to pass a similar act of kindness onto the individual behind you if there are only two people behind you, or if there are twenty?

Prior research shows that potential ‘helpers’ feel a sense of responsibility that compels them to help perceived victims (Schwartz and Howard 1982). Several variables that affect helping also affect cooperation. For example, the classic bystander effect suggests that the presence of others inhibits helping (Darley and Latane 1968); the greater the number of bystanders, the more the feelings of responsibility are diffused among them. In cases where there is anonymity (as is usually the case in pay-it-forward contexts), the chances of free riding increase (Kerr and MacCoun 1985). This is especially true when there is no overt communication among participants, since interpersonal interaction promotes cooperation (Dawes 1988). Building upon this stream of research, we suggest that an individual who receives a free coffee from either a distant-other or a close-other is equally likely to pay-it-forward when the queue is short. However, when the queue is long, individuals’ likelihood of paying it forward will be suppressed if the giver and the recipient belong to the distant-other group, but not if the giver and the recipient belong to the close-other group. This is mainly due to individuals’ feeling of responsibility towards the receiving group.

Three experiments support our proposed effects. Study 1 featured a 2 (social distance: close-other vs. distant-other) \times 2 (queue length: short vs. long) between-subjects design, using 131 students from a southern university. Participants were first instructed to imagine waiting in a queue at a coffee shop for a beverage during a sports event. Social distance was manipulated through school affiliation: in the close-other [distant-other] conditions, other people

in the line were from the same university [different university] as the participant. Queue length was manipulated by visually depicting the participant in a queue with either 15 people or 1 person behind him. After reading the scenario, participants rated their likelihood to buy the person behind them a beverage (0%=no chance, 100%=certainly). We conducted a 2 (social distance) \times 2 (queue length) ANOVA, with participants’ likelihood to pay-it-forward as the DV. Consistent with our expectations, the interaction was significant ($F(1,130)=6.01$, $p<.01$). Participants in close-other conditions were equally likely to pay-it-forward regardless of queue length ($M_{\text{Short}}=73.25\%$ vs. $M_{\text{Long}}=68.21\%$, $F(1,130)=.48$, $p>.45$). However, those in distant-other conditions were less likely to pay-it-forward when the queue was long ($M_{\text{Short}}=76.00\%$ vs. $M_{\text{Long}}=58.71\%$, $F(1,130)=12.35$, $p<.01$).

Study 2 replicated study 1’s findings using a neutral manipulation of social distance, thus ruling out rivalry between the opposing teams as an alternative explanation of our findings. It also demonstrated feelings of responsibility as the key mediation. The study design and the procedures were similar to those in study 1, except for the prime for social distance, done by asking individuals to write about 10 similarities (vs. 10 dissimilarities) between themselves and others at the coffee shop. After deciding whether or not to pay forward a free coffee, participants reported the degree to which they felt responsible for keeping the chain going. We performed a 2 (social distance) \times 2 (queue length) ANOVA with likelihood to pay-it-forward as the dependent variable. Consistent with study 1’s findings, there was a significant interaction between queue-length and social-distance ($F(1,128)=7.25$, $p<.01$). Individuals primed with similarity were equally likely to pay-it-forward despite the queue length ($M_{\text{Short}}=72\%$ vs. $M_{\text{Long}}=67\%$, $F(1,128)=.49$, $p>.45$). However, those primed with dissimilarity were less likely to pay-it-forward when the queue was long ($M_{\text{Short}}=71.00\%$ vs. $M_{\text{Long}}=44\%$, $F(1,128)=15.1$, $p<.01$). Mediation analyses revealed that the extent to which individuals felt they were responsible to keep the chain going mediated the interplay between queue length and similarity on paying-it-forward.

Study 3 was replicated the effects of study 2 in a task-splitting procedure using 129 participants from mTurk. In this study, we examined how likely individuals were to pass forward good tasks depending on similarity/dissimilarity with others and the number of people behind them. In all conditions, participants were told that they had to divide four tasks (two word-association and two vowel-counting) between themselves and a future participant: they could complete two word-association tasks, two vowel-counting tasks, or one of each. The word-association tasks were easy to complete, while the vowel-counting tasks were difficult. They were told that the person before them had chosen to pass onto them two easy tasks that they would need to complete in addition to the ones they were left with, after deciding what would be passed onto the next person. They then actually completed all tasks. The DV was a binary value of whether they chose to pass forward both the easy tasks or not. In the high [low] similarity condition, the participants were asked to rate two products—Apple iPhone and the Samsung Galaxy—on ten different attributes. They were then told that the person who was completing the study next had a very high degree of match or 75% [low degree of match or 25%] in their responses to the attribute questions like them and hence were very similar [dissimilar] to them. In the short [long] queue condition, the participants were told that their actions would affect two [ten] people behind them. Consistent with earlier studies, the interaction was significant ($\chi^2(1,128)=3.79$, $p<.05$), with individuals who had been primed with similarity showing equal proportion of passing forward under short (34%) and long (32%) queues; while those primed with dissimilarity showed a lower tendency to pass forward under long (7%) than under short (29%) queue.

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Theorising Digital Consumption Objects

Chair: Rebecca D. Watkins, Cardiff University, UK

Paper #1: Conceptualising the Ontology of Digital Consumption Objects

Rebecca D. Watkins, Cardiff University, UK

Paper #2: Digital Materiality – A Phenomenological Exploration

Richard Kedzior, Bucknell University, USA

Paper #3: Image and Sound in a Digital Age: The Inflation of Symbols and the Erosion of Value

Russell Belk, York University, Canada

Paper #4: Human/Digital/Material Hybrids as Consumer Mind Extensions

Janice Denegri-Knott, Bournemouth University, UK

Rebecca Jenkins, Bournemouth University, UK

Mike Molesworth, University of Southampton, UK

SESSION OVERVIEW

The objects we call our own increasingly exist in digital form, a trend that has been well documented (Belk, 2013; Denegri-Knott & Molesworth, 2010; Lehdonvirta, 2012; Molesworth & Denegri-Knott, 2012; Siddiqui & Turley, 2006). Scholars have observed the ‘dematerialisation’ of objects such as photographs, books, and music recordings as they develop digital counterparts, whilst we are witnessing the emergence of an ever broadening array of digital consumption objects that lack a direct material equivalent, such as social networking profiles, text messages, blogs, apps, avatars, and wish-lists. As consumers accumulate growing quantities of such digital items consumer researchers are faced with the task of theorising this new form of consumption object.

Scholars have drawn attention to the importance of theorising materiality – i.e. articulating the assumptions made about subjects, objects, and their interrelation (see Borgerson 2005, 2013; Miller 1987, 2005, 2010) - and Borgerson (2005) has discussed the importance of explicitly conceptualising the ontologies of consumer subjects and consumption objects within consumer research. Subsequently studies of consumption have become increasingly concerned with the role of consumption objects (e.g. Epp & Price, 2010; Watson & Shove, 2008; Shove & Pantzar, 2006), including emerging discussion of their ontology (e.g. Badje, 2013; Zwick & Dholakia, 2006). Digital consumption objects open up new avenues for exploration, presenting significant distinctions from the material consumption objects that consumers and consumer researchers have become accustomed to. In this session we present four papers that begin to tackle the task of theorising these entities, exploring the materiality of digital consumption objects, examining their distinct ontological characteristics, and discussing implications for consumer-object relations in terms of both the meaning and value digital consumption objects may come to hold and their role in extending consumers’ capabilities.

The first paper draws from an empirical study of ‘digital possessions’ in order to conceptualise the ontology of digital consumption objects. Whilst material consumption objects are typically conceptualised within consumer research as singular, stable, inert, and spatiotemporally fixed, in this paper Watkins demonstrates that digital consumption objects, in contrast, can be transient, fluid, and unstable, discussing ways in which these characteristics may shape consumer-object relations. In the second paper Kedzior further extends our understanding of digital consumption objects. Drawing from data gathered during a four-year immersion within online vir-

tual world Second Life this paper presents phenomenological themes in consumers’ experiences of dealing with digital materiality and in doing so demonstrates the importance of explicit conceptualisations of digital materiality for consumer research.

The third paper raises questions surrounding the value and meaning of digital consumption objects. Belk proposes that the digitisation of film, photos, and music leads to an abundance that erodes their value in comparison to their physical counterparts. Finally, Denegri-Knott, Jenkins and Molesworth draw from the notion of the extended mind to examine ways in which acts of comparing, remembering and even desiring can be delegated to digital consumption objects such as apps and websites, extending consumers’ capabilities. Particularly salient is the question of what happens if these digital platforms fail and such hybrids are broken down (particularly given the instability illustrated in Watkins’ paper).

This special session contributes to consumer research by theorising key aspects of digital consumption objects and exploring resultant shifts in consumer-object relations, noting consequences for consumers and for consumer culture. Our intention is to stimulate broader discussion of digital consumption objects and the ways in which they prompt us to revisit and re-consider established understandings and assumptions within consumer research, and between them the four papers presented establish an agenda for future research aiming to theorise digital consumption objects.

Conceptualising the Ontology of Digital Consumption Objects

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Material objects punctuate studies of consumption, featuring prominently in discussions of consumption rituals, marketplace cultures and consumer identity projects. Consumer research has long been concerned with the ways in which consumer-object relations unfold post-acquisition, in particular the ways in which material consumption objects are appropriated as possessions, become receptacles of private and public meanings and assist in constructing, maintaining, and expressing consumers’ identities (e.g. Belk, 1988, 1991; Ahuvia, 2005; Kleine et al., 1995; Kleine & Baker, 2004; McCracken, 1986; Richins, 1994). Within such work consumers are seen to form enduring attachments to material possessions, which become enduring identity anchors that give permanence to the self. There has been some recognition that consumers may form different types of relationships with possessions based on their age (Csikszentmihályi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981), gender (Dittmar, 1992), and lifestyle (Bardhi et al., 2012), yet we hold little understanding of how various consumption objects themselves might invite, encourage or prevent particular types of possession. Indeed, Zwick and Dholakia (2006) argue that existing theories of consumer-object relations are limited in that they fail to conceptualise the ontology of consumption objects. Responding to Zwick and Dholakia’s (2006) call to turn theoretical attention to the ‘object’ in consumer-object relations, and speaking to Borgerson’s (2005, 2013) broader call for consumer researchers to turn their attention to materiality based assumptions, this paper explores the ontologies of digital consumption objects.

This paper demonstrates that our understanding of possession is grounded in an understanding of possessions as material consumption objects, which are typically assumed to be ontologically singular, stable, inert, and spatio-temporally fixed. With digital con-

sumption objects becoming increasingly important to consumers (see Watkins & Molesworth, 2012; Denegri-Knott et al., 2012; Wang et al., 2009; Odom et al., 2011) they present a compelling area of study for consumer research, in particular because they challenge such assumptions. This paper draws from empirical data to extend our knowledge of the ways in which digital items are enacted as consumption objects. Informed by central principles from the actor-network theory tradition (see Latour, 2005; Law, 2004; Law, 2008) this research draws from multiple in-depth interviews with 20 UK consumers conducted over a two year period, followed by an interrogation of relevant actants identified (e.g. software, hardware, contractual agreements). Reflecting on the findings of this study the paper draws a series of conclusions surrounding the ontological characteristics of digital consumption objects.

Drawing from the actor-network theoretical principle of relational materiality this paper conceptualises consumption objects as enacted; the characteristics of consumption objects are not inherent, but an effect produced by networks of actants. This understanding raises the question of whether digital consumption objects and material consumption objects are enacted in similar ways, and this paper presents an analysis of three distinct ontological characteristics of the digital consumption objects observed in this study: (1) transience (2) fluidity, and (3) instability.

1. **Transience:** Digital consumption objects are enacted by particularly complex actor-networks, requiring software, accounts, contractual agreements, hardware, a power supply, data, and in many cases internet infrastructures (each complex actor-networks in their own right) in order to be accessed and used by the consumer. For instance, during their interviews participants needed to retrieve their devices, turn them on, open a series of folders or web browsers, launch software, and in some cases enter passwords, in order to access these items. Although participants tended to make these complex actor-networks absent in their accounts, much ongoing work must be 'done' by a range of actants in order for digital consumption objects to be enacted. Their enactment was typically transient – when not in use their enactment ceased and digital consumption objects disappeared from view (e.g. closing an app, shutting down a laptop, logging out of a social media account). This transience is particularly attractive to marketers since it requires a continued engagement with the market in terms of hardware, software, and online platforms owned and controlled by companies.
2. **Fluidity:** Unlike the singular material consumption objects documented in prior literature the digital consumption objects identified in this study were enacted in multiple networks and in differing ways (in different places, on different devices, in different forms, by different people), in many cases simultaneously, and here we can observe a degree of ontological fluidity. Unlike many material consumption objects, digital items needn't be tied to a single spatiotemporal location, device or form at any one point in time. Digital consumption objects stored online appeared to participants to be non-spatiotemporally bound, accessible from any device with an internet connection, producing the sense of 'placelessness' previously noted by Human-Computer Interaction scholars Odom et al. (2014). However many digital consumption objects also exhibited fluidity in their movement between consumers, with transfer of singular items replaced by the duplication of infinitely reproducible items. Such 'fluidity' is not sim-

ply inherent in digital consumption objects but is enacted, for example data storage devices (e.g. USB flash drives and CDs) and cables enable movement between devices, whilst more recent movements toward cloud computing enable more ubiquitous fluidity. However, such fluidity is not desirable characteristic for companies and effort has been made to reduce the fluidity of digital consumption objects, employing mechanisms (for example, Digital Rights Management technologies) which restrict movement between devices and people.

3. **Instability:** I observe a significant departure from material possessions as enduring, stable anchors for consumer identity. Many digital consumption objects continually unfolded over time, some drawing parallels with the epistemic consumption objects described by Zwick & Dholakia (2006). However further instability emerged in instances where relations within complex actor-networks broke down (for instance, passwords were forgotten, internet connections lost, devices lost or broken, accounts suspended) and consequently digital consumption objects could no longer be enacted. Furthermore, where items are enacted in multiple networks other actants may have the capacity to shape these entities, most notably other consumers and companies (e.g. software updates disrupted consumers' organisational systems, Facebook friends leaving the platform resulted in depleted profiles as 'tagged' photographs disappeared). Thus digital consumption objects demonstrated a tendency to shift, fluctuate, and break down.

In documenting three broad ontological characteristics of digital consumption objects this paper demonstrates that these objects are distinct in many ways from the material consumption objects that have been the focus of prior studies of possession within consumer research. However it is argued that the ontological status of digital consumption objects is not inherent but is enacted, and in particular I observe the role of the market in attempting to enact realities that best serve companies' interests. The paper presents a discussion of the consequences such digital consumption objects hold for consumer research, outlining ways in which these ontological characteristics may produce distinct consumer-object relations.

Digital Materiality - A Phenomenological Exploration

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

With the proliferation of digital goods and services, social networking and other digital technology-based phenomena, consumer researchers have become increasingly interested in various aspects of digital consumption (Molesworth & Denegri-Knott, 2012; Belk & Llamas, 2013). Despite the fact that consumer behavior in online and digital contexts has been studied for almost two decades (e.g. Hoffman & Novak, 1996; Kozinets, 1999; Schau & Gilly, 2003; Gielser, 2006), many researchers still treat the digital world as uncharted territory and examine Internet-related phenomena as discrete areas of consumer action. In other words, the Internet is presumed to be just a distinct context.

However, as some scholars have posited (e.g. Garcia et al., 2009; Denegri-Knott & Molesworth, 2010; Jurgenson, 2012), the problem with such approach is that it ignores the fact that consumers do not abandon their offline lives when they are online, but remain embedded in their existing material realities, choices, and decisions. Furthermore, given the wide-spread use of the Internet-enabled mobile technology, it is even hard to draw a distinction between con-

sumers being either online or offline at any given moment (Llamas & Belk, 2013).

One possible remedy for such false binary oppositions and reductionist dichotomies (i.e., online/offline, virtual/real) is to focus on materiality of consumption rather than its context (Sherry, 2000; Vannini, 2009; Shove et al., 2007). The nature of materiality, in fact, is a critical factor in current conceptualizations of consumption (Borgerson, 2005, 2013; Miller, 2005; Slater, 2002). This is especially true for digital consumption where traditional notions of “material” are challenged by processes such as dematerialization, rematerialization or digitization (Magaudda, 2012). So far consumer researchers have acknowledged the significance of digital materiality for understanding consumer behavior. For instance, extant literature examines how the consumption of digitally material objects may be guided by different norms of reciprocity (Slater, 2002; Giesler, 2006), or how a phenomenon such as sharing evolves in the digital world (Belk, 2010, 2014a) and may be conditioned by access (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). Yet, despite these efforts, existing conceptualizations of digital materiality in consumer research remain fragmented and context-specific.

To rectify it, in this paper we first systematically and critically review such conceptualizations as well as other relevant interdisciplinary literature (e.g. Leonardi, 2010; Kallinikos et al., 2010) to offer a thematically organized framework of issues pertinent to digital materiality. We then proceed with a presentation of the findings from our study on consumer experiences of digital materiality. Based on our phenomenologically-oriented analysis (Thompson, 1997) of the data gathered during a four-year immersion in a community of an online virtual world we discuss three emerging themes: 1) Integration/Separation (e.g. ways in which tensions between different logics of physical and digital materialities are resolved on the level of consumer Self); 2) Ephemerality/Persistence (e.g. ways of relating to, and coping with artifacts that traverse both regimes of materiality); 3) Augmentation/Realism (e.g. ways in which consumers exploit the unique affordances offered by each regime of materiality). We conclude our paper with a discussion about the significance of explicit conceptualizations of digital materiality for digital consumption studies and offer a host of recommendations regarding possible avenues for new research projects dealing with digital materiality.

Image and Sound in a Digital Age: The Inflation of Symbols and the Erosion of Value

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Excess money circulating results in inflation; it costs more to buy the same goods; money is cheapened – it is worth less. Klapp (1991) argues that all kinds of social symbols are subject to inflation due to abundance, weakening their power to “purchase” meaning in the social marketplace. In part, this is a question of supply and demand. After a race without start, finish, or fixed course, the Dodo in *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (Carroll 1930, p. 34) proclaimed: “Everybody has won, and all must have prizes.” Yet if everyone has something it brings very little prestige. Some scarcity is needed for symbols to create distinction and desire (Belk 1995; Lynn 1992; Thierry 1992), even if it is artificial scarcity (Xenos 1989).

In addition, with abundance, adaptation leads to satiation and something more is needed in order to achieve the same effect. A recent example is what has been called pornography-induced erectile dysfunction. Because so much pornography is so readily available on the Internet, several studies suggest that many men (as many as a third of men in their early twenties) are unable to achieve an erection (e.g., Capogrosso et al., 2013; Mialon et al., 2015). Pornography,

which was once a “secret museum” of tangible images (Kendrick 1997), is now a seemingly limitless trove (or trough) of virtual images available at the click of a mouse.

What then is the effect of having a virtually limitless supply of downloadable or streamable music, film, and photographs available online? Once-ephemeral performances, events, thoughts, and scenes were previously made more tangible by wax and tape recordings, film, print photographs, magazines, books, and audio and video cassettes. But with digitization they are not only more ubiquitous and less costly, but are once again more ephemeral. Downloaded files stored in digital form are more vulnerable to loss from file corruption, device crashes, and format obsolescence. With smartphones and social media, photographs and self-created videos have changed from keepsakes to facilitate future recollections, to become instantaneous messages – postcards of what we’re doing this very moment. They have also become part of a nearly infinite digital archive.

The Internet digital archive also makes the material it contains less of a personal possession and more of a co-constructed entity that thwarts feelings of individual ownership. Individual collecting becomes collaborative accumulation (Belk, 2014b; Sklar, 2008). And because digital copies are identical, even when we appropriate an online object as our own, it is less uniquely singular (Appadurai, 1986) as well as more difficult to show off than its physical counterpart. As Belk (2014b) notes regarding singularity, “The soiled vinyl album cover and the particular hisses and pops in the recording personalize the listening experience; something that cannot be duplicated in a CD or MP3 file. ...we may be losing feelings of the authenticity and the aura and authority of the original.” Digital objects are “almost the same, but not quite” (Belk, 2013). Both for the self and for display to others, they seem a little “less there,” less subject to ownership, and less in our control.

There is evidence that, as with inflated money, awards, and pornography, the value of images and sound is eroded with the abundance of digital copies (e.g. Giles et al., 2007; McCourt, 2005; Styvén, 2010). Dibbell (2000) laments that his digital music collection lacks the gravitas of his former collection of CDs. Digital music files or on-demand access are seen as okay for exploring new music, but more tangible vinyl or CDs are preferred for favorites (Brown & Sellen, 2006). Similarly, we are less attached to digital photos, greeting cards, and books than to their print counterparts (Hadincová, 2014; Petrelli & Whittaker, 2010; Siddiqui & Turley, 2006). Lack of control of digital collections undermines their value and the motivation to collect (Watkins et al., 2015). All of these findings reinforce the conclusion that digital inflation leads to an erosion of value.

Perhaps the proliferation of online content is leading to an erosion of the value of possessions more generally. When we privilege access over ownership (Chen, 2009), we effectively increase the supply by allowing access to a much broader array of objects than could be individually owned. But we also decrease pride of ownership and attachment to these objects, as Bhardi and Eckhardt (2012) found with those accessing automobiles through the collaborative consumption venture, Zipcar. The consumer-multiplier effect of access-based models for tangible goods is still limited, albeit to a lesser degree than individual ownership models, by the finite supply of such goods (e.g., only so many users per car are possible if Zipcar is to provide access when it is desired). But with intangible goods like digital copies of music, books, films, and photos, the supply is infinite. Walter Benjamin’s (1936/1968) concern with the loss of the aura of original artworks in an age of mechanical reproduction is magnified and deepened by the fate of the value we place on corresponding objects in an age of digital reproduction. The inflation of symbols inexorably erodes their value. With nearly infinite avail-

ability and nearly zero cost, the value of such objects approaches zero. This is an ideal picture that ignores intellectual property rights legislation and other efforts by the film, music, and publishing industries to safeguard the scarcity of their products. But such efforts do not negate the underlying principle of the inflation of symbols nor the direction of change that seems to have been set in motion toward a post-material society.

Human/Digital/Material Hybrids as Consumer Mind Extensions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In this paper we reflect on and apply the ‘extended mind’ concept (Clark, 2010a; Clark, 2010b; Clark & Chalmers, 1998) to explore how consumers’ ongoing use of internet enabled laptops, tablets and smart phones, potentially extend cognitive capacities and in doing so transforms consumer practices.

Similar to Latour’s (1993) notion of hybridization, Clark & Chalmers (1998) talk about external entities (objects) and humans as ‘coupled systems’. This coupling can create an extended sociocultural cognitive system (see Hutchins, 2001). When successful, reliable coupling between an individual and an external feature occurs they become “part of the basic package of cognitive resources that I bring to bear on the everyday world” (Clark & Chalmers, 1998, p.11). When external components are reduced or removed a de-coupling results in disruption to the practice

Various online apps, linked to databases (digital objects), and accessed via hardware (material objects) potentially extend the mind in different ways that are little understood. By ‘extending’ we mean that these ‘hybrids’ are active in driving the cognitive process that augments cognitive capability itself (see Clark & Chalmers, 1998; Menary, 2010). This can also be seen as a form of epistemic action (Kirsh & Maglio, 1994), which demands that links or ‘couplings’ between mind and external object are first made to constitute a new cognitive system that in turn enables or enhances specific practices. As many of these apps are commercial, and as hardware is also a consumer good, our focus is consuming practices.

These hybrids can augment the cognitive resources mobilized in decision making, for example based on access to online information and reviews, including from smartphones (for example, Holmes et al., 2014; Kowatsch & Maass, 2010; Lee & Benbasat, 2010; Von Reischach et al., 2009). Elsewhere Denegri-Knott and Molesworth (2013) have also highlighted how various aspects of competence in and commitment to desire construction, maintenance and actualisation are distributed between subject and machine code.

The idea of coupling is useful as it brings into focus efforts that are needed in linking consumers to hardware and software objects, and then other people in a configuration of practice around consumption. In other words, the sustained use of specific online databases, supported by specific hardware, externalizes the mind within human-software-machine networks and that these hybrids become responsible for various aspects of consumption. In doing so they may also shape consumption. We draw attention to the possible ways in which these hybrids interact with peoples’ ability to think about, feel about and do consumption. We may recognize these coupled systems by considering the cognitive and affective effort that is now delegated to them.

For example, consider the consumer who is an established signed-up member of a large shopping site such as Amazon, and accesses it via a smartphone app. Firstly we see that the profile and app are worked on over time to expand their functions. The more the app is used, the more data on the consumer is held and the more accu-

rate recommendations are. The app is also able to alert the consumer to relevant offers and deals, using the smartphone’s mobile internet access and messaging systems (sounds, lights and vibrations). As the consumer responds to the app, attending to some messages and not others, the coupled systems improves its efficiency. Further, the app can impact on external activity, for example it may be referred to when in physical stores for reviews and price comparisons. It may also be used to store virtual representations of desired goods once identified, augmenting memory and desiring functions of the hybrid. Through algorithms and reviews it also connects this consumer to others as cognitive and affective resources become shared. The phone and app coupling is maintained - nurtured even - by the consumer as part of the self, an externalized, extended and coupled ‘mind’. A related service, Camelcamelcamel, allows consumers to monitor changing prices on Amazon. The site also extends the memory of a consumer, allowing Amazon’s catalogue to be monitored over time with changes in price ‘remembered’ and alerting the consumer to price drops. An eBay account also works in a similar way to Amazon, although the nature of cognitive and affective work may vary. For example, eBay may also recommend potentially desirable purchases, and allow for price comparisons, including a search that is historic and can therefore allow consumers to ‘remember’ very large numbers of previous auction prices. But through the attachment of ‘sniping’ software, it can also monitor external auctions on the consumer’s behalf, continuing their will to bid up to specific amounts.

In these short illustrations we see how coupling can extend memory, information processing and re-distributing desire by connecting consumers with databases (including dynamic ones linked to other consumers) through hardware. Cognitive work on finding, comparing, wanting, reminding and remembering are taken on by this coupled system hybrid, whilst consumers work at maintaining the coupling (building accounts, installing and updating apps, and maintaining hardware). Indeed, a consumer may link all of these systems and more through their smartphone, connecting and switching between them as each extends the consumer’s cognitive abilities such that the phone becomes a focus of consuming activity.

Extension is not always experienced positively. The promise of decision-making optimization afforded in consumer-device coupled systems does not necessarily mean more effective decision-making or improved consumer experience. Focus on coupling work may detract emotional investment and attention from consumption objects themselves. In addition to this the promise of potentially better deals or more expert sources to inform decision-making may be paralyzing- as decisions are postponed indefinitely or undermine decisions made. Coupling may happen through the use of preferential apps and online sources, which themselves could be undermining, rather than extending decision-making.

By shifting attention to the sociocultural cognitive systems in practices we are able to see how people combine with external devices or ‘environmental supports’ that highlight new configurations, the kind of work required in maintaining them as coupled and operating as a system, and what happens when they fail. This offers an additional account to those reported for other ‘immutable mobiles’, (like writings, documents, manuals, shopping lists and illustrations) which may provoke discussion and further research on how such hybrids transform consumption. A critical inquiry into the direction and nature of those transformations in concrete empirical contexts is pressing given the increasing complexity and prevalence of consumer/device hybrids in consumption.

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The Effect of Numerical Markers on Consumer Inferences and Decisions

Chair: Jared Watson University of Maryland, USA

Paper #1: The Effect of Reward Quantification on Actual Program Participation

Eleanor Putnam-Farr, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

Jason Riis, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #2: Swayed Away by Numbers: When Consumers Overweight the Review Counts in their Decisions

Jared Watson, University of Maryland, USA

Anastasiya Pocheptsova, University of Maryland, USA

Michael Trusov, University of Maryland, USA

Paper #3: “18% off the Original Price Then Another 12% off” or “12% off Then 18% off”: How Multiple Discounts Influence Consumer Evaluations

Rajesh Bagchi, Virginia Tech, USA

Derick Davis, University of Miami, USA

Paper #4: The Rating Polarity Effect: Overcoming the Surreptitious Influence of Implicit Numerical Associations on Consumer Judgments

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Aradhna Krishna, University of Michigan, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

Managers often use numerical markers to motivate and attract consumers. But is this always the best strategy? Imagine a consumer deciding whether to join a rewards program: is she more likely to join one that says “earn up to \$125 in rewards” or one that features the message “earn rewards”? How does she use the numerical information in the decision process? Reliance on numerical attributes is a common decision heuristic (Adaval 2013). Consumers use such attributes to answer questions such as “How long?”, “How many?”, or “How much?” to aid in their decision, even when numerical attributes are not the most important information for their decision process.

While recent research on numerosity has advanced our understanding of how various attributes of a number (e.g., magnitude, format, or precision) affect consumer preferences between choice options (Coulter and Coulter 2010, Monga and Bagchi 2012, Zhang and Schwarz 2012), much is yet to be discovered; especially pertaining to how the use of numerical markers in consumer decisions can lead to suboptimal outcomes. This session takes an interdisciplinary approach to the issue, by combining papers with quantitative, behavioral, and managerial perspective to provide an integrative view of the cases where marketers rely on numerical markers to affect behavior in several consumption domains. Across four papers, we find that consumers typically overweight the numerical attributes in their decisions, frequently leading to suboptimal decisions.

In the first paper, Putnam-Farr and Riis investigate how the quantification of rewards motivates program enrollment and participation. In a field experiment with a large wellness provider, they find that a quantified reward (vs. non-quantified) reward messages leads to higher enrollment. Yet, it also leads to an earlier dropout from the program for those who enroll. Next, Watson, Pocheptsova, and Trusov demonstrate a *ratings count effect* in which consumers’ preference between options systematically changes based on the total number of reviews available on the website. Bagchi and Davis continue to explore the relationship between numerical markers and consumer evaluations by investigating the order of the presentation

of multiple discounts. The authors demonstrate that a large-small discount ordering leads to higher product evaluations. Lastly, Kyung, Thomas, and Krishna investigate a *rating polarity effect* in which consumers encountering an atypical evaluation scale are less sensitive to quality differences between products. The authors find that interference between numerical associations in memory drives this effect.

Taken together, the four papers contribute to the literature by illuminating different consequences of numerical markers on consumers’ inferences and behavior, with an emphasis on how the numerical markers may lead consumers to make suboptimal decisions. With diverse methodology and theoretic lenses applied to the issue, this session should appeal to a broad audience interested in numerosity, inference making, and consumer decision-making, with an emphasis on implications of using numerical markers in marketing actions.

The Effect of Reward Quantification on Actual Program Participation

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

For many programs, ongoing active user participation is an important component. Examples include programs for exercise, diet, frequent buyer rewards, and financial budgeting. For these types of programs, marketers have a dual purpose of both exciting people enough to enroll, but also motivating people to participate. Given that measuring participation outcomes is difficult, but measuring click and enrollment responses is relatively straightforward, most marketers focus on techniques to increase enrollment, with the hope that participation will follow. This leads to an understandable tendency to focus on attention-getting techniques, such as the maximum potential reward that participants could earn. In this particular set of experiments, we look at a program which offers rewards and consider how the language used to describe these rewards affects both enrollment and ongoing participation.

The tendency to focus attention on the maximum potential reward is a reasonable one. Research suggests that overstatement of benefits can lead to more favorable ratings of product quality than understatements (Olshavsky & Miller, 1972). And generally, higher incentives are more attractive than lower incentives for motivating participation (Locke, Latham, & Erez, 1988). However, this emphasis on the maximum potential reward may cause people to focus on that reward, particularly if that potential is expressed in the form of a number. The mere presence of a number, regardless of its validity as a target, can often act as an anchor for expectations from which people insufficiently adjust (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974) which is usually employed when people are asked to judge the probability that an object or event A belongs to class or process B; (ii. Research on lotteries and gambling has shown that demand for lottery tickets is driven by the maximum potential payout, rather than a calculation of expected return (Forrest, Simmons, & Chesters, 2002) and that gamblers often focus on the amount they could win as an anchor (Lichtenstein and Slovic 1971).

If people do use this maximum potential reward as an anchor, it could have significant effects on their eventual satisfaction with the program. On the positive side, the ingoing expectation creates an initial frame of reference that is then updated using information about performance relative to the expectation (Oliver, 1980), so the high target might generate sticky positive expectations. On the other

hand, product performance evaluations can depend more on discrepancies relative to expectations than on actual performance (Weaver and Brickman 1974), so if people fail to perform at the expected level, this could have a negative impact on their satisfaction. Similarly, research on goal performance suggests that people update their opinions about the importance of the goal based on performance towards that goal. In some cases, dissatisfaction with performance on a goal leads people to try to improve their performance, suggesting they will push to achieve the high target (Fishbach, Dhar, & Zhang, 2006) keeping in shape. However, if the lack of performance is perceived as a personal failure, it can result in decreased commitment to a goal (Soman & Cheema, 2004), particularly if they feel the target is unachievable.

In an initial online field experiment ($N=8,918$), we tested different email recruitment messages in partnership with a large wellness provider, and measured clicks, enrollment, and ongoing participation. We randomly assigned potential participants to receive either a quantified recruitment email (“earn up to \$125 in rewards”) or a non-quantified recruitment email (“earn rewards”) and found that those who received the quantified email were much more likely to click the enrollment link (33% versus 24%, $p<.001$) and somewhat more likely to enroll in the program (10.02% versus 8.83%, $p=.05$). This supports the idea that the high target attracts positive attention and motivates people to enroll. However, the average duration of participation for those who enrolled from the quantified message was lower (38 days versus 41 days out of the 60 days measured, $p=.05$) and more of them dropped out both on the first day and during the first two weeks, despite earning just as much in rewards as those from the non-quantified condition.

In a follow up study on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk, we tested several different potential recruitment messages which varied the language used to describe the potential reward amount (“up to \$50”, “up to \$20”, “\$20 or more”, or no specific target given). We found that people adopt numbers in recruitment messages as personal targets, and are much more likely to be dissatisfied with the program if they do not meet those targets. People who are told they can earn “up to \$50” for participation expect to earn substantially more than those who were told they could earn “\$20 or more” (\$40 vs \$30, $t=-4.7$, $p<.001$), even though the conditions for earning rewards were the same in both conditions, and up to \$50 has a firm upper bound, which should limit the potential reward.

These results help us understand how people shape their expectations about goal formation and progress and thus how marketers can target messages more appropriately to encourage ongoing participation. Goal formation is not necessarily an explicit consideration of what would be a reasonable target, but may be influenced by the language used to describe the program generally. Marketers should be aware of this issue when describing benefits to potential participants, in order to avoid frustrating their customers if these targets are unlikely to be reached.

Swayed by the Numbers: The Consequences of Displaying Review Counts in Purchase Decisions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine a consumer shopping online for a new blender. She narrows her choice set down two options that vary on product rating (e.g., 3.5 vs 3.2). Would her choice be different if she was shopping on a popular website that has a large number of consumer reviews as opposed to a smaller retailer with a small number of reviews?

While previous literature has examined the influence of online reviews on evaluations of a single product (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006), we investigate how consumer choice between multiple prod-

ucts is affected by the review counts. Consumers have been shown to incorporate others’ purchase decisions into their own (Murray 1991; Bannerjee 1992; Brown and Reingen 1987) which helps reduce uncertainty in their choices (Roselius 1971). Thus, the total review count on the website gives a signal to the consumer of others’ purchase decisions and evaluations, increasing decision confidence as the review count increases. In contrast, when the total review count on the retail website is low consumers’ confidence is decreased.

We propose that ironically consumers’ low confidence when shopping on retail websites with low review counts will lead them to overweight the difference between review counts of the choice options. This happens because consumers are relying on relative differences rather than absolute ones as a simplifying decision heuristic (Fox and Levav 2000). This, we argue, can result in consumers making suboptimal decisions, i.e., choosing lower-quality options when they feature higher review counts, when shopping from retailers with low (vs. high) review counts. Furthermore, we argue that consumers are more likely to defer when the choice set features small review counts (compared to large or absent review counts), yet a majority of online retailers feature small ratings counts, potentially causing adverse effects to their sales.

Study 1 examined the current practices regarding online reviews disclosure. 91 websites from three of the highest grossing online product categories (electronics and appliances, clothing and accessories, and computer hardware; NRF E-Commerce Sales 2010) were analyzed and coded by two independent raters. Most of the websites analyzed disclosed review counts (76%). Of these, 62% featured a small review count, suggesting potential adverse influences to sales based on our prediction of consumer behavior described above.

Study 2 ($N=183$) tested these predictions. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three review count conditions (large, small, or absent) in a between-subjects design and were asked to imagine they were shopping for a blender. Two blenders were described by a short list of attributes, varying on quality (the number of stars given by other customers) and review counts. While the absolute difference in review counts between the options was kept constant across conditions, the relative difference varied by adding equal numbers of reviews to both options. Next, participants were asked “If you were shopping for a blender in this price range, would you: Purchase Option A [higher product rating, smaller review count], Purchase Option B [lower product rating, larger review count], or Defer purchase to look for other options?”. Finally, participants reported how much different attributes (including the number of reviews) factored into their decision process.

Results confirmed our hypotheses. Participants were significantly more likely to defer in the small review counts condition ($P_{\text{small}}=29\%$) than the absent ($P_{\text{absent}}=8\%$; $\chi^2(1,120)=8.514$; $p<.01$) and the large ($P_{\text{large}}=13\%$; $\chi^2(1,122)=4.856$; $p<.05$) review counts conditions. Of those who chose a product option, participants were significantly more likely to choose the lower-rated product (Option B) in the small ratings count condition ($P_{\text{small}}=64\%$) than the absent ($P_{\text{absent}}=29\%$; $\chi^2(1,98)=12.431$; $p<.001$) and the large ($P_{\text{large}}=29\%$; $\chi^2(1,97)=11.953$; $p<.001$). We further find that the participants were significantly more likely to judge the number of reviews as more important factor in their decision process in the small review counts condition ($M_{\text{small}}=5.59$) compared to the absent ($M_{\text{absent}}=5.18$; $t(180)=-1.798$; $p<.08$) or large ($M_{\text{large}}=5.10$; $t(180)=2.186$; $p<.05$) conditions. In the next two studies, we demonstrated the generalizability of this finding in other product categories (Study 3a), and via consequential consumer choice (Study 3b)

Studies 4 and 5 examined the underlying process: consumer confidence when shopping on the websites featuring low review

counts. In study 4 ($N=364$) participants were randomly assigned to one of two review counts conditions (large vs. small), and made a choice between two lounge chairs with a process similar to study 2. After indicating relative preference, participants were asked to “Indicate the level of confidence you felt in making the choice” on a 7-point scale. Once again, differences in preference emerged between ratings count conditions, with participants preferring Option B (lower rating, higher review count) more when the ratings count was small ($M_{\text{large}} = 2.49$, $M_{\text{small}} = 3.04$; $F(1,369) = 8.526$; $p < .01$). This effect was mediated by consumers’ confidence ($\beta = -.09$; 95% CI: $-.19$ to $-.03$). Study 5 ($N=433$) was designed to test how the quality of the choice set options moderated this process. We hypothesized that lower product ratings would decrease choice confidence, increasing reliance on review volumes, while higher ratings would increase confidence, mitigating the need to rely on review counts. The study used a 2(volume: high, low) by 3 (product ratings: low, medium, high), and showed that previously reported effect was attenuated in the high product rating condition (index of moderation: $\beta = -.05$; 95% CI: $-.14$ to $-.006$), with consumers exhibiting high confidence when the choice set featured highly-rated options (e.g., 4.5 vs 4.2) mitigating the effect of review count on preference between choice options.

Taken together, the results of the six studies demonstrate that the review counts disclosed by an online retailer systematically affect consumer preference and purchase intentions. Consumers shopping on the websites with low review counts overweight relative differences in review counts between choice options, leading them into potentially suboptimal decisions, and increasing choice deferral. These effects were attenuated with choice sets featuring highly-rated products, increasing consumers’ confidence and decreasing reliance on the number of reviews in their decision process. These results have significant implications for the online retail environment, as Study 1 showed that majority of online retailers feature a small review count. Our results suggest that these retailers would be better off not revealing review count information, or investing resources in enticing their customers to leave online reviews.

“18% off the Original Price Then Another 12% off” or “12% off Then 18% off”: How Multiple Discounts Influence Consumer Evaluations

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine a store offers two discounts for a \$100 leather jacket: Take 18% off the original price then an additional 12% off at check-out. Here the smaller discount follows the larger one (large-small ordering). What if the discounts were reversed? 12% then 18%; i.e., small-large ordering. How would this affect consumer evaluations (e.g., purchase likelihood, deal evaluations)? Of surprise to many consumers, both orderings yield the same total discount of 27.84%. We show that large-small ordering elicits more favorable evaluations. Here both percentages were presented using a simultaneous mode; but multiple percentages can also be encountered sequentially—at different points in time, one discount at the store entrance, the other at check out. With sequential mode, we predict a reversal—small-large ordering will be evaluated more favorably. Interestingly, if consumers actually calculated the total discount, order or mode should not affect judgments, as the total discount is 27.84% regardless. However, consumers are cognitive misers, and seldom perform the associated computations.

We draw from two research streams—anchoring and order effects—to support our theory. When two percentages are presented simultaneously, we expect consumers to anchor on the first percentage to form an initial judgment, and then adjust for the second discount

and form a judgment about the total discount—consistent with literature on anchoring (Epley and Gilovich 2010). Consequently, large-small ordering (18%-12%) versus small-large (12%-18%) will lead to the inference that the overall discount is larger. However, with sequential mode (separated by space and/or time), consumers are unaware of the second percentage when encountering the first one. Here too, we expect anchoring to occur, and we expect consumers to make initial judgments based on the first percentage. However, when encountering the second (unexpected) percentage they will use the initial percentage to evaluate the second percentage. If this second percentage is larger (vs. smaller), it makes the deal seem better. This would also lead to an order effect but opposite of that observed for the simultaneous condition; a large-small order (18%-12%) will lead to the inference that the overall discount is smaller than a small-large order (12%-18%). This is because the second discount will seem larger (smaller) when the smaller (larger) discount is provided first, and lead to the perception that the overall deal is better (not as good).

We support our theorizing in three experiments. In experiment 1 we vary order but only use a simultaneous mode. As in the introductory example, participants ($N = 61$) were considering purchasing a \$100 jacket, which was on sale. We manipulated discount order to be large-small (e.g., 18% followed by 12%) or small-large (12%-18%), thus resulting in final price of \$72.16 (and a 27.84% discount). An ANOVA with deal perceptions elicited a main effect of order ($F(1,59) = 6.29$, $p < .02$); the deal was adjudged better with a large-small (vs. a small-large) discount ordering ($M_{\text{large-small}} = 5.36$ vs. $M_{\text{small-large}} = 4.67$). Thus, with simultaneous mode, individuals anchored on the initial percentage and thought the deal was better when the larger percentage came first.

Experiment 2 was designed to test the effect of order and presentation mode (simultaneous vs. sequential) together. Participants learned they were planning a 4-day all-inclusive vacation (including hotel, food, and activities), and find a package for \$590 (retail). The package was discounted. There were two discounts (11% and 4%), which were either presented on the same page as the scenario (simultaneous mode) or on different screens (one with the scenario, and the other one on the subsequent page; sequential mode). The order of the discounts was also varied, 11% or 4% presented first (large-small or small-large, respectively). Thus, a 2 Presentation (Simultaneous vs. Sequential) x 2 Order (Large-small vs. Small-large) between-subjects factorial design was used.

Participants ($N = 217$) indicated purchase likelihood and deal perceptions. Independent ANOVAs with both dependent measures elicited only the predicted two-way interactions ($F(1, 213) = 13.95$, $p < .001$, and $F(1, 213) = 7.96$, $p < .01$, respectively). Participants in simultaneous conditions wanted to purchase the package more with large-small ordering ($M_{\text{large-small}} = 5.41$ vs. $M_{\text{small-large}} = 4.66$; $p < .01$), but in sequential conditions, the small-large ordering discount was favored ($M_{\text{large-small}} = 4.75$ vs. $M_{\text{small-large}} = 5.42$; $p < .05$). A similar pattern of means emerged for deal perceptions (Simultaneous: $M_{\text{large-small}} = 5.62$ vs. $M_{\text{small-large}} = 5.21$; $p < .06$; Sequential: $M_{\text{large-small}} = 5.38$ vs. $M_{\text{small-large}} = 5.82$; $p < .05$). Furthermore, deal perceptions mediated the effect of our independent variables on purchase likelihood.

Experiment 3 replicates our findings in a laptop purchase context with percentage increases (as opposed to decreases in the earlier studies). Participants ($N = 189$) read about battery life improvements to the model they were interested in. The presentation of the improvements in percentage increase in battery life constituted our manipulations in a 2 (Presentation: Sequential vs. Simultaneous) x 2 (Order: Larger increase first vs. Smaller increase first) between-subjects design. In the simultaneous (sequential) mode, both percentage increases were on the same (different) screens. One improvement

was a software update (improved battery life by 13%), and the additional improvement was an upgraded hard drive (improved battery life by an additional 8%). The order of improvements was also varied (13%-8% vs. 8%-13%). An ANOVA with upgrade perceptions yielded a significant two-way interaction of mode and order ($F(1, 185) = 12.29, p < .001$). In simultaneous mode, large-small ordering was evaluated more positively ($M_{large-first} = 5.04$ vs. $M_{small-first} = 4.57$; contrast $p < .04$), whereas the opposite was true in sequential mode ($M_{large-first} = 4.41$ vs. $M_{small-first} = 5.01$; contrast $p < .01$).

Thus, we show how consumers evaluate multiple percentage changes, and contribute to literatures on numeracy, marketing, finance, and economics. In all of these areas computations play an important role (e.g., evaluating loans with compound interests or assessing stock price changes across quarters). In economics too, normative and prescriptive theories are developed based on preference for multiple lotteries using percentage-based probabilities.

The Rating Polarity Effect: Overcoming the Surreptitious Influence of Implicit Numerical Associations on Consumer Judgments

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Numeric ratings are frequently used to describe products and are an important input for consumer judgments. However, previous research has not examined how culturally determined implicit numerical associations might influence such judgments depending on the rating format employed. Numeric ratings can be presented using a bigger-is-better ($1=bad, 5=good$) or smaller-is-better ($1=good, 5=bad$) format with reversed rating poles. The format that consumers find typical will depend on their cultural context. Consumers might encounter numeric rating systems with atypical formats when traveling abroad, or even in their own country (e.g. NIH grant proposals in the U.S.). Our research is the first to examine how rating format influences judgments, demonstrating a *rating polarity effect*: Consumer evaluations are less sensitive to differences in product quality when using rating formats with a numerical association atypical for their culture. Decades of research on memory and judgments suggest that two different types of memory processes influence our everyday judgments: rules stored in explicit memory and associations stored in implicit memory that spontaneously, and sometimes surreptitiously, influences judgments (Graf and Schacter 1987; Schacter 1987). Previous research in numerical cognition suggests that people can form implicit associations with numbers based on their cultural context (Dehaene, Bossini, and Giroux 1993). We posit that the rating polarity effect is caused by interference from typical, implicit numerical associations when applying atypical, explicit rules and that mindsets that increase reliance on implicit associations versus explicit rules can mitigate the effect of interference on consumer product evaluations.

Our experiments use an interference paradigm (Jacoby 1991) where measuring the extent of interference that comes from automatic versus intentional uses of memory requires an experimental paradigm that compares outcomes where the implicit association and explicit rule coincide versus where they collide. Thus we compare participant product evaluations when using typical rating polarity, where the implicit numerical association (bigger-is-better) and explicit rule (bigger-is-better) coincide, to product evaluations when using atypical rating polarity, where the implicit numerical association (bigger-is-better) and explicit rule (smaller-is-better) collide. The difference in product evaluations between participants using the bigger-is-better versus smaller-is-better rating polarity reflects the extent of interference from the implicit numerical association

when attempting to apply an explicit rule. Participants are presented with five brands in three product categories (water, margarine, toothpaste). For each brand, they see the brand name, photograph, tagline, and quality rating (1, 2, 3, 4, or 5). In the bigger-is-better condition, 1 = *inadequate* and 5 = *very good*. In the smaller-is-better condition, 1 = *very good* and 5 = *inadequate*. Participants then indicated their purchase intentions for each product. The presence of interference is indicated by a significant rating polarity x product quality interaction.

Experiment 1 demonstrates how interference between numerical associations can affect consumer product evaluations. American participants are presented products with quality ratings using rating polarity with either a bigger-is-better (typical) or a smaller-is-better (atypical) numerical association. Repeated measures logistic regression revealed a significant rating polarity x product quality interaction for both purchase intent ($\beta = -.36, p < .01$) and willingness-to-pay measures ($\beta = -.25, p < .01$), indicating the presence of interference. American participants were less willing to purchase high quality product and more willing to purchase low quality products when using a smaller-is-better numerical association.

Experiment 2 demonstrates the cultural variability of the effect with Germany participants, where a smaller-is-better numerical association is more typical. Repeated measures logistic regression revealed a significant rating polarity x product quality interaction for both purchase intent ($\beta = -.39, p < .01$) and willingness-to-pay measures ($\beta = -.04, p = .06$), again indicating the presence of interference. German participants' product evaluations were less sensitive to difference in product quality when using a bigger-is-better numerical association.

If the effect of interference on consumers' product evaluations is due to interference from the typical numerical association in implicit memory with the atypical numerical association in explicit memory, then a mindset that encourages reliance on information in explicit memory should attenuate memory interference. Previous research has demonstrated that judgments and decisions can be characterized along a continuum of 'why' and 'how' mindsets (Freitas, Gollwitzer, and Trope 2004; Trope and Liberman 2003; Vallacher and Wegner 1987, 1989). When in a 'why' mindset, people focus on higher-level thinking—achieving an outcome and why a task is done. This is in contrast to a 'how' mindset, which increases lower-level thinking, focused on process and how a task is done. We propose that a 'how' mindset can reduce interference from implicit associations when applying explicit rules.

In experiment 3, we measured participants' propensity to adopt a more 'how' versus 'why' mindset using the Behavioral Identification Form (Vallacher and Wegner 1989; scores range from 0-24) after they completed the same product evaluation task. The three-way interaction between rating polarity, quality level, and mindset was significant ($\beta = -.024, p = .01$). Using a series of 12 spotlight regressions (Spiller et al. 2013), the coefficient for the two way interaction between rating polarity and quality level (representing interference) was significant for all participants except for those with the most 'how' oriented mindsets (Johnson-Neyman value between BIF values of 6 and 8).

In Experiment 4, we manipulated mindset. Participants completed a task to prime a 'how' versus 'why' mindset (Freitas, Gollwitzer, and Trope 2004) before making product evaluations. The three-way rating polarity, quality level, and mindset interaction was significant ($\beta = .20, p = .02$). The coefficient for the quality level x rating polarity interaction was statistically significant for participants in a 'why' mindset ($\beta = -.31, p < .01$), but the magnitude of the coefficient was smaller and marginally significant for participants in a

'how' mindset ($\beta = -.10, p = .09$). Thus a 'how' mindset attenuated the effect of memory interference on product evaluations.

Our research demonstrates that interference between implicit and explicit numerical associations in memory can influence consumer product evaluations and that this effect depends on cultural context. Most importantly, our research shows that mindsets play an important role in reducing interference between implicit associations and explicit rules.

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Informing the Experience: How Does Prior Information Influence Consumption Experiences

Chairs: Sarah Wei, University of Alberta, Canada
Anna Paley, New York University, USA

Paper #1: Sampling Traps: How the Opportunity to Sample Experiential Products Reduces Hedonic Value

Sarah Wei, University of Alberta, Canada
Gerald Häubl, University of Alberta, Canada

Paper #2: Enjoying the Unexpected: Prior Uncertainty Improves Hedonic Experiences

Anna Paley, New York University, USA
Tom Meyvis, New York University, USA
Robyn A. LeBoeuf, Washington University in St. Louis, USA
Leif D. Nelson, University of California, Berkeley, USA

Paper #3: Creating Happiness by First Inducing and Then Satisfying a Desire: The Case of Curiosity

Christopher Hsee, University of Chicago, USA
Bowen Ruan, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
Zoe Y. Lu, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

Paper #4: The Effect of Oral versus Manual Expression Modalities on Choice Satisfaction

Thorsten Voß, Mannheim University, Germany
Anne Klesse, Tilburg University, The Netherlands
Caroline Goukens, Maastricht University, The Netherlands
Jonathan Levav, Stanford University, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

When consumers are allowed to sample a movie before watching it, do they enjoy the consumption experience more? Are consumers happier when they do not know what familiar song they will hear next? Does having curiosity-inducing questions enhance the subsequent pleasure of acquiring associated knowledge? Can the way in which consumers express their preferences enhance decision satisfaction? This session integrates these questions and considers how various factors prior to the consumption of an experiential product can affect consumers' enjoyment of and satisfaction with that experience.

Combined, the four papers in this session address two crucial questions: 1) How can marketers enhance consumption experience by varying the way in which information is exchanged with consumers prior to the experience? 2) How do consumers' psychological reactions to these circumstances affect their overall enjoyment of the consumption experience?

Specifically, the first two papers speak to the benefits of restricting information prior to an experience. Wei and Häubl demonstrate that the sampling of unknown experiential products traps consumers into over-exploration, demotivating them from enjoying the selected experiential products in their entirety. In turn, this reduces the enjoyment of the consumption experience.

Consistent with this finding, Paley, Meyvis, LeBoeuf and Nelson demonstrate the pleasurable consequences of prior uncertainty after its resolution. Consumers who were initially uncertain about the specifics of an upcoming positive experience (e.g. what song they would hear) enjoy the experience more. This effect is driven by the surprising recognition of familiar stimuli.

Alongside with the impact of the *amount* of prior information available, Hsee, Ruan and Lu propose the critical influence of the types of prior information available. They demonstrate that when

prior information incites a feeling of curiosity, exposure to subsequent knowledge is more pleasurable. For example, compared to consumers who merely view pictures of Einstein, consumers who are made curious through prior questions are happier after reading the biography about Einstein. Importantly, consumers do not predict this advantage of curiosity.

Further, the way in which information about consumer preferences is solicited affects consumption experiences. Voß, Klesse, Goukens, and Levav demonstrate that preference expression modalities – i.e. whether consumers state their preferences orally or indicate them manually – influence choice satisfaction. Given limited prior information, oral expression of preferences triggers less deliberation than manual expression, in turn increasing decision satisfaction.

In summary, these four papers center on the influence of various factors prior to the consumption of experiential products on the satisfaction with and enjoyment of those consumption experiences. They share a focus on the exchange of information between marketers and consumers. In the context of providing information *for* consumers, this research implicates both the amount of information available (Wei & Häubl; Paley et al.) and the type of information available (Hsee et al.) in enhancing consumer experiences. Further, the modality through which information about preferences is solicited from consumers plays an important role on decision satisfaction (Voß et al.). The complementary approaches of these four papers provide fundamental insights for understanding the judgment and evaluation of consumption experience and can guide marketers in creating more enjoyable experiences.

Sampling Traps: How the Opportunity to Sample Experiential Products Reduces Hedonic Value

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers typically appreciate opportunities to *sample experiential products* – such as by viewing trailers or portions of movies, listening to parts of songs from music albums, reading book excerpts, or hiking portions of mountain trails. This type of sampling is thought to facilitate assessing the attractiveness of available options, thus enabling consumers to make better consumption choices. Counter to this intuition, this present research demonstrates that the opportunity to sample experiential products can backfire and reduce consumers' enjoyment of consumption experiences.

Sampling experiential products – i.e., consuming them in partial – is more engaging than merely obtaining descriptive information about them (Hoch, 2002). We hypothesize that the opportunity to sample tends to trap consumers into excessive exploration of available options. This activates an exploration mindset (Hills, Todd & Goldstone, 2010), which is characterized by a greater importance of the goal of exploring additional options relative to the goal of exploiting the preferred option – by focusing on consuming and enjoying the most attractive alternative.

We hypothesize that an exploration mindset reduces the motivation to consume any of the available experiential products in its entirety. More importantly, many experiential products have the property that a substantial portion of the pleasure they provide is due specifically to *completing* their consumption (e.g., seeing the end of the movie). Thus, we hypothesize that, by demotivating the complete

consumption, the exploration mindset induced by the opportunity to sample reduces the hedonic value of the consumption experience.

A critical aspect of this theoretical account is the disproportionate hedonic value that arises specifically from completion – i.e., from the consumption of an experiential product in its entirety and/or up to its natural end. This property, which we refer to as “*indivisibility*” that is inherent to many experiential products (Ariely & Zauberman, 2000), suggests a critical boundary condition for the proposed negative effect of sampling. We hypothesize that the negative effect of the opportunity to sample on the hedonic value of a consumption experience is attenuated when the experiential products are high in divisibility – i.e., if they consist of small independent parts, each of which is enjoyable in its own right.

Study 1 was designed to provide a first demonstration of the basic effect. 91 undergraduate students were randomly assigned to one of two conditions (opportunity to sample: yes vs. no). Participants were asked to select the video they would enjoy most from a list of 10 animation videos of low divisibility. In both conditions, participants read descriptions (including the title, director, and the basic storyline) of each option, one at a time. For participants who had the opportunity to sample, the video player right above the verbal descriptions automatically started playing; they could decide whether to watch the video to completion or to switch to a different option. Participants with no opportunity to sample saw a screenshot of the video right above the verbal description, and they cannot switch once they selected one. Participants in both conditions could stop watching the video whenever they liked. The results show that, relative to no opportunity to sample, the opportunity to sample significantly reduced the completion rate of watching the selected video ($\chi^2 = 13.34$ (1, 89), $p < .001$) and the hedonic value of the consumption experience ($M_{\text{Sampling}} = 6.76$ vs. $M_{\text{NoSampling}} = 7.74$; $t(1, 89) = 2.15$, $P = .034$).

Study 2 examined the proposed moderating role of the divisibility of experiential products. 187 participants from a panel in North America were randomly assigned to conditions using a 2 (opportunity to sample: yes vs. no) by 2 (divisibility: high vs. low) between subjects design. The high divisible videos all had hilarious and enjoyable moments throughout, whereas low divisible animation videos had strong, cohesive storylines. As the result, the opportunity to sample significantly reduced the completion rate of watching the selected video ($\chi^2 = 9.82$, $p = .002$). The interaction between sampling and divisibility significantly influenced the hedonic value of the consumption experience ($F(1, 183) = 5.06$, $p = .026$): the opportunity to sample significantly reduced the hedonic value of the consumption experience when the sampled videos were of low divisibility ($M_{\text{Sampling}} = 8.19$ vs. $M_{\text{NoSampling}} = 8.89$, $t(87) = 2.02$, $p = .044$); and the hedonic value of the consumption experience was not influenced when the sampled videos were of high divisibility ($M_{\text{Sampling}} = 8.79$ vs. $M_{\text{NoSampling}} = 8.36$, $t(80) = -1.18$, $p = .24$).

Study 3 was designed to provide deeper insight into the psychological mechanism that underlies sampling traps. We directly manipulated the exploitation mindset by enforced completion of the selected experiential product. 162 M-Turk workers were randomly assigned to conditions of a 2 (opportunity to sample: yes vs. no) by 2 (enforced completion vs. spontaneous completion) between subjects design. In the enforced completion condition, the button ending the video-watching section would not appear on screen unless participants completed the selected video. As the result, the opportunity to sample significantly reduced the completion rate of the selected video ($\chi^2 = 5.16$ (1, 102), $p = .023$) in the spontaneous completion condition. Further, the interaction of the manipulations significantly impacted the hedonic value of the consumption experience ($F(1, 159) = 4.34$, $p = .046$): the opportunity to sample significantly re-

duced the hedonic value of the consumption experience when the completion of selected video was spontaneous ($M_{\text{Sampling}} = 7.85$ vs. $M_{\text{NoSampling}} = 8.64$, $t(158) = 2.11$, $p = .038$); and sampling did not influence the hedonic value of the consumption experience ($M_{\text{Sampling}} = 8.69$ vs. $M_{\text{NoSampling}} = 8.14$, $t(158) = -1.03$, $p = .31$) when completion was enforced.

This paper sheds light on how the opportunity to sample experiential products influences consumers’ enjoyment of consumption experiences. Evidences from three studies show that the sampling of experiential products can trap consumers into excessive exploration of available options and ultimately reduce the hedonic value of their consumption experience. In addition, the findings have important practical implications for both companies (e.g., when and how to allow consumers to sample their products) and consumers (e.g., how to avoid sampling traps).

Enjoying the Unexpected: Prior Uncertainty Improves Hedonic Experiences

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers’ experiences often vary in the extent to which the specifics of that experience are known in advance. For example, consider the pleasure of listening to a familiar song that you selected on your iPod— a certain experience, where you knew exactly what you would hear. Now, contrast this against the delight of unexpectedly hearing that same song on the radio. The current research explores a similar distinction, demonstrating that uncertain experiences – those with less preceding information – may be more enjoyable than certain experiences.

While consumers usually like to be informed about upcoming experiences, some amount of prior uncertainty may actually increase enjoyment. Indeed, the successes of Apple’s iPod Shuffle and Internet radio sites such as Pandora.com are testaments to the benefits of hedonic experiences that are not fully known in advance.

In four studies, we vary the amount of prior information given to participants and provide evidence, across multiple domains, that hedonic experiences can be more enjoyable when less prior information is available about them. Our findings indicate that this effect cannot be explained by the preceding uncertainty being pleasurable, but rather is driven by the joy of recognition – the momentary pleasure that arises when a familiar stimulus is unexpectedly recognized (study 1-3). The favorable effect of not disclosing an experience in advance occurs for both music (studies 1-3) and food (study 4) experiences, but disappears when participants are not sufficiently familiar with the stimuli (study 3).

In study 1, all participants listened to five 30-second fragments of well-known songs (e.g. Billie Jean by Michael Jackson). Half of the participants had no prior knowledge of the songs they would hear, while the others were exposed to the title and artist of each song in advance. Participants rated their enjoyment of the experience during the first few seconds of each song, and immediately after the last song ended. Results show that participants who had no prior information about the songs enjoyed the experience more ($F_{\text{online}}(1, 102) = 6.79$, $p = .011$; $F_{\text{retrospective}}(1, 103) = 5.52$, $p = .009$). This effect was mediated by self-reported excitement at the start of each song, consistent with the idea that recognition produces a momentary pleasure that improves overall enjoyment.

While study 1 implies that the positive impact of uncertainty is strongest during the first few seconds of an experience, study 2 tests this directly. This study replicated the procedure of study 1 with three one-minute song clips. We additionally manipulated whether participants rated their enjoyment of each song during the first few

seconds of the song (as in study 1) or during the last few seconds of each song. Results show a reliable interaction. Among participants who rated each song during the first few seconds, prior uncertainty again increased enjoyment ($F(1, 371) = 5.38, p = .021$). On the other hand, participants who rated each song during the last few seconds did not show this benefit of prior uncertainty ($F < 1$). This attenuation provides additional evidence that the momentary pleasure of recognition improves the evaluation of experiences.

For prior uncertainty to increase the enjoyment of experiences through the momentary pleasure produced by recognition requires that the stimuli are in fact recognizable. While studies 1-2 used familiar stimuli to ensure recognition, study 3 explored familiarity as a boundary condition.

We selected 10 current popular songs to naturalistically vary familiarity. Participants first indicated their familiarity with each song. Then all participants listened to 30-second fragments of three of the songs and evaluated their experience. Half of the participants were given the title and artist of each song in advance, whereas the other half were not told which songs would play. We expected that in this latter uncertain condition, the prior familiarity with the songs would matter. If people were familiar with the songs, then hearing each song should produce the joy of recognition. However, if people were not familiar with the songs, then hearing the song will also resolve the prior uncertainty (as the actual experience is being revealed) but would not produce the pleasurable moment of recognition. Consistent with this reasoning, the effect of prior uncertainty on enjoyment depended on participants' familiarity with the songs ($t_{interaction}(192) = 2.67, p = .008$). That is, only participants high in familiarity with the songs experienced a positive impact of prior uncertainty. Moreover, this interaction was mediated by the self-reported experience of pleasant surprise, further implicating the joy of recognition as the causal mechanism. In addition, since all participants were given the list of 10 possible songs in advance, this study controls for different expectations between conditions and demonstrates that the effect generalizes to more subtle manipulations of prior uncertainty.

Study 4 extends the pleasurable effect of prior uncertainty into a new domain (food). First, all participants sampled the three well-liked jellybeans to familiarize themselves with the flavors. Next, they tasted one of the three flavors again. While some participants were told in advance what flavor they would eat, others only knew that they would taste one of the three flavors again. Results show that participants who did not know exactly what they would taste enjoyed the experience more than their counterparts who knew exactly what was coming ($F(1, 125) = 5.46, p = .021$).

Overall, this research expands the theoretical understanding of uncertainty, suggesting that prior uncertainty can improve the evaluations of positive experiences. While prior research has demonstrated that a state of uncertainty can increase positive mood, (e.g. Bar-Anan, Wilson, & Gilbert, 2009; Kurtz, Wilson, Gilbert, 2007; Lee & Qui, 2009; Wilson, Centerbar, Kermer, & Gilbert, 2005), our current findings indicate that revealed experiences can also be more enjoyable if they were initially uncertain to begin with. Further, this effect does not seem to be driven by the enjoyment of the prior uncertainty, but rather by the joy of recognition, or the delight of encountering a positive and familiar stimulus. These findings add to our understanding of the role of uncertainty in consumption experiences, and can guide managers in creating more enjoyable experiences for consumers.

Creating Happiness by First Inducing and Then Satisfying a Desire: The Case of Curiosity

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Happiness, to a large extent, comes from the satisfaction of desires. Yet our basic desires, such as those for food, drink and sleep, are finite. Once satiated, they cannot be immediately and easily recreated without entailing side effects. Hence, our happiness from satisfying these desires is also bounded. The desire for knowledge – curiosity, however, can be easily induced and can possibly be innocuous. This research studies how to use curiosity to enhance happiness. The curiosity we study here is about general knowledge (e.g., “When was Einstein born?”), not about personal issues (e.g., “Am I infected with Ebola?”), and the happiness we study here is monetary hedonic experience, not overall life satisfaction.

Inspired by existing research on the hedonic consequences of curiosity, we propose that (a) curiosity acquisition (becoming curious about something) does not make one unhappy and (b) curiosity resolution (having an existing curiosity resolved) makes one happy. Therefore, first inducing a person to feel curious and then resolving her curiosity will endow the person with a net gain in happiness.

We further propose that laypersons are largely unaware of the hedonic benefit of this curiosity-induction-and-reduction process, and are unwilling to expose themselves to such a process.

Put together, we submit the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Individuals will on average be happier if they are in a curiosity condition, in which they are first induced to feel curious about some knowledge (phase 1) and then are given the knowledge (phase 2), than if they are in a no-curiosity condition, in which they are not first induced to feel curious about the knowledge (phase 1) and then are given the knowledge (phase 2).

Hypothesis 2: When given a choice between being in the curiosity and the no curiosity condition, most people would choose to be in the no curiosity condition.

We have conducted multiple experiments that tested and lent support to these hypotheses. Here is a typical experiment. It consisted of three between-participants conditions, curiosity, no curiosity, and choice. In the curiosity condition, participants went through two phases. In phase 1, they read 10 questions about the life of Albert Einstein. They were told in advance that they only needed to think about the answers and did not need to write them down. They were also told that they would find out the answers to those questions in phase 2. In phase 2, the participants read a biography of Einstein, which contained the answers to the 10 questions. The no-curiosity condition was identical to the curiosity condition, except that in phase 1, the participants viewed 10 pictures of Einstein rather than read 10 questions about Einstein. Therefore, relatively speaking, participants in the first condition were more curious than participants in the second before they read the biography. In the third – choice – condition, participants were told about the procedures of the above two conditions and asked to make a choice.

In all the conditions, we sampled participants' hedonic experience in both phase 1 (when they read the questions or viewed the pictures) and phase 2 (when they read the biography).

Supporting Hypothesis 1, participants in the curiosity condition were on average happier than participants in the no-curiosity condition. Moreover, the main difference in happiness between the

two conditions occurred in phase 2, not in phase 1. That is, during phase 1, participants who read the questions were not happier (nor less happy) than participants who viewed the pictures, but during phase 2, participants who had read the questions were happier when reading the biography than participants who had viewed the pictures.

Supporting Hypothesis 2, when given a choice between the curiosity and the no-curiosity conditions, most participants chose the no-curiosity condition, that is, they chose to view the pictures rather than read the questions in Phase 1, even though they knew they could find out the answers in phase 2.

We have replicated these results in other experiments, including one about consumer brands, one about English words, and one about famous cities.

The current research demonstrates the potential of boosting happiness by first inducing a desire and then satisfying it. In most of human history, our ancestors lacked the resources to satisfy even their most basic desires. In times like those, one of the most effective ways to boost happiness was to satisfy such a basic desire. Historically, this is probably why in many cultures, a popular way to treat friends was to cook a meal for them or take them to a restaurant. Relative to our ancestors, we are now living in a world of abundance. For many of us, there is too much to eat, not too little. With the advances of technology and the accumulation of wealth, more of us will face this “ceiling effect.” To generate additional happiness, we will need additional desires. Thus, the key to happiness is not to satisfy existing desires, but to induce new desires. But desires such as those for food, drink and sleep cannot be easily induced; even if they could, inducing such desires would entail costs and side effects. Curiosity, at least the type of curiosity studied in this research, is a desire that can be readily induced, and can be satisfied with little to no cost. Our studies show the potential of using curiosity induction and satisfaction to boost happiness.

Happiness is fire. To have the fire, there must be fuel. Desire is a fuel. Many fuels are limited or harmful. Yet the fuel of curiosity is virtually limitless and harmless. Let the fuel of curiosity nourish our happiness and brighten our lives.

The Effect of Oral versus Manual Expression Modalities on Choice Satisfaction

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In the current marketplace consumers are afforded various ways to express their preferences. For instance, when making a purchase online or selecting a snack from a vending machine, they press a button; when ordering at a restaurant, they express their choice orally; when eating at an all-you-can-eat restaurant, they simply take the food they like. The primary purpose of this research is to explore whether merely changing the way consumers express their preferences—i.e., their preference expression modality—keeping all else constant affects their choice satisfaction.

Recent research by Klesse, Levav, and Goukens (2015) suggests that oral (speaking) versus manual (button pressing, grabbing, writing) preference expression modalities trigger different degrees of deliberation when making a choice. Specifically, relying on neuroscientific research (Bush, Luu, and Posner 2000, Paus et al. 1993, Paus 2001), the authors argue that expressing decisions orally prompts less cognition than expressing decisions manually and, hence, results in more impulsive decision making, reflected in greater self-control failures.

In this paper we hypothesize that consumers who make decisions orally will be more satisfied with their choices than consumers who make their decisions manually even if the choice outcome

is kept constant across conditions. Previous research shows that the degree of deliberation during a decision affects choice satisfaction (e.g., Wilson and Schooler 1993), and that choices made intuitively can result in greater satisfaction compared to those involving detailed reasoning (Dijksterhuis et al. 2006; Kahneman 2003). This is especially for decisions involving information scarcity and uncertainty (e.g., Dane and Pratt, 2007; Hayashi, 2001), like the ones we study in our experiments.

We conducted four studies to test this prediction. In all of these studies, we asked participants to decide—orally (by speaking) or manually (by grabbing or button pressing)—between seemingly similar options with limited information available. Once participants had made their choice, we assessed their choice satisfaction with three questions measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree): ‘I am happy with my choice’, ‘I am pleased with my choice’, ‘I feel satisfied with my choice’ (e.g., Oliver 1989).

In **study 1a**, participants chose between two stacks of papers labeled “Task A” or “Task B,” which were in fact identical. Prior to looking at the task sheet, participants were simply asked to express their satisfaction with their decision on a 1 to 7 scale. Participants who expressed their choice orally reported greater choice satisfaction ($M_{Oral} = 5.67, SD = 1.28$) than participants who expressed their choice manually ($M_{Grabbing} = 5.07, SD = 1.26, F(1, 80) = 7.42, p = .035$). In **study 1b**, we presented participants with two identical looking cups of Cola and told them that one contained a national brand Cola and another a private label. In fact the colas were the same (both cups contained a national brand). Participants who expressed their choice orally were more satisfied with their choice ($M_{Oral} = 4.99, SD = 1.26$) than those who expressed it manually by grabbing the option they wanted ($M_{Grabbing} = 4.31, SD = 1.37, F(1, 189) = 12.89, p < .0005$). In **study 2**, we added a condition in which participants chose by pressing a button in order to generalize the effect we observed in study 1 to an additional manual modality. Participants were asked to choose between two samples of nougat cream. We claimed that one sample is a branded product (Nutella) and the other one is a private label product; in fact, both were Nutella nougat-cream. Participants who expressed their choice orally ($M_{Oral} = 5.38, SD = 1.33$) were more satisfied with their choice than participants who expressed their choice in either manual modality ($M_{Button} = 4.93, SD = 1.11$ and $M_{Grabbing} = 4.73, SD = 1.21; F(1, 187) = 8.61, p = .004$). Notably, the two manual conditions did not differ in their reported choice satisfaction ($F(1, 187) = .86, p = .36$).

Finally, in **study 3** we provide evidence that speaking results in greater choice satisfaction because spoken choices are more intuitive than manual choices. Research in neuroscience (Heinks-Maldonado et al. 2005; Heinks-Maldonado et al. 2006) that explores brain activity when people can hear themselves speak normally versus hear a distorted version of their voice shows greater brain activity (e.g., Carter et al. 1998)—in the dorsal/caudal area of the anterior cingulate cortex; a structure known for its involvement in managing cognitive processes (Elliot 2003)—when individuals receive unexpected/alterd auditory feedback. Inspired by this finding, in study 3 we manipulate the degree of cognition by varying whether participants can hear themselves speak normally or whether they receive altered auditory feedback. Participants chose—either orally or manually (by grabbing the option of their choice)—between two identical looking cups of Cola. Unlike in the other studies, participants listened to music while choosing through noise cancellation headphones. We manipulated the volume of the music (low versus high) so that participants could (not) hear themselves and activated (deactivated) the noise cancellation feature. In line with our prediction, we found a

significant interaction effect between preference expression modality and music volume ($F(2, 139) = 2.72, p = .05$). Participants were more satisfied when they expressed their choice orally ($M_{Oral} = 5.59, SD = 1.04$) than when they expressed it manually ($M_{Grabbing} = 4.76, SD = 1.34, F(1, 69) = 12.26, p = .005$) in the low-volume condition, but equally satisfied in the high-volume condition ($M_{Oral} = 5.00, SD = 1.34$ and $M_{Grabbing} = 5.01, SD = 1.34, F(1, 70) = .001, p = .98$).

Taken together, the results of the studies reported here consistently show that merely changing the way individuals express their preferences affects their choice satisfaction even if the choice outcome is identical. Since decision satisfaction is vital for individuals' (subjective) well-being, it is important to explore factors that can increase satisfaction. To our knowledge, this project is the first to demonstrate that subtle changes in the modality utilized to express one's choice can cause different levels of choice satisfaction.

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Motivating Consumer Performance: Dynamics of Performance from Task-Dependent to Social Factors

Chairs: Keri L. Kettle, University of Miami, USA

Sarah Wei, University of Alberta, Canada

Paper #1: The Dynamics of Success: How Experiencing Success versus Failure Influences Subsequent Motivation

Sarah Wei, University of Alberta, Canada

Gerald Häubl, University of Alberta, Canada

Paper #2: Improving Consumer Performance by Merely Eliciting Goals

Aaron M. Sackett, University of St. Thomas, USA

George Wu, University of Chicago, USA

Rebecca J. White, University of Chicago, USA

Alex B. Markle, Fordham University, USA

Paper #3: Sharing Predictions

Keri L. Kettle, University of Miami, USA

Gerald Häubl, University of Alberta, Canada

Isabelle Engeler, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

Paper #4: Is It Always Better to Be A Big Fish in A Little Pond?

Kao Si, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Xianchi Dai, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

SESSION OVERVIEW

Consumers often engage in performance activities, ranging from online games to distance running to chess. In 2014 alone, half a million Americans ran a marathon, a hundred thousand competed in the CrossFit Open, and one hundred million played games online. Despite the widespread consumer engagement with performance activities, however, the consumer literature has given scant attention to understanding the outcomes of consumer performance in these domains. The papers in this session examine how consumers' performance outcomes are predictably affected by task-related and social factors. With a combination of lab experiments, large-scale field experiments, and archival data, the papers in this session will present cutting-edge research on the psychological underpinnings of consumer performance, with an emphasis on understanding the drivers of performance and motivation. Combined, these four papers represent an important step forward in our understanding of the dynamics of consumer performance.

The first two papers in this session examine how consumers' performance may be influenced by task-related factors. First, Wei and Häubl investigate how consumers' prior experience of success or failure differentially affects their satisfaction and subsequent effort for tasks that are construed as work versus play. In four lab experiments, they demonstrate that experiencing success is more motivating than failure when a task is construed as play, whereas failure is more motivating than success when a task is viewed as work. Second, Sackett, Wu, White and Markle examine how eliciting an existing performance goal affects performance. Using a large-scale field experiment, they demonstrate that eliciting an extant goal enhances performance by abating the tendency to reduce goal ambitiousness as performance nears.

The latter two papers investigate social factors that influence consumers' performance. Kettle, Häubl, and Engeler demonstrate that sharing a performance prediction with others predictably affects one's expectations and performance. Using an intriguing set of experiments conducted in conjunction with distance running races, they show that sharing a prediction can either lead to enhanced or di-

minish performance depending on (1) the consumer's expertise and (2) whether one's eventual performance outcomes are also going to be shared. The key outcome of this research is that average (expert) consumers perform the best when they share a prediction with others whom they do not expect (fully expect) to also learn their eventual performance outcomes. Finally, Si and Dai examine how social comparison affects consumer performance. With evidence from archival data set of high school grades, they demonstrate that to be surrounded by high-achieving peers can have either a positive or negative effect on performance, depending on whether the comparison groups are chosen based on the admission score or the average of the high school period grades.

In sum, the four papers presented in this session examine factors that predict dynamics of consumers' performance, from task-dependent factors to social factors. Importantly, these factors are both theoretically relevant and grounded in real-world activities. The insights provided by these four papers enhance our understanding of consumer motivation, and can guide marketers in creating interventions that enhancing consumer motivation and satisfaction in performance activities.

The Dynamics of Success: How Experiencing Success versus Failure Influences Subsequent Motivation

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many of the activities that we engage in as consumers have the following properties: (1) we allocate a particular amount effort to perform the activity and (2) completion of the activity results in an observable outcome that is either distinctly favorable or distinctly unfavorable. Prior work has investigated related phenomena, such as the link between positive vs. negative feedback, approach/avoidance motivation, and regulatory focus (Förster, Grant, Idson, & Higgins, 2001) and the effect of progress feedback on goal pursuit as a function of whether the feedback signals goal commitment or goal progress (Fishbach, Eyal, & Finkelstein, 2010; Koo & Fishbach, 2008). However, the motivational dynamics associated with *repeatedly* engaging in such activities are not well understood. In particular, how does experiencing a favorable outcome (i.e., "success") vs. an unfavorable outcome (i.e., "failure") of an activity influence our motivation when we perform that activity again?

We theorize that an important factor that governs the nature of these motivational dynamics is whether an activity is construed as *work* or *play*. We conceptualize a *work* activity as one that has a narrow focus on the key favorable *outcome* that one strives to achieve (i.e., outcome-orientation), and a *play* activity as one that is driven largely by the enjoyment of the *process* of engaging in the activity (i.e., process-orientation) (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Glynn, 1994; Sandelands, 1988). We propose that, under outcome-orientation, the experience of success vs. failure is encoded as a signal of how difficult it is to complete the activity successfully. Thus, we hypothesize that failure is more motivating (than success) in work as it indicates that this activity is more challenging and requires greater effort. By contrast, we argue that, under process-orientation, the experience of success or failure is encoded as a signal of one's competence over an activity. Consequently, we hypothesize that success is more motivating (than failure) in play because it indicates greater competence at

performing this activity. To recap, we propose that failure is more motivating than success when an activity is construed as work, whereas success is more motivating than failure when an activity is construed as play.

We present evidence from four experiments that were designed to test this theorizing. Each of these employed a paradigm that captures the essential properties of the type of activities that we examine. Participants allocate a particular amount of effort to an activity, which has an observable binary outcome that is either favorable (success) or unfavorable (failure). This is implemented as a computer-based “Red Ball Task” in which the participant has a bowl that (ultimately) holds a combination of two types of balls – red and white. At the end of a round of this task, one of the balls in the bowl is drawn randomly. The draw of a red ball indicates success, and a white ball means failure. These outcomes are conveyed to participants in the form of a large smiling/crying emoticon, accompanied by the word “Success/Failure,” appearing on the screen. At the start of a round, the bowl contains 30 white balls and no red balls. Participants may add red balls, one at a time, by clicking them as they appear on the screen for 1000ms. Once a participant has stopped adding red balls, the outcome – success or failure – is determined via a random draw from the bowl. Thus, greater effort increases the probability of achieving success, but the marginal returns to effort diminish, and no amount of effort is sufficient to guarantee success. Participants complete two rounds of the Red Ball Task. In the first round, they are required to add 30 red balls to the bowl, resulting in an equal likelihood of success and failure. In the second round, participants are free to add as many red balls as they wish. The number of red balls added serves as the measure of participants’ motivation to achieve success in this activity.

Experiment 1 was designed to test the hypothesized interaction effect between whether an activity is construed as work or play and whether engaging in the activity previously resulted in success or failure on motivation. A total of 315 participants were randomly assigned to the conditions of a 2 (activity type: work vs. play) x 2 (prior outcome: success vs. failure) between-subjects design. Activity type was manipulated by informing participants that the Red Ball Task they were about to perform two rounds of was either a work or play task. The results reveal a significant interaction effect ($p = .017$) such that, as predicted, failure was more motivating than success in the work condition, and success was more motivating than failure in the play condition. Moreover, mediation analyses show that, in the work condition, failure increased motivation via the perception of greater task difficulty, whereas in the play condition, success increased motivation via enhanced feelings of competence.

In Experiment 2, we conceptually replicate the above findings using a direct manipulation of outcome- vs. process-orientation, suggesting that the different motivational dynamics under work vs. play are driven by the contrast between these two orientations. Experiment 3 provides a more direct examination of the motivational dynamics of success vs. failure for work activities by showing that the motivating effect of failure vanishes if that outcome is uninformative about the difficulty of the upcoming activity. Finally, Experiment 4 more closely examines the underlying psychological process for play activities by demonstrating that the motivating effect of success is no longer observed if that outcome is uninformative about one’s competence.

Evidence from four experiments supports our theorizing about the motivational dynamics associated with the experience of success vs. failure. Whether an activity is construed as work or play is a critical factor in understanding these dynamics. For work activities, experiencing failure (rather than success) increases our motivation to

achieve success when we perform these activities again in the future. By contrast, for play activities, experiencing success (rather than failure) is more motivating.

Improving Consumer Performance by Merely Eliciting Goals

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Goal-setting interventions have been widely adopted to improve consumer and organizational behavior (e.g., Ordóñez et al., 2009; Pervin, 1989; van Houwelingen & van Raaij, 1989). However, such interventions typically involve an external source imposing a goal or explicitly encouraging individuals to make existing goals more ambitious or specific. In either scenario, externally-induced goals must overcome numerous barriers. Consumers may have already established a goal and thus might resist outside efforts (Ashforth, 1989; Brehm, 1966). Outsiders might lack the access, authority, credibility, or knowledge to successfully establish effective external goals.

We propose that external sources can improve consumers’ performance by instead targeting “self-set” goals—goals that individuals establish for themselves—and test a simple method of doing so: merely asking individuals about their existing goals while performance is temporally distant. Why would this improve the performance of consumers who already use goals to motivate themselves? We identify two plausible explanations supported by psychological research and theory: (1) *goal commitment*, whereby consumers asked to report a (preexisting) goal become more motivated to achieve that goal than do consumers who are not asked to report a goal, and (2) *temporal optimism*, whereby consumers asked to report a (preexisting) goal when performance is temporally distant end up with more ambitious goals at the time of performance than do consumers who are not asked to report a goal, because reporting goals “locks in” goals that would otherwise be revised downward over time.

Whereas both the temporal-optimism and goal-commitment accounts predict better performance as a result of merely asking about goals, the goal-commitment account predicts that consumers will be more committed to the same goal if they do report the goal in advance than if they do not. In contrast, the temporal-optimism account predicts that consumers will end up with different goals altogether at the time of performance, depending on whether or not they report their preexisting goal when performance is temporally distant.

When selecting a context in which to test our intervention, we sought a domain in which goals and performance are highly relevant, measurable, and standardized, and in which consumers are accessible for research participation. One domain met all of our criteria: marathon running. We report data from 1,758 marathoners who participated in a field experiment consisting of two online surveys separated by marathon performance. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two pre-marathon survey conditions. In the *goal-not-asked* condition, participants were asked for information about their demographic and running background, but not about goals. In the *goal-asked* condition, participants were asked to report the same information as the goal-not-asked participants, plus information about their time goal if they had one. In the post-marathon survey, runners who reported having time goals stated their numeric goal and rated the importance of that goal. Finally, for each participant, we matched our survey results with official finishing times and intermediate times such as the half marathon.

Our manipulation had no significant effects on novice marathoners (i.e., those who had run no more than one previous marathon), so the analyses below focus on experienced runners. Among experienced runners, our manipulation led to significantly faster

marathon performance ($M = 8.13$ min), $t(928) = 2.90$, $p = .004$, controlling for marathon run, gender, and age. This result is robust, remaining significant for various definitions of “experienced marathoners,” specifications that included different combinations of controls or no controls, elimination of outliers, log transformations of finishing time, etc. Consistent with a temporal-optimism explanation, our manipulation also produced goals that were 8.48 minutes more ambitious, $t(662) = 3.29$, $p < .001$. The effect on goals mediated the effect of our manipulation on performance (bootstrapping with 50,000 iterations, 95% CI: [4.54, 14.79]). To put the effect of our manipulation in perspective, asking a runner to provide a goal prior to the marathon provided an advantage that was equivalent to either: (i) having a 13.51-minute (or 5.5%) faster lifetime best marathon; (ii) increasing training by 13.5% (from 35 to 39.7 miles per week); or (iii) setting the clock back 9 years (the difference between a 42- and a 33-year-old runner).

This intervention has broad potential. We expect that its impact extends beyond the specific domain of marathon running or athletics more generally. Conceptually, this intervention should be effective in domains in which goals are relevant, performance can be measured objectively, and performance is episodic rather than chronic. For example, we would expect to see similar effects in many academic, health, personal finance, and workplace performance settings.

Perhaps surprisingly, our intervention was effective in a context in which performers have already established goals. By contrast, most previously-demonstrated goal interventions work through externally-induced goals, where, for reasons discussed earlier, the prior existence of self-set goals is a likely impediment to the effectiveness of such interventions. However, we suspect that our intervention is not limited to contexts in which people already have goals in mind. Consistent with past research, asking people about goals when goals have not yet been set should also increase performance (Greenwald et al., 1987; Levav & Fitzsimons, 2006; Morwitz et al., 1993). However, such effects likely operate through very different psychological processes.

There is a growing emphasis within the behavioral sciences on finding small, low-cost, easy-to-implement interventions that can meaningfully impact consumer behavior and either individual or collective well-being (e.g., Bryan, Walton, Rogers, & Dweck, 2011; Greenwald et al., 1987; Johnson & Goldstein, 2003). We suggest that the present investigation shares many features with other exemplars from this growing literature. Like the “Save More Tomorrow™” retirement savings intervention (Thaler & Benartzi, 2004), our findings reveal a way in which advance commitment can lead to quantifiably better future individual outcomes. Like studies in which highlighting social norms increases environmental conservation (Goldstein, Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008), our intervention is brief, simple, and effective. It is our hope that our basic intervention will facilitate better individual and organizational performance across a wide variety of domains, with minimal costs of implementation.

Sharing Predictions

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Shared predictions are integral to many consumption activities. For instance, some organizations have individuals explicitly share personal goals with a group (e.g., CrossFit, Anthony Robbins Inc.), whereas other organizations providing on-line support groups, enable individuals to make public forecasts while their actual performance outcomes are kept private (e.g., Daily Strength, Weight Loss Buddy). Despite the ubiquity shared predictions in performance domains, however, it is not known if sharing a prediction affects performance.

As a social behavior, a shared prediction of one’s own future performance can be used to convey different qualities about oneself. A more ambitious prediction can suggest that one is skilled and confident (Dunn et al. 2007), whereas a less ambitious prediction may convey one’s modesty (Tice et al., 1995). Building on prior work on impression management, we hypothesize that a shared prediction may be more or less ambitious depending on the social context in which it is made. Further, we argue that ambitious predictions set expectations that direct behavior (Buehler et al. 2010) and that ambitious predictions enhance performance when the outcome is under personal control.

In particular, we examine two factors that influence the social context: (1) whether one’s eventual performance outcomes are also going to be shared and (2) where the consumer is an expert in the performance domain. Our key proposition is that sharing predictions will have opposing effects for expert versus non-expert consumers. In particular, for non-expert (expert) consumers, sharing predictions leads to more ambitious predictions – and enhanced performance – when it is expected that eventual performance outcomes are unobservable (observable) to others. We tested our predictions in two field experiments in which over 300 distance runners shared a prediction of their performance before completing a race.

Experiment 1 was conducted in conjunction with a major marathon. Four months prior to the race, we recruited runners to participate. Using an only interface, we randomly assigned them to small groups (with runners they did not previously know). We independently manipulated (at a between-group level) whether the runners would share their race time prediction with their group members, and whether they expected their outcome would also be shared with fellow group members. As hypothesized, sharing their prediction led non-expert (expert) consumers to make more ambitious predictions – and subsequently perform better – precisely when they expected their performance outcome would be unobservable (observable) to others in the group. Predicted performance fully mediated the interactive effect of prediction (and outcome) sharing on performance.

In experiment 2, we intercepted individual runners in the waiting area immediately prior to a race. We randomly assigned them to small groups (with runners they did not previously know), and had them share their race time prediction with their group members. We manipulated (at a between-group level) whether the runners expected their outcome would also be shared with fellow group members. We then asked each participant to complete a short survey prior to the race, and we observed their performance in the race. Consistent with the results of experiment 1, expert (non-expert) runners made more ambitious predictions – and subsequently performed better – in the shared (private) outcome condition, and the predicted performance fully mediated the effect of expected outcome sharing on performance.

The present research is the first to examine how sharing a prediction affects performance, and is the first to show that the social context in which a prediction is made influences both the predicted and the actual level of performance. In doing so, we contribute to prior research on the effect of social context on performance (Baumeister, 1984) and recent work on the relationship between predicted performance and actual performance (Armor & Sackett, 2006; Kettle & Häubl, 2010) in two important ways: (1) the present work is the first to identify the social context in which predictions are expressed (and performance outcomes are observed) as a critical factor in understanding the interplay between predictions and performance; and (2) we contribute to literature that examines performance in a social context by demonstrating asymmetrical motivational effects of prediction sharing for consumers with low vs. high expertise.

Is It Always Better to Be A Big Fish in A Little Pond?

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In the present research we utilized archival data of 4,005 high school students' actual academic performances to provide a critical and unique re-examination of the Big-Fish-Little-Pond-Effect (BFLPE). Our analyses have revealed two interesting and seemingly opposite findings: first, consistent with the BFLPE, we found that students who had the worst average high school performance in the high-ability classes underperformed substantially as compared to students who had the best average high school performance in the low-ability classes. Second, and more importantly, we found that *despite the nearly identical level of performance on high school entrance exam*, students who had the lowest entrance exam scores in the high-ability classes outperformed significantly than students who had the highest entrance exam scores in the low-ability classes during the course of high school. In the following text, we briefly introduce the literature and report the major findings of the present research.

The various antecedents and consequences of social comparison reflect one of the most dynamic aspects of human psychology and have long been a keen focus in behavioral research (Suls and Wheeler 2000). One important and universal finding from the field of educational psychology is what may be termed the 'Big-Fish-Little-Pond-Effect' (BFLPE), in which results from different studies using a variety of student samples have converged to show that students in low-ability schools have higher academic self-concept than their equally able counterparts in high-ability schools (Marsh and Parker 1984).

The BFLPE may reflect one or both of the following tenets in social comparison research—that downward comparison is self-enhancing whereas upward comparison is somewhat self-derogating (Wheeler and Miyake 1992). However, research in social comparison has demonstrated that neither positive nor negative consequence is invariably associated with a certain direction of comparison and a plenty of studies have documented both the benefits of upward comparison and the disadvantages of downward comparison (see Alicke, Zell, and Guenther 2013; Suls and Wheeler 2000).

Therefore, it seems that in the classroom context, the BFLPE may only be a partial and incomplete reflection of the complex consequences resulting from social comparison (Huguet et al. 2009). Our research therefore aims to gain a deeper understanding of the BFLPE and offers a new perspective from which this seemingly universal phenomenon may need to be reconsidered.

The archival data consists of the actual exam scores of students from a high school in China. The data includes the students' scores of the high school admission exam, all major exams (midterms and finals) during the three-year period of high school, and the college entrance exam (which is the sole criterion of college admission). The school implemented the streaming of elite versus non-elite classes from year 2003 to year 2007 and the data includes the exam scores of all the five cohorts of students admitted under this streaming policy. On average about 100 students with the highest admission exam scores were mandatorily recruited into two elite classes in each cohort. All scores have been properly standardized within cohort and we have pooled over the scores of students from all five cohorts when conducting the subsequent analyses.

Of the most important feature of the current analyses, we conducted two groups of comparisons between the last tiers of students in the elite classes (hereafter referred to as the 'last tiers') and the top tiers of students in the non-elite classes (hereafter referred to as the 'top tiers'). The two groups of comparisons differed crucially in

how we defined the last and top tiers of students in the two streams of classes—we first defined the last and top tiers *by students' average high school performance* (i.e., the average of standardized high school exam scores), and we next defined the last and top tiers *by students' scores of the high school admission exam*.

The results of the first group of comparisons are consistent with the BFLPE: despite the relatively big disparity in admission exam scores as compared with the last tiers, the top tiers had consistently outperformed their counterparts in the elite classes to a considerable extent on both the average high school performance and the college entrance exam. Our results indicate that the average performance of over half of the students in the elite classes was significantly inferior to the average performance of the top-50 students in the non-elite classes. This is a strong demonstration of the BFLPE.

The results of the second group of comparisons show the exact opposite pattern: the last tiers of the elite classes had outperformed the corresponding top tiers of the non-elite classes significantly on both the average high school performance and the college entrance exam. The results may be particularly striking and meaningful when the difference of the admission exam scores between the tiers is considered. For example, the average mean difference of admission exam score between the last- and top-5 students across the five cohorts is merely 1.4 points, whereas the average range of the admission scores is about 400 points. We can thus consider these students to have equivalent academic ability upon admission but the nearly 'random' assignment of these students to different streams of classes according to an arbitrary cutoff had developed substantially significant differences on their average high school performance and their performance on the ultimate college entrance exam.

Our first group of comparisons contributes to the literature by demonstrating BFLPE's consequences on actual academic performance. However, importantly, our second group of comparisons suggests a strong positive motivational effect of being in the high- versus low-ability academic unit that could totally reverse the BFLPE. The current findings suggest the need of a critical re-examination of the BFLPE: whereas the student's perceived relative standing in the academic unit drives the BFLPE (Huguet et al. 2009; Marsh and Parker 1984), the motivational benefits of being in the high- versus low-ability academic unit could also have important and substantial impacts. Future research is needed to develop a more coherent account of the current findings.

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Consumption and Social Connections

Chair: Hillary Wiener, Duke University, USA

Paper #1: Products as Ice Breakers: The Value of Conversation Pieces

Hillary J.D. Wiener, Duke University, USA
James R. Bettman, Duke University, USA
Mary Frances Luce, Duke University, USA

Paper #2: “Diet Pepsi Again?” Brand Compatibility, Power and Life Satisfaction

Danielle J. Brick, Duke University, USA
Grainne M. Fitzsimons, Duke University, USA
Tanya L. Chartrand, Duke University, USA
Gavan J. Fitzsimons, Duke University, USA

Paper #3: Holidays as a Catalyst for Relationship Deterioration: An Examination of the Micro-Level Gift-Giving Processes in Dyads

Peter Caprariello, Stony Brook University, USA

Paper #4: Absence Dulls the Senses: How Relationship Reminders and Affective Numbing Influence Consumption Enjoyment

Jennifer K. Lee, University of Southern California, USA
Lisa A. Cavanaugh, University of Southern California, USA

SESSION OVERVIEW

This session presents new research examining how people’s consumption behavior contributes to the formation, maintenance, and dissolution of social connections, and how reminders of these social connections influence people’s consumption behavior. The need to connect with others is one of the fundamental motivators of human behavior, second only to people’s basic physiological needs (Kenrick, Griskevicius, Neuberg, and Shaller 2010). Given the importance of positive social connections to people’s health and happiness, there is surprisingly little research on how people consume in order to facilitate the development and maintenance of these connections. These four papers report on research addressing this gap and together trace how consumption and social connections interact over the life cycle of relationships from first meeting to after they end.

The first paper, by Wiener, Bettman, and Luce, examines how people’s public consumption choices can facilitate or inhibit the earliest stage of forming a social connection: the first conversation between strangers. They show that revealing a hobby or interest via a t-shirt encourages strangers to start conversations by asking about the topic shown on the t-shirt. In turn, starting a conversation by asking about the topic on the t-shirt increases the amount of self-disclosure in the conversation, fast tracks the self-disclosure to occur earlier in the conversation, and increases how memorable the conversation is.

Two of the papers in the session examine the interaction between social connections and consumption for people who are already in established relationships. Brick, Fitzsimons, Chartrand, and Fitzsimons explore how brand preferences affect life satisfaction depending upon power in the relationship. They find that for high power partners, brand compatibility has no effect on life satisfaction. However, for low power partners, low brand compatibility is associated with reduced life satisfaction. Caparaillo looks at how gift giving influences feelings of connection in romantic relationships. He finds that giving a gift due to feelings of obligation rather than a desire to enhance your partner’s well-being undermines people’s feeling of connection to their partners. The feelings of lessened con-

nection that result from these gifts of obligation may contribute to people’s decisions to end romantic relationships.

If a relationship has ended, it can still exert influences on people’s consumption behavior. Cavanaugh and Lee examine how reminders of a relationship that one does not currently have influence consumption enjoyment. They show that reminders of a relationship a person is lacking lead to decreased enjoyment of pleasant products, but increased enjoyment of unpleasant ones. They find that this is because reminders of a relationship a person does not have lead one to cope and self-protect by propagating apathy about the relationship which in turn changes the extent of consumption enjoyment.

Together these four papers shed light on the understudied intersection of consumption and social connections, but also raise further questions about how people consume in order to fulfill their social needs and how social connections (or lack thereof) can affect their consumption patterns and enjoyment.

Products as Ice Breakers: The Value of Conversation Pieces

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Positive social connections are fundamental to human health and happiness, second only in importance to people’s basic physiological needs (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Thoits 1995). However, it is not always easy to find desirable relationship partners or initiate interactions with them. In two studies we show initial evidence that consumers can use publically displayed products as tools to help them to initiate conversations with others, facilitate self-disclosure, and help these conversations go well.

Previous research has examined the use of products as signals of social status (Wilcox, Kim, and Sen 2009), group membership (Escalas and Bettman 2003), and individuality (Berger and Heath 2008), but these studies have not examined how products might influence the conversations people actually have with each other. In two studies we examine how the products a person chooses to display may influence how successful the “first meeting” conversation between two strangers is. Specifically, we examine how products can facilitate self-disclosure. Self-disclosure increases liking between people (Collins and Miller 1994) so if products can increase self-disclosures in initial conversations, they should improve interactions and potentially facilitate relationship development.

We first examined how t-shirts might function as “ice breakers” by giving people a good topic with which to start a conversation. In Study 1 (n = 300) participants imagined that they were at a casual party where they did not know many people and that they wanted to start a conversation with a woman who was wearing either a plain shirt, a shirt with an ambiguous design on it, or a shirt with that design and the words “Daybreaker Dance Party” on it. Then they wrote an opening line to start a conversation with her.

Three trained coders evaluated these opening lines for how likely they would be to lead to a good conversation. The coding revealed that participants who saw the person in a plain shirt were less likely to start the interaction by asking the person a question (questions are known to be effective conversation openers; Laver 1981) and their conversation openings were considered to be less likely to lead to a good conversation, less likely to lead to self-disclosure, and less likely to lead to a story (all $ps < .0001$) than were those of participants who saw the person in one of the shirts with a design and/or

words on it. Furthermore, there was remarkable consistency in how participants opened the conversations. Participants who saw the person in the shirt with the design and/or words opened the conversation by asking about the shirt (47% of openers) or with some variation of “Hey, how’s it going? Are you enjoying the party?” (38% of openers). Therefore, fully 85% of openers were of one of these types.

In study 2 (modeled on study 4 in McGraw, Warren, and Kan 2014), we take advantage of the ubiquity of these two types of openers to examine how starting a conversation by asking about a product influences the full conversation, not just the opening line. In part 1 of Study 2, participants wrote short dialogues in response to the two common ways of starting conversations identified in Study 1. First, participants ($n = 30$) were asked to list a hobby and a place that they had travelled to recently. Then they read and extended two scenarios. In the both scenarios, participants were asked to imagine that they were at a party and were wearing a shirt that reflected either the hobby or travel destination they had listed. In one scenario, they were told that a stranger initiated a conversation with them by asking them about their shirt. In the other scenario, they were told that they were wearing the other shirt, but the stranger started the conversation by asking if they were enjoying the party. After reading each scenario, participants wrote out how they would respond to this inquiry, and then extended the conversation between themselves and their hypothetical interlocutor for nine more lines. The order in which participants responded to the scenarios and which shirt the participant was wearing in which scenario was counterbalanced across the study.

In part 2, we selected which of the 60 conversations generated in part 1 would be used in part 3. We wanted to identify conversations that were similar to each other in all respects except for the degree to which they were focused on the topic on the t-shirt. To do this, a separate set of participants ($n = 302$) each read eight of the dialogues generated in part 1 and rated them for realism, unusualness of topic, positivity of tone, dominance of each conversant, and the importance of the t-shirt to the conversation. We identified two pairs of matched dialogues for use in the subsequent study which were similar along all dimensions except for the importance of the t-shirt to the conversation.

In part 3, a third set of participants ($n = 202$) evaluated the selected dialogues. Participants each assessed a pair of dialogues for the amount of self-disclosure and *when* it occurred in the conversation. Conversations that were started by asking about the shirt lead to more disclosure of emotions, preferences, interests, and opinions than did those that were started by asking about the party (all $ps < .0001$). Starting a conversation by asking about the shirt seemed to fast-track disclosure, leading the first topic to be discussed in substantially more depth when the conversation was started by asking about the t-shirt than by asking about the party ($p < .0001$). They were also more intense, more memorable, and the conversants appeared to be closer to each other (all $ps < .01$).

In two studies we find reliable evidence that people who approach a stranger to talk with them rely on publically displayed products as a source of material for initial conversations and that asking about a product is an effective way to facilitate and fast track self-disclosure. This shows a new use for products—as tools to help people to connect with strangers and maybe eventually establish new relationships.

“Diet Pepsi Again?” Brand Compatibility, Power and Life Satisfaction

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Take a moment to think about some of your favorite brands. Perhaps, you prefer Coke, Colgate, and Starbucks. Now think about your partner’s (past or present) favorite brands in each of the same categories. Are they the same? Are they different? Does it matter? In the present research, we propose that brand preferences do matter, and that they can have important consequences. Specifically, we investigate how brand compatibility, which we define as the extent to which individuals in a close relationship have similar brand preferences, influences life satisfaction.

Importantly, we think that the effect of brand compatibility on life satisfaction will depend upon power in the relationship. Power can be defined as the ability to control outcomes and influence others (Anderson and Galinsky 2006; Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson 2003). Similarly, power in close relationships can also be thought of as the ability to control outcomes within the relationship. In the present research, we suggest that power will have different effects on the link between brand compatibility and life satisfaction depending upon whether one is relatively high or low in power. When one is high in power, then one should be able to control relationship outcomes and get the brands that s/he prefers. As such, we predict that for those who are high in relationship power, brand compatibility will not affect life satisfaction because they are able to acquire their preferred brands regardless of their partner’s preferences. Conversely, when one is low in relationship power, one is unable to control outcomes and get the brands that one prefers. Therefore, we predict that for low power individuals, brand compatibility will be associated with life satisfaction. For low power partners, when brand compatibility is high, life satisfaction will also be high because low power individuals are able to enjoy their preferred brands (which are the same as their partner’s preferred brands). But when brand compatibility is low, life satisfaction will be reduced. We test these predictions across two studies.

In our first study, participants came into the laboratory as couples and completed a battery of personality and relationship measures, including a standard scale assessing power that was modified for close relationships (Anderson, John, and Keltner 2012), and a standard life satisfaction scale (Diener, Emmons, Larson, and Griffin 1985). Rather than asking couples to rate the compatibility of their brand preferences, a potentially biased measure, we asked partners about their brand preferences individually and then created a brand compatibility score from those responses. Participants provided the names of their own and their partner’s favorite brands for several common product categories (e.g., beer, chocolate). Four research assistants, blind to hypotheses coded these responses. Responses were rated on a 1 (completely incompatible) to 5 (completely compatible) scale.

Analyses employed multilevel modeling procedures (Kenny, Kashy, and Cook 2006), which account for violations of statistical independence. As predicted, relationship power interacted with brand compatibility to predict life satisfaction ($p < .02$). We found that for high power individuals (+1SD), there was no effect of brand compatibility on life satisfaction ($p = .62$). On the other hand, for low power individuals (-1SD), the association of brand compatibility with life satisfaction was significant ($p = .01$), such that as brand compatibility decreased, so too did life satisfaction.

In order to further explore the role of brand compatibility and power on life satisfaction, we conducted an additional online study in which we manipulated brand compatibility. Three hundred twen-

ty-five individuals from Amazon's Mechanical Turk completed the study in exchange for financial compensation. Participants completed the same power measure as used the previous study (Anderson et al. 2012). We manipulated brand compatibility using an ease of retrieval manipulation (e.g., Schwartz et al. 1991): participants in the *high* brand compatibility condition had to list 2 favorite brands that they had in common with their partner, while participants in the *low* brand compatibility condition had to list 8 brands. Participants then completed the same Satisfaction with Life scale as used in the previous study (Diener et al. 1985).

Two participants indicated that they were single and six participants' mean power scores were more than three SDs below the mean and were excluded, leaving 317 participants. To investigate our hypothesis that low brand compatibility would be associated with decreased life satisfaction for low (but not high) power partners, we conducted a linear regression, with life satisfaction as the outcome variable, and brand compatibility and power as the predictor variables. In line with our predictions, results revealed a significant interaction ($p < .04$). We found that for high power individuals (1 SD above the mean), life satisfaction did not differ across the two brand compatibility conditions ($p = .42$). However, for participants who are low in power (-1SD), the effect of brand compatibility condition on life satisfaction was significant ($p = .03$), such that low brand compatibility was associated with decreased life satisfaction.

In the present research, we seek to provide a preliminary examination of how brand compatibility with close partners influences life satisfaction. For high power partners, brand compatibility does not seem to influence life satisfaction. On the other hand, for low power partners, it seems that brand compatibility can reliably predict how satisfied they feel with their lives, suggesting the importance of brand preferences to everyday life.

Holidays as a Catalyst for Relationship Deterioration: An Examination of the Micro-Level Gift-Giving Processes in Dyads

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research on gift-giving has a storied history across a variety of disciplines (see, e.g., Belk, 1979; Mauss, 1954; Sahlins, 1972; Sherry, 1983). Across disciplines, it is recognized that gift-giving operates most powerfully as a medium of social exchange. That is, gift-giving functions to develop and maintain social relationships through its symbolic and communicative value more than to distribute ownership of material goods through the marketplace.

In this context, it is important to recognize the influence of gift-giving holidays on the nature and course of the very relationships being served. And in this regard, the literature offers conflicting predictions. Some research recognizes that commemorative events operate constructively as relationship maintenance mechanisms, creating opportunities for shared intimacy and openness (Dindia & Baxter, 1987). Consistent with this, expressing affection through "assurances" (including daily exchanges of small gifts and tokens; Ogolsky & Bowers, 2013) is associated with positive relational outcomes such as satisfaction, commitment, and love.

However, in a meta-analysis of maintenance mechanisms, "assurances" were the one practice that was negatively associated with relationship duration (Ogolsky & Bowers, 2013), suggesting that the micro-level processes by which assurances (and gifts more generally) are exchanged deserves careful attention. For example, some research has shown that Valentine's Day, in which \$17-18 billion is spent on gifts in the United States (National Retail Federation, 2011), serves as a catalyst for relationship deterioration. This is because al-

ready-weak relationships tend to wither under the intense pressure of the holiday (Morse & Neuberg, 2004). What is not clear from prior research, however, is exactly what kinds of destructive behavioral processes are enacted during gift-giving that may be the direct result of the pressure of the holidays. That is, how do holidays influence the processes of gift-giving so as to undermine at-risk relationships, or conversely, strengthen healthy relationships?

The key prediction made in this research is that because gift-giving holidays serve as diagnostic situations, couples attribute different motives to gift-givers depending on the distress of the relationship (Kelley, 1979). Specifically, distressed gift-recipients should be motivated to perceive obligation from gift-givers, a cue of exchange norms (Mauss, 1954). Healthy couples should be motivated to attribute their partner's gifts to genuine care and concern, a hallmark of communal norms (Clark, Lemay, Graham, Pataki, & Finkel, 2010). Importantly, these attributions should be *overestimated*, or occurring independently of gift-givers' actual obligation motives. Second, based on research on gratitude (e.g., Algoe, 2012) and indebtedness (Frederickson, 2009), I predicted that perceived obligation should be associated with reduced feelings of liking for gifts received. This is based on findings that feeling indebted, rather than grateful, is associated with reductions in the intimacy-value of the gift exchange process as a whole (Algoe, Haidt, & Gable, 2008). Finally, I predicted that feeling ungrateful for gifts received should lead to exacerbations of relationship distress, above and beyond distress experienced before the holiday, which would support the finding that Valentine's Day is an opportunity to push unhealthy couples past their limits (Morse & Neuberg, 2004), and it would provide evidence of the micro-level, behavioral gift-giving processes that contribute to this breakdown.

To test these predictions, I recruited 144 couples for a study on Valentine's Day. 1-3 days prior to Valentine's Day, each dyad member completed a measure of their own obligation motives (e.g., "One reason I will be giving my gifts is ..."). They then completed measures of baseline relationship satisfaction.

1-5 days after Valentine's Day, each dyad member completed the same measure of obligation motives, but from the perspective of their partner's motives (e.g., "I thought my partner gave me gifts because..."). They then indicated liking and appreciation for gifts received, and post-Valentine's relationship satisfaction.

All data were analyzed using hierarchical linear modeling (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2009), nesting individuals within dyads. Dyads were distinguished by sex, and therefore 11 couples were dropped from analyses for being same-sex (Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006). All models controlled for relationship length and sex. I tested three separate models, each corresponding to my three levels of hypotheses.

In the first model, I tested whether pre-Valentine's Day relationship satisfaction predicted obligation motives. First, I clarified whether relationship distress predicted actual or perceived obligation motives. As predicted, relationship satisfaction predicted perceived obligation motives, controlling for actual motives, $B = -.51$, $p = .005$, but it did not predict actual obligation motives, controlling for perceived motives, $B = -.51$, $p = .135$. Thus, a few days before the gift-giving holiday, distressed couples tended to *over-estimate* obligation motives in their partner relative to healthy couples and independently of partner's actual obligation motives.

In the second model, I tested whether overestimated perceptions of obligation predicted gratitude for gifts received, controlling for relationship satisfaction. As predicted, feelings of liking, appreciation, and gratitude for gifts received was strongly predicted by perceived obligation motives, $B = -.58$, $p = .003$, but not by partners'

actual obligation motives, $B = .29$, $p = .235$, and independently of relationship satisfaction. Thus, it was again perceived motives that predicted disliking and appreciation for gifts received, above and beyond the influence of actual obligation motives.

In the final model, I tested whether gift appreciation predicted changes in relationship satisfaction after Valentine's Day, controlling for satisfaction before Valentine's Day. In this final model, only gratitude predicted relationship satisfaction post-Valentine's Day, $B = .92$, $p = .010$, even after controlling for initial relationship satisfaction.

Thus, in a series of models, converging evidence suggests one possible dyad-level behavioral process by which gift-giving holidays impact relationships: The attributions of recipients toward the intentions of gift-givers are colored by feelings of dissatisfaction, which leads to dissatisfaction with gifts received, leading to downward spirals in relationship satisfaction. Thus, it is not only the partner who receives unfair attributions about their intentions; feelings of distress from one member of a couple spread throughout the behavioral chain of gift exchange itself, influencing the course of the relationship being celebrated. Of course, the corollary to these effects should not be overlooked: feeling satisfied leads to perceiving recipient-centered motives, increasing gratitude and promoting upward spirals of relationship satisfaction.

What's Not to Enjoy?: How Lacking Relationships and Feelings Influences Consumption Enjoyment

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Whether drinking a beverage at a café, eating a meal at a restaurant, or trying products at the store, individuals often find themselves in the presence of others. As they consume, consumers are often reminded of relationships—including the relationships they *do not have* (Cavanaugh 2014). This research examines how reminders of socially valued relationships (e.g., romantic relationships, close friendships) impact what consumers experience, in terms of what they taste, feel, and ultimately how they evaluate products.

We present a paradoxical effect of relationship reminders on actual consumption experiences. When consumers are reminded of a relationship they do not have, they derive significantly less enjoyment from positive consumption experiences. However, these same consumers actually report greater enjoyment when the consumption experiences are negative. We further show that affective numbing, defined as diminished perceptual sensitivity to emotional components of an experience, helps explain these effects.

Since relationships are commonly associated with heightened emotions (e.g., Yee, Gonzaga, and Gable 2014), our intuition may be that reminders of *not having* a relationship should also make one emotional. However, in a world where relationship reminders are frequent, one way in which consumers may cope with reminders of relationships they lack is by creating emotional distance. Limiting emotionality can serve a self-protective function in making undesirable situations (e.g., lacking a valued relationship) less painful (Baumeister, DeWall, and Vohs 2009). Thus, we propose that consumers reminded of relationships they lack may protect themselves by becoming affectively numb.

If consumers cope with relationship reminders by avoiding their emotions, they may also desensitize themselves to other emotional aspects of their consumption experiences, making positive experiences feel less pleasant and negative experiences feel less unpleasant. Across five studies (lab and field) we provide evidence that relationship reminders in consumption environments influence enjoyment.

In *Study 1*, 89 lab participants were randomly assigned to a 2 relationship reminder (manipulated: control/romantic) x 2 partnership status (measured: single/coupled) between-subjects design. Participants viewed a set of magazine advertisements and were told that because we were interested in ad memory, some time needed to pass before asking questions about these ads (the cover story). In the interim period, they completed an unrelated product evaluation. Using an established relationship reminder manipulation (Cavanaugh 2014), ads reminded participants of relationships they either had or did not have. The advertisements were identical across conditions with the exception of the image featured. Romantic reminder ads featured images of romantic couples, while control condition ads featured images of products but no people. After viewing the ads, participants completed a product sampling task, where they tasted a chocolate truffle and assessed their consumption enjoyment. Participants then answered questions about the ads (to maintain the cover story), indicated whether they were currently involved in a romantic relationship ("no/yes"), and completed manipulation check and background measures.

A model predicting consumption enjoyment was estimated with relationship reminder, partnership status, and their interaction as predictors. This revealed a significant interaction of relationship reminder and partnership status ($p < .05$). At baseline (control condition), single and coupled participants reported no difference in enjoyment. Coupled individuals across romantic and control conditions also reported no difference. However, when reminded of romantic relationships, singles reported significantly less consumption enjoyment than coupled participants ($p < .03$) and singles in the control condition ($p < .008$). Romantic relationship reminders caused singles to enjoy a product significantly less than both coupled individuals and singles not exposed to relationship reminders.

Using a different type of relationship (i.e., platonic friendship) and a different sensory modality (i.e., touch), *Study 2* ($N=68$) generalized the finding that reminders of not having a relationship significantly reduced consumption enjoyment relative to reminders of having a relationship ($p < .0003$).

Study 3 ($N = 92$) tested whether relationship reminders lead to the affective numbing we hypothesized using two measures (i.e., cognitive-emotional apathy and emotional blunting). Using the same design and procedure as *Study 1*, but with apathy as the outcome measure, participants rated their agreement with three items adapted from the Apathy Evaluation Scale (Marin, Biedrzycki, and Firinciogullari 1991). Analyses revealed that when reminded of romantic relationships they do not have, singles reported significantly more apathy than coupled participants ($p < .02$) and singles in the control condition ($p < .04$). No difference was found for coupled individuals across the romantic and control conditions or for singles and coupled individuals in the control condition. Using a second validated procedure for assessing emotional blunting (Twenge et al. 2001), we again found that reminders of not having a relationship led to experiencing less emotion across valence (i.e., greater affective numbing).

If consumers who lack relationships are avoiding feeling, affective numbing should limit the pleasure extracted from pleasant and displeasure extracted from unpleasant experiences. *Study 4* demonstrates this effect to provide additional evidence for affective numbing. Participants ($N=201$) were randomly assigned to a 2 relationship reminder (manipulated: have/no longer have) x 2 product valence (manipulated: pleasant/unpleasant) between-subjects design. After recalling a friendship they had or no longer had, they completed a product evaluation, sampling either good (sweet) or bad (sour) orange juice (see Lee and Tsai 2014) and rating their consumption enjoyment. We found a significant interaction of relationship reminder

and product valence ($p < .0003$). For those sampling good orange juice, reminders of no longer having a friendship significantly reduced enjoyment compared to reminders of having a friendship ($p < .02$). However, this effect actually reversed for those sampling bad orange juice, as reminders of no longer having a friendship significantly increased enjoyment compared to reminders of having a friendship ($p < .006$).

Study 5 demonstrates the robustness and external validity of our findings using a field experiment. Customers ($N=64$) exiting a campus Starbucks encountered a relationship reminder: a happy romantic couple (two confederates) situated in a romantic pose. Research assistants, posing as student government representatives unrelated to the couple, asked these customers to rate their enjoyment of their Starbucks drink for a customer satisfaction survey. Singles reported significantly less enjoyment than coupled customers ($p < .02$), regardless of drink type.

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It Takes Two – Novel Examinations of Social Influence Within Dyads

Chair: Freeman Wu, Arizona State University, USA

Paper #1: The Impact of Employee Appearance on Consumer Responses to Flattery

Freeman Wu, Arizona State University, USA
Adriana Samper, Arizona State University, USA
Andrea Morales, Arizona State University, USA

Paper #2: Power to the People: Consumer Influence Tactics in a Retail Setting

Raymond Lavoie, University of Manitoba, Canada
Kelley Main, University of Manitoba, Canada
Wenxia Guo, Acadia University

Paper #3: Meeting in the Middle: Social Influence Effects on the Compromise Effect

Hristina Nikolova, Boston College, USA
Cait Lamberton, University of Pittsburgh, USA

Paper #4: How Do I Love Thee (And Who Should I Tell?) – The Implications of Emotional Suppression Due to Audience Size

Virginia Weber, University of Alberta, Canada
Sarah Moore, University of Alberta, Canada
Rihannon MacDonnell, City University London
Jennifer Argo, University of Alberta, Canada

SESSION OVERVIEW

Despite increasing evidence suggesting that our behaviors can be impacted by the presence of other people (Kristofferson & White, 2014), many questions remain regarding the subtle forms of influence occurring across interpersonal interactions, particularly within dyads. In this session, we examine how nuances within and surrounding dyadic interactions can shape retail, service, decision making and emotional experiences. In exploring these questions, we look at a diverse set of factors that are part of dyadic interactions, such as compliments, gender composition of dyads, and the size of an audience outside of the dyad. This session provides new insights into dyadic exchanges, focusing both on the effect of dyadic interactions on decision-making and the influence of other people on dyadic decision-making.

First, **Wu, Samper and Morales** examine how employee appearance affects consumer reactions to appearance-related compliments. Although research on source credibility suggests that consumers would respond more positively to appearance-related compliments from an attractive and hence highly credible source, the authors show that consumers respond more negatively to flattery when the flatterer is attractive, and that this effect is especially pronounced among consumers high in susceptibility to normative influence.

Shifting to customer-initiated dyadic exchanges, **Lavoie, Main and Guo** study the impact of consumer influence tactics on employee reciprocation and satisfaction. They find that tipping increases tangible reciprocation (e.g. amount of food served) but decreases employee motivation and enjoyment, whereas paying the employee compliments results in a reversed pattern of results.

The final two papers move beyond retail contexts to novel theoretical and substantive domains. **Nikolova and Lamberton** demonstrate that in joint decisions the gender composition of the dyad is an important moderator of the compromise effect. The authors show that the compromise effect emerges in decisions made by male-female and female-female dyads but not in those of male-male dyads,

and that men's belief that compromising is non-normative for males appears to underlie this effect.

Finally, **Weber, Moore, MacDonnell and Argo** study the impact of audience size on emotional regulation and emotional intensity. In the important dyadic context of weddings, the authors show that couples who share their emotions with a large audience regulate their wedding-day emotions via suppression, resulting in less positive emotional intensity and shorter marriages.

We expect this session to appeal to a broad audience, including researchers interested in social influence, retailing, persuasion, emotions, and consumer judgment and decision-making. By bringing together a breadth of papers that address unexpected forms of interpersonal influence in dyadic relationships, we expand our knowledge of the implications of social influence for managerial and consumer decision-making.

The Impact of Employee Appearance on Consumer Responses to Flattery

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

How do consumers respond to flattery during interpersonal retail exchanges? While past work has largely focused on the relative sincerity of the compliment and the accessibility of ulterior motives (Campbell & Kirmani, 2000), the literature remains silent on whether the flatterer's own standing on the flattered dimension even matters. For example, if a salesperson compliments a consumer on how she is dressed, would the employee's own appearance have any bearing on how the praise is evaluated? We examine the impact that employee appearance has on consumer reactions to appearance-related compliments, while holding perceived sincerity constant. We identify both for whom the effect is strongest and examine the underlying process.

Research on source credibility suggests that, all things being equal, consumers should respond more positively to flattery from an attractive (vs. less attractive) salesperson. To the extent that attractive salespeople are perceived to have greater source credibility in the appearance domain, their compliments should be more persuasive and result in more favorable consumer responses (Sternthal et al., 1978). However, other work has found that merely seeing an attractive other in the retail environment can result in negative social comparisons and lower product evaluations (Dahl et al. 2012). In the current research, we predict that receiving compliments from an attractive salesperson on one's looks can be highly threatening, as it makes appearance-related concerns salient and highlights social comparisons with the flatterer. Since threats to an important self-view can temporarily shake one's confidence in that particular self-view (Gao et al., 2009), we predict that receiving appearance-related compliments from an attractive salesperson would momentarily cast doubt on the way consumers view their own appearance, which in turn would drive negative consumer responses.

Importantly, we hypothesize these effects are most pronounced among consumers high in susceptibility to normative influence (SNI; Bearden et al., 1989). Wooten and Reed (2004) found that SNI is associated with self-protection, or the desire to avoid assailable self-presentations that may garner disapproval. Specifically, SNI predicts concerns about public appearances and involves efforts to make impressions that are unlikely to be challenged or even noticed by others. Given high SNI consumers' disdain for attention from others for fear of disapproval, even when the attention is intended to be positive, we

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

predict that a compliment from an attractive salesperson would be especially threatening to these individuals, who are more likely to engage in negative social comparisons (Bearden et al., 1989). Specifically, we propose that whereas low SNI consumers will respond positively to a compliment from an attractive salesperson, high SNI consumers will respond negatively, resulting in lower self and product evaluations. Consistent with prior work (McFerran et al. 2010), we focus only on women, who have been shown to be particularly concerned about physical attractiveness (Oberg & Thornston, 1999).

Study 1 demonstrates that high and low SNI consumers respond differently to flattery depending on the appearance of the flatterer. Undergraduate participants were asked to imagine shopping for a pair of jeans and receiving compliments from an attractive (vs. unattractive) salesperson on their fashion sense. Subsequently, participants rated their satisfaction with their purchase (3 items, $\alpha=.74$) and then completed the SNI scale. A 2 x continuous regression on the satisfaction index revealed a significant appearance X SNI interaction. Spotlight analyses revealed that whereas high SNI individuals experienced greater dissatisfaction when they were flattered by the attractive salesperson, low SNI individuals were not significantly affected.

We then tested the underlying process in Study 2, a 2 (appearance: attractive, unattractive) X 2 (flattery: yes, no) X continuous (SNI) design. The design was identical to Study 1 but included a no-flattery, control condition to rule out an account based solely on the salesperson's appearance. Participants responded to the same satisfaction measure from Study 1. In addition, they rated themselves on their own attractiveness and responded to four behavioral intention items (likelihood of shopping there again, attending a store-organized fashion show, joining their loyalty program, and overall store evaluations), which we combined with return likelihood to create a store loyalty index ($\alpha=.76$). A 2 x 2 x continuous regression on satisfaction and store loyalty revealed significant 3-way interactions. As predicted, high SNI individuals expressed lower satisfaction and loyalty intentions when they were flattered by the attractive salesperson, but this pattern was reversed among the low SNI. Importantly, the interaction of appearance and SNI was not significant in the control condition. Bootstrapping mediation analyses revealed that only in the flattery condition did self-ratings of attractiveness mediate the effect of employee appearance on satisfaction and loyalty intentions among the high SNI; self-ratings did not mediate among low SNI individuals or in the control condition.

To enhance the generalizability of our results, we conducted Study 3 in an actual retail setting. Undergraduate participants were run individually at the campus bookstore. After completing the SNI measure, participants were asked to try on a particular sweatshirt, ostensibly for marketing research purposes. A female salesperson confederate, who had intentionally altered her own appearance to look either attractive or unattractive depending on the condition, approached participants while they tried on the product and complimented their appearance. Subsequently, participants rated how the sweatshirt looked on them. A 2 x continuous regression on product evaluations revealed a significant interaction. Replicating prior studies, high SNI individuals thought the sweatshirt looked worse on them after receiving flattery from an attractive salesperson, but this pattern was reversed among the low SNI.

In sum, three studies reveal that high SNI individuals respond more negatively to appearance-related compliments from an attractive salesperson, and that this effect was mediated by changes in self-views in the appearance domain.

Although tipping is a widely-accepted convention in North America, some restaurants are experimenting with no-tip policies. While tipping policies impact the company, its employees, and its customers, little is known about the efficacy of tipping as a consumer influence strategy and the implications it has for various organizational stakeholders. In the literature, service relationships have typically been analyzed from the perspective of service agents, with the focus being on how they can influence service outcomes (e.g. Lynn & Mynier 1993).

We suggest that consumers can influence service agents by using both economic and social influence tactics (Argo, Dahl & White 2011). Priming effects facilitate the categorization of stimuli based on a concept that was made previously accessible (Higgins et al. 1985). We hypothesize that, via a priming effect, the first consumer influence tactic utilized will provide information that is used by servers to understand the nature of their relationship (Higgins & Brendl 1995). Tips should prime perceptions that the interaction is less about becoming socially connected (economic exchange), while compliments should prime perceptions of greater social connectedness (communal sharing) (Belk 2010).

Across three experiments using real and imagined behavior we provide evidence that tips lead to decreased social connectedness, while compliments lead to increased social connectedness. Tips lead to an increase in tangible reciprocation (i.e., amount of food given, Studies 2 and 3), but a decrease in motivation, enjoyment, and relationship development (Studies 1 and 3) as mediated by social connectedness. In contrast, compliments lead to a decrease in tangible reciprocation, but an increase in motivation, enjoyment, and relationship development as mediated by social connectedness. However, when tips happen early in an interaction they are perceived as less trustworthy than compliments (Study 1), and their effectiveness in obtaining tangible reciprocation is attenuated (Studies 2 and 3).

Study 1 employed an imagined scenario method. Participants saw a video of a restaurant interaction and imagined themselves as the server. Participants ($N=300$, $M_{age}=20.12$, 56.6% Male) were either tipped \$5 early, complimented early, tipped \$5 early and complimented late, or complimented early and tipped \$5 late. The dependent measures were server motivation, enjoyment of the interaction and desire to serve the customer again. We hypothesized that when tips come first they decrease perceptions of trustworthiness, decreasing social connectedness and negatively influencing the dependent measures. We ran a serial mediation model (Hayes 2012) on the relationship between the first influence type and the dependent measures through perceptions of trustworthiness and social connectedness. The serial mediation model was significant for each dependent measure: relationship development ($b=-.07$, $SE=.04$, [95% CI= -.15 to -.01]), enjoyment ($b=-.07$, $SE=.04$, [95% CI= -.16 to -.0040]) and motivation ($b=-.05$, $SE=.03$, [95% CI= -.11 to -.01]).

In Study 2, we measured real behavior by setting up two mock dining settings in separate rooms and two mock kitchens. Participants worked as the servers and the customers were confederates. Servers were randomly assigned to one of four conditions within a 2 (influence type: compliment vs. tip) x 2 (influence timing: late-dessert vs. early-drink) between-subjects design ($N=106$, $M_{age}=20.64$, 45.7% male). We measured how much food (in grams) the server gave the customer. Social connectedness was coded based on server behaviors in the video footage (adapted from Jiang, et al. 2010). A univariate ANOVA of influence timing x influence type on

the amount of food given in grams revealed a significant interaction ($F(1, 101) = 3.94, p = .05$). Servers in the early flattery condition gave significantly more food ($M_{\text{EarlyCompliment}} = 134.64\text{g}$) than those in the early tipping condition ($M_{\text{EarlyTip}} = 114\text{g}$, $F(1, 101) = 6.3, p = .014$). A bootstrapping procedure revealed the indirect path from influence type to amount of food given through level of social connectedness was significant ($b = 7.79, SE = 1.19, 95\% CI = 1.18, 17.64$).

Study 3 followed the same design as study 2 but with participants ($N = 132, M_{\text{age}} = 21.25, 44.7\%$ male) playing both customers as well as servers to provide a more natural setting and to measure the customer's perspective of the interaction. We included the perceptual measures of study 1 (for both servers and customers), the amount of food given and the amount of time taken to bring the food to the customer. We included a self-report measure of social connectedness to mediate the perceptual findings. ANOVA results revealed only a main effect of influence type such that compliments were superior to tips for each dependent measure. A bootstrapping mediation analysis revealed that social connectedness mediated the main effects of influence type on each of the DVs for both customers and servers. Social connectedness mediated server motivation ($b = -.21, SE = .13, 95\% CI = -.56, -.02$), server enjoyment ($b = -.22, SE = .11, 95\% CI = -.48, -.06$), server perception of relationship development ($b = -.19, SE = .12, 95\% CI = -.53, -.02$), customer enjoyment ($b = -.33, SE = .17, 95\% CI = -.75, -.05$), and customer perception of relationship development ($b = -.51, SE = .26, 95\% CI = -1.11, -.07$). ANOVA results on the amount of food given replicated study 2. Servers in the early compliment condition gave more food ($M_g = 139.75$) than those in the early tipping condition ($M_g = 118.11, F(1,62) = 4.55, p < .05$). Experience as a bartender/server was measured (yes/no). When included in the ANOVA models, experience did not interact with the independent variables or have a direct effect on any of the dependent measures.

Together, this research enriches our understanding of "service sweethearting" and its impact (Brady et al. 2012) by demonstrating that such behavior transcends friendships and can happen between strangers, and contributes to an emerging literature showing how consumers can act as agents of persuasion in the marketplace (Kozlins et al. 2010).

Meeting in the Middle: Social Influence Effects on the Compromise Effect

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The compromise effect, describing how consumers are more likely to select the middle option in a choice set rather than the extreme options, is a well-documented and robust phenomenon in marketing (Simonson and Tversky 1992). Past research has investigated the cognitive processes leading to this effect and the different individual, task, and social context moderators of its magnitude (Simonson and Nowlis 2000; Simonson 1989).

However, the bulk of this research has focused on uncovering the drivers behind the compromise effect in choices made by *individual* decision makers. In reality, many purchase decisions where compromise effects could emerge are made by dyads (married couples, pairs of friends). Such dyads routinely make decisions in which both partners provide input into the decision-making process and ultimately reach one decision or buy one product.

Our work sheds light on the compromise effect in dyadic decisions and demonstrates that the degree to which compromise effects emerge is determined by the gender composition of the dyad. Specifically, we examine the tendency of differently-composed dyads (male-male, male-female, female-female pairs) to exhibit different susceptibility to the compromise effect.

In Study 1 we asked participants ($N = 222, M_{\text{age}} = 20.2$ years, 38% male) to choose from a set of three electric grills. Participants either made this decision jointly with another participant (20 male-male dyads, 32 male-female dyads, 43 female-female dyads) or alone (10 male individuals, 22 female individuals). Following Simonson and Sela (2011), the choice set was constructed so that one item represented the compromise option, not dominating on either attribute provided but instead, falling between two more extreme options, both of which were dominated on one attribute. A logistic regression predicting choice (1 = middle option; 0 = one of the extreme options) revealed a main effect of dyad composition, such that male-female (72.1% chose the middle option) and female-female dyads (68.8%) were not significantly different from one another ($p = .09$), but were significantly more likely to choose the compromise option than were male-male dyads (40%, $p \leq .01$). We also found that male-male dyads were significantly less likely to select the compromise option than were individual males (70%) or females (72.7%, $p \leq .01$). These findings suggest that when males make joint decisions, their willingness to choose a compromise option decreases, both relative to other types of pairs and relative to the decisions they usually make alone.

Following Murali et al. (2007), Study 2 tested the magnitude of the compromise effect in different dyads by examining the change of the compromise option choice share between the core (2-item) and extended (3-item) sets. In the core set, dyads chose between two brands of printers (A, B); dyads in the extended set selected among three brands (A, B, C). Thus, Study 2 ($N = 386, M_{\text{age}} = 20.6$ years, 41% male) followed a 3 (male-male, female-male, female-female pairs) \times 2 (core vs. extended set) design. Results reveal a significant interaction of dyad type \times choice set ($p = .04$): male-female and female-female dyads both exhibited the compromise effect with the compromise option choice share increasing significantly in the extended versus the core set (male-female: 10% in core vs. 60% in extended set; female-female: 10% in core vs. 58.5% in extended set, $p \leq .0001$); however, the compromise effect does not replicate in male-male dyads (12.5% in core vs. 12.5% in extended set, $p = .99$).

A post-test revealed that men are more knowledgeable than women about the products (grills and printers) used in the first two studies ($p \leq .0001$). Thus, the objective of Study 3 ($N = 251, M_{\text{age}} = 29.6$ years, 72% male) was to examine whether this effect would replicate in a product domain where men are less knowledgeable than women. The study was conducted with virtual dyads (104 male-male dyads, 99 male-female dyads, 48 female-female dyads) and all participants had to choose among three types of figure skating tickets. Replicating our prior findings, results revealed that male-male dyads were less likely to select the compromise option than both male-female and female-female dyads ($p \leq .04$); there was no difference between the latter two dyads ($p = .93$).

So why is this effect occurring? Across these three studies, we captured a variety of exploratory ancillary measures. Consideration of these measures suggest that for men, the presence of another man in the dyad may heighten the sense that compromise, in general, is non-normative. For example, in Study 2, men hold the idea that "compromising is a sign of a weak man" more strongly than women ($p < .0001$). We explored this explanation more directly in Study 4 where we asked participants ($N = 224, M_{\text{age}} = 33.3$ years, 53% male) to imagine a scenario in which a male/female character was choosing jointly with a male/female coworker among three options (one of which was a compromise option as in prior studies). Participants imagined that the focal character recommended choosing the medium option and then were asked to evaluate his/her choice using items such as "he/she is compromising too much," "giving up too easily," "too willing to compromise." Results revealed that male partici-

pants judged the male character's inclination to choose the middle option more harshly when the decision was made with a male than a female co-worker ($p=.05$); none of the other contrasts were significant ($p's>.09$). This study provides further evidence for the idea that males perceive that compromising is non-normative for them especially when they make joint decisions with other males.

Based on these results, we are currently conducting a fifth study to: (1) demonstrate the effects with a consequential choice; (2) test interventions that challenge men's belief that only weak men compromise, which will help us to provide stronger evidence of the mechanism underlying the aversion to compromise seen in male-male dyads.

Our work contributes to the existing literature by demonstrating that in joint decisions the gender composition of the dyad is an important moderator of the compromise effect. Furthermore, given the practical implications of the compromise effect for product introduction and deletions, positioning, and product assortments (Kivetz, Netzer, and Srinivasan 2004) and the fact that many purchase decisions are made by pairs of people, this project also has the potential to offer valuable insights for marketing practitioners.

How Do I Love Thee (And Who Should I Tell?) – The Implications of Emotional Suppression Due to Audience Size

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Marriage is a major life event (Levinson 1986) that couples mark publically through a ceremony and celebration: their wedding. Given its importance, couples want their wedding to be perfect (Currie 1993). To achieve this, couples typically spend a great deal of time and effort—and an increasing amount of money (\$28,427 on average; Fraiman 2013)—planning their special day. Importantly, the bulk of wedding expenses are related to guests (79.3%; Fraiman 2013). In the present research, we explore whether spending on guests benefits the couple, or whether more wedding guests is deleterious for marital outcomes. This research provides insight for those planning a wedding, and addresses the theoretical questions of how and why audience size impacts emotions and associated outcomes. There is a paucity of consumer research on weddings (but see Belk and Nguyen 2013) and on audience size (but see Berger and Milkman 2012), and neither stream of work has examined how audience size affects consumers' emotions. Using the context of weddings, this research contributes to our understanding of how social and situational factors influence emotional regulation and emotional intensity.

We propose that sharing emotions with close others allows couples to be authentic in their expression (DePaulo and Kashy 1998), and to capitalize on their positive emotions (Gable et al. 2004; Langston 1994). This will increase the positivity and intensity of those emotions. In the context of weddings—where couples share their love for their partner with others—these increased positive emotions may carry over into their marriage, given that emotional capitalization can have long-term effects (Langston 1994). Indeed, one might predict increased benefits from larger guest lists: the more guests there are, the greater the opportunities will be for sharing and thus capitalizing.

On the other hand, research has shown that individuals engage in emotional suppression more around those with whom they are not close (Gross, Richards, and John 2006), and that humans can only truly feel close to approximately 150 other people (Dunbar 1992). Emotional suppression has been linked to negative social (Butler et al. 2003) and marital outcomes (via stonewalling; Gottman and

Levenson 1992). As such, we predict that as wedding guest lists increase beyond approximately 150, couples will feel less close to their guests and will engage in more emotional suppression at their wedding. This will ultimately diminish their emotional intensity for their spouse, with detrimental outcomes for their marriage.

In sum, we predict a curvilinear effect wherein weddings with more guests result in more positive emotional intensity and longer marriages, but only up to a certain number of guests. Beyond approximately 150 guests, couples may begin to suppress their emotions on their wedding day, resulting in less positive emotional intensity and shorter marriages. We hypothesize that this suppression will occur due to a lack of felt closeness with larger numbers of guests, and we measure and test closeness as a mediator. We use two divorced samples, a sample of still-married individuals, and a sample of engaged individuals planning their wedding to test our predictions and rule out alternate explanations.

Studies 1a and 1b

Our first two studies examine whether wedding guest number predicts the length of divorced individuals' first marriage. In study 1a ($n = 92$), we controlled for marriage year, age when married, education level of the couple, wedding cost, and wedding religiosity, and added the linear and polynomial terms in separate regression steps. We found no linear ($\beta = 0.182$, $t(78) = 1.59$, $p = .117$) or quadratic effects of guest number ($\beta = -.101$, $t(77) = -.30$, $p > .250$), but found a significant cubic effect ($\beta = -2.345$, $t(76) = -2.00$, $p = .049$), such that the largest guests lists corresponded with the shortest marriages; the turning point in the data was 200 guests.

In study 1b, using a larger sample ($n = 297$), we replicated Study 1a's results before additionally controlling for the presence of children, the existence of a prenuptial agreement, another measure of religiosity (whether the marriage was in a church or not), the couple's age difference, and the respondent's total number of separations and divorces (to control for a pattern of divorce behavior). Even with the inclusion of these variables, the cubic effect was significant ($\beta = -1.036$, $t(271) = -1.994$, $p = .047$) and showed that the largest weddings were associated with the shortest marriages. The turning point in this data was 205 guests.

Study 2

A sample of married individuals ($n = 184$) assessed whether a) guest number directly corresponded to emotional intensity within the marriage, and b) if this effect was mediated by closeness with one's wedding guests. Controlling for all of the same variables as in study 1a, and adding marriage length, we again found a cubic effect ($\beta = -1.204$, $t(166) = -2.147$, $p = .033$) of wedding guest number predicting positive emotions for one's spouse. Bootstrapping revealed that closeness to one's wedding guests mediated this effect (indirect effect = -0.017 ; LCI = $-.0494$, UCI = $-.0012$).

Study 3

To rule out an alternate explanation that couples who feel initially less positive toward one another plan larger marriages (perhaps as a distraction from their ailing relationship), we surveyed engaged couples who were planning their first wedding, using age, educational level, and anticipated cost of wedding as control measures. The engaged couple's emotional intensity for one another did not predict their anticipated guest number ($\beta = -.973$, $t(60) = -.911$, $p > .250$).

Marriage has implications for well-being (Gove et al. 1983), health, and mortality (Kaplan and Kronick 2006; Lillaire and Waite 1995)—yet a large proportion of marriages end in divorce (CDC 2013). This research suggests that couples planning a wedding may

want to carefully consider how many guests they invite to their big day—not only for monetary reasons, but also for emotional ones. Indeed, oversharing the experience of one’s wedding may have implications for emotional intensity toward one’s partner and ultimately the outcomes of the marriage.

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Competitive Papers—Full

“See that Door with a No Entry Sign? Open It”: Exploring Consumer Agency in Contested Place

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ABSTRACT

This research explores consumer agency in the context of ‘urban exploration,’ which refers to the consumption of abandoned and contested urban ruins. Drawing on netnographic data, we introduce the concepts of calculated agency and transient appropriation, and demonstrate the importance of temporality and virtuality in the creation of place meaning.

INTRODUCTION

This research sheds new light upon consumer agency by examining ‘urban exploration’ - the consumption of abandoned and decaying urban ruins. Consumer agency has been well documented within consumer research literature in terms of consumers’ ability to create their own meanings in commercial environments (Kozinets et al., 2004; Peñaloza, 2000), and as a means of exploring the conflicting ideologies at play in the appropriation of public place (Visconti et al., 2010). Yet there remains little understanding of the varieties of consumer agency that exist (Wijland, 2011). This paper builds on this body of work by exploring consumer agency in contested place. We suggest that places are contested whenever there is tension and ambiguity over their access, use and ownership. In particular, we address the following research questions: How is consumer agency expressed in contested place? And how do consumers appropriate contested places to make them meaningful?

The contributions of this paper are twofold. Firstly, we contribute to a greater understanding of the varieties of consumer agency by theorising its manifestation in non-commercialised and non-public environments. We build upon Kozinets et al.’s (2004) concept of interagency and demonstrate that consumer agency involves a dynamic tension between play and personal responsibility. We introduce the concept of calculated agency and argue that individuals take control away from the structure of society through conducting illegal acts whilst mediating risk. Secondly, we enrich understandings of place appropriation by demonstrating how transient appropriation in urban exploration develops within contested place, where ownership, access and use are ambiguous due to abandonment.

Consumer Agency in Place

Consumer agency has been described across disciplines as an expression of autonomy, freedom of choice, self-expression (Bhattacharjee, Berger and Menon, 2014) and the ability to act (Borgerson, 2012) or influence structures of power (Earley, 2013). Importantly, this capacity to act is socio-culturally mediated (Adhearn, 2001) as culture shapes actors and actions (Valtonen, 2013). Existent research has examined the importance of consumer agency in identity expression (Bhattacharjee, Berger and Menon, 2014), body image (Valtonen, 2013), fashion discourses (Thompson and Haytko, 1997), globalization (Eckhardt and Mahi, 2004), gender (Witkowski, 2004), and object-subject relations (Borgerson, 2005). Much of this literature interprets consumer agents as “loosely structured”, neither wholly free agents nor socially constituted products (Eckhardt and Mahi, 2004). As reviewed in the following sections, understandings

of consumer agency in place have developed from research on both commercial and public places.

Consumer agency in commercial place

Commercial environments have been found to stimulate expressions of consumer agency by enabling consumers to create their own meanings and experiences within consumption (Kozinets et al., 2004). Peñaloza (2000) terms this as joint cultural production whereby consumers can actively engage, manipulate and become agents of (re)invention within consumption experiences. Similarly, Campbell (1987) identifies consumers’ ability to shape and (re)invent experiences as autonomous imaginative hedonism where the consumption experience centres on imagination, rather than selection, purchase or use. In their ethnography of Chicago’s ESPN Zone, Kozinets et al. (2004) found spectacular retail environments to be sites of ludic play where consumers can actively engage and perform. Reflecting Ger and Belk’s (1996) definition of consumer agency as the ability to transform and play with meaning, Kozinets et al. (2004) suggest this consumption play liberated consumers “who use their freedom to work within the rules of play, to break other rules, and to create new rules as they become, in effect, props for other consumers engaged in their own construction projects” (p. 668). Drawing on Holt’s (1995) notion of consuming as play as a type of autotelic inter-consumer interaction, Kozinets et al. (2004) found consumers both enjoyed spectating and becoming a spectacle for other consumers to watch, creating a form of ‘screen-play’ where consumers would occupy a mediated position between interacting and performing within the environment. Kozinets et al. (2004) term this position interagency whereby the consumer negotiates between being powerful and manipulated, passive and active, subject and object. This position allows for liminoid real estate, where daily life can be escaped through the liminal retail space, and obverse panopticon, where consumers want to observe and be socially visible as a libidinous form of surveillance that enables participation in the spectacle (Kozinets et al., 2004).

Consumer agency in public place

In their ethnography of urban street art, Visconti et al. (2010) explore how consumer agency operates in public places. They conceptualise public place as a form of public good that is characterised by the shared ownership by a collective of citizens that transforms desolate urban voids into meaningful places. This shared ownership of space causes the uses, appropriation and meanings of public space to be negotiated and contested amongst different stakeholders as dwellers and artists have conflicting opinions about the appropriateness and permanency of artwork.

Drawing upon Lefebvre’s (2004) account of rhythm analysis, McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham (2012) argue shared social spaces are polyrhythmic, consisting of multiple rhythms between place, time and practice. During conflict, places can experience arrhythmias where irregularities in rhythm cause disorder and unrest (Lefebvre, 2004). In their case of the public park, McEachern et al. (2012) found these arrhythmias occurred between park users who disagreed over the use of the space. Both Visconti et al. (2010) and

McEachern et al. (2012) highlight the continual conflict and negotiation that occurs in public places regarding the use and ownership of these shared spaces. Public places emerge as particularly precarious sites of shared consumption where the boundaries of ownership and consumer agency are often ambiguous and indeterminable. We build on this work by exploring the context of urban exploration, where individuals trespass in contested places that have no clear use, access or ownership due to abandonment and dereliction.

Urban Exploration

Urban exploration is the discovery and exploration of restricted, derelict and decaying places in the built environment (Garrett, 2011). Also known as 'UrbEx', urban exploration involves complex practices of researching place histories, discovering access to sites and the physical exploration of urban relics. It exists in two forms: exploring obsolete locations, such as abandoned asylums and derelict factories; and infiltrating 'live' sites, such as transportation networks and sewer systems. Urban explorers also act as archivists by textually and photographically documenting the history and decay of these often forgotten urban places which they share with online community forums. These online forums have a large following with the most active UK forum, '28dayslater.co.uk,' obtaining over 10,000 registered members. Urban exploration is generally committed illegally as explorers rarely gain permission to access sites. According to Garrett (2013), urban exploration is form of recreational trespass that allows individuals to act against the constricting nature of society. Some privately and publicly owned sites are closed to the public due to health and safety concerns, whilst many other sites have no clear ownership as they are abandoned and left to ruin. As such, these sites are contested places in terms of their use, ownership and access. UrbEx is a highly dangerous activity that often requires explorers to scale buildings without ropes, descend into disused tunnels or carefully avoid electrical train-lines. A small number of explorers have been accidentally killed during explorations, and many more report serious injury. As such, urban exploration shares many commonalities with Celsi, Rose and Leigh's (1993) examination of sky-diving as a voluntary high-risk consumption activity that requires risk negotiation and edgework.

METHODOLOGY

Findings from this paper are part of a larger project concerning the consumption of urban exploration. Due to the importance of online storytelling to urban exploration (Garrett, 2013) we conducted a netnography of the most active UrbEx forum '28dayslater' and thirty explorers' personal websites. Discussion threads on the forum range from "Asylums and Hospitals", "Industrial Sites" to "Draining" and "Rooftopping". The forum is highly active with many members posting material daily. For example, 28dayslater attained 12,431 active users within a single day in August 2007 (28dayslater.co.uk, 2015). Each topic thread will have between 1,500 and 5,000 threads, with 3,500 to 10,500 accompanying posts. From this forum we followed thirty members who promoted their personal UrbEx websites within discussion posts. We included these personal websites within our netnography as these pages often detailed a greater depth of personal reflection about their urban pursuits. Conducted over six months, our netnography included weekly observations of the forum and personal websites, allowing the researchers to become immersed within the virtual context of study (Kozinets, 2002). Specifically, data was collected regarding 'exploration reports', reply comments, photographs, active and non-active threads, and individuals' reflections of their experiences. This generated over 176 pages of screenshot data from forums, websites and researcher reflective field notes, used to

aid contextualisation (Kozinets, 2002). Data analysis was conducted by moving between individual postings, entire discussion threads and the emergent understanding of the complete data set (de Valck, 2007). Interpretation of the forum and personal websites followed the constant comparative method (Glaser, 1965). This allowed for an intertextual analysis between participants' short posts and their deeper personal reflections.

Particular ethical issues were considered whilst collecting netnographic data by following recent guidelines from Kozinets (2014). The netnography was observational and collected only archive data on publicly accessible websites. Data was fully anonymised as all explorers remain anonymous on forums and websites by creating nicknames. We have retained explorers own choice of nicknames (e.g. The Test Chamber, Beyond the Boundary) as these are revealing in terms of the nature of urban exploration. To further ensure anonymity any identifiable information has been pseudo-anonymised.

FINDINGS

Our findings begin by examining urban explorers' use of urban spaces and go on to discuss enactments of consumer agency and play involved in urban exploration.

Transient Appropriation of Contested Place. Explorers' websites often discuss the preparatory practices conducted prior to an exploration. Researching access and planning entry is a central part of exploration, which seasoned explorers' refer to as "*reconnaissance*" (*Transient Places*). Whilst some trips may be spontaneous, more serious urban explorers will spend a couple of weeks (*The Test Chamber*) gathering information, or going to the site between 5 and 20 times to find an entrance point (*Transient Places*).

Stray off the path: Sometimes you will find yourself attempting the same place multiple times before succeeding. [...] Having patience is key to success. A lot of time is spent doing research, scouting out access points, the security situation...

Despite the depth of research necessary for a successful explore, the longevity of the trip is often very transient, lasting only a few hours or a few minutes. Often trips are cut short if explorers are interrupted by security guards, police or members of the public. Along with the short temporal duration of the trip, explorers ensure they leave no trace of their presence, expressed by the popular maxim "take only photographs, leave only footprints" (*Vehicular*).

Urban Degeneration: There are no rules set in stone, aside from the rather clichéd term of 'Take Nothing But Photos, Leave Nothing But Footprints', [...] they should not take anything from a site, other than the memories (both mental and photographic) and should leave nothing permanent which may cause further unnatural damage to the site.

It is important for these explorers that locations remain undamaged and unchanged by their explorations. This is reflected in *Stray off the path's* call for others to have "*respect for the locations*". As such, the urban explorer undertakes a transient appropriation of these contested places by their physical exploration. Yet, they also preserve these urban relics through textual and photographic storytelling. This desire to preserve forgotten city spaces appeared a common discussion amongst explorers:

Urban Degeneration: Without 'Urban Explorers' who are willing to risk life and limb to document these places, in 20-30 years time all that will remain will be the memories of people

who grew up around these imposing buildings, but what happens when these people are no longer here?

Whilst the physical exploration is fleeting and impermanent, their online storytelling of these sites are virtually enduring. Unlike the semi-permanent appropriation by street artists who inscribe meaning onto desolate urban spaces, urban explorers leave no physical trace of their place appropriation. Instead their appropriation is virtually enduring through their photographic and textual (re)presentations archived online.

Play and Adrenaline Thrills. We recognize that the thrill of adventure and danger plays a large part of the allure of urban exploration. Most explorer websites dedicate a distinct section on the dangers of exploration and the associated “adrenaline rush” (*Beyond the boundary*) that exploring provides. *The Test Chamber*, writing in the third person, illustrates the adrenaline high explorers feel. In the following extract from his website he describes his infiltration of the Paris Metro to reach the abandoned platform of Champs de Mars:

The Test Chamber: Pulse racing, he dodges cameras and absconds down a vent into the pitch black. He has no idea if he's been seen and is going to end up on the no-fly list, has no idea if the rails are on, if there is a service train coming down the zero-clearance tunnels. [...] The intentions that put you there become irrelevant and you're now in the moment and at that primal sense of heightened awareness, moving forward to whatever arbitrary goal you might have set yourself. [...] Creeps quietly, totally on edge for half a mile until he reaches his goal of the abandoned platform. Takes a few pictures and leaves, heart still in mouth all the way out.

The Test Chamber's discussion of the physical danger and thrills associated with exploring reflects Celsi et al. (1993) account of sky-divers thrill seeking through corporal risk-taking. However, due to the often illegality of explorations there is another thrill of escaping unseen and undetected that is demonstrated by *Stray off the path's* account:

Stray off the path: Live sites are the most adrenaline thrilled as the risk of being spotted is much greater but the rewards are often incredible; the feeling once you have made your way out undetected is incredible.

As a seasoned explorer, *Stray off the path* often refers to his explorations as a “game of patience” that requires skill in order to out-smart security guards or negotiate the concrete fortresses surrounding these places. The enjoyment of these illegal activities can be understood as illicit pleasure, where pleasure is taken from crossing social and legal boundaries (Goulding et al., 2009). It is the challenge to explore undetected that allows explorers to experience play. The playful nature of urban exploration is also explicitly mentioned in terms of a return to childhood:

Stray off the path: That's the magic of Urban Exploration. I think it's a childhood feeling, something like the great adventure, when you was a kid riding your bike to explore the world. I think that most of the urban explorers are the last romantics. In a society that has abolished all the adventures, the only adventure left is the urban exploration...

For *Stray off the Path* urban exploration is a magical return to a childhood past where there was the perception of adventure and discovery. Through their online reflections many explorers trace

their fascination with abandonment to childhood exploration and freedom. Identified by Kozinets et al. (2004) ludic play can allow consumers to “work within the rules of play” in commercial settings (p. 668). However, for urban explorers play comes from navigating the risks and dangers of the urban assault-course that are far removed from the safety and security of commercialised experiences of play.

Owning your own risk. A common theme discussed on 28day-slater and explorers' websites is the ownership of responsibility and risk as a way of counteracting society's controls.

Stray off the path: Unfortunately, in this modern age, health and safety regulations censor and govern our lives through blind compliance and fear. When I go to these closed off places I prefer to accept personal responsibility for my own actions.

Part of taking responsibility for their own actions involves preparing for explorations through using the appropriate equipment, clothing and tools. For example, experienced explorers will always be found with a DSLR camera, LED Lenser P7 torches, a fully charged phone, water, food supplies and first aid kits. Along with equipment, explorers mentally prepare for making calculated risks. This reflects Lang's (1990) concept of ‘edgework’, where an individual explores personal limits and ability to control situations. Whilst some explorations are spontaneous, most explorers follow a set of salient rules and safety judgements. For example, explorers who practice “draining”, the entry and exploration of subterranean drain or sewer systems, use the motto “if it's raining, don't go draining” (*Beyond the Boundary*). The most common safeguard discussed on websites is personal awareness of ability.

Beyond the boundary: Some areas of exploration are more dangerous than others obviously. [...] We are all responsible for our own actions, and should always make sure we know our limits.

For explorers using reliable equipment and the ability to know your own limits acts as a defence against the unregulated risk of urban exploration. *Stray off the path* warns others to “Know your own limits and always stay fully aware. [...] You need to assess every situation. [A]t all times I have only ever taken calculated risks.” Beyond taking physical control many explorers perceive this freedom as an expression of maturity:

Transient Places: It's also a statement of adulthood. [...] In everyday life, we give away a lot of responsibility over our lives. We are treated as children, incapable of making decisions about our lives. By exploring, we are retaking control – walk past the warning signs, and you take responsibility for your actions, for your life. You become an adult, unable to blame anyone else if something goes wrong.

Transient Places' account demonstrates that by ignoring hazard-warning signs explorers are able to take control of their own actions and destinies. We interpret this ownership of risk as an expression of adulthood within the restrictions of society. Whilst explorers' recreational trespass (Garrett, 2013) enables playful resistance to society's laws, it also is an important expression of agency that allows individuals to take greater accountability of their own risk.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the growing debate surrounding the importance of consumer agency in consumer research (Askegaard and Linnett, 2011; Moisander et al., 2009), there remains little understanding of the

varieties of consumer agency that exist (Wijland, 2011). Kozinets et al. (2004) suggest that in commercial environments consumption is a dialogical negotiation between the producer and consumer, resulting in interagency. However, our findings suggest consumers seek interactions with non-commercial places as they allow greater agency, freedom and unregulated risk-taking. Even in the context of sky-diving (Celsi et al., 1993), river-rafting (Arnould and Price, 1993) and extreme mountain climbing (Belk and Tumbat, 2010) market representatives are always partially present to facilitate the experience and provide security measures. With specific focus on illegal practices, Goulding et al. (2009) show how illicit pleasure of raving has become a site of 'contained illegality' where previously unregulated practices have been made safer and sanitised through marketization. In contrast, UrbEx occurs without service providers, meaning responsibility falls upon consumers to manage their own risk-taking actions. We interpret this as a form of calculated agency, whereby the individual takes control away from the structure of society through conducting illegal acts whilst mediating personal risk. In UrbEx this is evident using research, equipment, individual skill and mindfulness of personal limits. This advances current understandings of consumer agency beyond the controlled consumer agency permitted in commercial settings.

Furthermore, while previous research examines consumer agency in semi-permanent place appropriation (Visconti et al., 2010), we contribute to a richer understanding of the varieties of place appropriation undertaken by demonstrating how transient appropriation develops within contested place. In their examination of rave cultures, Goulding et al. (2009: p. 768) identify unregulated spaces of illicit pleasure as 'temporary autonomous zones' (Bey, 1991), "where people gather together, temporarily occupy a space, and then move on, only to reappear again elsewhere." Whilst this conceptualisation captures the transitory occupation of places, it focuses upon illicit practices *in* place and fails to capture the contested nature of place. Instead we explore the consumption 'of' *contested place*, where ownership, access and use are ambiguous due to abandonment and dereliction. Urban explorers infiltrate abandoned buildings for short periods of time to photographically capture these places, explore their hidden spaces and exit without a trace as a community rule, often referred to as "the code". Agency is expressed as a personal and community level deviance to larger societal rules of trespass that offers both child-like play and adult nonconformity to societal control. Yet, within the UrbEx community, agency is confined by community codes that dictate the amount of play accepted by the group, evident in the ethos of "take nothing but photographs, leave nothing but footprints". As such, agency continually negotiates between the flexibility and constraints at the micro-personal, meso-community and macro-societal levels. The physical appropriation is fleeting, yet their online storytelling is virtually enduring. Unlike the more permanent appropriation of public place by street art (Visconti et al., 2010), explorers' transient appropriation acts as a distinctive form of place appropriation that preserves its character and makes places meaningful through online storytelling. This provides a richer understanding of place appropriation and demonstrates the importance of temporality and virtuality in the creation of place meaning.

The discussion above highlights the importance of our findings to those interested in both consumer agency and the consumption of place. However, in terms of limitations, the pre-anonymised nature of our netnographic data denied us access to any demographic information about our sample. Future research could build on this study by utilising face-to-face interactions with urban explorers which may add further insight to the characteristics and motivations of those engaged in this hidden and secretive practice.

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TABLE OF FINDINGS

Themes	Description	Example of Participant Data
Transient Appropriation	Explorers undertake a transient appropriation of urban ruins. This acts as a distinctive form of place appropriation that preserves its character and makes a place meaningful through online storytelling.	<i>An absolute point of principle for Urban Explorers is that we don't break into sites and always use open access routes (even if they may require some inventive climbing or squeezing through gaps); yet we profit from the vandals who do smash open buildings since they create open access routes for us to use! We'd like to see better care and security shown to important sites; yet the security guard is often our exploring nemesis! (Stray off the path)</i>
Play and Adrenaline Thrills	Explorers desire the adrenaline rush associated with physical dangers and illegality of exploring. This allows a return to childhood whereby individuals experience the feeling of greater freedom and adventure.	<i>[T]here *really is* a beautiful moment of calm and stillness after dropping down onto a set of subway tracks. You wait, you listen, wary of any track workers or trains that might be hurtling your way, then with baited breaths, take that first step out onto the line. Takes a few pictures and leaves, heart still in mouth all the way out. (The Test Chamber)</i>
Ownership of Risk and Calculated Agency	Explorers take ownership of their own risk as an expression of adulthood by using research, equipment, individual skill and mindfulness of personal limits. We interpret this as a form of calculated agency, whereby the individual takes control away from the structure of society through conducting illegal acts whilst mediating personal risk.	<i>A number one rule for most people is never explore alone. Ever. If you do injure yourself and there is no one about and your phone battery has died (very common now as you will probably know), what will you do? Always exploring with one or more persons could save your life or their life. You should always trust your own judgement too, if something doesn't feel right then it usually isn't. Know your own limits and always stay fully aware. Many places, particularly industrial, have hazards around every corner. You can't just explore these places expecting everything to be safe. You need to assess every situation. A rotten floor can easily be disguised underneath carpet and as such may not support your weight, resulting in injury. (Stray off the path)</i>

Connecting on Movie Night? Neural Measures of Engagement Differ by Gender

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ABSTRACT

We propose a novel method, Cross Brain Correlation (CBC), to study between-group differences in responses to complex stimuli, such as movies or advertisements, based on agreement across multiple brains while experiencing content. Clustering this neural data (i.e. segmentation by gender) can distill preferences that are not captured by traditional means.

INTRODUCTION

The ability to generate engaging content is a sought-after skill, especially when the goal is to simultaneously connect with multiple consumer segments (e.g., various interests, ages, genders). Be it in advertising, architecture, cinematography, gaming, politics, product design, or any other field in which content is being delivered to an audience, the ability to capture the interest of different groups, such as men and women, is regarded as a talent that is both hard to obtain and hard to dissect. Prior research on content engagement has explored a variety of techniques, including repetition (Campbell and Keller 2003), endorsements by popular figures (Choi et al. 2013), testimonials (Albuquerque 2012), and others. However, these methods are often inefficient and expensive (Swerdlow 1984). Recently, neuroscientists have broadly linked engagement to attention (Koster et al. 2006), decreased mind-wandering (Mason et al. 2007), and increased memory of displayed content (Olivers et al. 2006; Furman et al. 2007). Prior studies have specifically tried to locate a set of brain regions uniquely activated when subjects are engaged by content (Yamasaki et al. 2002). While a body of literature has offered some evidence of regional networks that indicate momentary shifts in attention (Mason et al. 2007, Esterman et al. 2012), neuroscientists have yet to identify a clear, finite set of brain regions whose activity correlates with engagement as a whole within an individual.

One characteristic of engaging content is its ability to transcend differences in individual preferences and generate widespread interest. When an entire audience is particularly captivated, there are observable behavioral similarities across members of the crowd: sitting on the edge of seats, looking in the same direction, laughing at the same time, etc. In recent works by Hasson et al. (Hasson et al. 2004, Furman et al. 2007, Regev et al. 2013), the brains of viewers of short videos show increased Inter-Subject Correlation (ISC) for clips that are deemed to be more engaging by the authors. Borrowing from this intuition that engaging content triggers similar responses across people, we have developed a complementary way to study neural data by looking at the correlation between multiple brains, rather than the activity or lack thereof within a single brain (or brain regions). Additionally, we interrogate the dynamic nature of this correlation (i.e., changes from moment to moment) rather than focusing only on the average throughout the stimulus.

Neural synchrony within individual brains has been studied extensively with the aim of understanding epileptic seizures, which are characterized by abnormal patterns of synchronization within an individual's brain (Cerf and Barnett 2014). Now, we apply the concept of neural synchrony across individuals as a way to interpret the effect of different audiovisual content on viewers.

Our new measure, Cross-Brain-Correlation (CBC), inspired by measures of neural similarity between brains presented in previous works (Hasson et al. 2004, Furman et al. 2007, Regev et al. 2013), enables researchers to make temporally precise conclusions about

presented content and allows for algorithmic or manual clustering of the neural data to study specific segments of the population. Importantly, by directly measuring neural responses, this measure does not depend on conscious, subjective reporting, which is often distorted by situational or idiosyncratic biases (Oppenheimer et al. 2009). Additionally, previous studies have utilized functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI) in a laboratory setting. To test the generalizability of our approach outside the laboratory and use a more cost-effective and portable technology than fMRI (thus, more accessible for businesses), we performed our experiment using another neural measurement technology—electroencephalography (EEG)—in a more natural setting (commercial movie theater).

This new analytical paradigm for assessing audience reactions first measures the neural activity induced by the content in an individual brain, and then calculates its similarity to that of other brains processing the same content (details in Methods section). While brains might have lower activity in certain regions and higher in others at a given moment, this collective pattern could in fact be indicative of the effect of external content if it is influencing multiple brains in the same fashion.

Notably, while CBC captures the overall agreement across multiple brains, certain subgroups of individuals may be experiencing content in alternative ways. Rather than grouping all subjects together for the CBC computation, which may wash out effects of divergent subpopulations, we now ask whether clustering subjects (e.g., segmentation by gender and interests) and then measuring the corresponding CBCs can lead to greater understanding of these groups. We seek to address this question using a behavioral study (Study 1) and an EEG field experiment (Study 2). The execution of Study 2 further shows that CBC can be practically implemented under natural conditions (e.g., in a commercial movie theater), suggesting the technique could be used in industry (e.g., to identify differential engagement across gender lines for the purposes of targeted advertising or entertainment). In this work, the subsets of interest are male and female viewers, and we use CBC to identify moment-to-moment differences between their responses to the same audiovisual content.

METHODS

Study 1: Behavioral Research

Subjects and Procedure. Sixty-four subjects (43 female, 21 male) watched advertisements and movies at a commercial theater, through our partnership with AMC Entertainment Holdings, Inc. (NYSE: AMC). Subjects selected a movie of their choice that they had not previously seen from a list of the theater's regular show-times, and they were given free admission in exchange for participation in a survey immediately following the movie. All subjects were native English speakers with normal hearing who provided informed consent.

Free Recall and Survey Data. As subjects exited the auditorium, they were asked to participate in a survey. First, subjects were asked to recount the plot of the movie in detail. Second, they were asked to write the title and plot for each trailer that they remembered. For each trailer, they were asked to what extent they enjoyed the content on a scale of one to ten. Subjects were then asked about their general movie preferences (e.g., favorite genre), factors that influence their movie selection (e.g., user reviews, scores, recom-

mendation from friends, spontaneous decision at theater, viewing trailers), movie theater attendance rates, and demographic characteristics. They were also asked to recall the plot of an advertisement (Coca-Cola) and the plot of the theater's policy announcement (asking moviegoers to turn off cell phone). These stimuli were selected because they are shown to every moviegoer at the theater regardless of movie selection (as opposed to the trailers, which vary based on the selected movie's genre, Motion Picture Association of America rating, production studio, etc.).

Study 2: EEG Field Experiment

Subjects and Procedure. Fifty subjects (24 female, 26 male) distinct from Study 1 watched trailers and movies at a commercial theater, as in Study 1, except that these subjects were also undergoing EEG recordings. Subjects were also offered free soft drinks and popcorn, but were not allowed to consume these concessions while undergoing the EEG recordings to avoid interfering with the neural measurements. Subjects were fitted with an electrode cap with a circumference of either 54cm or 58cm depending on head size and comfort with the cap's tightness. While the subjects were wearing the caps, a washable conductive gel was placed with a syringe at each electrode site on the subjects' scalps. For each showtime in our study ($n = 44$), we collected data from multiple subjects seated next to each other at a preferred row dedicated for the study. All subjects were native English speakers with normal hearing who provided informed consent. Additionally, we explained the experiment to other moviegoers and theater staff (not participants) in the vicinity to avoid interruptions.

EEG Data Acquisition. Subjects' neural data were collected using a 32-channel EEG system (Brain Products GmbH, Gilching, Germany) at a rate of 250 samples per second. Each electrode connection was verified to be functioning properly (i.e., detecting electrical activity from the scalp) before starting the recording. In the rare event that the function of certain electrodes was interrupted or discontinued during the recording, the electrical activity at that site could be calculated as a weighted average of signals from nearby functioning electrodes.

Free Recall and Survey Data. Upon completion of the movie, subjects were asked to participate in a survey while they continued to be monitored using the EEG system. In the interest of time (since theater staff needed to clean the auditorium in between showtimes), we asked a subset of the questions posed in Study 1. We always asked the core recall questions regarding the plot of the movie and the title and plot of each trailer. Additionally, we always asked subjects to rank the four major genres (action, comedy, drama, horror), how they decided which movies to watch, how often they visited the movie theater, and demographic characteristics.

CBC. We measured moment-to-moment synchrony across subjects experiencing the same audiovisual stimuli, which we deem Cross-Brain-Correlation (CBC). We measured EEG activity over time as the power (dB) of statistically significant spectra in the following way: for each electrode channel, we performed a Short-Time Fourier Transform (STFT) at each timestep, filtered the resulting Power Spectral Density (PSD) matrix, and multiplied the common logarithm (base 10) of the matrix by 10; we then averaged across the 32 electrode channels to produce a single time series of EEG activity. The 32 electrode positions were distributed across the entire scalp according to the actiCAP 64Ch Standard-2 montage (green holders). Finally, we compute the correlation of the EEG activity between all pairs of subjects (or all pair of subjects in a particular subset, e.g., all female subjects, all male subjects, all subjects who prefer action movies) to arrive at a CBC time series.

RESULTS

In Study 1 (Behavioral Research), we assessed the degree to which subjects could recall trailers for upcoming movies. In general, the theater presents six or seven trailers before each movie, yet subjects on average can only recall 2.6 ± 1.5 trailers. Only 13 out of the 64 subjects could recall more than half of the trailers they viewed. The apparent difficulty of this task was observed independent of the gender of the subjects: female subjects recalled 2.6 ± 1.3 trailers and male subjects recalled 2.5 ± 1.8 trailers (not significantly different, two-tailed t-test, $p = .82$). Also, the median number of recalled trailers for both female and male subjects was three.

We also investigated the recall of specific events in an advertisement for Coca-Cola that was presented in every showtime after the sequence of trailers and before the featured movie itself. On average, subjects recalled slightly more than one event from the 30-second video. While most events throughout the advertisement generated similar levels of recall for male and female viewers, there were several notable exceptions. For example, the advertisement begins with the Coca-Cola cup appearing in the distance ($t = 1s$, see Summary Table); 14% of female subjects reported this event, but no male subjects did so. The climax of the advertisement is when an animated character dramatically inserts a straw into the Coca-Cola cup ($t = 19s$, see Figure 1 and Summary Table); 38% of male subjects recalled this event—more than any other moment in the video—compared to only 28% of female subjects. This moment includes masculine imagery of the protagonist wielding the straw like a weapon. Therefore, we expected the neural responses of male and female viewers to diverge at these times.

In Study 2 (EEG Field Experiment), we first sought to predict trailer recall from the neural data. Throughout our experiment, there were 13 movie trailers that were shown in more than one showtime and subsequently recalled by more than one subject. We computed the average CBC throughout each of the trailers to compare with the corresponding level of recall. We found that average CBC was highly correlated with trailer recall ($r = .66$, $p = .01$). This finding suggests that CBC not only demonstrates differences in neural perception, but actually predicts memorability of content. Importantly, CBC can be retrieved without the need to ask the subjects and is therefore invariant to the subjectively perceived experience.

Next, we asked whether clustering the neural data based on demographic information could highlight meaningful similarities and differences in reactions across groups. As an example, we partitioned the neural similarity data according to gender and identified key moments in the advertisement where the groups converged or diverged (see Figure 1 and Summary Table). Suggesting labels for such moments can potentially enable the design of targeted messages that generate more engagement in a specific group (e.g., one particular gender).

As we expected, the appearance of the Coca-Cola cup ($t = 1s$, see Summary Table)—which was exclusively recalled by female subjects—generated higher CBC in female subjects (.42) than male subjects (.22). Furthermore, the climactic straw insertion ($t = 19s$, see Figure 1 and Summary Table)—which male subjects recalled more often than female subjects—produced the most striking divergence between each gender's CBC. The maximum CBC observed for male pairs (normalized to 1) occurred at this moment, which was significantly higher (one-tailed t-test, $p < .01$) than the corresponding CBC for female pairs (.16) (see Figure 1 and Summary Table).

There were also numerous examples of content that highly engaged both genders, such as the falling action (protagonist is airlifted away, $t = 21s$, see Summary Table) and conclusion (animated audience drinks Coca-Cola, $t = 27s$, see Figure 1 and Summary Table).

Neither of these moments have obvious gender-specific characteristics, while both are key elements of the overall plot of the advertisement, producing similar levels of recall in both genders (not significantly different, two-tailed t-test, $p = .59$) in Study 1. Altogether, these observations show various parallels and differences between male and female viewers in their neural responses to content, measured by the level of similarity across brains of the same gender during viewing.

Notably, many of the differences between male and female brains detected in Study 2 were not apparent in the survey and memory tasks in Study 1, suggesting that neural data can capture fine preferences that are not observable otherwise. CBC, tapping directly into neural signals, is thus able to shed light on moments in the content where male and female experiences differ, providing new insights to power content generation and targeted delivery for specific segments.

Finally, to evaluate the robustness of the measure, we tested whether we could use the neural data at a significant moment in the advertisement (e.g., straw inserted into cup, $t = 19s$) and successfully decipher characteristics of the subjects, such as gender and genre preference. Simply put, we wanted to see whether, in the absence of any a priori label knowledge of the subjects (e.g., gender, genre preference), we could parse their identities or preferences merely using the neural data at key moments in the viewing.

We found that a supervised machine learning approach applied to the neural data can accurately decode the genders of groups of subjects. Our algorithm computed all possible combinations of six male subjects and six female subjects (26 choose 6 male groups, 24 choose 6 female groups), and then computed the CBC for each of

500 randomly sampled groups for each gender. Finally, we used a binary classifier to successfully distinguish between male and female groups while varying its discrimination threshold; the area under the curve (AUC) of the resulting Receiver Operator Characteristic (ROC) was .76.

Given the apparent connotation of the straw as a weapon, we investigated whether moviegoers with different genre preferences (in particular, those who favor action movies, which are characterized by weapons and fight scenes) reacted differently to this moment. We repeated our machine learning approach using combinations of subjects that favored action movies (14 choose 6 groups), comedy movies (18 choose 6 groups), and drama movies (13 choose 6 groups). Subjects who reported preferring action movies to drama or comedy also had a particularly high CBC during this moment (straw inserted into cup, $t = 19s$). For ease of comparison with the other genre preference groups, we normalized the CBC of subjects preferring action to 1 and found much lower CBCs for subjects preferring drama (.31) or comedy (.21) at this instant. Using the aforementioned machine learning technique, we accurately identified which groups of subjects preferred action movies using their neural signals alone (AUC = .78).

In both of our machine learning analyses, the AUC (i.e., discrimination ability) was even larger with increased sizes of the sample groups. Additionally, the analyses performed are merely examples of distilling characteristics or preferences of subjects strictly via their neural activity. The underlying principle generalizes beyond the specific features (i.e., gender, genre preference), the selected moment (i.e., straw inserted into cup, $t = 19s$), and the stimulus (i.e., advertisement).

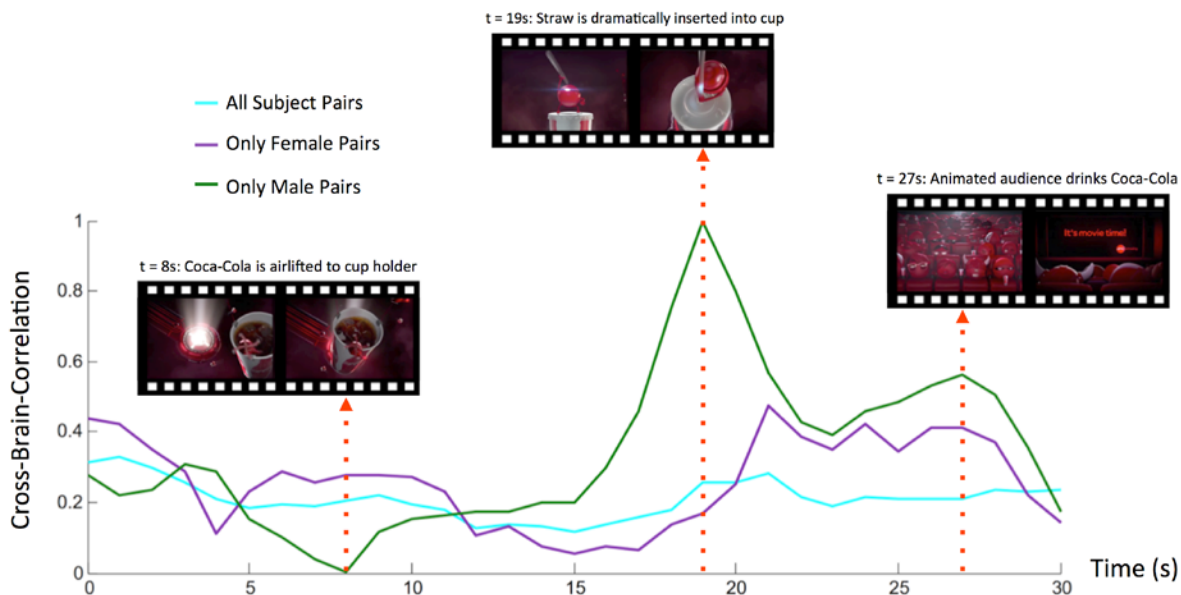


Figure 1: CBC Clustered by Gender. The green line depicts the CBC for male pairs only (normalized to range from 0 to 1 throughout the advertisement) and the purple and cyan lines represent the CBC for female pairs only and all pairs, respectively, on the same normalized scale. The dashed red arrows indicate three examples of moments in the advertisement during which male and female responses diverged.

Summary Table: CBC at Representative Samples of Advertisement. Data from five moments (selected to represent each component of the plot of the advertisement) are presented in the table. For

this advertisement, both male and female CBCs achieve local maxima at the conclusion of the advertisement. However, male subjects responded maximally to the climactic moment whereas female subjects responded maximally to the rising and falling actions. For each gender, the Change Above Average was calculated as the percentage at which the CBC at that stimulus sample exceeded the mean CBC for that gender throughout the stimulus. The Gender Difference column shows the difference (numerically and graphically) in absolute CBC values between male subject pairs and female subject pairs.

Time (s)	Stimulus Sample Description	Cross-Brain-Correlation (CBC)		
		Male Pairs (Absolute CBC) (Change Above Average)	Female Pairs (Absolute CBC) (Change Above Average)	Gender Difference (Absolute CBC) (Graphic Representation)
1	Exposition	0.22 -48%	0.42 75%	-0.20 ♂ ♀
	<i>Coca-Cola appears in distance</i>	Local Minimum	No Extremum	Male < Female
8	Rising Action	0.00 -100%	0.28 15%	-0.28 ♂ ♀
	<i>Coca-Cola is airlifted to cup holder</i>	Absolute Minimum	Local Maximum	Male < Female
19	Climax	1.00 138%	0.16 -33%	0.84 ♂ ♀
	<i>Character inserts straw into cup</i>	Absolute Maximum	No Extremum	Male > Female
21	Falling Action	0.58 38%	0.48 100%	0.10 ♂ ♀
	<i>Character is airlifted away</i>	No Extremum	Absolute Maximum	Male > Female
27	Conclusion	0.56 34%	0.41 71%	0.15 ♂ ♀
	<i>Animated audience drinks Coca-Cola</i>	Local Maximum	Local Maximum	Male > Female

DISCUSSION

The clustering results suggest that partitioning the neural data, even in a basic way (e.g., along gender lines), can be valuable. Regions of similarity and dissimilarity between clusters can both provide more detailed insight into the target audience’s mind. As expected, some content produces similar responses across gender lines, while other content has varied effects. From the collective neural responses to the advertisement (all subject pairs, cyan line in Figure 1), it is hard to identify any moment as significant, yet the data clustered by gender tells a much richer story. Additionally, while most of the aforementioned results relate to specific moments, comparing the entire time series as a whole can also enhance our understanding of the overall differences between male and female responses to the stimulus. For example, the variability of the CBC for male pairs only viewing the advertisement (SD = .23) was higher than that for all pairwise combinations (SD = .05) and for female pairs only (SD = .13), which suggests that male brains experienced a greater range of engagement level throughout the stimulus. Alongside existing methods utilizing other neural acquisition techniques, such as Inter-Subject Correlation (Hasson et al. 2004), these results offer convergent evidence that studying subjects’ neural responses while they observe content can help distill the neural correlates of engagement. In particular, our findings suggest that gender-clustered CBC would be especially useful in neuromarketing to gain new insight into the potentially divergent minds of men and women.

A single brain can reveal so much about a person, but the study of multiple brains can add another dimension to our understanding. We have found that the time series of CBC (moment-to-moment similarity between brains) for each gender converge and diverge at certain moments in audiovisual content. In this work, we use segmentation by gender as an example application of our technique for studying between-group differences in responses to complex audiovisual stimuli. To illustrate this point, we have extended our analysis by partitioning the subjects by other parameters, such as age and surveyed genre preference. Notably, in testing for additional segmentation variables, we observed a similar time series for our youngest (<18 years old) and oldest (>55 years old) subjects viewing

the advertisement, whereas these patterns differed from any of the intermediate age brackets (18-24, 25-34, and 35-55 years old). Additionally, subjects ranking the action genre as their favorite, compared to those who prefer drama or comedy, have considerably heightened CBC while viewing representations of weapons. Further work can explore other partitions of this data as well as responses to alternate stimuli. Since engagement inherently depends on connections between people, comparing neural activity across subjects seems to fit as a lens to view this complex area of research and can have direct implications for practitioners in marketing and other fields in which content and its effect on individuals is of importance.

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Ethical Brand Perception Formation when Information is Inconsistent - An Impression Formation Perspective

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ABSTRACT

This research builds on the recently emerging literature on consumer perceived ethicality (CPE) and experimentally explores how consumers form moral impressions of brands when confronted with inconsistent information. Findings suggest that impression formation processes differ depending on whether consumers are explicitly requested to evaluate brand ethics or not.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, consumers have paid increasing attention to ethical criteria when making purchase decisions. Aware that social responsibility has become a facet of brand personality (Madrigal and Boush 2008), companies are concerned about how their brands are perceived by the consumer, placing issues such as corporate ethics, sustainability, and corporate social responsibility (CSR) high on the corporate agenda. Subsequently, research on ethical brands and products is expanding rapidly (e.g., Huber et al. 2010; Luchs et al. 2010; Pelozo et al. 2013; Singh et al. 2012; Torelli et al. 2012; White et al. 2012).

But not all companies are known to act consistently when it comes to CSR and ethics, whereby consumers may receive multiple, sometimes conflicting (ethical and unethical) pieces of information about a brand's conduct across time. How is consumers' aggregate moral impression - referred to as consumer perceived ethicality (CPE) hereafter - of that brand impacted by such inconsistent information?

By gaining a better understanding of the ethical perception formation process, this research not only extends the emergent research stream on CPE (Bezencon and Etemad-Sajadi 2015; Brunk 2010; Brunk 2012; Shea 2010; Singh et al. 2012), but moreover qualifies previous research in the area as well as facilitates a deeper understanding of related phenomena such as sustainable consumption and ethical consumer behavior.

CONCEPTUALIZATION

This research focuses on the question of how favorable or unfavorable brand CPE emerges in the consumer's mind given potentially inconsistent pieces of information about its conduct across different ethics-related domains. Up until now this important question has received little attention. In order to explore consumer reactions to CSR or un/ethical brand behavior test materials of extant empirical studies either (1) employ only *single* ethical behavior cues (e.g., Folkes and Kamins 1999); (2) employ *multiple yet directionally consistent* pieces of ethical information (i.e., all positive or negative) (e.g., Madrigal and Boush 2008; Mohr and Webb 2005); or (3) circumvent the actual ethical perception formation process by using *pre-existing perceptions* (e.g., Berens et al. 2006) or *predefining brands or companies as un/ethical* without referring to particular activities (e.g. Luchs et al. 2010). However, designing stimuli with single or one-directional ethical cues limits the external validity of the studies' findings and conclusions. While understandable from a researcher controllability point of view, the simplification of study scenarios is far removed from today's in-market reality, where consumers are regularly faced with multiple, oftentimes contradictory, pieces of information to form an impression of a brand's ethics. This research recognizes and attempts to address this imbalance.

Building on the notion of the 'brand as a person' (Aaker 1997; Fournier 1998), this research draws on person perception research, which offers two competing theories of which mental strategy individuals use when forming impressions of others: the algebraic and configural model (Fiske and Taylor 1991). According to the algebraic model (e.g. Anderson 1981, 1996; Lynch 1985) individuals *evaluate available pieces of information independent from each other*, subsequently balancing them when forming an impression (Meritt, Effron, and Monin 2010; Effron and Monin 2010). This perspective suggests that consumers take all available ethical and unethical brand behavior into account and combine these multiple pieces of information into a summative ethical brand perception. If this were the case, negative ethical conduct could be neutralized by ethical conduct and vice versa, meaning brands could compensate unethical actions with visible ethical actions.

The configural model on the other hand suggests that individuals form an impression about a subject based on a cue they consider diagnostic and then sort new information in accordance with their prior disposition (e.g. Asch and Zukier 1984; Kunda, Sinclair, and Griffin 1997), meaning *pieces of information are evaluated in relation with each other, based on a diagnostic cue*, leading to a change-of-meaning effect. This has been further established in pre-decision making research, where perceptions are formed by distorting new information in accordance with an initial disposition (Bond et al. 2007; Carlson, Meloy and Russo 2006). As negative morality cues were found to be highly diagnostic in person perception research (Skowronski and Carlston 1987), a piece of unethical information may therefore function as the decisive cue in forming consumer perceived ethicality (CPE) of brands. In other words, if ethical perception formation follows the configural model, CPE would remain negative after a transgression, even if the brand would attempt to compensate it with virtuous behavior.

In line with the configural model, existing qualitative research points towards holistic impression formation (Brunk and Bluemelhuber 2011). Furthermore, Sen and Bhattacharya (2001) investigated how a company's CSR record impacts company evaluations. Manipulating positive and negative CSR cues across conditions, they discover valence-based asymmetries, whereby consumers were more sensitive to negative than to positive information. Hence, although ethical impression formation processes have not been explicitly tested before, existing research implies that CPE formation may follow the configural model. Whether it actually does, and under which conditions, was the primary focus of this research.

OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The objective of this project was to disentangle which mental strategy—the algebraic or configural—consumers use when forming an overall ethical impression of a brand. To explore this, we conducted two experiments.

Because we were interested in the impression formation process underlying CPE, we decided to conduct the experiments using a fictitious brand, instead of an established brand, where perceptions are already formed. We specifically focused on situations where consumers are confronted with contradictory pieces of ethical brand conduct across time. For both experiments, we recruited a *national representative sample* of consumers from an online panel provider

in the UK. In doing so we addressed previously raised concerns that student samples may be problematic when assessing ethics-related responses (Murphy 2002), as students may lack the sensitivity and maturity towards certain CSR or ethics-related issues (e.g., due to little or no actual work experience, they may evaluate questions of employee treatment differently).

In experiment one, we explored CPE formation without exposing the true purpose of the experiment. In experiment two, the purpose of the experiment was exposed, thus increasing the processing relevance of un/ethical brand information. In line with our preceding criticism of existing consumer ethics research, we aimed to develop experiments closer to in-market reality, by exposing consumers to various pieces of brand information on different aspects (e.g., innovativeness, price, distribution etc.) and not only restricting new information to one-directional ethics-related criteria.

EXECUTION AND KEY FINDINGS

Study 1

In Experiment 1, we explored the process of CPE formation by conducting an experiment where we introduced a new coffee brand (Kahvi) and controlled for un/ethical brand information and the order in which these are presented. This design allowed us to assess how seemingly contradictory information about a brand's conduct across different ethical domains is integrated to form overall brand CPE.

To identify appropriate manipulations that are equally discriminating, eight different scenarios of un/ethical conduct were pre-tested with 40 consumers. Respondents were asked to rate the ethicality of brand behavior relating to different ethical domains. In the end, the two most suitable scenarios related to two ethical domains, namely conduct towards employees as well as the environment, were selected. Analysis showed that the brand was rated more positively in the domain of employee ($M = 6.23$ vs $M = 1.40$, $F(1, 40) = 187.931$, $p < .001$) and environment ($M = 6.21$ vs $M = 2.14$, $F(1, 40) = 187.93$, $p < .001$) after ethical information than after unethical information.

Next, we conducted a web-based survey in the UK. A total of 313 participants aged between 20 and 66 ($N_{\text{male}} = 172$; $M_{\text{age}} = 43.11$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.90$) participated in the experiment in turn for a fee. We conducted a completely randomized 2 (Info T1: ethical vs. unethical) by 2 (Info T2: ethical vs. unethical) between-subjects design. Participants were told to evaluate a new foreign brand—called Kahvi—that was considering a product launch in their country and therefore needed to evaluate the overall appeal of the new offering. Because social desirability is a legitimate concern with ethics-related research (Auger and Devinney 2007), the true purpose of the experiment—to evaluate the ethical perception of the fictitious brand—was not mentioned.

Pieces of un/ethical information were presented in two stages. In the first part of the experiment, participants read an overview of Kahvi that included the first piece of un/ethical conduct but also featured Kahvi's core expertise, fundamental strategy, offerings and image in its home country independent of the un/ethical condition. The ethical conduct scenario described how Kahvi had received an award by the local CSR watchdog organization because of its exemplary employee treatment (e.g. childcare, flexibility). In contrast, in the unethical conduct scenario participants were given the information that Kahvi had received an official warning by the CSR watchdog organization because it treated its employees disrespectfully (e.g. no compensation for overtime, bullying). After an unrelated filler task of 10 minutes, participants started the second part of the experiment. We introduced a filler task based on the reasoning that in real-life,

consumers rarely receive different pieces of un/ethical information at exactly the same time. Rather, we considered it realistic that pieces of ethical information are dispersed. After the filler task, participants were re-introduced to Kahvi and to its latest brand extension 'a "liquid dessert" called Kahvi Shakerato'. Central to this part was the new un/ethical manufacturing plant that Kahvi had built for producing the product. In the ethical scenario, participants read that this new manufacturing plant was environmentally friendly (e.g. reusing rainwater, no additional pollution of nearby river), whereas in the unethical scenario, participants were informed that the new facilities were detrimental to the environment (e.g. wasteful use of resources, pollution of nearby river). As such, half of the participants were given directionally consistent information (ethical conduct—ethical conduct; unethical conduct—unethical conduct) and the other half received inconsistent information (ethical conduct—unethical conduct and vice versa).

CPE was measured using the CPE scale (Brunk 2012). Participants rated their agreement on the following items: Kahvi respects moral norms, Kahvi always adheres to the law, Kahvi is a socially responsible brand, Kahvi is a good brand (7 point Likert scale, completely disagree vs. completely agree).

Before analysis, participants who did not drink coffee were omitted ($N = 31$). An ANOVA on CPE with Info T1 (ethical vs. unethical) and Info T2 (ethical vs. unethical) as between-subjects factors, revealed a main-effect for Info T1 ($F(1, 294) = 12.65$, $p < .0001$) and Info T2 ($F(1, 294) = 9.88$, $p = .002$). For Info T1 and Info T2, CPE ratings were higher with ethical info ($MT1 = 5.00$, $SDT2 = .10$; $MT2 = 4.97$, $SDT2 = .10$) than with unethical info ($MT1 = 4.48$, $SDT1 = .10$; $MT2 = 4.52$, $SDT2 = .10$). No interaction effect was found ($F < 1$), suggesting CPE formation follows the algebraic, not the configural, model.

The data contradicts the negativity bias previously observed by Sen and Bhattacharya (2001) as well as Brunk and Bluemelhuber's (2011) suggestion that ethical perception may be gestalt-like. Reviewing the methodology of both studies in search for an explanation for the diverging results, one potential difference emerges. Both studies and most explicitly the qualitative exploration of Brunk and Bluemelhuber (2011) suggest consumers were aware of the primary study purpose, namely to investigate their responses to ethics- or CSR related issues, which in turn makes un/ethical information relevant for processing. Hence we decided to replicate Study 1 by exposing the true purpose of the study.

Study 2

The aim of the second experiment was to explore CPE formation processes given that consumers know that the primary purpose of the study is their ethical evaluation of Kahvi. Apart from that, the procedure was identical to that of experiment 1. A web-based survey was conducted in the UK where participants participated in turn for a fee. A total of 120 participants aged between 19 and 66 ($N_{\text{male}} = 73$; $M_{\text{age}} = 41.15$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.88$) took part in the experiment. We conducted a completely randomized 2 (Info T1: ethical vs. unethical) by 2 (Info T2: ethical vs. unethical) between-subjects design. In contrast with Experiment 1 and to motivate participants to process un/ethical information, participants read that 'Kahvi® is particularly interested in UK consumers' ethical evaluation of their offering, which shall be presented hereafter'. To exclude the alternative explanation that differences in CPE scores across conditions are driven by varying levels of personal relevance for a particular ethics domain, consumers were asked to rate how important employee treatment and environmental protection was to them (Roth and Robbert 2013). Apart from this, the method and the dependent variables were identical

to experiment 1. Like in study 1, non-coffee drinkers were omitted prior to analysis ($N=13$).

Results suggest that the *moral impression formation process differs* when consumers are aware of the study purpose, or in other words, when there is processing relevance for the un/ethical information. An ANOVA with Info T1 (ethical vs. unethical) and Info T2 (ethical vs. unethical) was conducted on CPE. Analysis shows a main-effect for Info T1, where the ethical conduct ($M = 4.69$, $SD = .14$) resulted in higher CPE than unethical conduct ($M = 4.28$, $SD = .16$; $F(1, 105) = 3.56$, $p = .062$). Similarly, there was a main effect for Info T2, where ethical conduct led to higher CPE ($M = 4.19$, $SD = .15$) than unethical conduct ($M = 4.79$, $SD = .15$; $F(1, 105) = 7.59$, $p = .007$). More importantly, we found a significant interaction effect between Info T1 and Info T2 ($F(1, 105) = 7.04$, $p = .009$, Figure 2). Additional contrast tests show that CPE was higher in the ethical – unethical condition ($M = 5.29$, $SD = .22$) than in the unethical – ethical condition ($M = 4.29$, $SD = .21$; $p = .002$), the ethical – unethical condition ($M = 4.11$, $SD = .19$; $p = .001$) and the unethical – unethical condition ($M = 4.27$, $SD = .24$, $p = .001$). CPE did not interact with importance of ethical environmental ($F < 1$) or employee treatment ($F < 1$), suggesting that results were not driven by personal relevance of a particular brand ethics domain.

The data indicates that the processing relevance of un/ethical information leads to CPE formation in accordance with the configural model. Specifically, findings reveal a negativity bias, where unethical information, and not ethical information, is most diagnostic in consumer perceived ethicality formation. Thus, it appears that *only when consumers are requested to judge a brand's ethicality, they process information holistically*, with unethical conduct functioning as the diagnostic cue to determine the overall direction of CPE.

Change-of-meaning effect. As previously discussed, one of the basic tenets of the configural impression formation model is that received information is viewed in relation with (and not independent of) each other. Hence when inconsistent cues are received, a change-of-meaning effect would occur, whereby information may be interpreted and potentially distorted to fit in accordance with an established impression. In order to investigate evidence for a change-of-meaning effect, we introduced the following exploratory open-ended question for the ethical–unethical (unethical–ethical) condition: *'According to media reports Kahvi (doesn't care) cares for its employees but at the same time is (said to behave responsibly towards the environment) accused of environmental pollution. Can you offer any possible explanations for this?'* The question was placed at the end of the questionnaire after dependent measures were taken, in order to avoid influencing CPE scores by inducing deeper thinking and reasoning of Kahvi's behavior. Generated consumer comments (32 for the ethical-unethical and 31 for the unethical-ethical condition) were analyzed and interpreted with a focus on consumers' sense-making and reconciliation strategies. Two researchers unaware of the study purpose coded the data independently. Differences were discussed and resolved before agreeing on the final categorization.

The data offers evidence for a change-of-meaning effect, providing additional support for the configural model. While consumers had given equally low ratings when asked to score the overall ethicality of the brand, their explanations for the diverging behavior showed nuanced differences between conditions. In the ethical-unethical condition, while consumers equally disapprove of the unethical behavior as such, in their reasoning to reconcile the contradictory information they tend to perceive Kahvi *sincere* in their efforts and look for excuses for its misconduct, e.g.: "not enough money for new technology"; "any large processing plant is going to consume energy, which will mean increases in environmental pollution"; "ev-

erybody does it" and blaming the media for the negative information "the press are a bunch of reptiles". On the contrary, in the unethical-ethical condition, the reasoning centers more on Kahvi's perceived *insincerity* in their positive efforts, e.g. "uses its attitude to the environment as a PR stunt"; "marketing ploy"; "because they care more about making money and having power"; "all about profit"; and suggesting that the media can't be trusted in case of positive reports because it might be 'bought' by the company "media biased toward those who finance the media" or "don't believe the media".

DISCUSSION

Existing research focuses primarily on consumer reactions (e.g., purchase intent, attitude, loyalty) to corporate ethics and CSR, leaving the important question of how ethical brand perceptions form largely unanswered. The presented studies provide an attempt at filling that void by testing these processes among a general population sample. Findings suggest that when consumers are exposed to ethical cues among other brand information *without* a specific request to judge brand ethics, ethical perception formation is in line with the algebraic model of impression formation.

In contrast, previous research provided grounds for assuming a configural-type impression formation, including a negativity bias when judging ethicality. We qualify these findings in study 2 by showing that configural type processing only occurs when consumers are exposed to ethical cues (among other brand information) along *with* a specific request to judge brand ethics, in other words, when they actively seek out the ethical information. This suggests that when consumers are asked to process and judge ethical criteria, and only then, they evaluate available and relevant pieces of information in relation with each other, whereby the most diagnostic behavior will influence the final perception asymmetrically. In line with person perception research (Skowronski and Carlston 1987) that reports a negativity bias in relation to morality-based judgments, it is the unethical brand behavior that will be most diagnostic for CPE formation.

Our findings are relevant for marketing and brand managers working on building an ethical brand image as well as CSR and general managers dealing with a brand misconduct or product crisis. Results suggest that when consumers are not particularly motivated to process ethical information, perceptions are formed algebraically, which implies that firstly consumers would be more forgiving in the case of brand misconduct, and secondly virtuous brand behavior would be able to counterbalance a transgression.

On the contrary, for those consumers motivated to process ethical information, one piece of negative information can have devastating consequences for the moral image of the brand in question. Not only would ethical brand conduct be unable to neutralize negative CPE, but also more crucially any virtuous behavior might be interpreted unfavorably, e.g. discounted as green-washing, due to the change-of-meaning effect. In this case, negative brand CPE—once established—may prevail for an extensive period of time. Hence an ethical brand positioning, which relies on its target group seeking ethical information, is a risky branding strategy. In case of brand misconduct or a product crisis, CPE may be permanently damaged.

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The results have to be viewed with the known methodological limitations of experiments in mind, in particular the fact that the scenarios are hypothetical and to some degree disregarding the complexity of consumers' life-worlds and consumption contexts. However, the presented studies employ multiple cues as well as contradictory information, hence provide scenarios that are more

complex and realistic than previous empirical investigations in the area of ethical consumerism or consumer reactions to CSR and other sustainability efforts.

Our studies open the door for additional research questions. Because we use a fictitious brand in order to explore the actual impression formation process clean of any pre-existing brand perceptions, our findings are only transferrable to new brand launches or new customers to established (yet previously unknown) brands. An interesting extension would be to conduct research involving existing, well-established brands and explore how brand-users integrate pieces of information that are inconsistent with their firmly established CPE. What happens when a brand with positive or neutral CPE becomes involved in a brand scandal? What role does brand attachment and loyalty play in subsequent CPE adjustments?

The fact that the negativity bias is prominent only when consumers are aware of the need to evaluate a brand's ethics leaves the door open for one alternative explanation. It may be possible that the observed information asymmetry upon misconduct does not actually reflect consumers' true disapproval, but instead could imply that unethical judgments are inflated by a social desirability bias. In other words, when consumers are requested to judge brand ethicality and encounter a transgression, they feel social pressure and an obligation to condemn the unethical action, hence punish negative behavior disproportionately in their CPE evaluation. This may also explain the fact that while CPE scores are similarly negative in both conditions where information is inconsistent, consumers' reasoning in the change-of-meaning question is less critical in the ethical-unethical condition than in the unethical-ethical condition. Hence, more research is needed to exclude the possibility that the negativity bias is a study artifact driven by social desirable responding.

The experiment aimed to replicate a realistic, standard scenario that consumers face when purchasing convenience goods, therefore presenting a fairly low product-involvement situation. A step worth exploring would be to repeat this experiment under high product-involvement conditions, e.g. for a car purchase.

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I am Dreaming of a Car: Longitudinal Rites of Passage and Car Consumption

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ABSTRACT

We propose the concept of Longitudinal Rite of Passage as a specific type of ritual that communicates a status transition over time, differentiating itself from more traditional rites of passage by its temporal dimension, since it occurs as a set of multiple and connected behaviors performed throughout consumers' lifetime.

INTRODUCTION

Cars have a strong and pervasive imagery in contemporary culture. They are vessels of different meanings such as power, status, domination, mobility, freedom, danger (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012; Belk 2004; Hirschman 2003). Therefore, several consumption actions associated to car possession can become ritualized (Belk 2004; McCracken 1988). And through rituals, car consumption may offer structure and meaning to social interaction.

In ritual literature, consumption objects are presented as artifacts that offer an instrumental resource for rituals. They are used and manipulated according to performative scripts, as a support to the symbolic expressiveness of ritual action (Bradford and Sherry Jr. 2013; Rook 1985). Rituals may communicate not only through semantics, but also through the mise-en-scene of a particular syntactic structure (Kehret-Ward, Johnson and Louie 1985). Levy (1981), for instance, analyzed the association of food and consumers, by comparing food attributes (sweet / sour) to age groups (children / adults). Syntactic analysis enhances this perspective, through a part-whole framing, placing goods on a broader consumption structure. In the case of food, different items can be analyzed by their meaning individually (semantically), but also within the family meal structure of courses (syntactically).

The work of Mary Douglas is a good example of the combination of semantic and syntactic analysis on food consumption. Many Anthropologists adopt the structural linguistic model to deeply describe culture (Geertz 1973). They combine the description of syntactic structural categories to the description of semantic elements within those categories. For Douglas, "a code affords a general set of possibilities of sending particular messages" (Douglas 1975, 61). In her analysis, food categories encode social events. So, she contrasts types and meaning of plates to the meal course structure. Semantic distinctions (sweet / salty, heavy / light) combined to syntactic structure (dessert/ main course / appetizer) forge new meanings for plates, meals and consumers: "real men" eat "sweet, heavy and rich" dessert; "a sophisticated dinner have many different plates". But how this structural analysis could apply to other consumption categories rituals?

Our research proposes the analysis of car consumption rituals, following both its semantic and syntactic forms, throughout consumers' lives. We argue that product category offers a symbolic structure, created by a diverse set of brands and products. Therefore, rituals communicate not only through the semantic choice of artifacts (a specific model or brand), but also through the dialog with a broader syntactic structure (a consumption grammar). In addition, we defend that the category consumption, if investigated syntactically, may follow a longitudinal and lifetime form, differing from occasional and circumstantial rites of passage already described in the ritual literature (Afflerback et al. 2014; Escalas 1993; Friese 1997; Gentina,

Palan and Fosse-Gomez 2012; Schouten 1991; Solomon and Anand 1985; Van Gennep 1960).

METHOD

In this research, we investigated car consumption rituals, semantically and syntactically. We combined three different methods: (a) life story method (Bertaux, 1997), in order to capture a longitudinal perspective, centered on car consumption; (b) itinerary method (Desjeux, Suarez and Campos, 2014; Alami, Desjeux and Garabuau-Moussaoui 2009; Desjeux 2004) to collect the present experience of consumption and its rituals, (c) projective techniques (McDaniel and Gates 2004), to identify symbolic prescriptions to car consumption and ritual performative scripts to be followed.

Hence, we conducted 28 in-depth semi-structured interviews, on the cities of Rio de Janeiro (a metropolis) and São João del Rei (an inland town) in Brazil, with car owners: 18 men and 10 women, 15 consumers aged from 20 to 40 y.o. and 13 consumers older than 41 y.o., and diverse professional and marital status. The mandatory aspect was to interview consumers who had purchased their vehicle up to six months before. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, totaling 1377 pages of text. We conducted a hermeneutic, iterative analysis (Thompson 1997) in two different phases. First, interviews were individually analyzed to identify life-stories, car consumption trajectories and cultural narratives. Second, emphasis was placed on cross-case analysis, allowing the comparison of the various testimonies.

DISCUSSION

Cars are public objects, constantly emanating meaning. In our research, men often described the public effect of cars and symbolic assets obtained through car consumption (e.g. visibility to women, professional success, and manhood). Rituals are pervasive on car consumption. There is a certain way to purchase cars, to prepare a special trip, to cherish or drive. But, from the interviews, we could also identify another pattern. The lifetime consumption activity of car purchase and ownership demonstrated a ritualized manner, where consumers follow, throughout their lives, a structured course of car choice. During the interviews, we perceived car consumption offers a syntax that creates public communication.

In this part, we will present the symbolic structural analysis (Kehret-Ward et al. 1985) of ritual car consumption in three parts. First, we discuss the symbolic prescription that offers a general guideline for car consumption. Second, we describe the semantic meanings assigned to different types of cars. Last, we detail the syntactic structure that organizes car consumption and establishes a dialog with symbolic general guideline and semantics of cars. It is the combination of these aspects that will offer a broad view of ritual in car consumption.

Idealized trajectories: a symbolic prescription for consumption

According to interviewees, car consumption follows a general symbolic guideline that rules how to choose and to read the choice of others. This was particularly evident when consumers were invited, through projective techniques, to imagine car choices for particular consumer profiles. In this exercise, car reveals itself as a social measure for personal achievement, having as rule of thumb the idea that

each new purchase has to be better than the previous one, to reflect a sense of personal progression. New purchases are not nearly a replacement of the old car, but an opportunity to make an enhanced purchase, of a better model. It is the manifest proof that consumers are “evolving” properly, as a reward for life achievements. This progression is expected to follow the consumer evolution on several territories: professional, patrimonial, familial.

Therefore, choice of cars follows a script that negotiates a desired future, where consumers get closer to “cars I intend to have some day”. This consumption script, that prescribes a syntax for car choice, also communicates a status change over time, in a rite of passage form (Friese 1997; Gentina et al. 2012; Solomon and Anand 1985; Van Gennep 1960), from an inexperienced single student to a full family provider experienced professional. Additionally, this status transition rite presents a longitudinal form, materializing itself in a longterm process throughout consumers’ lives. However, which kind of script is prescribed in this longitudinal consumption ritual?

Cars should not be chosen senselessly. Car consumption, seen longitudinally, seems to carry an implicit *pedagogy of evolution*: one should start “wisely”, buying a low cost, small model that functions as a first step into the category. This is considered suitable for “beginners”, who are learning to drive and still need to progress in life. The movement towards a new car can only be made when consumers had proven not only their driving skills in controlling “the machine”, but also the achievement of life milestones (e.g. job stability, career progression). At that moment, consumers may start to incorporate new elements on their choice: a sport design, a powerful engine, or a more expensive model, which would work as a market-mediated milestones to signal consumer’s identity progress (Drenten, 2013). The non-conformity to this prescription of gradual progression may implicate in social sanctions. When a consumer reaches a premium segment before the compatible assets and career evolution, interviewees say they expect to see this individual facing financial issues (e.g. bankruptcy, loss from overspending). Next, we will discuss in more the detail the elements that orchestrate car consumption rituals and scripts.

Semantics and syntax of car consumption

The pedagogy of evolution is communicated through certain consumption structure, provided by both semantic and syntactic structures. Car consumption follows a structure that communicates values of life evolution to a social immediate group. But which are the parts of this symbolic structure? Which meanings are assigned to different car models and brands? Which is the expected syntactic path that structures consumption trajectories? How consumption syntax correlates to category semantics? And how they correspond to different states in personal life of consumers?

Cars are interpreted according to their social-symbolic meanings. This semantics is based on the value of *evolution*, where models are grouped in sets of different status or comfort levels. We could identify six groups of cars, according to their semantics: (a) *low-cost cars*, cheap and simple models, (b) *identity cars*, accessible cars with few items of comfort or sportive design, (c) *family cars*, functional “unattractive” cars that offer space with some design features, (d) *luxury sedans*, expensive executive-like cars with full comfort items and luxury finishing, (e) *SUV*, sport premium cars that combine space, comfort and design, (f) *dream cars*, unreachable exclusive cars. Brands are also classified following this logic, where the first-entry traditional brands in the Brazilian market, called by consumers “The national brands”, are more associated with low-cost, functional, safe investments (Fiat, Volkswagen, Ford and General Motors). Japanese brands are more associate with luxury and high performance, and perceived as prestigious cars (Toyota, Honda, Nissan, and Korean Hyundai). These six car groups and the brand meanings will create a dialogue with the category syntax, forming a multi-layered symbolic thread.

In regards to car category syntax, we identified three main syntactic stages emerging from interviews: (a) *frugal stage*, (b) *assets building stage*, and (c) *conspicuous stage*. To each of these stages correspond to certain group of values and a consumer social status that sustains a homology with the syntactic phase and car semantics (Table I).

Table I: Syntactic Structure of Longitudinal Rite of Passage in Car Consumption

Syntax Stage	Stage Values	Social Status of consumers	Consonant car Semantic types
Frugal stage	Austerity, frugality, effort	Financial dependent, professional-to-be single young adult	Low cost cars and identity cars (Transition)
Assets building stage	Pleasure under the constraints of responsibility Provision and investment in the future	Financially independent, married, full professionals, and family providers	Identity cars, family cars, cheaper SUVs or Sedans Transition: SUVs
Conspicuous stage	Enjoyment, full and free pleasure Achievement show-off	Professionals at the peak of their career, full property owners	SUVs, Luxury Sedans, Dream cars

Frugal stage is defined by the entry into car consumption, where car signals the intent of obtaining financial independence, but mainly, it demonstrates a state with no surplus to spend on cars. At this phase, consumers are single, still live with their parents, and have no children. Professionally, they are entering a sector, following first career steps. Cars are tools that provide mobility to work or the university, and parents' opinion or "blessing" is respected. At this point, the right thing, according to consumers, is to buy the "possible car": affordable simple models, representing a first achievement for personal property. At this austere stage, any model with comfort or design is associated to waste or a show-off. The consonant semantic car type of this phase is the simple and cheap *low-cost car*. For a more liminal moment, we could identify the presence of simple *identity cars* models.

For many interviewees, this stage was a "natural" moment that they patiently bear, watching their assets slowly accumulate. Roger (30 years old, single), however, is a good example of how this stage could be symbolic uncomfortable. He is "waiting for his chance in life", while doing some small acting jobs and managing the family hardware shop. His cars reflect a consumption trajectory that is still in the "wise" *frugal phase*. His first car, a small size Fiat Uno, was a gift from his parents when he turned 18. He describes his current car as a "bet" on the "unknown Chinese brand", JAC Motors. Even if it was a low-cost model (J3), it offered more optionals ("leather seats", ABS brakes, automatic windows and lock, air conditioning, power steering), if compared to "national" models. This choice rendered him a car that communicates some progress, even if still in the low-cost segment.

The next syntactic moment is the *assets building stage*, where consumers balance consumption fruition and pleasure with assets building and financial stability. On one side, consumers have the burden of being family providers, building their assets (e.g. owned house, businesses, summer house, children education fund). On the other, as mid-career professionals, their revenues allow a surplus to enjoy less functional and more pleasurable consumption choices. The values of this stage are pleasure under the constraints of responsibility, provision and investment in the future. Car groups that combine functional aspects (space, safety, accessible prices) with fruition (comfort items, sport design) are the semantic consonant to this stage (e.g. family cars or SUVs).

Among respondents, there are consumers who follow the exact steps of prescribed trajectory: from a small, low-cost *car*; they improve wisely and slowly (from second hand to a brand new car, a better model, a better engine). Whenever they reach a steady career point they communicate it by aiming at a higher consumption level. Flavio (35 years old, married, metropolis resident), started with a GM small *low-cost car*, called Celta. Afterwards he bought a Fiat midsize car, called Idea (*identity car*). When he starts to work in the public administration, he allows himself to buy a Mitsubishi Pajero TR4. He shows the need to justify his "extravagance", showing he did not hurt consumption pedagogy: his choice was a harvest of hard work.

However, there is another way to experience the *asset building stage*, where the juggling effort associated to property acquisition becomes more evident. Some consumers had a good start in life, with a good job, a fair start in car consumption. But, then, they face a setback: purchase of a house, debts of their business, salary reduction, and illness. Elton (46 years old, married, inland town resident) owns a small business and starts his trajectory with second hand *low-cost cars*. When he buys a brand new low-cost car, paid in installments, he ends up insolvent, due to irregular revenues. After ten years, with a steady business and an owned house, he chooses a new car that, cu-

riously, costs twice his current low-cost car. A symbolic adjustment of his consumption trajectory, where he is finally able to acquire a consonant car to his professional and familiar condition. This experience reveals the dilemmas of assets building stage: the balance between work and play make them oscillate between investment and pleasure. Whenever they are financially steady, they feel they deserve a better car, reconnecting their consumption trajectory to the broader cultural narrative of evolution.

The third stage, *the conspicuous car*, is where consumers experience a financial surplus, obtained through a successful professional trajectory. Cars, at this point, reflect the wealth and enjoyment of their protagonists. Consumers are at the peak of their career and are full property owners. This stage is marked by values of enjoyment, full and free pleasure, without the burden of providing financially for the family. So cars are conspicuously chosen. Interviews revealed the abandon of rational procedures in the new cars' choice, leaving room for a more emotional process. The semantic car groups associated to this stage are the *luxury SUVs* and *Sedans*, and also the so-called "*dream cars*".

Fernando (32 years old, married, engineer, metropolis resident) describes himself as a very "rational consumer". He owns three apartments, and works for a public oil company. With his wife, they are paying the installments of the 4th apartment. He feels he has done his "homework", bearing a few years without a car, or using his wife's car, even if he "hated" it. When he buys a car, after acquiring these assets, he describes a very safe rational decision process: comparison of models on an excel sheet, multiple visits to dealerships, online researches, reading of specialized magazines. But the purchase trigger was not rational. He spots a car in the street, he has never seen before. A unique car, "that you cannot find everywhere". He was in love and, on that moment, he allows himself to be in love. *The conspicuous stage* is the moment to fully enjoy consumption, with no commitments. And, to publicly display this achievement.

The combination of car semantics to syntactic stages reveals a longitudinal ritual, or even better, a longitudinal rite of passage, where consumers, by fulfilling each stage script with the adequate choice of consumption artifacts, operate a personal status change, from a professional to be, to an assets builder, and finally to a property owner and professional steady consumer.

Longitudinal rite of passage

The analysis of syntactic and semantic dimensions present on car consumption in Brazil indicates that there is certain way to consume cars, which communicates personal values and social state achievement. Following the underlying value of evolution, consumers experience a status change over time when they advance in the syntactic structure provided by the category. We will call this specific type of ritual as *Longitudinal Rite of Passage*. It refers to a *specific type of expressive, symbolic activity, constructed of multiple and connected behaviors that follows a lengthwise and structured trajectory (syntactic), which marks the individual's journey of social status transition.*

Longitudinal Rites of Passage encapsulate all ritual dimensions, since they follow a *script* of syntactic steps, using prescribed *artifacts* according to their semantic function. They also are *performed* for an *audience* (e. g. family, other men, professional peers), that decodes and acknowledge their social movement. And, finally, they present a very clear *guideline for participants* that know where and how they should behave at each moment. Often, consumers would describe the expected steps and also the sanctions for those that ignored the ritual consumption script.

Longitudinal rite of passage has specific aspects if compared to the ones presented in the previous literature. Like rites of passage (Friese 1997; Solomon and Anand 1985), they communicate a change of state to consumers. But they are not episodic or one-time events. They aim to communicate journeys and are enacted in *long* consumption trajectories. Hence, the syntax dimension is an important tool to allow ritual scripts to come forth. In longitudinal rites of passage, the category structure seems to be as important as the semantic content provided by products individually as artifacts.

Rook (1984) describes ritual as a redundant behavior that starts at a given fix moment, and after a series of events, comes to its closure. *Longitudinal rites of passage* are *multiple* and *connected* behaviors because their particular meaning arise when consumers perform that script by traversing the different market-mediated milestones (Drenten, 2013) of a cultural prescribed trajectory. The syntactic stages of the longitudinal rite of passage work as a script of how to consume, as a way to perform the expected status change over time. The consumers' life choices interact with a narrative semantic structure offered by the category. The combination of category resources, as *artifacts*, with the different consumer stages, allow longitudinal rites of passage to deploy overtime. In this sense, one-time rites of passage in consumers' lives, such as a wedding, provide personal life cycle milestones that complete and give support to market milestones.

Finally, the distinction between short and longitudinal rites of passage might also rely on the extent of status transition for consumers. While, in a wedding, for instance, consumers change one aspect of their lives (marital status), in longitudinal rites of passage, the status change is broader. In the case of the present research, the transition refers to a combination of professional, financial and familial aspects.

CONCLUSIONS

Cova (1997, 299) states that "in postmodernity, the conquest of self has become inescapable and each individual, wherever they come from, must accomplish the feat of becoming someone by showing their difference". Contemporary society provides not only many ways of "becoming" but also challenges individuals to negotiate their trajectories of life. And consumption may turn into an important resource in this process, through the exchange of meanings with consumers and with society. Most of consumer research focuses on understanding the symbolic meanings of specific products. Less frequent is the investigation of meanings created by groups of products. This research proposes a longitudinal perspective, that considers that certain types of products are not consumed in an isolated manner in consumer life, but in an integrated way that connect past and future decisions, since they can express the consumer's journey in life.

Our research extends the analysis of car consumption rituals, following not only its semantic, but also its syntactic form. We propose the concept of the *Longitudinal Rite of Passage*. This specific type of ritual communicates a status transition, differentiating itself from the more traditional rites of passage by its temporal dimension, since it occurs as a set of multiple and connected behaviors performed throughout consumers' lifetime.

Usually, rites of passage were investigated and described through their ceremonial form, like weddings and debutante balls (Escalas 1993; Ustuner, Ger and Holt 2000). In contemporary society, some argue that rites of passage are losing their centrality (Deegan 1989, 1998; Gilmore, 1990; Mahdi, Christopher and Meade 1996). Therefore, consumers may experience a longer, more ambiguous status transition. In this sense, personal, intimate rites of passage may appear to replace the traditional ones, forging new identities with the

resources from consumer culture (Mehta and Belk 1991; Schouten 1991). Drenten (2013) proposes the concept of market-mediated milestones to explain consumption-oriented incremental changes that serve as achievable criterion by which individuals solidify their new self-concepts. Analogously, longitudinal rites of passage may be a more fluid, less rigid ritual form, that presents a less marked and traditional way to perform the social status change.

We additionally argue that certain categories, like cars, can act as a syntactic resource for *longitudinal rites of passage*, to express social status change over time. Future studies could further explore other possible categories that can serve as artifacts and symbolic public context (e.g. clothes, restaurants, tourist destinations), deepening our understanding about its characteristics and processes of negotiation of life cycle and identity meanings. Additionally, exploring categories of different natures (e.g. frequent purchase categories, private consumption categories) could be helpful to determine the nature of longitudinal rites of passage.

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Researching the Post-Industrial City: Assessing the Relations between Space, Markets, and Society in Urban Places

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ABSTRACT

This essay seeks to understand the relations between markets and urban places. To do so, I elaborate a typology of urban places and analyze research opportunities. I discuss potential contributions to post-structuralist studies in CCT and the possibilities of advancing connections with other social sciences and public policy formulation.

INTRODUCTION

Space is co-constituting of and co-constituted by social life (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2014). Social relations at the same time produce a space (Lefebvre 1991a) and are produced by the determinations, uses and meanings of these spaces (Gieryn 2000). In consumer research, space is usually understood as both the background and place of the consumer experience. However, while a wide literature on consumer research recognizes that the physical space incorporates symbolic properties and acts to shape and induce consumer behavior (Sherry 1998), the emphasis of these studies lies almost exclusively in the phenomenological understanding of the localized coproduction of experiences and consumption of meanings in spatially bounded servicescapes (Joy and Sherry 2003; Kozinets et al. 2004; Maclaran and Brown 2005; Borghini et al. 2009; Varman and Belk 2011; Debenedetti, Oppewal, and Arsel 2013). With few exceptions (Ilkucan and Sandikci 2005; Visconti et al. 2010; Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw 2012; Zwick and Ozalp 2012; Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2014) the broader dynamics that take place, depend on, and reflect on space of the contemporary city are rarely discussed. Consequently, questions about mutual influence of markets, space and society remain unanswered. How, then, the logic of the market manifests itself in the production of space in the contemporary city? What places emerge from the relationship between markets and spaces? What research opportunities and theoretical advances are latent in the analysis of these places?

The purpose of this essay is to discuss this set of questions from a post-structuralist perspective. It seeks to overcome dominant consumer-centric forms of analysis on Consumer Culture Theory (CCT), trying to understand beyond the subjectivity of the consumer agent, the “underlying ideological and mythological forces producing these subjectivities.” (Askegaard and Linnet 2011, p. 387). This stream privileges analysis of the “institutional, historical, ideological, and sociological shaping of consumption and the broader market and social systems, which situate consumers’ identity projects and consumption practices” (Thompson, Arnould, and Giesler 2013, p. 4).

The contemporary city is strongly embedded in such market systemic complexity. From housing to retailscapes, from transportation to leisure activities, the development of the cities is increasingly permeated by the logics of value creation that are typical of marketing processes. Moreover, with the hegemony of financial capitalism on a global scale, the city is increasingly conceived at the same time as a space for consumption (Zukin 1998; Miles 2011) and as a product to be managed, governed, and upgraded in the realm of the competition for global resources (Harvey 1989; Harvey 2012). This dynamic leads new urban places, such as renovated ports and historic centers, theme and business parks, shopping malls and planned neighborhoods, among others (Ferreira 2011).

The city’s physical environment is, then, the arena where multiple actors –such as different groups of residents, real-estate businesses, investors, and multiple levels of governments, among others–

seek to accomplish their interests and ideologies. It is precisely the interrelationship between these multiplicities of interests at stake that makes the contemporary city a privileged context for the poststructuralist study of markets, consumption, and society. To understand the relationships between the logic of the market and the production of urban places, I first discuss the underlying theoretical rationale behind the notion of the production of urban space. Secondly, I draft a typology of urban places as a function of “intended diversity” and “control/ownership”, and analyze the a few research opportunities that arise from understanding the dynamics of production of such places. Lastly, I discuss the potential contributions of this research avenue to the extant post-structuralist literature in consumer research and the possibilities of advancing connections with other social sciences, such as urban studies and economy, and with public policy formulation.

THE LOGICS OF PRODUCTION OF SPACE

Social space is the product of the social relations in a given time; its production, thus, is closely linked to the relations of (re)production of social and material life (Lefebvre 1991a; Ascher 2004). Social space is produced in the social relations of reproduction (between genders, age groups, family organization, etc.) and relations of production (division of labor and its organization) (Lefebvre 1991b). Such relations involve representations, ideologies and interests of social groups that are cumulatively materialized in the form of factories, houses, roads, shops, etc. This materialization provides new grounds for the very relations that produce it: that is, space is at the same time a social agent that “[1] stabilizes and gives durability to social structural categories, differences and hierarchies; [2] arranges patterns of face-to-face interaction that constitute network-formation and collective action; and, [3] embodies and secures otherwise intangible cultural norms, identities, memories” (Gieryn, 2000, p. 473).

Particularly in capitalism, space becomes part of the circuits of valorization and accumulation of capital (Piketty 2014), acquiring “exchange value” through the commodification and parceling of the land or through its increasing inclusion in the circuits of financial capital: “the exchange value historically overrides the use value, which means that in order to enjoy certain attributes of the place it is necessary to realize, first of all, its exchange value”. (Botelho 2007, p. 23). Moreover, the production of space is one of the key elements in the capitalist economy, which Lefebvre (1991a) and Harvey (1982) named the secondary circuit of capital, as opposed to the primary circuit, the production and consumption of goods. It is to this second sector the surplus of the primary circuit flows, which also obeys the imperative of the return of investments. In this case, the built environment is increasingly performed as a business. However, in urban space, the logic of production of goods shall conform to a basic imperative: the built environment is, in most cases, fixed. In order to overcome this apparent obstacle and realize return rates, market agents need to ensure: (1) the attractiveness of projects through a series of valorization strategies; and, (2) their economic and financial viability through cycles of appreciation-depreciation-revaluation of the land.

It is this dual and interrelated mechanism that explains much of the changes in the configurations of the cities of the capitalist world in the last 150 years. Put another way, the historical urban transformations are the result of the relationship between the inexorable

macro processes of capitalism and the micro processes of reproduction of social relations. “The transformations of the city are not the passive results of the social globality, of its modifications. The city also depends and not less essentially on the relations of immediacy, the direct relationships between people and groups that compose society” (Lefebvre 1969, p 47). The city and its array of urban places entail, then, diverse and complex relations between multiple market actors seeking to realize their interests and ideologies. The production of urban space, thus, becomes a privileged context to understand a broad range of meaningful research questions to consumer researchers, as I elaborate next.

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF URBAN PLACES

The city is a spatial configuration composed of diverse places. As space, it is an abstract geographic entity, with physical and geometric properties. By their turn, “urban places” are meaningful sites within the urban space, where social interactions occur and where people build collective memories and shared identities (Visconti et al. 2010). On the other hand, places afford the possibility of encounters with different “social others”, who are unknown and strange by nature. These encounters represent potential threats to the established order in more controlled settings (Clarke 1997).

The production of the post-industrial city is embedded in circuits of value creation. In this context of “urban entrepreneurialism”, cities compete against each other for external investments (Harvey 1989). This contributes to the production of places where consumption mediates social relations among people with similar lifestyles (Clarke 1997; Miles 2012). To account for the possibilities that spring from this logic, I elaborate a typology of urban places (Figure 1), which takes into account the basic contradictions between familiarity and strangeness, ownership and sharing, that arise from the conception and experience of such places.

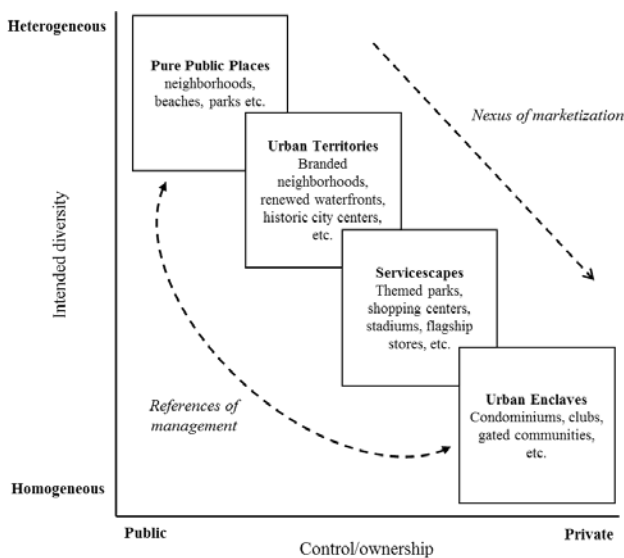


Figure 1. Typology of Urban Places

Pure public places are characterized by the freedom of access and use for different social groups. These are natural or built places in the geography of cities, such as neighborhoods, parks, beaches, water shores, among others. These places are collective properties by nature. As such, they are subject to the appropriation by different social actors simultaneously or at different times, which can originate conflicts and negotiations over its meanings and uses. The nature of

these conflicts and negotiations can dynamically reflect and reproduce established social relations. For example, Freeman (2002) examines how territorial divisions at Ipanema Beach in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, reflect class divisions, age, and sexual orientation. The author contradicts what he called the “myth of democratic beach.” Class differences, especially, originate a system of classification at work in small interactions between classes. Similar analysis of appropriations and interactions in public places are common in urban studies outside of marketing, in contexts such as public parks (Aoustet and Griffet 2004), skate parks (Chiu 2009), and streets (Cook 2011).

In consumer research, few studies focus on the negotiations that take place in public places. Analyzing the context of street art in multiple cities, Visconti et al. (2010) discuss how collectivistic and individualistic ideologies of public space consumption coexist and frame appropriations of public places. By their turn, Chatzidakis, Maclaran, and Bradshaw (2012) discuss how a group of consumers deliberately appropriate a place and impose a localized alternative consumerist ethic. Both studies highlight the oppositions between private and public and the limits of the increasing commoditization of different dimensions of life. As the contemporary city becomes more and more embedded in market dynamics, other opportunities emerge for consumer researchers. What are the roles, interests, and practices of consumers, developers, and regulators in the production of public places? How do real estate offers meeting, for instance, the aspirations for quality of life and safety of middle classes relate to public places? How does the logic of the market make itself present in appropriations of public spaces? Such questions have the potential to contribute to further advance the debates on public space consumption and to bring a less celebratory perspective on sharing (Belk 2010; Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012).

Urban territories are public places transformed by the logic of “urban entrepreneurialism” (Harvey 1989). Territories are places in which the access, purposes, or meanings are shaped and/or controlled by specific individuals or groups (Sack 1986). Urban territories include branded areas, gentrifying neighborhoods, revitalized ports, historic and industrial districts, among others that are part of the landscape of post-industrial city. Although public by right, such places are usually conceived and/or maintained by public-private partnerships, where private companies envision direct commercial or indirect institutional gains. The experience in such places is strongly mediated by consumption. As Miles (2005; 2011) points out, the production of an attractive city requires an urban governance that aims to facilitate the consumption flows in space, often silencing the inherent contradictions of urban life, such as poverty and crime.

An interesting stream of research on urban geography seeks to uncover these contradictions. Such studies analyze the dynamics of gentrification (Zukin 1998; Smith 2007) and of renovation of parks, waterfronts, and historical areas towards more controlled and safe places, reflecting the interests of certain elite groups (Rotenberg and McDonogh 1993). However, despite generating important insights on the logics and intentions behind processes of urban renovations, studies on urban geography are mainly focused on the description of the material (architectural) realities before and after renovations, not uncovering the forces behind the dynamics of change. How are these places legitimated in the city? How do developers, in alliance with regulators, convey brand narratives of such places? How exclusionary are these processes? How would excluded consumers resist? These questions seem worthwhile to be answered through the lenses of consumer research. However, scant attention is given to the context of urban territories in the extant literature. Specifically, two studies analyze how localized negotiations and the active work of consumers (Ilkucan and Sandikci 2005) versus the power

of market forces (Zwick and Ozalp 2012) take place in processes of gentrification. As cities in developed and developing countries keep transforming at a rapid pace, further analysis of different contexts and forms of gentrification may contribute to the debate on urban development and social equality, for instance. Also, the analysis of the production of branded places might shed new lights on the ongoing debates on the legitimation of new products (Giesler 2012) and consumption practices (Sandikci and Ger 2010), as well as contribute to the already established debate on interagency, co-production, and social construction of markets (Penaloza and Venkatesh 2006; Cova, Dalli, and Zwick 2011).

Servicescapes include private places directed to consumption activities, such as flagship stores, shopping malls, shops, theaters, stadiums, among others. The recognition of the centrality of the physical environment in the context of services produced a wide range of studies analyzing the systematic effects of managed service scenarios (servicescapes) on consumer experiences (Sherry 1998). This stream shows how servicescapes materialize ideals and cultural narratives and how consumers interpret and experience these spaces. "Servicescapes have a narrative design that also directs the course of consumers' mental attention, experiences, and related practices of self-narration." (Arnould and Thompson 2005, p. 875). The relationship between the managed materiality of space and consumption experiences is analyzed in a wide range of places, such as themed shops (Peñaloza 1998a; Kozinets et al. 2004; Borghini et al. 2009), museums (Joy and Sherry 2003), shopping centers (Maclaran and Brown 2005; Varman and Belk 2011), and festivals (Kozinets 2003), among others.

In sum, the literature on servicescapes prioritizes analyzes of (1) the more or less agentic experiences of consumers in relation to previous arrangement of material elements, and (2) the multiplicity of meanings emerging from these experiences. Therefore, some space to contribution is still left, specifically on the analysis of the ways that different social groups appropriate such places, especially in the context of developing countries (Varman and Belk 2011; Pinheiro-Machado 2014). How do popular groups use consumption spaces, such as shopping centers? How do self-proclaimed legitimate users react? How does management act to protect and repress one or another social group? What are the consequences? Such questions allow to illuminate the inherent tensions to the production and contestation of symbolic barriers of class in places of consumption, contributing to a truly new way to map some market dynamics behind the so called socio-historic patterning of consumption (Arnould & Thompson, 2005) as well as to highlight the exclusionary dimension of class-based identity projects (Ustuner & Thompson, 2012).

Urban enclaves are the private spaces where the access is restricted and controlled, such as gated communities, condominiums, and clubs. With a vast literature in Geography, gated communities are accounted as a global phenomenon (Tanulku 2012). This particular type of enclave is characterized by its highly monitored and securitized privatized areas (Caldeira 1996). The growth of such enclaves relates with the development of a "fear culture" within middle-classes and their search for places where people with similar backgrounds will live in isolation from potentially dangerous "social others" (Caldeira 2000; Low 2001; Le Goix 2005). Such places establish an ordered counterpoint to the chaotic city (Tanulku 2012). Gated communities are not the only enclaves that meet these aspirations of middle-classes. Recently, large cities are experiencing a rise in the constructions of condominiums, which are usually located in central areas across the developed and developing world (Caldeira 1996; Pereira 2002; Zwick and Ozalp 2012).

These places are service-intensive in ways that daily experiences of citizenship are reduced to relations of consumption, which permeates much of the social and political interactions of these agents (Canclini 2001). The analysis of the relationship between consumers and the brand narratives of real estate products towards the production of "lifestyle communities" (Zwick & Ozalp, 2012) can contribute to the discussions on the performativity of marketing practices (Araujo 2007; Kjellberg and Helgesson 2007) and on the dynamics of production of consumer's subjectivities (Karababa and Ger 2011; Giesler and Veresiu 2014). Following the example of urban studies, the analysis of the positive (Salcedo and Torres 2004; Sabatini and Salcedo 2007; Roitman and Phelps 2011) or negative (Caldeira 2000; Le Goix 2005; Breetzke and Cohn 2013) impacts of these places in its surroundings can contribute to the debates on transformative consumer research, especially in the context of emerging countries.

POSSIBLE RELATIONS BETWEEN TYPES OF URBAN PLACES

There are possible transitions and exchanges between the four types of places. The arrows in Figure 1 represent the two factors that contribute to it.

The **nexus of marketization** represents the confluence of different forces towards the gradual production of more homogeneous and private places, increasingly embedded in the logic of the market. Several agents benefit from the commoditization of portions of the post-industrial city. As this pattern of development becomes an economic panacea among city planners, particularly in periods of crisis (Engelen et al. 2014), it fosters the marketization of the city. Exemplars of such places include the many branded neighborhoods in the city of New York and the renovated waterfronts of Toronto and Boston (Cooper 1993; Sieber 1993). Arguably, these places have been subtly transformed from pure public places to, perhaps, urban territories.

Different types of urban places can import or export **references of management** from each other as part of the process of marketization. For instance, in the examples above, both waterfronts have been branded in a similar fashion of theme stores (Borghini et al. 2009), seeking to frame consumer's experiences and actively conveying brand meanings to a specific target. In another vein, urban enclaves might import modes of governance and representation from the public sphere, which are inflected through the prism of consumerism (Canclini 2001). Systems of security and surveillance might flow in both directions. In emerging countries, there is documentation of cooperation between private and public forces to exert control over the inside and the surroundings of servicescapes (Pinheiro-Machado 2014).

The transitions and exchanges above are not exhaustive of all possibilities. However, they provide some insights to imagine a variety of research questions. For instance, the analysis of the gradual transformation of public spaces across the world (Rotenberg and McDonogh 1993; Lago 2000; Ferreira 2011) allows to deduct some regularities: (1) city boosters and local authorities engage in partnerships to either redevelop a declining area or push the urban frontier; (2) developers employ market research, targeting, design, among other techniques to conceive a consumption-mediated place; (3) branding and public relations create a benign discourse to legitimate the new place; (4) developers enforce and consumers either embrace or resist the intended narratives in daily spatial practices; (5) over time, the place gets legitimacy and actively and performs its narratives. As they instantiate the complexity of the institutional, ideological, and sociological forces shaping consumption and mar-

kets, processes such as this one seem to provide worthwhile research contexts, with a variety of implications that I will discuss next.

CONCLUSION

In their critique of the emphasis to the “one-sided attention to the self-realizing individual” of CCT, Askegaard and Linnet (2011) call for a more socially embedded CCT research agenda. Once space is co-constituting of and co-constituted by social life (Castilhos, Dolbec, and Veresiu 2014), researching the city provide interesting alternatives to fulfill such agenda. Urban places are evident instantiations of historical and contemporary arrangement of social forces. As such, they provide compelling contexts to understand consumption as embedded in social and marketplace structures. From a post-structuralist perspective, researching urban places may help CCT researchers to map consumption fields, to clearly identify homologies (Bourdieu 2000) between agents occupying different positions in the field, and to uncover the subtle relations of domination hidden behind the notion of progress and development. Ultimately, it might foster new understandings of how spatialized and markets perform modes of lives aligned with hegemonic groups of age, class, gender, ethnicity, lifestyle, among others, contributing to the reproduction of social hierarchies and distinctions.

Advancing connections with other social sciences, a consumer culture perspective on the study of the city can foster a fruitful dialog notably with urban studies and economy. In general, urban studies seem to give preference to the macro dynamics that foster new material configurations and the aggregate consequences of such configurations (Ascher 2004; Smith 2007). At the same time that such analysis enhance our understanding of the “context of context” (Askegaard and Linnet 2011), consumer culture theorists are equipped to provide empirical evidences of how those macro dynamics instantiate in different settings in different parts of the world through localized historical, documental, and ethnographic accounts.

The preference for aggregate analyzes is also found in economy. Piketty’s (2014) recent best seller gave a new dimension to the heated debate over social protectionism x market liberalism (Giesler and Veresiu 2014). Among other things, Piketty shows how a set of macro variables contribute to perpetuating inequalities in “perfect markets” and tries to provide a set of also macro remedies to correct this trend. To contribute to this debate, CCT theorists can provide understandings of the nexus of practices of different agents in free and unregulated markets, in particular, the land and real estate markets in the city. These understandings might contribute to generating insights to the urban instantiations of inequality, such as urban segregation and exclusion.

Lastly, these connections might contribute to providing further insights to public policy formulations. CCT researchers can unveil the specific forces behind the commoditization of the city and its exclusionary features as it performs hierarchical differences. This helps to (1) clarify which solutions are in and outside of the market logic and (2) to design sometimes simple solutions to produce a more democratic and inclusive city for all.

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The Capitalizing Practices of Lower-Class Consumers in the Context of Higher Education

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to understand how dominated consumers invest in legitimate forms of cultural capital. Through a qualitative inquiry with students of a distance learning program, we show how consumers' capitalizing practices contribute to their identity projects beyond the actual conversion of other forms of capital into cultural a one.

INTRODUCTION

Consumer research extensively shows the many ways in which consumption reproduces class distinctions. Drawing on Bourdieu's theorization of cultural capital and social fields (Bourdieu 1979; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), studies advanced in the explanation of (1) how cultural capital shapes consumer's tastes (Holt 1998; Üstüner and Holt 2010), choices (Allen 2002), and self-perceptions (Henry 2005) among others, and (2) how established field dynamics preclude consumers occupying dominated positions to gain status in social fields, producing shattered (Üstüner and Holt 2007), alternative (Castilhos and Rossi, 2009), or incomplete (Üstüner and Thompson 2012) identity projects. Taken together, these works provide a rich explanation of how durable influences of primary socialization reproduce objective advantages of groups occupying dominant positions in social fields (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013).

Inspired by this first stream, an emerging set of studies begins to analyze the dynamics of specific fields of consumption. Departing from the differentiation between field-dependent and generalized cultural capital (Arsel and Thompson 2011), these works explore how consumers navigate between fields and constitute their identity projects through investments in a given specific field. Consumer's identity investments organize group's internal hierarchies (Schau, Gilly, and Wolfenbarger 2009), foster destigmatization of consumption practices (Sandikci and Ger 2010), protect field-specific status positions (Arsel and Thompson 2011), and enhance cultural legitimacy for marginalized identities (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013). Despite its dynamic features, this emerging stream favors the study of consumers with high cultural capital, whose conversions into other forms of capital contribute to the enhancement of their position in different fields. However, little attention has been given to consumers with low generalized cultural capital, who remain largely represented as confined to dominated positions in the larger field of power.

We aim to problematize such prevalent structural perspective of dominated consumers. Drawing inspiration from the analysis of identity investments and capitalizing practices (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013) we conducted a qualitative inquiry with a group of lower-class female students enrolled in a distance learning (DL) University program. Through the analysis of their discourses and practices during the first semester of college, we aim to understand how these consumers' identity projects are enacted through the daily investments of scarce forms of cultural, economic, and social capital into a socially legitimated form of cultural capital.

This paper addresses the intersection between the literatures on identity projects and the socio-historic patterning of consumption (Arnould and Thompson 2007). Our intended contribution is twofold: first, we bring the dynamics of capital investments to the field of generalized cultural capital, showing a set of conditions in which consumer's identity investments are performative of identity projects before and beyond the full conversion of one type of capital into

another; second, we account for a largely absent temporal dimension in identity projects (Thompson 2013), which can be understood as processual, unfinished, and ongoing.

CONTEXT AND METHOD

Distance Learning is the fastest growing form of higher education in Brazil. Between 2003 and 2013, the number of programs jumped from 52 to more than one thousand. Also, the number of students raised from 50 thousand to more than 1 million, accounting for nearly 15% of college registrations in the country (INEP 2014).

This phenomenon has its roots in the National Plan for Education, established by the Brazilian government in 2001 with the goal of increasing the number of students in higher education. Concretely, the plan facilitated the creation of new and the expansion of existing higher education institutions. Along with the popularization of the broadband, this contributed to the expansion of private universities. These institutions focused primarily on lower-class consumers, who historically had no easy access to higher education, due to economic, time, and geographic constraints. At the time, this group represented a massive and the untouched market to be explored.

Aiming at reaching these consumers, both new for-profit colleges, and traditional non-profit universities saw DL programs as the best way to increase its participation in the education market. Such programs are less expensive and are regarded as more flexible to those who cannot afford to be full-time students. Hence, DL programs have been attracting mainly lower-middle-class consumer in search qualification (Sanchez 2008). Additionally, DL programs hold a lower tier status among the Brazilian educational industry. They are newer, cheaper, and shorter than conventional presence programs.

Being part of what has been conventionally called "new middle class" (Neri 2011), the consumers targeted by DL programs seem to be better characterized as the "Brazilian strugglers", a concept suggested by Souza (2010). This group totalizes nearly 55% of Brazil's population. With a family income around US\$9,000 per year (IBGE 2011), this class is located between the "really poor" and the traditional middle-class in the Brazilian social space (Souza 2009). This fraction is distinguished by a set of dispositions, such as ethics of hard work, self-discipline, and prospective thinking, which are employed in daily life in order to strive for a better future (Souza 2010).

To understand how lower-class consumers experience higher education, we combined participant observation and in-depth interviews among students enrolled in an undergraduate DL program in Pedagogy, which is the biggest DL program in the country (INEP 2014). Data collection was restricted to a single class. Our participant observation consisted in attending weekly presence classes and interacting with students in these moments. After the first meetings, we recruited six informants to conduct the interviews. All informants fit Souza's (2010) category of "Brazilian strugglers", having a low cultural and economic capital background.

Interviews took place at students' home or workplace. Observations of presence classes and interview locations were conducted and supported by a field diary in which we recorded impressions, notes, and feelings about the fieldwork. Data analysis followed a hermeneutic approach (Thompson 1997). First, we identified key emic terms, including motivations, expectations, as well our informant's decision process. This first set of data was then critically challenged during the subsequent iterations. Further analysis allowed us to dis-

tinguish etic perspectives of the social construction of DL as a long term strategy for mobility and the daily investments in cultural capital, which are elaborated in the following sections.

CAPITALIZING PRACTICES IN THE PURSUIT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In their analysis of the emerging group of at-home fathers in the US, Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2013) show the multiple ways in which this group, usually endowed with high generalized cultural capital, seek to convert their domestic (field-dependent) cultural capital into forms of symbolic capital, with the intent to build cultural legitimacy for their contradictory performance of masculinity and fatherhood. Those capitalizing practices are inspiring of our own analysis, summarized in Table 1. Contrary to them, however, we account for the multiple investments of other types of capital in order to acquire cultural capital, to break with social origins and progress in life. In our context, capitalizing practices include the investments of economic, social, and specific forms of cultural capital.

Specific Cultural Capital

Throughout their lives, our informants have learned and embodied a set of dispositions that equip them to navigate in the neo-liberal world. Having a structured family, most of them were socialized to be self-responsible, having developed an ethic of hard work

and specific dispositions for self-discipline and prospective thinking. According to Souza (2010), this is the set of dispositions that distinguish this fraction from the “Brazilian rabble”. As they envision college as a path for a better future, they invest these dispositions in order to overcome the challenges posed by the new life stage. Our informants believe that especially because of the characteristics of the DL program, they need an extra discipline to keep up to date with all themes and assignments. This requires time, effort, and organization, but it seems worthwhile because, for them, it is the way that will assure them getting the most they can from the program. “You have to take time for that. It is useless just to do it like that, especially in a distance learning program. You have to push yourself hard. You have to study at home, you have to read, you have to adapt yourself to this kind of program.” (Maria)

Students are aware that they are responsible for their own learning and that they need to diligently find time between job and family obligations to study and keep up to date with assignments. Even Jaqueline –who is the only at-home mother– reports that she has to find time to study within her busy daily schedule. Specifically she finds the “time and peace to study” every day after her husband and daughter go to sleep. For those students who work, the pressure of their schedule is stronger. In most of the cases, they report taking the less busy moments at work as well as the scarce free times at home to prepare assignments and to study.

Table 1. Overview of the Findings

Institutional Forces		Influence over the Education Market	
Brazilian Government	Ministry of Education’s measures aiming at increasing the number of students in higher education.		
Universities	DL as part of the growing strategies; targeting working-class consumers to DL programs.		
Media	Highlighting the value of higher education as “the” path to success at the job market.		
Employed Capital	Practices	Main Feature	Example
Cultural Capital	Embodied self-discipline	Juggling with a busy daily schedule to keep up to date with studies.	Taking advantage of free-time at work and at home to do assignments.
Economic Capital	Daily economic sacrifices	Frugality in other dimensions of consumption to pay costs of college	Postponing vacations and purchases of home appliances
Social Capital	Family support	Relying on relatives to help	Students are released from financial obligations at home
Social Capital	Community support	Mutual support from classmates to reinforce feelings of being a “real” student	Exchanging course materials and professional experiences

Economic Capital

Tuition fees are expensive to our informants. As most of the students are responsible for the payment of their own tuition fees, they report that once they started college, they have elected it as a priority, beginning to restrict their consumption of other goods and services.

I can afford [to pay the tuition fees] because I am not that kind [of person] that spends a lot on crap stuff. Now is very tight, because besides paying for my college tuition, my laptop crashed and I had to buy a new one. I bought it in five hundred times [joking about the number of installments she financed the laptop] because we can't make it without a laptop in a DL course. No way! (Karen).

As in Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2013), frugality plays an important role in the strategies of capital conversions among our informants. They reported having postponed vacations, replacement of home appliances and limiting their consumption of beauty products to the minimum, in order to prioritize their education expenses. The sacrifices are compensated by a moral discourse (Saatcioglu and Ozanne 2013) in which they exalt their qualities as self-disciplined and prospective persons (Souza 2010), which ultimately legitimizes their (non)consumption practices.

Social Capital

Social capital investments include the ways that our informants arrange their network of family, friends, and colleagues to overcome the challenges they face to manage college with other obligations. The first form of social capital, family support (Portes 1998) can come in many ways. Costs for college go beyond tuition fees. It includes books, copying, transportation, and access to the internet which can be either at home, at work, or at cybercafés in some cases. These expenses can cost more than our informants can afford. In these cases, they openly rely on their parents or husbands. Interestingly, when families cannot directly help to pay for our informant's studies, they help by not asking them to contribute to the family budget, as Karen told us: "I pay college myself, but I do not need to contribute to the expenses at home, so I can afford it." Parents and family members are conscious that studies are important to our informants' live projects. Furthermore, as in Coskuner-Balli and Thompson (2013), the accomplishments of one family member are perceived to affect the whole family in a positive way.

Community building is the second form social capital, which emerges mainly from the weekly presence class. As students support each other with assignments, share course materials, and exchange advices and experiences, they build a sense of camaraderie. Also, as informants together face and overcome common flaws of the university DL service—which in their words treat them as "second class students"—they develop a sense of internal solidarity and reinforce self-responsibility for their own path in college. Through these moments, our informants increase their feelings of inclusion in the socially valued category of "university students", which reinforces the idea of progressing in life, once they are part of an entirely new universe of reference, distant from the one of their primary socialization.

DISCUSSION

I'll be the first one in my family to have a college degree. I think about this opportunity I'm having. I'm pushing myself and I'm getting it! To know that I can, that I'm getting it is very rewarding! (Laura)

Our study focused on analyzing the capitalizing practices of a group of lower-class consumers seeking to overcome social origins through the education market. Results show how the DL program is perceived as a privileged market resource for this group's mobility project and how they engage in daily investments of other forms of capital in order to pursue cultural capital. In doing so, we contribute to the debates at the intersection between the literatures on identity projects and the socio-historic patterning of consumption (Arnould and Thompson 2007). We now detail the twofold nature of our contribution.

Extant literature on dominated consumers provides numerous examples of how structural forces work to reproduce status positions. Based on Bourdieu's work, the underlying assumption is that the enduring influences of primary socialization would endow consumers with a fixed amount of cultural capital (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013). When performed in larger social fields, limited capitals would produce shattered identity projects (Üstüner and Holt 2007) and consumer agency would be reduced to coping.

Drawing inspiration on the dynamics of identity investments and capitalizing practices (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013), we found that the process of cultural capital acquisition, instead of the employment of its outcomes, is part of a strategy for improving social conditions, to which the educational industry provides a legit market resource. As progressing in life is a pervasive abstract ideal among the "Brazilian strugglers" (Souza 2010), the multiple investments in cultural capital acquisition gain centrality in their life projects.

Even if we don't observe objective social mobility, our informants perceive themselves as in charge of their own fate. So, through the daily efforts to convert different forms of capital into cultural one, they build a progressing self as an ongoing, therefore effective, identity project, simultaneously grounded on distinction and inclusion. To our informants, starting college is distinctive per se. It is a rare accomplishment, which is hard to pursue due to social background and the difficulties of their daily lives. Starting university is also inclusive, once college education is historically seen as a privilege reserved to the middle and upper classes in Brazil.

Thompson (2013) distinguished two main analytic paths in the identity literature: recognition and redistribution. In both cases studies tend to emphasize the end point of identity work, leaving unquestioned the latent temporal dimension of identity projects. We found that identity is always under construction. To our informants, the enrolment in the Pedagogy program opens new perspectives in their lives. It grants the ability to dream and to make concrete career plans, as Karen exemplifies: "college is just a start; I want to study psychology, but then need more money. Now what I can pay is Education. Then, I will graduate and work. With the degree, my salary will increase, and then I can expect to start another college program, which will be a presence one."

So, the construction of the progressing self is mostly processual. Particularly, it is anchored in a general past of reminiscences of poverty; it entails an ongoing present of sacrifices and self-discipline that will culminate with an idealized future of material rewards and self-completion. We showed that such transformation begins in the moment our informants enroll in the college program and is made effective through their daily capitalizing practices in the quest for a better social standing.

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Mobilizing the Responsible Consumer: Multi-Level Risk Narratives in Subpolitical Debates

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ABSTRACT

Risks are part of consumers' lives and influence consumers' behaviors. This study investigates a subpolitical debate on environmental governance and finds that actors produce multi-level risk narratives for mobilization. Findings contribute to consumer research by considering consumers in the debate and highlighting the relevance of risk in consumer citizenship.

INTRODUCTION

Risk consumption has become part of consumers' lives and the ability to assess risks a central quality of consumers (Beck 1999; Giddens 1991). On a daily basis, consumers are confronted with risks related to food consumption (Halkier 2001, 2010; Tulloch and Lupton 2002), health (Chandran and Menon 2004; Menon, Block, and Ramanathan 2002), the environment (Humphreys and Thompson 2014; Roper 2011), and many others. While consumers can control or avoid some risks, they cannot control others. Often, they rely on expert systems traditionally charged with minimizing risks for mankind (Giddens 1991; Humphreys and Thompson 2014). Eventually, expert systems "negotiate the criteria of what is 'rational and safe'" and what is risky, and fabricate the right thing to do (Beck 1999, 32).

With the rise of the responsible consumer (Giesler and Veresiu 2014), a shift in decision-making responsibilities occurred. In many consumption fields, such as the consumption of GM food (Tulloch and Lupton 2002), expert systems obliged consumers to handle risk on their own and introduced consumers to politicized consumption (Clarke 2008; Halkier 1999). In other cases, in which consumption practices are not directly related to risks, consumers are still not involved in risk assessment processes. Thus, though consumers have many responsibilities (Henry 2010), their decision-making rights are still limited. This has led to numerous subpolitical debates, in which consumers express their doubts about the risk assessments of expert systems and aim to shape societal development outside official political frameworks (Beck 1999). As such, risks can play a vital role in subpolitical debates; Beck even argues that risks are a "major force of political mobilization" (1999, 4). Consumer research so far investigates how the media shapes risk narratives and amplifies consumers' perceptions of risk (Humphreys and Thompson 2014) and how other factors influence consumer risk perceptions (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993; Dowling and Staelin 1994; Menon, Block, and Ramanathan 2002). However, consumers, together with other actors, such as NGOs or activist groups, are not mere perceivers of risk but part of the collective construction and dynamic shaping of risk in the public realm. Yet, how do consumers take part in the construction of risk narratives in subpolitical debates?

This study addresses this question through an empirical investigation of a subpolitical debate expressing doubt about environmental governance. More specifically, this study investigates public discourse surrounding the impending merger of two ski areas in the European Alps that would necessitate changes to nature reserve regulations and thus subvert the authority of nature conservation law in general. Findings contribute to consumer research by shifting the attention to consumers' multi-level risk production and mobilization in the public realm, and by highlighting the relevance of risk in consumer citizenship.

THEORY

Reflexive Doubt and Subpolitical Debates

The rise of the risk society has witnessed an increasing consciousness of risks (Beck 1992, 1999, 2009; Giddens 1991) and "societal demands for environmental and social protection" (Roper 2011, 70). Thus, many governmental and non-governmental institutions are charged with risk management; they monitor sources of risks and impose laws, regulations, and industry standards that are based on previously defined criteria of acceptable risk levels. These and other expert systems (Giddens 1991) operate based on the assumption that risk can be controlled (Wong and King 2008) and that consumers are relieved from risk anxieties because they can trust in expert knowledge and decisions (Giddens 1991; Humphreys and Thompson 2014; Thompson 2005; Tsoukas 1999).

However, due to increased cultural awareness of risks, consumer responsibility (Giesler and Veresiu 2014), and complexity of interwoven risks, consumers developed a level of skepticism and critical reflection regarding risks and their assessments. Actual crises resulting from failures of expert systems and the multiplicity of actors supposedly trying to influence risk assessments for their own benefits, further raised consumers' reflexive doubt toward expert systems (Giddens 1991; Humphreys and Thompson 2014; Thompson 2005). Inevitably, this lack of trust leads to public debates, in which expert systems are required to legitimate their actions vis-à-vis the public, and responsible consumers challenge and question the decisions and actions of expert systems. These public debates can become subpolitical debates, in which actors try to shape "society from below" and influence political decisions "outside and beyond the representative institutions of the political system of nation-states" (Beck 1999, 39). Roper underlines the power of subpolitics when she argues that "the subpolitical (Beck, 1997) uprising of society in response to risk can present an ultimatum [to corporations and the government]: change or suffer a fundamental loss of trust, reputation and legitimacy" (2011, 71). While previous research focuses on subpolitical risk narratives produced in media coverage (e.g., Tsoukas 1999), this article argues that other actors, such as consumers, governmental actors, NGOs, and activist communities, are not mere passive receivers of media amplifications (Russell and Babrow 2011), but contribute actively to subpolitical debates. Considering these unmediated voices together with media coverage allows for a more differentiated perspective on debates of reflexive doubt and the role of risk in shaping political action (Russell and Babrow 2011).

Risk Construction and Perception

"Risk is the modern approach to foresee and control the future consequences [...]. It is an (institutionalized) attempt, a cognitive map, to colonize the future" (Beck 1999, 3).

Risks do not exist independently but only become nascent in their social construction (Beck 1999). Research investigates consumers' construction of risk as part of their biographies (Tulloch and Lupton 2002) and identities (Thompson 2005) and explicates how they are linked to mindful consumption choices (Halkier 2001), values of anti-consumption (Thompson and Troester 2002), and articulations of cultural anxieties (Humphreys and Thompson 2014;

Figure 1: Timeline of Events and Risk Narratives

Timeline	Protagonist Narratives	Antagonist Narratives	
<i>April 2014</i>			
initial expert study is published	<i>Deeming economic downfall</i> the survival of the region is at stake	doubt about economic viability of project; raising environmental and legal issues	
state government cannot get to a unanimous result and delegates the decision to state parliament	“It’s only about two ski lift pillars”	legal issues scaled: also other nature reserves are in danger	
online petition against merger starts	<i>Deeming economic downfall</i>	“Do you really think these two pillars will change everything to the better?”	
ca. 4,000 people have signed the petition		“So what? Close the ski resorts”	
ca.13,000 people have signed the petition		“There are more pending problems”	
activist groups form	discussion framed as political struggle		
activist groups present their positions in public: two are against (one is more prominent in the beginning), one is in favor of the project		compromise featured on one of the activist group’s website: nature park/sustainable tourism	
legal expert: project is not legal		fewer risk narratives about the economic downfall	“What is law worth today?”
survey: 2/3 of the people are against the project			
state parliament commissions expert reports			
ca. 25,000 people have signed the petition			
launch of the website of activist group in favor of the project	<i>A positive impulse</i> new focus on the <i>positive impulse</i> of the merger	<i>Civic risk narratives</i>	
survey: 51% of the people are against the merger (different initiators and set up)	future perspective	<i>Environmental destruction narratives</i>	
Regional Economic Chamber publishes study on the project’s positive economic consequences	antagonists prohibit progress and spread anxiety	<i>Disauthentication narratives</i>	
ca. 33,000 people have signed the petition	“Two pillars are not the end of the world”		
results of the expert reports are published	“What is the alternative?”		
<i>March 2015</i>			

Thompson 2005). Findings reveal that consumers' perceptions of risk are influenced by message cues (Menon, Block, and Ramanathan 2002), media reporting (Humphreys and Thompson 2014; Russell and Babrow 2011; Yannopoulou, Koronis, and Elliott 2011), and expert knowledge (Wynne 1996). Consumers take up risk-related pieces of information and negotiate them, together with their direct experiences of risk (Kasperson et al. 1988), based on their own socio-culturally induced judgments (Halkier 2001; Thompson 2005; Tulloch and Lupton 2002; Wynne 1996).

Actors employed this influenceability of consumers' perceptions to foster reflexive doubt in others and mobilize political action (Beck 1999). Especially "consumer activists, alternative-minded consumers, dissident scientists, and muckraking journalists" (Thompson 2005, 236) are well known for seizing single crisis events, and scaling them to systemic risks as being symptomatic of ill-functioning expert systems (Humphreys and Thompson 2014) and the interconnectedness of the global risk society (Beck 2009). While single risks are often amplified and scaled, global, systemic risk narratives and constructions of a "collective fate" also invade micro level risk perceptions and become localized and integrated into consumers' "personal biographies" (Beck 1992; Tulloch and Lupton 2002, 366). This study acknowledges not only the role of risk narratives in amplifying risk perceptions, but aims to draw attention to the multiple levels (from discrete/micro to systemic/macro) on which risks can be constructed and used in contexts of consumer mobilization.

METHODOLOGY

This study investigates a subpolitical debate revolving around the planned merger of two ski areas in the European Alps. The mobilization of multiple actors and the production of a vast amount of discourse of reflexive doubt motivated the decision to investigate this case. Central to the controversy about the merger of the ski areas is its cultural and socio-political context. Ski tourism is inherent to the region's cultural DNA and powers large parts of its economy.

News media discourses are important forces in shaping the public opinion in general (Meraz 2009) and risk perceptions in particular (Humphreys and Thompson 2014). Thus, this study examines online newspaper articles and comments on them, as well as on- and offline material provided by relevant actors. For data collection, the author chose two national and one regional newspaper (with the most detailed coverage) and made sure to include both left- and right-wing outlets to avoid media bias. Relevant newspaper articles were identified through online keyword search, which resulted in more than 100 articles and their reader comments. In addition, the author included press releases and data material provided by political parties and their representatives, the Regional Economic Chamber, and the activist groups campaigning for and against the project (e.g., pictures, website texts, video clips, additional articles referred to in primary material). The corpus of data material for the analysis spans the time period from April 2014 to the beginning of March 2015 and includes more than 300 documents.

In the first stage of data analysis the author scanned through the data and, in an open coding process, identified major actors and themes (Corbin and Strauss 2008). In the second stage the author conducted a discourse analysis based on poststructuralist assumptions, thus aiming to incorporate the "sociocultural and institutional" backgrounds of actors (Humphreys and Thompson 2014, 884; Thompson and Haytko 1997). The next stage comprised the development of a timeline of events (see figure 1) that included information on relevant actors and quotations (Humphreys and Thompson 2014). The focus of analysis was the actors' construction and framing of risk narratives and the level those narratives referred to (discrete/mi-

cro vs. systemic/macro; see table 1). While data exhibited two basic discourse coalitions (for and against the merger), the author further analyzed narrative patterns with the help of three central characteristics suggested for stakeholder identification: power, urgency, and legitimacy of actors (Mitchell, Agle, and Wood 1997).

FINDINGS

Deeming Economic Downfall

First reflexive doubt about the planned merger of two ski areas arose when an expert system, a task force commissioned by the state(*) government (*Landesregierung*), presented a study claiming that the merger across the nature reserve was the only economically viable solution for the economic survival of the region. The state government and the task force show high levels of power and urgency. From the beginning of this controversy, expert systems in favor of the merger, such as representatives of the conservative party and the task force, use a discrete and dominant risk narrative about the impending economic downfall of the region to maintain legitimacy. A politician argued: "Each of the ski areas will not be able survive on its own" (Mittelstaedt 2014). A local newspaper reported about the planned merger and added comments by locals and members of the task force arguing that people in the region depended on ski tourism and were fighting for their existence. Over time, the narrative of the deeming economic downfall is weakened by the opposition and gradually taken over by a more positively framed narrative.

Antagonists put forward a multiplicity of risk narratives aimed at mobilizing against the expert system and reframing protagonists' arguments (Benford and Snow 2000). Several activist groups against the merger formed; the most prominent one consists of individuals, NGOs, and companies, all featured with statements on their website. Especially NGOs involved enjoy high levels of legitimacy and claim high urgency due to their local orientation. They aim at mobilizing people to sign a petition against the merger, but their power is limited, as the petition is not legally binding. In the end the state parliament is going to make the final decision. Risk narratives were also nourished by individual consumers with different levels of urgency writing reader comments for regional and national newspaper articles. Overall, opposition against the merger reveals three thematically unified strands of risk narratives varying on a continuum between "discrete/micro" and "systemic/macro" levels: *civic risk*, *environmental destruction*, and *disauthentication narratives*.

CIVIC RISK NARRATIVES

Civic risk narratives are the most dominant narratives among antagonists. They revolve around the general economic, legal, and political risks of the region. On a discrete level, mostly used by activist groups and political parties, civic risk narratives argue that the merger would not support people living in the region, but rather reinforce their dependence on tourism. Even in the case of these discrete narratives, actors employ a long-term perspective, envisioning the future consequences of touristic dependence and accusing protagonists of shortsightedness. One fringe party continuously pointed toward the partial tax financing of the project; thus revealing a systemic risk in public financing. Media coverage contains the controversy by reducing it to a political issue, but also scales civic risk narratives by picturing the case of the financially stricken region to be symptomatic for an overall failure in tourism development and relating it to several examples of politically motivated interventions into nature. An expert on ecological regulations agreed in the press that it was unbelievable how, in today's society, it could be possible to question an environmental regulation and that this case would

set precedent. Similar risk narratives are visible among reader comments discussing what consequence it would have if laws no longer had any authority and nature was not assigned any (monetary) value. Overall, civic narratives of systemic risk diagnose a failure in regional politics and legislature.

Environmental Destruction Narratives

Environmental destruction narratives in subpolitical discourse range from discrete to high-consequence risks (Giddens 1991). On a micro level, actors regard the building of the ski lift and the subsequent increasing *invasion* in the nature reserve as a risk, because flora and fauna of the *jewel of nature* would be destroyed. On a meso-level, the merger could entail the building of more lifts in other nature reserves and, consequently, further destruction of nature (which would not benefit tourism either). Whereas activist groups and political actors mostly use micro- and meso-level risk narratives, individual actors and the media discuss large time frames and scale risks to a macro, high-consequence level. They link ski tourism expansion, energy expenditures, higher temperatures, rising snowlines, and further energy expenditures for artificial snowing. *“It reminds me of Noah’s ark! We don’t mind what happens in the future. No matter if snowfall decreases, and snow cannons use vast amounts*

of energy and water...” (reader comment, national newspaper, July 17, 2014).

Disauthentication Narratives

Disauthentication narratives are least dominant among subpolitical discourse. Actors construct this narrative both on a micro-level by specifically referring to the respective nature reserve and on a macro-level by referring to nature or the region’s identity in general. These narratives often relate to a conceptualization of nature as part of our ancestors’ legacy and thus as integral part of the identity of the region that must be honored. A fringe party claimed: *“We must not waste nature lavishly otherwise we are well on our way to losing the soul of our country”* (data material provided by fringe party). Also from a macro perspective, actors argued that the advertising value so far created with pictures of the pristine nature reserve would be lost. One more narrative of impending disauthentication is related to the act of hiking up the mountain—a kind of purifying practice (Canniford and Shankar 2013)—versus simply taking the lift. By making it easy to get on top of the mountain, more people would seize this opportunity and the so far untouched mountain would lose its exclusivity and authenticity. Actors produced systemic risks by addressing the role of authenticity in tourism in general. One newspaper column

Table 1: Overview of (Multi-Level) Risk Narratives

Narratives	Data Excerpts	
<i>Deeming economic downfall</i> (protagonists)	<i>Without major changes, the future looks bleak. (additional newspaper material, Kurier, April 29, 2014)</i> <i>Alarm signal. The Regional Economic Chamber affirms their opinion about the [merger]. (Regional Economic Chamber, 2014)</i>	
	Discrete/micro level risk narratives	Systemic/macro level risk narratives
<i>Civic risk narratives</i> (antagonists)	<i>The whole project is not economically sustainable and wastes our taxes. Let’s fight for nature! (statement of individual consumer, featured on website of activist group)</i> <i>Overall, only a few people working in the tourism sector would benefit, mainly in the region, while the rest of the local people would not benefit, but rather be negatively affected. (additional data material, Cincelli 2014)</i>	<i>Yes, two pillars and one rope are not a big intervention into nature, but it is no longer just about that. It is about the credibility of environmental policy in our country. (president of national NGO, featured on website of activist group)</i> <i>They are not giving up. For years, money has been transferred from the good people (those who actually work) to the rich and to banks, without fulfilling their duty of dealing responsibly with our taxes. Now they are going for the nature. Without caring for the local people. (reader comment, regional newspaper, September 5, 2014)</i>
<i>Environmental destruction narratives</i> (antagonists)	<i>[It] would be a huge crime against nature to disfigure this unique [area]. (statement of individual consumer, featured on website of activist group)</i>	<i>Besides, the Alps, a fragile ecosystem, will soon get to feel the consequences of climate change. (Pircher 2014)</i> <i>[The whole project is unnecessary.] One can only hope that climate change will soon cause many snowless winters! (reader comment, regional newspaper, July 8, 2015)</i>
<i>Disauthentication narratives</i> (antagonists)	<i>[The area] is unique – but we have plenty of ski lifts, ropeways, and ski lift pillars! (data material provided by fringe party)</i>	<i>Only the barrier of effort saves the most beautiful places on earth from profanization and sellout. (statement of individual consumer, featured on website of activist group)</i>
<i>A positive impulse</i> (protagonists)	<i>A “Yes” to [the region], is a “yes” to the heart of [the region’s] economy – the region is an alpine tourist region. (Regional Economic Chamber 2015)</i> <i>The merger would make a big difference. [...] I believe that with the help of an attractive ski area, the economy in general will be revived. (statement of individual consumer, featured on website of activist group)</i>	

argued that by losing more and more of its identity and authenticity, the country would also attract fewer tourists.

A Positive Impulse

Due to public pressure and political discord, the state parliament (*Landtag*) approved another external evaluation of the merger's financial, legal, and environmental issues that would help them in their decision. Activist groups for and against the merger continued their campaigns and refined their messages. The activist group in favor of the merger launched a website on which it exclusively refers to the positive impulse of the project for the region. The Regional Economic Chamber promoted the importance of ski tourism for the economy and prepared a study supporting the positive economic consequences of the merger. While protagonists initially addressed the cultural anxiety of depletion, they now concentrate on delivering a narrative that glorifies the project as the saving grace responsible for prosperity in the region in the first place and the remedy for present and future economic problems. Those opposed to the merger only prevent progress from taking shape.

In the end, the expert report states that the changes proposed to nature conservation law were unconstitutional and against international law. As a result, the state parliament decided against the merger. Soon afterwards, however, another legal expert came to the opposite result and some actors argued that the merger could still be possible. This underlines the effect of the subpolitical debate in this controversy.

DISCUSSION

This article investigates how consumers among other actors engage in a debate of reflexive doubt toward environmental governance and political mobilization and outlines the dynamic construction of risk narratives. Protagonists produce the dominant and discrete risk narrative of the *deeming economic downfall* of the region to legitimize their position. Over time, this narrative is met with reflexive doubt and gets replaced by another discrete narrative focusing on the *positive impulse* of the project. In contrast, antagonists successfully mobilize for their cause by spreading a bundle of complex, multi-level risk narratives that vary on a continuum from "discrete/micro" to "systemic/macro". In response to protagonists' initial narrative concerned with the region's economic welfare, antagonists counter with *civic risk narratives* concerned with the economic, legal and political risks involved. All actors discuss the risks of *environmental destruction* and often relate them to economic consequences. Political and activist formations produce many discrete risk narratives that are backed up with immediate facts. Media coverage shows a high density of systemic risks, especially when featuring expert opinions (e.g., legal or tourism experts) and building systems of similar cases. Local actors but also actors with low urgency and legitimacy, such as readers commenting articles in the national newspapers, produce abstract risk narratives, as those discussed as *disauthentication narratives*.

This study contributes to an understanding of risk in consumer research by highlighting the importance of consumers as producers of risk narratives in the public realm. Consumers fulfill an important role in raising reflexive doubt in expert systems, as they are able to produce risk narratives on multiple levels. They are, for example, featured with pictures and statements on activist groups' websites and set risk narratives in a personal (micro) context. At the same time, however, they anticipate systemic and even high-consequence risks. Especially when the media framed the discussion as a political struggle, consumers continued to produce also economic, legal, and environmental risk narratives. Overall, the scope and variation of risk narratives seems to be decisive for the potential of risk narratives

in mobilization. This coalesces with assumptions that more people can be mobilized by addressing a wider range of issues (Gerhards and Rucht 1992). Moreover, the study finds that consumers employ a plurality of logics or social worlds (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006; Patriotta, Gond, and Schultz 2011), from which they are able to shape risk debates into a multiplicity of directions. Future research should dive deeper into the role of consumers in opening up the range and levels of risk narratives.

Findings further contribute to an understanding of the relation between risk narratives and consumer mobilization as they show that risk narratives play a role in framing action and winning supporters against expert systems. First, some risk narratives exhibit all three attributes of diagnostic framing (Klandermans 1984): "causality, blame, and/or culpable agents" (Benford and Snow 2000, 616). Especially systemic risks necessarily involve culpable agents; *civic risk narratives* for example blame the state government for systemic economic and legal failures in the region. Overall, most risk narratives relate (directly or indirectly) to culpable agents and rarely exploit macro-level or high-consequence risks in which both causal relations and culprits are unclear. One exception might be *environmental destruction narratives* scaled to issues of global warming. Second, the scaling of discrete risk narratives can be regarded as a frame extension, which makes frames relevant to more potential adherents (Benford and Snow 2000; Berbier 1998). The risk of *disauthentication* becomes relevant to more people by scaling it from a risk concerning a specific place to one that could affect the region's economic attractiveness. Third, risk narratives can be interpreted as motivational framings, as they inevitably point at the urgency and severity of risks (Benford 1993; Benford and Snow 2000). The narrative of the *deeming economic downfall*, with allusions to the death of the region, illustrates this perfectly.

Lastly, findings contribute to the notion of consumer citizenship and the responsible consumer (Giesler and Veresiu 2014) as they situate micro-level risk production to macro-level, sociocultural and environmental settings (Askegaard and Linnet 2011) and consumer mobilization. While so far, research concentrated on the promotion or creation of consumer responsibility by media (Humphreys and Thompson 2014), experts, and governance regimes (Giesler and Veresiu 2014), this study argues that various actors, including consumers themselves, can further consumer citizenship (Rokka and Moisander 2009). Many consumers feel empowered to make risk assessments and seek to mobilize political participation (Connolly and Prothero 2008). Thus, in line with Beck (1999) and Stevenson (2002), this study calls policy makers' attention to the need for "public forms of dialogue," in which a mutual exchange between expert systems and the public is made possible (Stevenson 2002, 312). Further research is needed to better understand how the formation of and contribution to subpolitical debates can be facilitated.

(*) The term "state" (as in "state government" or "state parliament") refers to "Bundesland," an administrative unit similar to a province or a county.

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Three Major Newspaper Sources

- www.tt.com (regional newspaper)
www.derstandard.at
www.diepresse.com

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“It’s Like Somebody Else’s Pub”: Understanding Conflict in Third Place

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ABSTRACT

In line with calls to explore the consumption *in* and *of* place we reveal conditions of third place to be susceptible to conflict. Through the context of a British pub we demonstrate that third place is a fragile condition by identifying three forms of emergent conflict: misuse, misappropriation and misalignment.

INTRODUCTION

Recent calls for a more complete understanding of consumption *in* and *of* place (Chatzidakis, McEachern and Warnaby, 2013) have raised the profile of place consumption. Existent consumer research has explored commercial place attachment (Debenedetti, Oppewal and Arsel, 2014), sacred places (Higgins and Hamilton, 2012), public place street art (Visconti et al., 2010) and third place (Thompson and Arsel, 2004). Studies have portrayed third place as social spaces of homeyness (Debenedetti, Oppewal and Arsel, 2014) authenticity and communal solidarity (Thompson and Arsel, 2004). However, limited research has explored the conflict that arises in third place consumption. To address this imbalance, this paper aims to gain a deeper understanding of consumers’ experiences of third place by questioning: what are the emergent conflicts that can surface in third place?

Through the context of a British pub we reveal conditions of third place to be highly fragile when accepted social norms are breached. Following Coser’s (1967: p.8) definition of conflict as “a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources”, we contribute to a deeper understanding of third place by demonstrating how ‘emergent conflicts’ disrupt the harmonious conditions of third place. Whilst existent literature portrays third place to be a site of social equality and solidarity, we demonstrate that third place is a fragile condition. Secondly, previous research has examined resistance as a result of permanent change in commercial place (Maclaran and Brown, 2005) and rhythmical tensions in public place (McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham, 2012). We advance understanding of conflict in place consumption by demonstrating conflict in third place to be erratic and unpredictable in the commercial settings. We therefore theoretically redefine third place to be more responsive to conflict: a fragile condition of “happy gathering places that a community may contain, those “homes away from home” where unrelated people relate” (Oldenburg, 1999: p. ix).

The British Pub

Alcohol consumption is well documented within consumer research with studies examining voluntary sobriety (Cherrier and Gurrieri, 2014), binge drinking (Hackley et al., 2013), the social status of alcoholic drinks (Jarvinen, Ellegaard and Larsen, 2014) and beer brand communities (O’Sullivan, Richardson and Collins, 2011). Places of alcohol consumption have been examined; themed pubs (Brown and Patterson, 2000), the role of the publican (Miller, 2009), gentrification of pubs (Gutzke, 1994), class (Smith, 1983) and gender issues in bar preference (Moss, Parfitt and Skinner, 2009). The local British pub is a focal point in towns and cities that offers a vital place of social gathering: “a meeting place where social networks are strengthened and extended” (Muir, 2012: p.1). This has contributed to the pub being portrayed as the traditional third place where “the intimate, even cozy settings, [are] designed more for an immediate neighbourhood” (Oldenburg, 1999: p.125). This behaviour facilitates the formation of the micro-community known as the

‘regulars’ who frequent the pub most often and share a sense of place ownership (Oldenburg, 1999). Whilst the pub provides a social “bolt-hole” (Kingsnorth, 2005) for individuals and the wider community, the British pub is facing uncertain times due to the UK smoking ban and fluctuating on and off-trade pricing (Farrell, 2015) resulting in pub closures almost doubling from 16 per week in 2011 (Thompson, 2012) to 31 per week in 2014 (Wallin, 2014). Furthermore, wider institutional forces have resulted in a ‘McDonaldisation’ of the pub, moving the traditional pub setting towards big chains, sports bars and globalized branding (Muir, 2012).

Third Places

Despite the uncertain future of pubs they remain commonly regarded as a third place. Consumer research has examined third places of restaurants, wine bars (Debenedetti, Oppewal and Arsel, 2014), coffee shops (Thompson and Arsel, 2004) and virtual social networks (Soukup, 2006). These studies draw upon Oldenburg’s (1989) original conceptualisation of third place as informal public places beyond the home and workplace that offer “a common meeting ground for people with diverse backgrounds and experiences” (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982: p.275). Interactions in third places are characterised by highly inclusionary, democratic conversation and ‘pure sociability’ whereby individuals surrender social hierarchy and status (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982). Third places are sites of non-discursive symbolism whereby individuals develop personal knowledge about others, providing a sense of continuity, belonging and ownership of shared third place (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982). In an extension to third place theory, Rosenbaum (2006) claims third places offer individuals the opportunity to bond and emotionally connect with others, allowing places of consumption to transform into places of significance. In particular Rosenbaum et al. (2007) argue third places offer emotional support for individuals who lack social connections in their daily domestic lives. This is reflected in findings from Johnstone (2012) where shopping malls were found to be ‘first places’ for many vulnerable consumers who are socially isolated in their daily lives, such as stay-at-home-parents or care-givers.

Conflict and Resistance in Place Consumption

From a critical perspective Thompson and Arsel (2004) interpret contemporary third places as a postmodern simulation, where the communal ethos and civic duty of the past has been repackaged into nostalgic commodified servicescapes. Using the context of third place coffee shops, Thompson and Arsel (2004) examine the influence global brands have on expressions of heterogeneity and globalization. They found the dominance of Starbucks had stimulated marketplace demand for coffee shops, whilst simultaneously stimulating consumer dislike for financial gain and servicescape standardisation. They identify two types of coffee shop consumers: café flâneurs and oppositional localists. Café flâneurs seek authentic experiences of local cultures where authenticity is the antithesis of corporate commercialisation and standardisation. On the other hand, oppositional localists seek alternative community spaces and exchange systems that challenge profit-driven corporate brands. In both cases consumers seek experiences that were closer to traditional third places, providing corporation-free places of “authenticity, aesthetic diversity, communal solidarity, and progressive sociopolitical values” (Thompson and Arsel, 2004: p. 639).

Thompson and Arsel's (2004) account demonstrates the negative influence global brands can have upon the perception of an authentic third place when it becomes standardised and commercialised. Similarly, Maclaran and Brown (2005) found the permanent refurbishment of a festival shopping mall disrupted consumers' perception of utopian experience resulting in consumer resistance. Maclaran and Brown (2005) conceptualised the traditional and unique aesthetic of the mall as a type of utopian marketplace that allowed consumers to develop three utopian meanings of *sensing displace*, *creating playscape* and *performing artscape*. The utopian space is disrupted when the mall is refurbished to resemble a modernised décor and contain mainstream chain stores. This creates a sense of *being anywhere*, *buying uniformity* and *betraying culture* where the uniformity of the mainstream market transforms a meaningful place to a placeless commercial experience. Reflecting findings from Thompson and Arsel (2004), the appropriation of unique third places by the mainstream market resulted in consumer resistance. In contrast, Visconti et al. (2010) explore place appropriation by street art in public place. Conceptualizing public place as a form of 'public good', Visconti et al. (2010) find shared ownership of space causes tensions and conflict between place stakeholders over the appropriateness and permanency of artwork. In a further contribution to tensions in the consumption of place McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham (2012) found public park users experience tensions towards others' 'misuse' of the public space. Drawing upon Lefebvre's (2004) account of rhythm-analysis, McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham (2012) argue shared social spaces are polyrhythmic, consisting of multiple rhythms between place, time and practice. They note the constant change within the parks' rhythm; linear change in how it is used (e.g. commuting, after school play), and cyclical change of daylight and night-time alterations in the characteristics of the place. Conflicts also arose between park users who disagreed over the use of the space. For Lefebvre (2004) conflicts can form an arrhythmia where irregularities in rhythm result in a pathological state. Unlike the permanent change accounted by Maclaran and Brown, McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham (2012) demonstrate that place consumption can experience small arrhythmias whereby conflicts upset the rhythm of shared space. These studies illustrate how varieties of change result in conflict.

METHODS

The findings within this paper form part of a wider project concerning consumers' experiences of community pubs. The Admiral is a traditional public house located in the city centre of Stirling, Scotland. To fully understand the context, a combination of participant observation and interviews were used (Belk, Fischer and Kozinets, 2013). Data was collected over a three-year period by the first author. Participants were selected using purposeful sampling (Wallendorf and Belk, 1989) to ensure that they regularly visited the establishment. Participants were aged between 25-70 with an equal split of gender. Sixteen in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted using an interview schedule that followed McCracken's (1988) grand tour technique. Using guidelines from Moisander and Valtonen (2006) participants were encouraged to expand on each main question, which often led to alternative responses that were not anticipated prior to capture. Interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim resulting in 87 pages of transcribed data. Fieldnotes from participant observations were made on a weekly basis to help depict the rhythm of the pub. Specific notes were taken on events, interactions, social norms and consumer practices, such as drinking habits. The data was analysed using a constant comparative method

(Glaser, 1965) this allowed for an inter-textual analysis of fieldnotes and interview data, which permitted themes to emerge.

FINDINGS

Findings begin by examining pub-goers feelings towards The Admiral, and proceeds to discuss the forms of emergent conflict experienced in third place.

The Regular Collective

In discussing the social and physical aspects of The Admiral many participants referred to the homeyness (McCracken, 1989) of the environment, comparing it to a "sitting room" (Eleanor, 42) where they felt "safe" (Liam, 36) and "comfortable" (Jill, 36). These participants related the "homeliness of the place" (Chris, 52) to a welcoming social atmosphere (Larsen and Bean, 2012) where they felt happy to interact with strangers.

Alison: If you walk in on your own and your meeting people you know, in here I would say it is like walking into your living room. Everybody is really nice, and even people at the bar that you don't actually know will strike up conversation. It's just nice, it's safe.

For Alison (49) the familiar surroundings of the pub made other pub-goers appear friendlier. Other participants noted the sociability of the pub, demonstrated by Laura's (34) claim: "It's got that proper Cheers value. You know where you go in and you can see everyone." Similarly, Alistair (70) discussed social conviviality, and offers an account of the social interactions that occur on a typical day:

Alistair: This is the thing about The Admiral is that it is a social event rather than a drinking event. Although drinking is what it's about its more a social occasion around the table, talking, listening having a laugh, cracking jokes, enjoying real ale. That is the social event. That is what it should be, not coming in and getting absolutely fueled up.

Alistair's account reflects the pure sociality (Oldenburg and Brissett, 1982) that occurs in third places. However, at the end of his statement Alistair indicates other customers have different motivations for going to the pub. The term 'fueled up' suggests that there are other groups of consumers, who Alistair actively avoids, that go to such establishments to excessively drink. This gives rise to the motivational disparities between third place regulars and non-regulars.

Misuse of Space

Whilst participants felt it was a safe and friendly place, at times the harmony of The Admiral was disrupted. Regulars discussed the misuse of the shared space (McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham, 2012) when non-regulars would abuse acceptable norms through anti-social practices. In particular, participants discussed the tensions that arose around binge drinking behavior (Hackley et al., 2013) when individuals would get "drunker and drunker" (Andrew, 54), "fuelled up" (Alistair), and "tanked up" (Alan, 67) on alcohol.

Andrew: On the flipside there's times when it hasn't been very nice at all [...] it's always been on a Saturday afternoon and it's always been non-regulars that have come in, that have just got too drunk and loud. I'm old fashioned, but I know you're in a pub, but you should respect it and I'm talking about the strong end of bad language. It shouldn't be tolerated in any pub.

For Andrew heavy drinking often resulted in a bad atmosphere, transforming it from a pleasant experience to a distasteful environment. Along with Andrew, other participants discussed their dislike for bad language describing it as "really crude" (Jill, 36), "atrocious and really unnecessary" (Alistair). Robert (66) and Andrew felt so strongly about the use of offensive language that they admitted leaving the pub to avoid the unsavoury behaviour. This also extended to incidents of violence where participants felt the atmosphere turned sour. This is evident in Leanne's (34) discussion:

Leanne: *[T]here was a fight and they all got flung out. But it's kind of crap, [...] it's just been a hassle and the atmospheres' not been so nice.*

For many participants the presence of violence, often described as "trouble" (Eleanor and Alison), ruined the homely and safe environment for regulars. In contrast to the cyclical and rhythmical misuse of shared space discussed by McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham (2012), in the context of the pub, anti-social practices were highly emergent and unpredictable as they were fuelled by alcohol. This created a dystopia (Maclaran and Brown, 2005) when social norms were sporadically disregarded, resulting in conflict between regulars and non-regulars and an uncertain atmosphere.

Misappropriation of Space

Along with the misuse of the pub space, participants discussed the resultant negative tension caused by the arrival of non-regulars. Andrew dislikes the presence of football fans in the pub:

Andrew: *So I wouldn't want to be sitting there [at the bar] when there's a football match on. It's an unwanted crowd it's like a magnet, like a wee light with the unwanted moths that you're getting in when the football's on.*

Andrew's repetitive use of 'unwanted' demonstrates his loathing for the boisterous and disorderly. For Andrew the arrival of football fans signifies the end of the peaceful pub atmosphere. In particular he disliked how football fans would take over the bar space. Similarly, Jack (25) discusses the disarray caused by large groups of drinkers. Commonplace in any university city is 'pub-golf', (a themed evening, similar to the pub crawl) who upset the typical calm and quiet:

Jack: *I have been in when the pub golfers have been in. [...] You can't really get by them, and you can't really hear what people are trying to say to you and it's hard to get served cause they're all getting served individually rather than getting one big order.*

For Jack, the arrival of pub-golfers disrupts traditional service. Like Andrew, Jack's expectations of his local are tarnished by the influx of outsiders. We interpret this spatial invasion as a misappropriation of space. In previous research Visconti et al. (2010) illustrated that place-marking in shared space is an appropriation of ownership that is contested amongst different stakeholders. Following Proshansky's (1976) notion of misappropriation as the failure to fully control a space, our findings go beyond place-marking by demonstrating that misappropriation of pub space is manifest in the physical invasion of non-regulars. These individuals disrupt the harmonious conditions of third place that regulars anticipate from the homely third place environment. Such disputes reveal the fragility of third place as an ideal condition, rather than a stable concept.

Misalignment of Mainstreaming Place

Participants discussed that the "magic" (Jill) of The Admiral was its authentic and traditional pub ambiance. Respondents noted that the rustic décor of the establishment along with the pale ale and dark stout gives the pub its attractive character. Laura discusses the change she has noticed in the pub:

Laura: *The décor was very kind of earthy, down-to-earth, spit-and-saw-dust kind of feel, and lots of cask ales, lots of traditional drinks, people just talking.[...] One of the things I liked about it was that there was no TVs at that point in time. It was just basically an extension of your living room, with your mates in it and booze! I don't go in as much as I used to[...] Now The Admiral kinda has televisions everywhere and pink drinks on the bar.*

For Laura the introduction of televisions, pre-mixed drinks and cocktails has stripped The Admiral of its authentic pub character. Her negative attitude toward this mainstream service offering is in line with the search for authenticity found in Thompson and Arsel's (2004) 'oppositional localists'. Similarly, Sophie (26) recognises the misaligned promotional activity in the pub: "the offers are always on alchopops and flavoured vodka." For Sophie the presence of mainstream products indicates that the pub is attempting to attract a broader drinking audience. In line with Maclaran and Brown (2005), we find that service providers disregard the needs of the existing custom in an effort to attract a more mainstream customer base. James (42) considers the introduction of televisions to The Admiral as a way to compete with sports bars in an effort to modernize the British pub. Reflecting other participants, James believed the television was "quite distracting [...] the racket of it is not ambient for me." For James, the traditional pub ambiance was not reliant on entertainment but instead was quiet enough for cordial conversation. Furthermore, the recent addition of live music was also a point of contention for our participants. Many discussed the change in atmosphere and crowd that live music can bring.

Jill: *It depends on who's on [entertainment] because sometimes you can get a completely different crowd in and there's no regulars in at all. It's like somebody else's pub. [...] You sometimes get with these singers, or what not, they bring along their own crew and it's like a totally different pub.*

For Jill even the temporal change in atmosphere caused by the arrival of live music diminishes her perceived ownership of her beloved pub. Jill's discussion highlights that change reveals the importance how a change in the conventional flow can disrupt the harmony of the third place, both in terms of noise and non-regulars. We see this further evident in Karen's (36) discussion of live music: "we just didn't feel comfortable which is an unusual thing so we did leave on that occasion and go somewhere else". For these participants the introduction of more mainstream products and activities depreciates the authenticity of their third place. Here we see the conflict between service providers' desire to attract more custom and the preferences of the regulars. As noted by Muir (2012) British pubs have undergone a 'MacDonaldisation' whereby entertainment, televisions and sporting events have been added to the repertoire of pub service in an effort to compete with globalized pub chains. As evident in Maclaran and Brown (2005), such conflict between consumers and service-providers transforms a significant place into being anywhere.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper focuses on consumption of the pub as a third place. We contribute to a more complete understanding of third place by demonstrating conflict can arise in this typically harmonious setting. The emergent nature of conflict reveals third place to be an ideal condition rather than a stable concept. This fragility is evident in our participants' responses where they experienced a disruption to homeliness, tarnished expectations and a loss of ownership and authenticity in third place. We argue third place is an instable and fragile condition that fluctuates between harmony and conflict. We therefore suggest that the definition of third place should be more responsive to conflict: a fragile condition of "happy gathering places that a community may contain, those "homes away from home" where unrelated people relate" (Oldenburg, 1999: p. ix). We also advance discussions of conflict in place consumption by identifying three forms of emergent conflict: misuse, misappropriation and misalignment. Whilst previous consumer research has addressed permanent change (Maclaran and Brown, 2005), semi-permanent appropriation (Visconti et al, 2010) and rhythmical tensions (McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham, 2012) in place, we extend this understanding by demonstrating the erratic and unpredictable quality of third place conflict. Third place maintains its sociable and harmonious condition but this is punctuated by periods of disruption and dystopian transformation, evident in the misuse of space through anti-social practices, misappropriation of space by the invasion of non-regulars, and misalign-

ment of mainstreaming place used to modernize the pub. In contrast to McEachern, Warnaby and Cheetham's (2012) account of arrhythmias that can occur in shared space, we demonstrate that moments of disruptive change subjugate the meanings of the pub space for regulars. As such, conflict as a "struggle over values" (Coser, 1967: p.8) distorts the meanings and experiences of the beloved pub space for the regular collective.

We further contribute by demonstrating that efforts to mainstream servicescapes can result in conflicting tensions between different groups of consumers. Where Thompson and Arsel (2004) demonstrate that globalization can result in oppositional attitudes between users and service providers, we find efforts to mainstream service provision can result in conflict *between* users. The detraditionalisation of the pub through providing televisions and entertainment attracted new consumers, whose service expectations fundamentally diverged from the traditional regulars. As such, mainstreaming the pub environment altered the third place to a place where un-related people do *not* relate, but instead conflict over shared space. This research advances understandings of third place consumption and has important implications for servicescape providers by highlighting the negative effects of misaligning servicescape provision on consumers' experience of third place. Whilst this research sought to maintain participants' emic voices, not all pub patrons were interviewed. In an effort to overcome this limitation, participant observation was used as it allowed for non-interviewed patrons' practices and behaviours to be considered by the researchers.

TABLE OF FINDINGS

Themes	Description	Participant Data
The Regular Collective	Participants exhibited feelings of ownership towards the pub space and a sense of belonging to the 'regular' collective group, where the physical pub space was a 'home away from home'.	Leanne: <i>"It's just being somewhere with your pals. Like you go there all the time and you know a lot of folk that always drink there and you know, you don't have to phone them up or anything or go round to their house but you see them all the time in the pub and its really nice to see them. And you would miss them and you know they're not proper friends it's like a family, it's like Cheers."</i>
Misuse of Space	For participants, the harmonious condition of third place was disrupted by the misuse of pub space, through the abuse of acceptable norms and antisocial practices, resulting in conflict and a bad atmosphere.	Jill: <i>"Sometimes yes there can be a few times where you'll get certain people in drinking at the bar and they're given free rein to be obnoxious and loud and be really crude. You know I would probably go and take a different seat rather than leave altogether"</i> James: <i>"It's too loud to chat to anybody and there's nothing worse from that point of view you know you're trying to talk to somebody and you're shouting at each other."</i>
Misappropriation of Space	For participants, the physical invasion of outsiders upset the calm of the pub space, causing disarray and negative tensions between regulars and non-regulars.	James: <i>"I'm not so big on poker night, because you get turfed out the corner there and I don't think there's much atmosphere about it."</i>
Misalignment of Mainstreaming Place	Participants disliked efforts made by the pub management to offer mainstream activities within the pub. This conflict in desires diminished regulars' feelings of ownership and reduced the authentic character of the place.	Andrew: <i>"I think when they put Sky Sports in it changed then they rid of it again which I thought was good because I think there's plenty of places for people to go to watch TV, watch sport"</i>

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All the Right Moves: Why Motion Increases Appeal of Food Products

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ABSTRACT

In two studies, we demonstrate that depictions of food with implied motion enhance food appeal and taste. These effects are mediated by perceived food freshness. We argue that these effects are due to an overextension of a primitive association between motion and freshness. Implications for promoting healthier food consumption are discussed.

Keywords: food products, freshness, taste, evolutionary psychology, advertising, packaging.

INTRODUCTION

Food advertisements frequently display food products in motion. For example, of all food commercials aired during the Super Bowls of the past three years, 2012-2014, twice as many showed food products in motion ($n = 34$) as commercials that did not ($n = 17$). Though such extensive use of motion in advertising may be a matter of professional norms rather than the result of scientific investigation, there may be a good underlying explanation for such norms. In the current research we propose that movement does indeed increase food appeal, and assert that the reason for this effect is that displaying food in motion enhances its perceived freshness.

BACKGROUND

Food freshness is defined as the level of closeness of a food product to its original state, in terms of distance, time and processing (Péneau, Linke, Escher, & Nuessli, 2009). Freshness is an important attribute in judgment of food quality (Tsiros & Heilman, 2005; Curtis & Cowee, 2009) regardless of age, gender or dieting status (Oakes & Slotterback, 2002). Of the variety of factors that influence choice and consumption of food products, freshness appears as a key driver of consumer evaluations of a broad variety of foods, such as fruits and vegetables (Wandel & Bugge, 1997), eggs (Ness & Gerhardy, 1994), baked foods (Heenan, Hamid, Dufour, Harvey, & Delahunty, 2009), fish and seafood (Halbrendt, Wang, Fraiz, & O'Dierno, 1995; Lebidzińska, Kostrzewa, Ryśkiewicz, Żbikowski, & Szefer, 2006), and beef (Bello Acebrón & Calvo Dopico, 2000). Numerous studies have showed that freshness is the leading determinant of food choice, succeeded by taste, brand name, healthy diet, price, family preferences and finally, dietary habits (George, 1993; Lappalainen, Kearney, & Gibney, 1998; Lennernas et al., 1997).

The importance of freshness stems from the fact that it affects several food aspects, such as its expected texture (Fillion & Kilcast, 2000; Szczesniak, 1988) and health outcomes (Wansink & Wright, 2006). There is broad agreement that "freshness" is a crucial determinant of overall food quality (Cardello & Schutz, 2003; Steenkamp & van Trijp, 1996). Because of the significance of freshness to consumers, marketers of food products emphasize both offering and communicating freshness. Cardello and Schutz (2003) argue that a fundamental objective in food production and distribution chain management should be preserving freshness. Recognizing the far reaching impact freshness has on evaluation and choice of food, experts have advocated that freshness is a primary factor in maintaining competitive advantage for food retailers (B. R. Lewis & Bashin, 1988).

Due to its importance, food marketers seek to signal that the food products they promote are fresh by applying a variety of meth-

ods including attaching expiration date labels (Wansink & Wright, 2006), and color changing temperature- or time-sensitive freshness indicators (Fortin, Goodwin, & Thomsen, 2009). Understanding the factors that determine consumer judgments of freshness is important for marketers in order to communicate freshness effectively.

Consumer Judgment of Freshness

Consumer evaluation of food freshness is based upon a variety of properties such as color, odor, flavor and texture (Fortin et al., 2009). Before tasting, visual cues are commonly used by consumers to diagnose food freshness (Péneau, Brockhoff, Escher, & Nuessli, 2007). Such cues include perception of color (Glitsch, 2000), luminance (Arce-Lopera, Masuda, Kimura, Wada, & Okajima, 2012; Arce-Lopera, Masuda, Kimura, Wada, & Okajima, 2013), and bruising and glossiness (Péneau et al., 2007; Murakoshi, Masuda, Utsumi, Tsubota, & Wada, 2013).

On close physical examination of a fruit or vegetable, consumers can easily register the food's color, its shape and smell, as well as physical characteristics such as bruising, to diagnose freshness. In many cases, however, physical conditions may prevent consumers from assessing freshness this way. For instance, food may be distant, presented on a screen, or close by but tightly sealed in firm packaging (C. Lewis, 2002). In such cases consumers cannot touch the food, feel its texture, smell or taste it, and cannot examine it closely enough to give reliable, easy to interpret clues to freshness.

Given the importance of freshness, if immediate sensory cues are not available, consumers must rely on alternative diagnostic cues. One factor that may influence the use of such alternative cues to freshness is their accessibility; the cues that are more likely to be utilized by consumers are the more accessible ones (Feldman & Lynch, 1988). Consequently, even in cases where other sensory cues are available, cues that are easier to observe are more likely to be utilized in judgments of freshness. One such cue that people may use to indicate the freshness of food items is motion.

Motion as a Cue for Freshness

The human mind has evolved to deal with primitive environments. Since they have become a part of the constitution of the human brain, the psychological mechanisms that have evolved to cope with primitive environments continue to be applied in a rapidly changing modern environment, extending to settings where they are no longer relevant. Such overextended mechanisms from the primitive environment in which they served humans to modern environments where they no longer serve their original purpose have been labeled 'evolutionary traps' (Gates & Gysel, 1978; Schlaepfer, Runge, & Sherman, 2002).

For example, pregnancy sickness has developed as an adaptation to protect the health of the unborn baby by causing aversions to foods that are highest in toxins (Profet, 1995). In a more protected modern environment, pregnancy sickness may be more of discomfort than a protective mechanism. In this and other cases physical and psychological mechanisms that once served people are made irrelevant by current human living conditions, but are still in operation.

This overextension of primitive mechanisms is particularly apparent in the food domain. One example is people's evolved inclination to perceive sugars and fats as appealing. Living in a primitive environment with limited resources encouraged people to consume as much of such nutrients as one could obtain, as a useful survival strategy (Friedman, 2003; Lev-Ran, 2001). Yet in a modern environment where these nutrients are more easily available, such a tendency might result in health problems related to obesity, such as diabetes, coronary heart disease, and cancer (Kopelman, 2000). The same behaviors that served humanity in primitive environments can be maladaptive in modern society (Berthoud & Morrison, 2008). The ability to automatically associate movement with freshness may be one such mechanism that served humans well in primitive environments. In nature, there is a close association between food movement and freshness. Living animals move, and healthy animals display more motion than do diseased or infected animals. Thus, the motion of animals is associated with meat freshness and quality.

The link between motion and freshness expands to plant-based foods. Live growing edible plants, fruits, and vegetables move as they sway in the wind, fall or are picked from the tree. The instant they are plucked, separated from the ground or from the parent plant, they go through postharvest decay and lose their freshness (Irtwange, 2006; Kandasamy, Moitra, & Mukherjee, 2012). Interestingly, even some inanimate foods are fresher when in motion. For instance, running water is fresher than stagnant water because the latter enhances bacterial proliferation (Palmore et al., 2009; Lautenschlager, Boon, Wang, Egli, & Hammes, 2010), and chemical contamination (Rosignol-Strick, 1987). Motion may also be associated with freshness in food provision by other humans. Items just brought by a hunter or gatherer would tend to be fresher than ones that have been resting in storage. When you see an item being delivered, it tends to be fresher than when you find it resting in a shop.

Repeated exposure to cases where motion is tied to freshness may have led to the development of a close mental association between motion and freshness. In time, the link would have become automatic, such that encountering movement would serve as a cue to judgment of freshness and moving food would automatically be seen as fresher. This association could then be used to quickly determine food freshness without close inspection, and would provide an easy, useful way to diagnose freshness. In a sense, movement can serve as a heuristic for a quick and dirty judgment of food freshness by consumers (Chang & Pham, 2013; Kruger, Wirtz, Van Boven, & Altermatt, 2004; Pham & Avnet, 2009).

In times where humanity was mostly composed of hunter-gatherers, food was only sporadically available and the risk of starvation was ever present. In such an environment the ability to easily distinguish freshness based on immediate cues would have aided survival. The key benefit of an automatic ability to recognize freshness based on movement is its ability to rapidly indicate food freshness even without physical proximity and from afar, when more diagnostic physical cues may not be available.

Today, the connection between movement and freshness may not be as important for survival and food choice, nor as indicative of freshness as it was in a primitive environment. Food production and supply have changed radically in the modern world. Consequently, the evolved ties between food movement and freshness have been mitigated. Nevertheless, given the long history of relevance of movement as a useful cue to freshness, the psychological association of the two should still be apparent in modern environments, such that observing movement would lead to judgments of increased freshness. Hence, the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Food that is shown moving will be rated as fresher compared to food shown as still.

Given, the importance of food freshness to consumers (Cardello & Schutz, 2003; Steenkamp & van Trijp, 1996) foods perceived as fresher would also be perceived as more appealing. In other words, seeing food in motion would lead to enhanced judgment of its appeal. This should be mediated by the association between movement and freshness hypothesized above. Therefore, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 2: Food that is shown moving will be rated as more appealing compared to food shown as still.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between food motion and food appeal will be mediated by its perceived freshness.

Food-related behaviors such as food evaluation and selection are guided, to a large extent, by the visual system (Laska, Freist, & Krause, 2007; Linné, Barkeling, Rössner, & Rooth, 2002). The sight of food has been found to give rise to cognitive processes and hedonic evaluation of the food (Berthoud & Morrison, 2008; Shin, Zheng, & Berthoud, 2009). Specifically, previous research has found that displaying different food-related visual cues to subjects while experiencing a particular taste stimulus alters its taste evaluation (Ohla, Toepel, Le Coutre, & Hudry, 2012). In other words, seeing food in motion leads to an enhanced judgment of its taste. This should be mediated by the association between movement and freshness hypothesized above. Therefore, we hypothesize:

Hypothesis 4: Food that is shown moving will be rated as tastier compared to food shown as still.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between food motion and perceived food taste will be mediated by its perceived freshness.

STUDY 1

Overview and Procedure

The main goal of Study 1 was to examine whether food presented in motion is perceived as more appealing than food presented as still, and whether this effect is mediated by the perceived freshness.

Methods

Sixty undergraduate students (60% female), aged 22-31 (mean 26.3 years), students at a private college in Israel, completed the study for course credit. They were shown a picture of a glass of orange juice and asked to evaluate the freshness and appeal of the orange juice presented in the picture on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (= not fresh/appealing at all) to 9 (= very fresh/appealing). The picture did not reveal any signs indicating the drink manufacturer, its brand name or any other marketing sign.

Participants were randomly divided between two experimental conditions: motion and still. Both conditions were identical except that the picture that was presented to participants in the motion condition displayed juice that was being poured into a glass, while participants in the still condition were exposed to a picture of glass of orange juice.

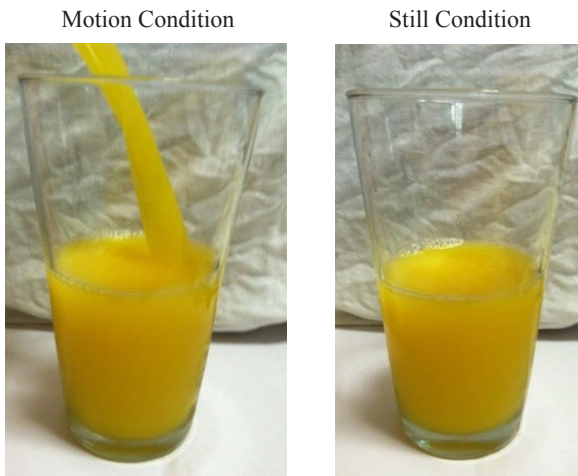


Figure 1. Pictures used in Study 1

Results and Discussion

Results indicate that participants in the motion condition rated the orange juice as fresher than participants in the still condition ($M_{\text{motion}} = 5.75$, $SD = 1.15$; $M_{\text{still}} = 4.98$, $SD = 1.18$; $t(1, 58) = 2.56$, $p < .05$). This indicates that food movement enhances perception of food freshness, supporting H_1 . In addition, participants in the motion condition rated the orange juice as more appealing than participants in the still condition ($M_{\text{motion}} = 5.04$, $SD = 2.59$; $M_{\text{still}} = 3.7$, $SD = 2.48$); $t(1, 58) = 2.01$, $p < .05$ supporting H_2 .

Results of mediation analysis support the hypothesis that food freshness perception mediates the relationship between the food motion condition and food appeal. The indirect effect of motion on food appeal via perceived freshness was positive and significant ($a \times b = .86$, $z = 2.31$, $p < .05$). Displaying food in motion had a significant effect on perceived freshness ($a = .87$, $t = 2.86$, $p < .01$). This, in turn, significantly increased food appeal ($b = .99$, $t = 3.76$, $p < .01$). Further, the direct effect of motion on food appeal was positive and significant ($c = 1.34$, $t = 2.01$, $p < .05$). However, when the indirect effect was accounted for, this direct effect became non-significant ($c' = .48$, $t = .74$, $p = .46$). Additionally, a bootstrap analysis (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) with 5,000 resamples revealed that the 95% confidence intervals for the significant indirect effect excluded zero (CI: .23–1.75, $p < .05$). These results support the notion that perceived freshness mediates the effect of motion on food appeal, supporting H_3 . Thus, it appears that motion led participants to perceive food as fresher, which in turn led to increased appeal of the food.

STUDY 2

Overview and Procedure

The objective of Study 2 was threefold: (1) to replicate the results of Study 1 with an additional product category, (2) to examine whether food in motion is also perceived as tastier than still food, and (3) to test whether this effect is mediated by perceived freshness.

Methods

Sixty undergraduate students (49% female) aged 21–29 (mean 25.7 years), from the same population as Study 1, completed the study for course credit. The method of this study was the same used on Study 1 except that the food used was yogurt, and that we also measured participants' evaluated taste, on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (= not tasty at all) to 9 (= very tasty).

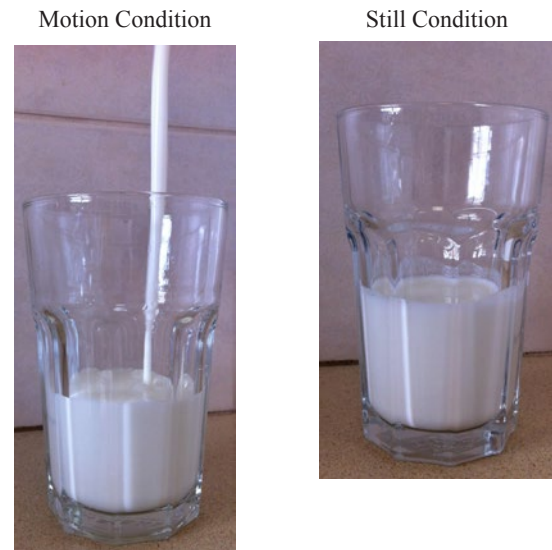


Figure 2. Pictures used in Study 2

Results and Discussion

Food appeal

The results of Study 2 echoed those of the Study 1, namely, participants in the motion condition rated the yogurt as fresher than participants in the still condition ($M_{\text{motion}} = 6.23$, $SD = 1.37$; $M_{\text{still}} = 5.29$, $SD = 1.12$; $t(1, 58) = 2.93$, $p < .05$). Participants in the motion condition also rated the yogurt as more appealing than participants in the still condition ($M_{\text{motion}} = 5.93$, $SD = 2.24$; $M_{\text{still}} = 4.43$, $SD = 2.25$); $t(1, 58) = 2.58$, $p < .05$).

Mediation analysis supports the hypothesis that food freshness perception mediates the relationship between food motion and food appeal. The indirect effect of motion on food appeal through perceived freshness was positive and significant ($a \times b = 1.26$, $z = 2.79$, $p < .01$). Exposure of participants to food in motion had a significant effect on perceived freshness ($a = .95$, $t = 2.93$, $p < .01$). This, in turn, significantly increased food appeal ($b = 1.33$, $t = 8.37$, $p < .01$). Further, the direct effect of motion on food appeal was positive and significant ($c = 1.5$, $t = 2.58$, $p < .05$). However, when the indirect effect was accounted for, this direct effect became non-significant ($c' = .24$, $t = .56$, $p = .57$). In addition, a bootstrap analysis (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) with 5,000 resamples revealed that the 95% confidence intervals for the significant indirect effect excluded zero (CI: .43–2.13, $p < .05$).

Food taste

Participants in the motion condition rated the yogurt as tastier than participants in the still condition ($M_{\text{motion}} = 5.93$, $SD = 1.87$; $M_{\text{still}} = 4.83$, $SD = 2.17$; $t(1, 58) = 2.10$, $p < .05$). This indicates that food movement enhances the evaluation of food taste, supporting H_4 .

Mediation analysis supports the hypothesis that perception of food freshness mediates the relationship between food motion and evaluated food taste. The indirect effect of motion on food taste through perceived freshness was positive and significant ($a \times b = 1.11$, $z = 2.77$, $p < .01$). Exposure to food in motion had a significant effect on perceived freshness ($a = .95$, $t = 2.93$, $p < .01$). This, in turn, significantly increased food evaluated taste ($b = 1.17$, $t = 7.87$, $p < .01$). Further, the direct effect of food in motion on food taste was positive and significant ($c = 1.1$, $t = 2.1$, $p < .05$). However, when the indirect effect was accounted for, this direct effect became non-significant ($c' = -.01$, $t = -.14$, $p = .99$). Additionally, a bootstrap analysis (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) with 5,000 resamples revealed that the

95% confidence intervals for the significant indirect effect excluded zero (CI: .37–1.90, $p < .05$). These results support our prediction that perceived freshness mediates the effect of motion on foods taste, supporting H_3 . Thus, it appears that motion led participants to perceive food as fresher, which in turn led them to evaluate it as tastier.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Across two studies, we have demonstrated that people rate food products presented in motion more favorably than the same foods depicted as still. In Study 1 we found that participants rated orange juice that was presented to them in motion (i.e., being poured) as more appealing compared to the same orange juice that was presented still. In Study 2 we demonstrated that this effect of appeal enhancement by motion is generalized to other food types, such as yogurt. Moreover, evaluated food taste also increased under the motion condition. Finally, the results indicate that perceived freshness mediates the effect of food motion on both appeal and taste evaluation, so that the enhancement of both food appeal and evaluated taste is generated by increased food freshness perception.

Contributions

The findings develop our knowledge of the way consumers judge food products. In addition, they contribute to our understanding of how heuristic cues, when used by consumers, may be extended beyond the circumstances where they originally apply. Specifically, the findings contribute to the literature regarding judgments of food freshness and their link to overall food evaluation. In particular, the research advances our knowledge of the way food freshness is assessed. Movement, through its tie with freshness, is a signal that can be linked to increased freshness evaluations.

Finally, the findings expand our comprehension of domains in which behavioral mechanisms evolved by human beings in a primitive environment to better adapt and to survive are overextended in the modern environment. In nature, movement of objects that may be considered as foods (e.g., animals, plants, water) may be related to freshness. Yet this relationship is weaker and frequently does not hold in the modern industrialized world. Accordingly, the association of motion and freshness would have served as a meaningful cue to freshness in primitive environments, but may be not as relevant in a modern environment. Consequently under such settings, where food motion and its freshness are not connected, observed movement of food may be incorrectly used by consumers to attribute freshness to the moving food. For example, implied or actual motion of packaged foods does not meaningfully indicate freshness. Therefore, employing this cue to infer freshness constitutes an overextension of the link between motion and freshness that was relevant in more primitive environments to settings where it may no longer be so.

As part of their efforts to promote food products, marketers take advantage of the existing associations between different cues and food quality – associations that are rooted in primitive human history. Such marketing and sales tactics may include spraying water on fruits and vegetables in the produce section, as this may help enhance display attractiveness, in addition to retaining actual freshness. Genetic engineering and fruit and vegetable producers can also help design foods that display traits such as vibrant colors that are associated with nutrition in nature.

Finally, marketers employ the link between motion and food freshness to enhance the appeal of their products. In fact, marketers may use this link in cases where no tight movement-freshness connection exists, such as processed and boxed foods. The research thus provides a specific explanation and support for the commonly used

marketing practice of depicting food in motion in advertisements, on in-store displays and on packaging.

Limitations and Future Research

The research at hand suffers from several limitations. First, we explored the impact of implied motion with only a limited selection of products, orange juice and yogurt, for which freshness has major effects on tastiness. Future research can further generalize the findings to additional foods such as candy, where freshness has lower relevance than it does for dairy products and orange juice. The association of movement and freshness may be found strong and broad enough to lead movement to signal freshness in cases for which freshness is considerably less relevant, such as processed packaged goods.

Future research should examine the mechanisms that drive the phenomenon reported in the current paper. For example, research can explore whether the effect of food motion on consumer judgment of appeal and taste is enhanced by strengthening the tie between motion and the mediating variable – freshness. An additional research direction is to explore whether motion which is more peripheral to the food product also impels similar effects on consumer evaluation as does motion of the food itself.

Finally, research could explore the impact that other cues associated with food freshness may have on product appeal and taste, and whether these could prompt similar effects. For instance, images of plant-based foods (e.g., herbs, vegetables, fruits) depicting food source elements such as stem, leaf, or the plants from which the foods come may help enhance perception of freshness. Likewise, colors that are associated with lively natural environments may also communicate freshness and consequently enhance product appeal and expected taste.

Marketing Implications

Our research offers a new approach for promoting healthier food consumption. Marketers and retailers can employ motion to encourage eating of healthy foods in retail settings, canteens, cafeterias and other settings where food choices are made. For example, in order to promote the appeal of fruits and vegetables in school cafeterias, these foods can be displayed with implied motion.

Marketers can use actual depiction of motion rather than implied motion, by running videos depicting food in motion on screens in retail settings. This may further help motion not only promote perception of product freshness, attractiveness, and evaluated food taste, but draw consumer attention in a heavily cluttered marketing environment where many other food products compete for consumer attention.

Finally, in order to prevent undesirable enhanced children's perception of harmful food appeal, government, policy makers, and other regulating agencies should consider restricting marketers from using advertisements presenting such foods in motion. In practice, as a promotional strategy, most food advertisements that target children apply animation (Page & Brewster, 2007). Accordingly, such messages are likely to depict these food products in motion. The resulting effect may be enhanced food appeal, which may be inadvisable for foods high in fat, salt, or sugar. In fact advertising of such foods have been banned from children's television programming altogether by policymakers in the UK (Office of Communications, 2006).

Table 1: Summary of Results

Study	Conditions	DV	IV	Mediator	Test	Results	Conclusion
Study 1	1) juice is poured (motion) 2) juice is in glass (still)	Food appeal	Food motion	Food perceived freshness	bootstrap mediation test	1) Food motion enhances perception of food freshness ($M_{\text{motion}} = 5.75$, $SD = 1.15$; $M_{\text{still}} = 4.98$, $SD = 1.18$; $t(1, 58) = 2.56$, $p < .05$). 2) Food motion enhances food appeal ($M_{\text{motion}} = 5.04$, $SD = 2.59$; $M_{\text{still}} = 3.7$, $SD = 2.48$; $t(1, 58) = 2.01$, $p < .05$) 3) Significant mediation (CI: .23–1.75, $p < .05$).	Perceived food freshness mediates the effect of motion on food appeal.
Study 2	1) yogurt is poured (motion) 2) yogurt is in glass (still)	Food perceived taste	Food motion	Food perceived freshness	bootstrap mediation test	1) Results of Study 1 were replicated with a different food type 2) Food motion enhances perception of food taste ($M_{\text{motion}} = 5.93$, $SD = 1.87$; $M_{\text{still}} = 4.83$, $SD = 2.17$; $t(1, 58) = 2.10$, $p < .05$). 3) Significant mediation (CI: .37–1.90, $p < .05$).	Perceived food freshness mediates the effect of motion on perceived taste.

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Negotiating The Merger of Contrasting Consumer Cultures: Ideological Myth and Identity.

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the processes at play in an institutionally-induced merger of two consumer cultures with contrasting ideological grids. Using qualitative empirical material, we elucidate the role of ideological myths and mythologization processes that undergird consumption and identity projects in the negotiation of consumer cultures.

INTRODUCTION

How do consumer cultures merge? Previous consumer research has been concerned with the transformation of consumer cultures induced by the global diffusion of western consumer culture and how it is moving into new ideological and geographic spaces (e.g., Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006; Xin and Belk 2008), and induced by recursive acculturative processes between migrant groups of consumers and consumers of a host culture (Luedicke 2011). By contrast, the larger societal processes at play in the merger of consumer cultures have so far received little attention.

Following Holt (2002, 80), a consumer culture is “the ideological infrastructure that undergirds what and how people consume”. Consumption, then, can be seen as an ideological tension field, such as illustrated by research that identifies ideologically-loaded consumer movements as a source of transformation of consumer culture (Kozinets and Handelman 2004), and research that shows how consumer cultures evolve by integrating conflicts between opposing groups of consumers and producers with different ideological goals (Giesler 2008). While these studies generate valuable insights into the transformative processes *within* consumer cultures, they de-emphasize the transformative processes that take place in the negotiation of consumer cultures with distinct and different ideological underpinnings.

In this article we explore and illustrate the processes at play in the merger of such two contrasting consumer cultures. To do this, we mobilize the empirical context of the German re-unification, which presents a case in which two consumption cultures with opposing value systems and ideological grids meet: after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and decades of cold-war separation, the two separated German national states and their contrasting consumer cultures—a capitalist consumer culture of abundance and freedom of choice in the former West-Germany (FRG) and a socialist consumer culture of permanent scarcity in the former East-Germany (GDR)—encounter in the national project of sociopolitical re-unification, a merger aiming to create a unified Germany. Thus, with the sudden political erosion of the socialist GDR state, GDR consumers find themselves in a state of dislocation and contestation of the previous GDR consumer culture in which the socialist ideological underpinnings and mythologies, as well as GDR products, services, and consumption practices are replaced by their ‘capitalist’ counterparts (Blum 2000; Merkel 2006; Veenis 1999). With the FRG being the omnipresent reference culture for material prosperity ever since the separation of the ideologically opposing states (Landsman 2005), the long-awaited arrival of Western consumer culture was greeted with euphoria. Yet, while institutional national unity was swiftly achieved, the political goal of societal national unity is still work-in-progress today, often referred to as ‘the wall in people’s heads’ (Hogwood 2000).

Using this empirical context offers opportunities to investigate the merger of two consumer cultures by looking at the negotiation of conflicting value systems and ideological underpinnings, and how this is played out in consumption with specific attention to the role of ideological myths and mythologization processes that undergird consumption and thus consumers’ identity projects in this negotiation.

IDEOLOGICAL MYTH AND IDENTITY IN SOCIALIST AND CAPITALIST CONSUMER CULTURES

To approach the dynamics and complexities of the negotiation between a capitalist and socialist consumer culture it is useful to focus attention to the imbricated coatings of ideological myth that characterizes these consumer cultures. According to Stern (1995, 165), “the central cultural role of myth (...) stems from its function in explaining the nature of the world and the rationale for social conduct in a given culture.” In this light, both capitalism and socialism are myth-imbued ideological positions offering an array of tales specifically relating to consumption that propose a grand narrative, a societal blueprint and rationale for everyday living and consumption. Following Lévi-Strauss (1963), these tales can be used to mitigate the tensions that arise in the course of everyday living. Thus, capitalist and socialist myths relate to what Brown et al. (2013) call singularizing myths, allowing consumers to pursue their individual and collective identity projects in mutual exclusion of the other respective ideological position.

Most capitalist consumer cultures are firmly built on a consumption myth that propagates free choice and the salvation of individual and collective identity through myth-imbued brands and consumption practices (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Holt 2002; 2004; Muniz and Schau 2005; Thompson 2004; Schouten and McAlexander 1995). By contrast, most socialist consumer cultures are firmly built on Marxian-type productive human labor narratives as the grand plot for everyday life, meaning, and consumption. For example, the version of Marxism-Leninism in place in the GDR centrally stipulated a 5-year economic production plan of the planned economy shaped a consumer culture characterized by permanent shortage—not all products were available for purchase at all times (Landsman 2005). Thus, consumers queued in endless lines in front of retail stores when there were special items for sale, and typically, also hoarded everyday consumption items that could be used for trading another desired but not obtainable item.

Whereas most western-style consumer cultures proselytize primarily individual identity and consumption myth via the market, most socialist consumer cultures draw from the Communist Manifesto (Marx and Engels 1848) to indoctrinate primarily collective identity and a production myth by means of social institutions. Consumption, then, is per Marx an important aspect of production, as a product becomes only a “real product in consumption” (Marx 1971, 25). Thus, production necessitates consumption as the concluding act of production, rendering the producer a producer. Therefore, consumption is vital in the socialist consumer culture of the GDR, but primarily because it relates to state production—and in the mythology of socialism it is productive human labor that serves as a main platform for the construction of collective identity. The resulting key values of both consumption cultures are therefore in stark contrast

with each other: while the capitalist consumption culture fosters *individuality and distinction*, actualized through an abundance of goods and *freedom of choice*, the GDR consumption culture served to enact one of the central tenets of socialism, namely that of *community and equality* in material and social status, enforced by a shortage of consumer goods and *restrained freedom of choice* by the state.

However, Barthes (1973/1957) reminds us that mythoi are ambiguous, potentially holding a vast array of signifiers floating around. Thus, in line with previous research noting the ambiguity of myths (e.g., Brown et al 2013; Thompson and Tian 2008), the ideological myths surrounding capitalist and socialist consumer cultures are also not pure, but ambiguous and even paradox. In our context, and because of the omnipresence of the FRG as a reference culture for material prosperity, GDR officials were caught between the tenets of the Soviet model, calling for production-orientation and modesty in consumption, and the rising pressure caused by growing prosperity and emerging mass consumption on the other side of the Wall. GDR leaders responded by initiating the production of socialist ideology-infused copy-cat brands of Western icons in the belief that the consumption of surrogate icons of the West would secure the hegemony of the socialist state (Landsman 2005). Hence paradoxically, GDR leaders emulated a Western-style consumer culture—whereby further increasing the longing for participation in it—while at the same time openly condemning it (Veenis 2011). The socialist mythology dominant in the GDR therefore involves consumption on the one hand as a collective endeavor, uniting citizens in scarcity. On the other hand, it also involves consumption as an individual endeavor, with consumers yearning to express their individual identity by differentiating themselves from the collective unitary style.

The literature has established that myths play a vital role in consumers' identity projects (e.g., Thompson 2004; Thompson and Tian 2008; Arsel and Thompson 2011; Muñiz and Schau 2005). But what happens when the mythological foundations for identity construction are questioned and re-negotiated on a national scale such as the case of the merger of the GDR and FRG, in East German public discourse often portrayed as an annexation? Although there is a growing body investigating consumption in contexts of shattered and destabilized identities (Schau, Gilly, and Wolfinbarger 2009; Klein, Lowrey and Otnes's forthcoming; McAlexander et al. 2014), such research discusses primarily individual consumers' identity crisis, for example when consumers are retiring, or when they leave religious institutions. The role of myth and ideology in these crises remains relatively de-emphasized. Hence, while the literature has established that consumers select myths to build their identity, little is known about the dynamics of myth and identity formation in the context of a collapse of an entire ideology and consumer culture. In this article, we explore this set of issues by asking the following research questions: i) what happens in the merger of consumer cultures with opposing ideologies? ii) what is the role of ideological myths undergirding the subsequent negotiation processes and individual/collective identity projects?

METHOD

We approach these questions from the angle of GDR consumers who, in the course of the re-unification, find themselves in a state of dislocation and contestation of the previous GDR consumer culture. With this empirical context our investigation follows calls for deepening the theoretical understanding of the sociohistoric forces at play in consumption cultures (Arnould and Thompson 2005; Brown, Hirschman, and Maclaran 2001).

Data collection. Methodologically our research approach builds on linking a historical perspective with the present via con-

sumers' cultural trajectories by collecting the following combination of qualitative empirical material: (1) historical data and documentaries as well as other culturally relevant material from mass media; (2) friendship profile-book entries from the late 1980s; (3) guided consumer introspections (Brown 1998; Gould 1995; Wallendorf and Brucks 1993); as well as (4) netnography (Kozinets 2002; 2010). The analysis of friendship profile books—which can be understood as an analog version of Facebook, where friends enter a written personal profile about who they are, what they dis/like and what they dream of—serves to contextualize identity construction in the GDR back then. Historical data as well as guided introspections illuminate the socialist consumer culture as well as the cultural trajectory to a capitalist culture, while netnographic material contributes by revealing how the cultural transition is reified in consumption practices today. The data set consists of 217 pages of introspective essays, 334 A5 pages of friendship profile book entries, 1273 pages of downloaded netnographic posts, as well as historical data, press material and documentaries.

Analysis. The level of analysis is consumer culture, and we hold with Holt (2002) that consumer cultures are made up of and experienced through consumption practices, which in turn are intertwined with ideology, myth, and identity. Following Greimas (1966) we approach ideology, myth, and identity as consumer cultural narratives configuring a sign system. Thus, we conduct a narrative semiotic analysis on our material aiming to uncover relatively stable patterns that provide structure and meaning (Lévi-Strauss 1963). According to Haidu (1982), such semiotic narrative analysis is particularly suited to accommodate the transformations and dynamics in temporal and/or logical sequences of events, in our case the German re-unification. Thus, we analyzed the empirical material with a focus on changing patterns of ideology, myth, and intertwined identity following a hermeneutic process (Thompson 1997) including coding, recoding, constant comparison and iterative inter-researcher discussions, while triangulating between our data sources. Our semiotic analysis and coding started broadly and became increasingly specific. We began by focusing on consumers' cultural negotiations and the shift of the prevalent reference culture and related mutation of ideological myths over time, before advancing our conceptualization to establish links to consumption practices as well as instantiations of individual and collective identity.

FINDINGS

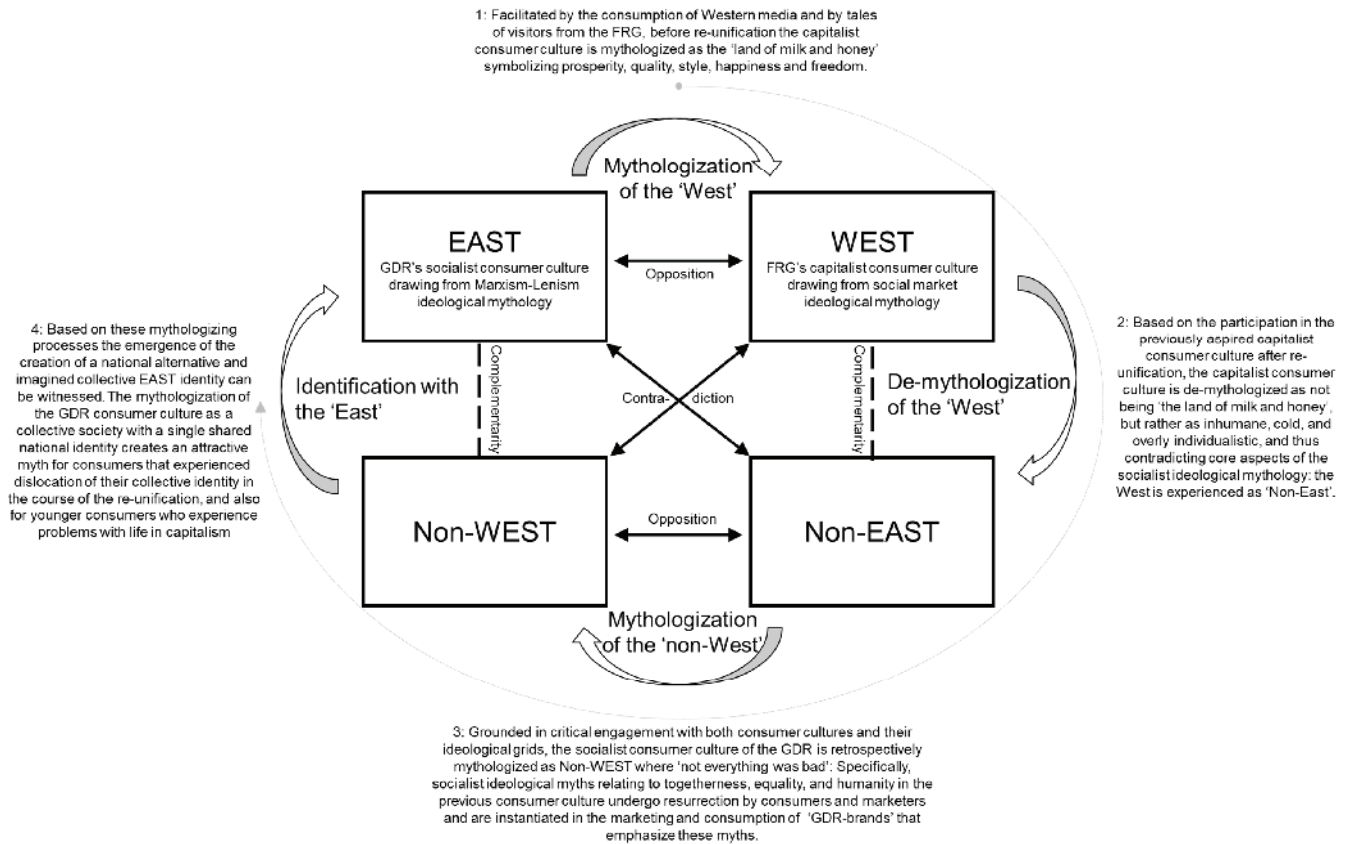
Our findings reveal the role of (ideological) mythologization in the negotiation process of the politically-induced merger of the GDR's socialist consumer culture with the FRG's capitalist consumer culture. Mythologization can be understood as the process of imparting mythical qualities to something (e.g., Holt and Thompson 2004; Brown et al. 2013), here a consumer culture. We find that consumption emerges as a key site for the negotiation of opposing ideological myths and the previously discussed values embedded within them. Thus, our findings specify the ways in which the negotiation process of two consumer cultures operates via processes of mythologization and de-mythologization, which in turn, are symptoms of ideological tensions linked to consumers' individual and collective identity projects.

To structure our findings, we utilize Greimas' (1987) semiotic square as an analytical tool capturing the ideological tension field between a socialist and capitalist consumer culture. The semiotic square unfolds and augments apparent binary oppositions, and was previously employed specifically to map ideological fields (Kozinets 2008), which are here given by the opposition of ideological mythology between 'East' and 'West' consumer cultures.

As shown in **figure 1**, our empirical material highlights how study participants experience the turn of historic events surrounding the German re-unification primarily as an opposition between and transition from the binary opposition of ‘East’ and ‘West’ (signifying Soviet bloc ideological mythology and its western counterparts, respectively). Thus, following Haidu (1982), we employ the semiotic square in a dynamic fashion to elucidate the historical dynamics of a larger societal transition within the tension field of EAST and WEST ideological mythology.

deeply frustrated by the lack of choice, permanent scarcity and the related time-consuming procurement measures to make ends meet, as well as the style and quality of available goods and the lack of opportunity for individual expression. Many consumption-related practices with collective participation and outcome (queueing, exchanging goods, DIY, bartering etc.) were perceived as burden back then. In line with Hogwood (2000), we find that for GDR consumers the FRG consumer culture was the primary and ever-present reference culture in terms of material prosperity, facilitated by consumption

Figure 1: The negotiation of Germany’s consumer cultures along the axis of East-West



To contextualize the current dynamics of the negotiation process induced by the political re-unification of the two German national states, we begin by elucidating how ‘the West’ has been mythologized in GDR consumer culture. Then, we zoom in on how after the re-unification, ‘the West’ undergoes a form of de-mythologization (Arsel and Thompson 2011) by (re-)assembling its contradiction to the socialist consumer culture and thus as ‘Non-East’. These processes form the basis of subsequent mythologization processes of ‘the East’ as ‘Non-West’ in which consumers turn towards iconic GDR marketplace resources signifying socialist ideology and values. Ultimately, the consumption of these icons serves former GDR consumers as ‘symbolic salves’ (Holt 2004) in their individual and collective identity projects identifying with the ‘East’. **Table 1** provides illustrative data for each of the negotiation processes described below.

Mythologization of capitalist consumer culture. Before the re-unification, the GDR was politically and physically sealed off from the FRG. GDR socialist ideology emphasized equality and community as core values, which was imposed and reinforced by state planning and the related scarcity of consumption goods. Consumers were

of Western media and western brands—perceived as ‘the real thing’ (Veenis 1999)—sporadically entering the GDR. This becomes particularly apparent when analyzing East German’s friendship profile-books. Entries in the ‘what I dream of’, ‘music’ and ‘what I like’ sections are dominated by references to FRG consumer culture and its brands, which are strategically leveraged for individual identity presentation. The ‘what I don’t like’ section on the other hand includes references to GDR music, food and movies illustrating a rejection of GDR consumer culture. Having almost no opportunity for factual reference, the myth of the ‘West’ as the ‘land of milk and honey’ primarily sprung about through the consumption of western advertisements, and tales by those who visited or had visitors from members of the capitalist consumer culture. In these myths, Western consumer culture symbolizes prosperity, quality, style, happiness and freedom. Specifically, the term freedom is mythologized as marketized freedom (to travel and of consumption choice) and later would become a key driver of the peaceful revolution.

De-mythologization of capitalist consumer culture. With the sudden access to capitalist consumer culture in the course of the political re-unification, GDR consumers first subscribe to nearly all

Table 1: Summary of illustrative empirical material *

Step in negotiating process	Myth	Illustrative data
Mythologization	Capitalism as the 'land of milk and honey'	My father is an architect [in the West]. One day, quite soon after the Wall fell, he came home from work and was really upset. His new colleague was from the East and asked him: 'Hey Dieter, why do you drive this old Volvo?' My father asked 'What do you mean?' and the colleague responded that my father ought to have the money to buy something better, like a Mercedes S class or so, as <i>everyone</i> in the West is rich and has nice cars. This really upset my father as this is obviously not the case and he liked the Volvo. I remember him saying 'what are they thinking over there? That we are all rolling in money?' (introspection) I dare to claim that the people who went to the demonstrations back then, for example in Leipzig, that they didn't take to the streets for democratic value. They wanted the Westmark [FRG currency], travel [...]. In an interview one woman responded to the question of what she expected and wished for from the West by saying 'Smoking Marlboro and driving a Golf GTI'. I found that refreshingly honest. (introspection)
De-mythologization	Capitalism is inhumane, cold and overly individualistic.	Building materials for the house were bartered among neighbors, along the lines of 'if you have this, i can give you that'. The relationship, friendship and help among neighbors was different: more intensive! We knew that we could rely on ourselves to help each other. This is no longer the case, because everyone has to be selfish to get by. (introspection) I very quickly realized that in the GDR we had acquired certain collective traits that all of a sudden proved to be very hindering. The normal GDR citizen was unhesitatingly communication-friendly and helpful in any situation. Whoever was unable to quickly suppress these commendable traits soon went to the dogs. (introspection)
Mythologization	Socialism is humane and collective.	I caught my daughters saying: 'do you remember how exciting that was, when we as children both queued for bananas for 1,5 hours, not allowed to speak to each other, because nobody mustn't find out that we were sisters, that way we could buy two portions just as if we were separate families?' (introspection) On the sofa sits Thorsten Schön and raves about old GDR times: [...] 'This humaneness' that is what he misses the most, 'and the social cohesion.' The economy of scarcity including all the bartering 'was more like a hobby'. (media excerpt, Bonstein, Julia (2009), Heimweh nach der Diktatur, Der Spiegel, 27/2009, 124-126)
Identification	Shared, imagined national identity of "East German"	I am Ossi [East German] and this is really cool. I wasn't there to witness how things really were! BUT!!!! my mother and my grandpa told me enough, enough for me to say with pride that I am one of the last ones to have received a GDR birth certificate. And in case my children will ever ask 'what is GDR and why is this on your birth certificate?' i will proudly say.... this is the country in which I was born!!!!" (netrography)

aspects of the new ideological grid: individuality, distinction (differentiate yourself!) and freedom of choice, which goes hand in hand with a hyper-consumption of western consumption icons and the devaluation of the myths of socialist consumer culture (Berdahl 1999; Veenis 1999). Consumers exercise their newly gained freedom of choice and celebrate expressing their individuality also through consumption. However, personal experience and actualization of this aspired culture results in de-mythologization and the hegemony of the capitalist ideology becomes questioned. Thus, the capitalist consumer culture is de-mythologized based on consumers' experience of the capitalist consumer culture as missing core aspects of the socialist ideology: the West is experienced as 'Non-East'. The western myths emphasizing individuality, distinction and freedom have unexpected negative side effects grounded in the realization that individual means non-collective (imparting a loss of community) and that freedom of choice is not only a boon but also a curse—in cases where (i) financial resources restrict from participation, (ii) consumers feel lost, overwhelmed and overstimulated by the amount of choice and (iii) consumers lack the capability of sovereign decision making. Thus, our data is seeded with instantiations of de-mythologizing the previously aspired consumer culture as inhumane, cold, and overly individualistic.

Mythologization of socialist consumer culture. Critical engagement with both consumer cultures and their ideological grids led to the realization that the 'West' is 'nice' but contradicts the 'East', and not everything was 'bad' in the 'East'. While individuality and distinction are appreciated, there appears to be a trade-off with an unexpected loss of community (a notion previously taken for granted), equality, and humanity (referring primarily to job security and interpersonal exchange with other members of the consumer culture). This shift in the ideological grid is responded to by a selective resurrection of previous Non-West (non-individual/non-capitalist) myths. The negative aspects of the 'West' are subsequently exchanged with

positively mythologized aspects of the former 'East'. Grounded in this complementarity of the 'East' as 'Non-West, mythologization constructs a retrospective perspective of the previous socialist consumer culture as 'Non-West'. Specifically, the myths relating to togetherness, equality, and humanity in the previous consumer culture undergo resurrection by both, consumers and marketers. Firms begin marketing products as 'GDR-brands', specifically emphasizing these myths. The overall deterioration of social cohesion becomes apparent and leads to critical reflections, channeled through the wholesale devaluation of East German consumption objects and practices. For the first time since the GDR's existence, it is considered as a reference culture, whereby the socialist consumer culture is mythologized as being entirely non-individualistic, offering a blueprint of a collective identity that any consumer could subscribe to in their identity projects. Previously highly frustrating experiences with the reality of permanent scarcity are mythologized as exciting and fun activities that showed solidarity and acted as the social glue of society. Products that were previously considered as inferior in terms of quality and design are now mythologized as superior and of long-lasting endurance. Marketplace communities relating to the consumption of these products emerge and recreate a sense of collectivism.

Identification with previous socialist consumer culture. Based on these mythologizing processes of the ideological grid of the GDR's socialist consumer culture, we witness the emergence of the creation of a national alternative and imagined collective identity. The mythologization of the GDR consumer culture as a collective society with a single shared national identity constructs an attractive myth for consumers that experienced a dislocation of their collective identity in the course of the re-unification, and interestingly also for younger consumers who experience problems with life in capitalism. However, this shared identity is a *retrospective* construction. Due to the dominant presence of the Western reference culture, the notions of collectiveness and national identity among East German

consumers were upstaged by consumers' longing for participation in the Western consumer culture, in particular their desire for individuality and distinction. Consumers leverage the newly accessible Western ideological myths—in particular freedom of choice—to actualize their collective identity via marketization of the 'new' socialist reference culture. Overall consumption of East German products increases and companies create and re-launch exclusive 'GDR brands', which were previously discarded but now valued again for their representation of a time when people were part of a community and looked after each other.

CONCLUSION

Our study shows how the merger of two opposing consumer cultures takes place via the negotiation of ideological mythologies characterizing these consumer cultures. In these negotiation processes, the ideological tenets of these consumer cultures undergo both, mythologization and de-mythologization processes, imparting and challenging ideological-mythical qualities to and of these consumer cultures. The role of myths is thus twofold: on the one hand, they provide the source and fodder for the negotiation process. On the other hand, through mythologization processes, they facilitate the transition between and overcoming of binary oppositions, here between 'East' and 'West', by challenging dominant myths and establishing alternative myths, which shape consumption practices and in turn, serve consumers to find comfort with identity dislocation, specifically, collective identity. Thus, our findings somewhat mirror Giesler's (2008) evolutionary processes in which opposing ideological aims meet in processes of conflict and compromise. In our case, the sudden access to the Western consumption system is at first celebrated, due to its previous status as elusive reference culture and the related mythologization. Subsequently, however, there is a sobering experience of the loss of key ideological myths that offered meaning in GDR consumers' lives. Consumers experience and negotiate the ideological conflict between socialist and capitalist consumption mythologies after having switched sides, eventually leading to a supersession of the FRG reference culture by a mythologized version of the GDR culture. On this basis, ideologically-loaded consumption objects suitable to mitigate this conflict and to find compromise are particularly appreciated. Thus, our research demonstrates how the merger of contrasting consumer cultures is a multidimensional affair fueled by contradictions of their ideological grids.

* Due to the 1 page length restriction for the data table, we were unable to represent all empirical data sources. Hence, space-consuming examples such as netnography conversations, visuals, as well as friendship profile-book entries are under-represented in this table.

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Consuming Sustainability Narratives

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ABSTRACT

Many well known brands use ethical and environmental narratives effectively to differentiate themselves from similar products; however, narratives conflicting with existing cultural values are unlikely to influence consumers. Using insights from cultural branding, this paper will challenge the view that to promote sustainable goods requires changing consumer's values.

INTRODUCTION

Sustainability discourse and the narratives that derive their influence from this discourse continue to pose a challenge for entrepreneurs and academics engaged in the study of entrepreneurship. Consumers are generally aware of the need to conserve resources and ensure that present consumption behaviour does not compromise that of future generations (Moraes et al. 2012). Entrepreneurs are aware of the potential for competitive advantage and new markets in goods that can demonstrate environmental credentials (Porter & van der Linde, 1995; Polonsky & Ottman, 1998). The problem is that the message to consume sustainably is having a very limited impact (Crane & Desmond, 2002; Holt, 2014). There is certainly confusion concerning the environmental claims made on behalf of companies and products, which is not helped by a lack of transparent environmental indicators to compare the environmental impact of one product with another (Ristino, 2008). This is not, though the main barrier to achieving sustainable consumption patterns. Research indicates that well informed consumers, able to identify the environmental consequences of their consumption and who express ethical concerns about these environment issues, demonstrate consumption patterns only marginally different from those who express little or no concern (Leonidou & Leonidou, 2011; Polonsky et al., 2012). The main problem discussed in this article is the type of strategy used to address this tension. The message to reduce consumption, to switch to more environmental alternatives and make sacrifices to save the environment, framed in a variety of ways, does not have a significant impact beyond a core of environmental radicals. The consensus view, found in a variety of disciplines, is that new ways have to be found to present this message in order to change existing consumers into ethical and /or environmental consumers. This article will challenge this view and suggest instead an alternative strategy, one designed to change consumer behaviour based on their *existing cultural values*, which oppose the message and values of environmental radicalism. Marketers have a number of powerful tools with which to achieve this, in particular those that link effectively to concepts from across the social sciences. This article will combine insights derived from these marketing and consumption concepts, with strategies from social campaigns to explain the potential impact of narrative mechanisms on practices of sustainably.

The argument will be exemplified with reference to the mobilisation of consumers through sustainability-related narratives. Defining and categorising such narratives presents an additional challenge. They are linguistic structures, but also stories, plots and the details that populate these stories. They are phrases, colloquialism-ritualised language that encompass myths. They link individuals to communities, create social ties and are public and social even when used by solitary individuals. They fill out brands and they persuade us by appealing to our sense of identity, a sense they continually help to shape. This is why narratives are so key to understanding the engagement they make possible in building social campaigns, move-

ments and the power of brands in identifying "who we are" and expressing this identity to others through products and services. Building on Merrill's (2007) work, this paper will focus on the functions of narrative, identifying credible assumptions about how narratives help to make sense of, and navigate, patterns of social interaction, in particular to leverage ethical and environmental consumption.

NARRATIVES IN BRANDING AND ACTIVISM

Assessing the challenges of sustainability narratives for marketing and consumption research enables the source of these challenges to be re-examined. Key amongst these challenges is the convergence on a small number of strategies to promote sustainable consumption, based on emphasising the benefits of being conscientious consumers and the need to change consumerist values (see Holt 2012; Humphreys 2014). Understanding why this is unlikely to be a fruitful approach is at the very core of evaluating the role of marketing in promoting ethical and environmental business and consumption practices.

To address these challenges will require synthesising key concepts from marketing and consumption research with concepts from other disciplines, in particular those shown to be productive in representing the role of narratives in the process of engagement. These include insights from cultural branding (Barthes, 1973; Barthes, 1984; Holt, 2004), social movements (Buechler 2000), social campaigns (Bob 2005) and network mechanisms, such as assemblages (Deleuze & Parnet, 1987) and boundary objects (Star & Griesemer, 1989).

Cultural branding provides an important component in evaluating sustainability narratives because it provides insight into these narratives and myths fostering cultural expression and how these are experienced by consumers through contact with brands. However, instead of examining sustainability brands, this paper will examine sustainability as a narrative, or series of narratives, circulated by *brands*, particularly through the logics of ambivalence (symbolic value) and difference (sign value) afforded by the most celebrated marques. Cultural branding also provides important elements for shaping an appropriate framework for sustainability as barriers/enablers and resistance/acquiescence to sustainable production and consumption can, in this way, be identified and analysed from the point of view of management and marketing concepts. The article will therefore evaluate some of the key elements associated with the cultural branding paradigm, in particular the concept of the iconic brand.

Among the huge variety of trademarks and product identifiers that exist on the brandscape are those of particular value as cultural icons. Such Iconic brands are among the most effective form of mythmaking and narrative sharing entities within consumer culture. This is because, as Douglas Holt evidences (Holt, 2004), iconic brands are among the artefacts most able to mediate the types of identity myth that consumers perform to express their cultural values and identify their position within (or against) specific communities. While Holt's explanation for the emergence of iconic brands is less developed, a point that will be addressed shortly, the role he identifies as key to their status as iconic brands is extremely powerful; iconic brands enable new cultural content and meaning to emerge through collective experience and the performance of ritual. In this way, iconic brands afford activism, provide cultural hegemony and elicit collective action by mediating and translating identity narra-

tives into artefacts that in turn express symbolic value and sign value (see also Baudrillard, 1994).

Holt argues that an iconic brand becomes iconic by virtue of being able to tackle acute contradictions in society by performing identity myths that address the desires and anxieties such contradiction entail. This does not explain the mechanism through which it resolves variations of desire and anxiety *collectively*, nor the iconic status of the same brand (such as Coca Cola; Rolex etc.) in locations that face entirely different circumstances and anxieties. It is this heterogeneity that poses a challenge to Holt, but provides an opportunity for rethinking the role of narratives in building alliances.

Research indicates that sustainability narratives play a key role in building alliances (Crane, 1998); however, these relationships go beyond merely connecting individuals or organisations together. Compelling narratives, whether political, ideological, critical, or brand narratives draw together and influence a variety of heterogeneous elements, which collectively shape events, decisions, outcomes, beliefs and behaviour. Narratives help to assemble the different entities from different social worlds, as specific brands unite different social groups, technologies, organisations and other elements into a distinct community. The mechanism drawing the entities together is the narrative's character as a boundary object, a concept explained by Susan Leigh Star and James Griesemer in their seminal study of institutional ecologies of engagement (see Star & Griesemer, 1989). According to Star and Griesemer's evaluation of the engagement process, a boundary object is an entity that inhabits multiple and overlapping social worlds. Such an entity has enough common structure to be shared across worlds but is also adaptable enough to co-ordinate activity among varied individuals in a specific world. In this way, a boundary object acts as a site on which recruitment to a specific network takes place. A boundary object is, in this regard, a medium for communication and co-operation. It is able to serve such a function by being both adaptable and able to maintain an identity, in the way that, for example, an architectural blueprint enables engineers, builders, planners, architects, estate agents, interior designers and house buyers to engage with each other as a reference point for mediation or translation across intersecting, but distinct, agendas.

In this way, an iconic brand derives its iconicity through its ability to function as a boundary object, i.e. by assigning need and utility to mere appendices to the communicative and mediatory role of the brand. This is also an important step in the argument in that it indicates that mediation and translation have hegemonic properties as they enrol (and exclude other) narratives that become agents of change or resistance, and spill over into other movements and cultural practices. This does not mean that a boundary object is neutral or is unable to shape engagement in a coercive way (see Huvila, 2011), but merely that it brings together different meanings from different social worlds for collaborative purposes in ways that retain multiplicity. It is this sense of an assemblage (see Deleuze & Parnet, 1987), one that is not premised on entities being reduced to a common unit (individual consumers, psychographic cohorts, etc.) or compelled to express value homogeneity (environmental activism, anti-consumerism, utilitarianism etc) that is both intuitive and makes wholesale collaboration viable. It is by explicitly retaining this diversity while building relevant alliances that makes treating brands that mobilise sustainability narratives as boundary objects a compelling alternative to the consensus view of sustainability promotion as an attempt to substitute one set of consumption values for another.

The way in which sustainability narratives become influential over consumption is through the mediation of social and cultural practices. Through these practices sustainability narratives contrib-

ute to collective perceptions of worth, meaning, relevance and importance. Sustainability narratives can be used successfully, then, if entrepreneurs and marketers can align branding strategies through these narratives in such a way as to provide cultural momentum, embodying sustainability discourse through influential and compelling narratives serving boundary objects. This is extended beyond identity projects relevant to commercial branding narratives (Holt 2002), turning the process inside out: the artefact no longer embodies the brand narrative but the brand narrative embodies and assembles the artefact. Coupled with this, the product artefact, with which to embody and mobilise the boundary object, must project a depth and coherence of meaning that resonates with cultural myths and values that present the desired consumption patterns. Sustainability narratives, unlike narratives that focus on identity differentiation, are only meaningful if they encompass a broad category of consumption values or one that can leverage broader change in production and resource use. A sustainability narrative can have little meaning as an isolated invitation to consume or desist from consuming. In the commercial world, for a promotional campaign to operate these powerful narratives it will generally need to forge a coalition sufficiently broad to give credibility to the product used to embody the narratives, for example with the 'health food' frame or the Fairtrade food sector. Applying specific sustainability narratives to foster an advantage to a product or service will thus require social campaigning as part of individual marketing campaigning with which to operationalise sufficiently influential narratives capable of translating and transforming cultural values into new (and improved) practices of consumption. In this way, products that cohere with sustainability narratives will benefit from spillovers when such narratives are invoked elsewhere and in related spheres (for example Fairtrade is both a brand and, at the same time, not a brand)

To promote sustainability through (social) entrepreneurship and marketing strategies requires social campaigning but of a type very different from campaigns as typically conceived (see Polonsky et al, 2012). Indeed, research suggests that many of the most 'worthy' and prominent campaigns to promote a cause are almost invariably unsuccessful in meeting even their most basic objectives such as raising awareness and encouraging participation (Bob, 2005). The campaigns that have been successful at raising awareness are likely to exhibit specific structural factors such as good standing, leadership, contacts, knowledge, material and organisational resources, or other characteristics such as targeting effective partnerships or framing their opposition very negatively (Bob, 2005: 20-51). Raising awareness is perhaps a necessary but not a sufficient condition of success. More importantly, irrespective of awareness-raising, most campaigns are entirely unable to produce the desired change beyond their hard-core support (Holt 2012) or influence policy decisions (Oegema & Klanderma, 1994). The reasons are of course complex and often dependent upon individual detail and conflicting interests, but an important factor is that such campaigns set out to substitute one set of behaviours and values with another set as though there were no cultural meaning derived from, and contributing to, these values and practices. Holt argues that to challenge materialism and consumerism by expecting consumers to transform their values to those outside modern capitalism (ethical values paradigm) would contradict the basis of modern consumption, and thus would not work (Holt, 2012: 238). Holt's solutions are market based social movements (Holt, 2012) and a focus on improvements in 'main street' (Holt, 2014), both of which are pragmatic and coherent responses, but explain little about the *mechanisms* to be employed to foster sustainability narratives.

CONCLUSION

Boundary objects are neither more nor less complex than the narratives of which they are comprised. Nor are they more or less resonant than the brands that they are able to shape. This is because in contemporary consumer society, narratives, boundary objects and brands are so interdependent that it is often impossible to draw them apart. Indeed, the argument presented in this article is that sometimes they may be functionally indistinguishable – a brand becomes a boundary object *because* it is able to encompass a specific narrative. Fairtrade, Oxfam and the G7 (or G8 or G20) are salient examples here, as they are all and none of these things at the same time, but each in a very different way. Drawing out the implications of this insight for marketing and consumption practice in developing and promoting ethical, environmental and sustainable consumer behaviour will form the basis of this conclusion.

The first implication is that marketing has a demonstrably powerful role in tackling ethical and environmental problems, not just in its social guise, but in its commercial settings too. Commercial consumption-based solutions to sustainability problems are plausible on condition that the sustainable options that firms supply are highly valued in themselves, able to express impressions and ideas in a meaningful way to a mass of consumers. Social entrepreneurs and social marketers have, though, in addition, the benefit of a potentially compelling narrative as part of their founding vision. Generic appeals to emotion, the application of an inappropriate commercial character and a narrow cultural appeal, unable to resonate with the values of those outside the very core constituency are barriers not always given sufficient attention by practitioners.

To address this task, a narrative's flexibility can enable a heterogeneous group of ideologies, as manifested in the diverse perspectives of individual consumers, to each take ownership and perform the narrative in a way that expresses existing – but very different, indeed potentially opposing – cultural values, but builds connections with other perspectives. Some successful brands have been able to appeal across the value spectrum: the mini, Levis, Apple etc., but this should not be reduced to a sense of universal appeal, but rather considered due to their ability to appeal to very specific values, simultaneously *and amenably*.

In addition, irrespective of how unrelated different narratives might seem, people find ingenious ways to integrate narratives that help to build the relationships they desire. A careful evaluation of the narratives used in our everyday lives as consumers reveal that the package of narratives used are collectively contradictory. In the context of ethical and environmental narratives, we consume “carbon friendly” bio-fuel crops or soya bean products, even when aware that they contribute to rainforest destruction; or, purchase water-intensive Fairtrade organic fruit and vegetables that are imported huge distances by air transport from countries prone to drought; or, indeed, consume prompted by licensing effects, effects observed when small ethical or environmental consumption compromises are rewarded with extravagant and unsustainable treats (Khan and Dhar 2006: 265).

Perhaps this is a challenge when narratives are performed to share values and are deemed relevant if they provide cultural expression while performing this function. As a narrative's relevance resides in the collective nature of perception that it affords, the narratives themselves can be thought of as activists rather than their performers. This is especially the case when we ‘delegate’ ethical responsibility to the brands we consume, as with the purchase of diet foods. The consequence of this projection of agency to brands is that by (collectively) creating a wide variety of narratives to identify and address a collective and communicative problem, a boundary object

is able to emerge. Through such a composite boundary object, the various narratives become interconnected and modified by encountering each other and by the work they are required to do as expressions of existing cultural values. Perhaps then the contradictions we exhibit collectively as unethical and environmentally damaging materialist consumers, is no more contradictory than the different uses made of a single narrative by the same individual over time that mixes sustainable and unsustainable consumer behaviour as a matter of course. Collectively realigning our consumption practices to eliminate the less ethical and environmentally damaging behaviour, on the basis of appropriate (and shared) narratives derived from existing values, is the real challenge to be tackled by both marketers and consumer researchers.

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Women in Transition — Consumption Narratives of First-time Motherhood

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ABSTRACT

Adopting a life-course perspective, this study reveals four narratives of transition to motherhood and according changes of (non-) consumption patterns that liberate, constrain, support, legitimize, and perfectionize women's understandings of motherhood as 'a fairytale' coming true, as a 'dual-role narrative', as 'temporary motherhood', or as a 'turning point' in life.

INTRODUCTION

Transition to motherhood deeply affects women's lives as first-time mothers and consumers. Multifaceted and complex, motherhood is ideologized and mystified (Hager 2011), overburdened with cultural meanings (Arendell 2000; Atkinson 2014), perceived as great challenge, and characterized by anxiety and ambiguity due to its stressful and uncertain, but also happy and joyful nature (Carrigan and Szmigin 2004; Davies et al. 2010b). Accordingly, changes in women's self-understanding alter consumption patterns (Hogg, Piacentini, and Hibbert 2009), focusing on the child, on role-supportive consumption, and symbolic consumption aiding or aggravating the transition (Davies et al. 2010a; Sørensen and Thomsen 2006).

Current research on first-time motherhood and consumption is characterized by two main strands. While more micro-level studies are interested in symbolic consumption strategies as expressions of identity changes, conflict, and integration in transition to motherhood (Fischer and Gainer 1993; Cody and Lawlor 2011; Miller 2004; Ogle, Tyner and Schofield-Tomschin 2013; Pavia and Mason 2004; Thomson and Sørensen 2006a), others take a macro-level perspective and problematize social constructions of motherhood ideologies, and their amplification in the marketplace as being potentially harmful to identity construction of mothers (Thompson 1996; Davies et al. 2010; Dobscha, et al. 2010; Clarke 2004; Cook 2011; Prothero 2002; Thomsen and Sørensen 2006b). While studies related to identity construction make particular reference to transition and liminality, macro-level problematizations of idealized portrayals of first-time motherhood relate consumption to structural tensions between family life and markets, commerce and care (Cook 2011).

While demographic and psychological studies acknowledge life course related differences in transition to motherhood (cf. Clemmens 2003; Letherby 1994; Thomson et al. 2008), the life histories of individuals have largely been neglected in consumer research. Our study follows a recent call for auto-biographical integration of past and future into consumer narratives of transition (Rojas Gaviria and Bluemelhuber 2010). We investigate the lived experience of first-time motherhood not only as a socio-culturally framed transition but also as being embedded in mothers' life biographies. Attempting to highlight the contextuality of women's transitions to motherhood, this study adopts a life-course perspective and seeks to understand how women's consumption strategies bring their lives in accord with understandings of motherhood.

THEORY

A life-course perspective on transition to motherhood

The life-course perspective assumes that behavioral continuity or change depend on individuals' trajectories and the timing of transitions (Elder, Kirkpatrick Johnson, and Crosnoe 2003). The life

course paradigm is defined by five central themes—agency, life-span development, context, linked lives, and timing (Elder 1994). Women's *agency*, that is, their freedom to decide upon and develop their self in transition to motherhood (Elder et al. 2003), is influenced by motherhood ideologies, which are "constructed from medical, legal, political, social, and cultural discourse and practices" (Davies et al. 2010b). Women's own understanding and knowledge might entail the necessity to resist, disengage from, or reconcile common discourses (Banister, Hogg, and Dixon 2010). 'Deviant' life courses of single, welfare, or adolescent motherhood, but also career-orientation might additionally fuel women's conflicting thoughts about motherhood (Thomson et al. 2008).

Self-negotiation in transition to motherhood is also influenced by *life-span development*, mirroring past, present, and future selves (Cody 2012; Schau, Gilly, and Wolfinger 2009). Individuals' life-span development needs to be evaluated with reference to the *local and temporal context* (Elder et al. 2003), and is frequently accompanied by a change in the more immediate social context, which manifests in a move from the public to the increasingly valorized private sphere (Elder 1994; Mayer 2003). Life-course literature relates to these important social networks as *linked lives* (Elder et al. 2003; Heinz and Krüger 2001), which mostly support but also hinder transition. In its most intense form, planned motherhood, for instance, is characterized by women as a matter of synchronization of individual, couple, and peer biographies (Thomson et al. 2008).

Timing of transitions embeds motherhood into women's various life projects. While timing according to socially accepted norms "provides a sense of comfort, achievement and progression" (Shirani and Henwood 2011), mistiming might constrain the organization of envisioned life course trajectories (Pearlin and Skaff 1996; Shirani and Henwood 2011) and lead to a "cumulation of disadvantages" (Elder 1998). Identity conflicts become more serious when societal blueprints of becoming a mother at the right time and within the right family settings are violated. Adolescent mothers, for instance, often frame their status as childlike and mature at the same time, with pregnancy narrated as family drama (Clemmens 2003; Letherby 1994).

Consumption in transition to motherhood

During transition to motherhood, new consumption practices are adopted that play a "dynamic role ... in leading the individual into the resolution phase" (Pavia and Mason 2004). Following Davies et al. (2010a), consumption can support self-negotiation in transition to motherhood to cope with transition and manage role uncertainty, to achieve an ideal self, and to bridge identities (Cody and Lawlor 2011). Consuming supports the reconciliation and integration of multiple eventually contradictory past, present, and future selves (Ogle, Tyner, and Schofield-Tomschin 2013; Prothero 2002), and facilitates integration of the unborn child into mother's identity constructions (Cairns, Johnston, and MacKendrick 2013; Özhan Dedeoglu 2006). Consumption objects serve as manifestations for that integration (e.g., Clarke 2004; Cook 2008; Miller 2004), for acquiring and affirming the new mothering self (Ogle et al. 2013; Thomsen and Sørensen 2006a), and maintaining a former dominant self (Ogle et al. 2013, 119).

While large parts of current theory on consumption in transition to motherhood highlight consumption's supportive function in

facilitating transition, critical voices raise awareness for the potential vulnerabilities related to transitional consumption. This vulnerability becomes most apparent when mothers-to-be try to make the ‘right choices’ (Prothero 2002; Thomsen and Sørensen 2006a), impeding women to engage in ‘consumptive work’ (Clarke 2004) that positions them as ‘good mothers’. Similarly, the liminal inability of consuming in a self-supportive way can induce self-disruptions (Ogle et al. 2013).

Similar to consumption also the avoidance of consumption might facilitate or hinder transition. In a Japanese context (Houston 1999), abandoning the consumption of pain medication during birth facilitates self-changes towards a culturally idealized conception of motherhood. Consumption avoidance, however, can also set hurdles to the incorporation of the new identity when mothers refuse to consume social symbols of contemporary motherhood (Cook 2011). Further, avoidance might not always be a matter of free choice, and social expectations of self-sacrificing for the “good of the baby” (Carrigan and Szmigin 2004, p. 784) might weigh heavily on mothers-to-be.

Consumer research related to motherhood is replete with specific, transition-related consumption studies, related to baby products, fashion, or baby showers (Fischer and Gainer 1993; Katz-Wise, Priess, and Hyde 2010; Moisiu, Arnould, and Price 2004; Rojas, Gaviria and Bluemelhuber 2010) yet, the multi-faceted nature of women’s life course (Carrigan and Szmigin 2004) and concomitant radical changes in (non-) consumption patterns alongside transition to motherhood have remained quite untouched. This study aims to contribute to a more differentiated understanding of the role of consumption in transition to motherhood.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

According to Elder’s (1994) life-course principles, this study purposefully sampled 32 first-time mothers living in a European cultural context, with diverse life biographies before pregnancy. This sampling procedure attempted to consider timing, linked lives, agency, individual life span development, and the temporal/local context of transition. Accordingly, adolescent, single mothers, women with unexpected or well-planned pregnancies, women in relationships, married or separated, women living in urban and rural areas were

sampled according to the criterion of maximum variation. We further sourced women from 16 to 38 years of age, and typical cases of women facing more or less hardship regarding financial and relational support.

The study’s general approach is phenomenological since it focuses on women’s lived experiences (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Thompson 1997) and narrations of transition. We conducted biographical, narrative interviews using open, grand tour questions to encourage women to share their stories of first-time motherhood (Flick 2014). Grand tour questions inquired into women’s biographies, experiences of transition to motherhood, and the meaning of consumption and consumption experiences throughout the transitional process. Data analysis involved an iterative process of inductive categorization (Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep 2006; Spiggle 1994). The three authors analyzed all interviews independently at first, and iteratively reflected and refined data interpretation together (Arnold and Fischer 1994; Kreiner et al. 2006). Constant comparative method (Charmaz 2008) informed theorizing about women’s narrative construction of identity and consumption during transition to motherhood.

FINDINGS

Analysis of first-time mothers’ biographical interviews distilled four dominant transition narratives that are deeply entangled with women’s upbringing, former lives, and current life contexts: (1) the ‘fairytale narrative’, (2) the ‘dual-role narrative’, (3) the ‘temporary mum narrative’, and (4) the ‘turning point narrative’. Whereas the ‘fairytale narrative’ most clearly reflects society’s scripting of the natural mothering role of women, the ‘dual-role narrative’ entails struggles with and emancipatory assumptions of women’s liberated existence that is separate from, but also underlies all forms and roles adopted in women’s lives. The ‘temporary mum narrative’, in contrary, temporarily separates mothers’ working lives and careers from motherhood, but most often succeeds in collapsing the ‘two lives’ and professionally ‘manage’ multiple roles. The ‘turning point narrative’ is the most differentiated and multi-faceted scripting spanning from adolescent motherhood drama to more subtle forms of motherhood as transitory and life changing. Accordingly, women’s narratives are replete with concomitant consumption strategies that differ significantly. Table 1 provides a summary of our respective findings.

Table 1: Dominant narratives of change during transition to motherhood

	<i>The ‘fairytale narrative’</i>	<i>The ‘dual-role narrative’</i>	<i>The temporary Mum narrative’</i>	<i>The ‘turning point narrative’</i>
<i>Life course & change</i>	Educated, financially secure and settled	Self-assure and self-standing woman	Well-educated and -situated; career-oriented	Difficult, life-changing biography and/or financial constraints
<i>Type of transition</i>	Logical transformation	Duality	Gradual inclusion	Double/multiple-role transition
<i>Changes in consumption patterns</i>	From high self -and motherhood related investments to intensified and luxurified, compressed and postponed, highly relational and abandoned consumption	From highly experiential to relational and countervailing (liberating) consumption	From extensive experiential and materialist/luxury consumption to intensifying and luxurifying, relational, and countervailing consumption practices	From ‘careless’ consumerism to relational, ascetic, and postponed consumption and investments into the child’s and women’s own futures

The fairytale narrative

Fairytale mothers typically engage in consumption that is helpful in becoming a mother, long before they actually conceive. A romantic notion of pregnancy and motherhood is consumed, which culminates in consuming a healthy child as an extension of women's self (Belk 1988). Women start early to construct perfect family life including anticipatory consumption of insurance, housing, household items, fitness and sports, nutrition and meaningful investments in personal relationships, marriage, and conception. Consumption rituals involve indulgence and step by step, incorporate others ritualistically in consumption of brands, fashion, food, special places and experiences, and the consumption of time. Consumption in the preparatory stage is not only liberatory in terms of freely consuming for oneself but also overwhelmingly intensified and 'luxurified'. Women prepare and consume their pregnant body with extended walks, indulging in wellness rituals; consume massages and hairdressing, leisure time, peaceful rest and sleep.

With giving birth, women's self-understanding shifts even more towards strong other-orientation, self-suppression, deactivation of a professional self, a decrease of the importance of other roles, and reinterpretation of the role of partnership. This deep entrenchment of the mothering self—although viewed as a better self—necessarily leads to attempts of liberation of other facets of self, ultimately integrating them into a renewed self-understanding. Past, present and future finally materialize into a coherent life narrative of the fulfilled, integrated self (McAdams and McLean 2013). '... *My life with child is beautiful; lots of fun. 'Everything for the child'—so to speak. Being a mother compensates for this deprivation.*' (Sarah, 29).

Consumption is subordinated to the enjoyment of having a child, which is fully leveraged by market possibilities to conspicuously exposing and signaling this enjoyment to family and the public (Sørensen and Thomsen 2006). '*Instead of buying something for me, I'd rather buy something for my little sunshine*' (Ines, 26). The market reflects these societal conventions by offering not only products for the perfection of baby's caretaking and nurturing but also for presentation and staging of the perfect outcome of mothering—the healthy child (Atkinson 2014; Thomsen and Sørensen 2006b). Self-leveraging consumption becomes important in later stages as a treat for the woman's self. Yet, in their attempts to idealize motherhood, women even negotiate and re-interpret self-sacrificing or reduced consumption as liberatory; (non-) consumption as access key to an enchanting mother role that gains much of its value from consuming motherhood and consuming the child.

The dual role narrative

The dual-role narrative involves intensive self-negotiations in transition to motherhood. Women are often well prepared to becoming a mother, but do not accord with societal constraints and to giving up their understanding of themselves as women.

Women's pre-transitory life is carefree; a life of lived freedom and independence, a materialistic lifestyle and mostly extensive consumption. Money, fashion and beauty, and travelling are important and self-defining. Individuality, becoming and being a professional woman in their jobs, a Western postmodern life is part of their dreamlike futures. Only late pregnancy provides these women with a relieving state of contentedness and joy, putting aside their consumption and life dreams. '*From time to time I asked myself whether I really want this and whether I am really ready. But these doubts decreased while my belly grew bigger.*' (Marion, 22). The actual birth of their child, however, hits some of them like a shock and makes them realize that life changes drastically. Motherhood is perceived as constraining and constantly negotiated with their past and envi-

sioned future (Wolf 2001). Reluctant to separate from their former lives and investing in sustaining the connection to their former life, transition to motherhood is complicated, full of consumption dreams and (re-) negotiations of womanhood.

Consumption supports dual-role mothers in sustaining their identity. Consumption is liberatory and self-leveraging, which frees them from solely being mothers. Even if consumption becomes restricted and necessarily other-oriented, reducing consumption is not entirely voluntary. Non-consumption is not a strategy but rather a consequence of the duties and necessities that come with motherhood. As consumption before pregnancy is considerably experiential, it is these experiences that are sought after most intensely, consumed during transition as last-minute refuge and recovered as soon as possible. Consumption is therefore also hypothetical and imaginative, postponing women's consumption dreams that relate in many ways to their aspired womanhood, engaging in sports, socializing, vacation, and other consumption experiences.

The temporary mum narrative

Temporary mothers slip into transition amidst of an exciting professional career. They perform the traditional mothering role to perfection, but only for a limited period of time. Strict role separation ultimately dissolves in an idealized 'easymix' (Maushart 2000), which blends professional, relational, and motherhood duties seemingly effortlessly into women's lives and idealizes the 'juggling' lifestyles between work and home (Thompson 1996).

Temporary mothers consume extensively. Their investment in children is as materialistic and important as is their own lifestyle consumption. During pregnancy, professional and relational demands still tend to dominate life. Sooner or later all women are forced into the new role by biological circumstances and radical body transformations. For them, priorities shift in a sudden manner from almost ignorance in the initial months of pregnancy to an increased sense of other-orientation in late pregnancy. Pregnancy passes quickly and pushes them into a relieving state of taking and having time for themselves—a break from work and consumption, thus liberating the mothering facet of self. With the birth of their child, women perform a total temporary role switch. This switch is radical and exclusive. '*The birth of my child then led to a 180° shift in my life. And everything I do is now focused on my child.*' (Anne, 38)

Women consume time for themselves and later, time for childcare. Consumption for the child now compensates for mothers' own inclination to buy expensive brands and luxuries. Consumption helps integrating the other in their lives, is other-oriented and unrestricted but still reduced to their new role as mothers as investments into their professional identities do not make sense to them at that time. Stressing the situation's transitory character is women's strategy to justify these radical changes. Consuming, similar to other motherhood narratives, becomes more experiential, and relationships more precious.

The turning point narrative

Turning point motherhood is characterized by hardship and radical shifts in life biographies of women. Women's naïve imaginations of a stereotypical, great dreamlike future, and idealized conception of family clash with a relentless reality that demands to be mastered and lived (Shirani and Henwood 2011). Pregnancy to these women constitutes a turning point in life, accompanied by extreme phases of struggling, but also includes the opportunity for huge personal growth (Clemmens 2003). Transition to motherhood is experienced as radical, positive for some, neutral or dramatic for others but entails a chance to maturing and making life more meaningful and better overall.

Turning point mothers extensively consume relationships and investments into their own future, such as education and consumption experiences with friends and partners. In their attempt to becoming a perfect mother, consumption is severely reduced and ascetic and serves to purchase what is necessary for the child, and perceived as necessary investment into a future bread-winning job. Whereas fairytale mothers aim to be good mothers, turning point narratives reveal especially young mothers' awareness of their imperfection, trying to fulfil their mother role as good as possible. The metamorphosis from a carefree and un-reflexive consumer to a responsible mother is accompanied by abandonment of consumption for themselves. Turning point mothers are both—responsible mothers and strongly dedicated to their own self-development. Consumption follows this path; becomes imagined and postponed, dreaming of a future of unconstrained but meaningful and experiential consumption for their child and for themselves. Consumption is symbolic for reassuring women of their matured personalities. Turning point mothers frame their decisions to reduce or abduct consumption as rather positive consequence of a renewed understanding of meaning in life. It seems as if this relinquishment in a Western world of abundance compensates for their imperfect life course and transforms them into good, really caring mothers (Thompson 1996).

DISCUSSION

This study makes important contributions to literature on consumption in transition. First, in adopting a life-course perspective, our study highlights four dominant narratives of first-time motherhood, based on a reading of women's narratives as biographical/developmental and fluid (Baumann 1996; Giddens 1991), and on women's reported self-understandings and societal conceptions of motherhood.

Second, our findings reveal distinct changes in consumption patterns that are related to women's motherhood narratives and seem equally fluid and liminal as their changing self-understanding. Consumption in transition is *compressed and postponed, intensified and luxurified*, becomes more *relational*, at times *ascetic and abandoned*; and support or *countervail* unwanted role constraints.

The four dominant motherhood narratives reveal interesting processes of compression of consumption, expressed through phases of 'last-minute' panicking and dense (experiential) consumption, as well as relaxations into postponement of consumption, or escapism into imagined and hypothetical consumption. Strategies of intensifying and luxurification somewhat resemble these practices but differ conceptually in that they rather leverage particular consumption experiences and purchases before and after child-birth. Women foresee a period of self-sacrificing their own wishes in their attempt to comply with societal conceptions of motherhood. Deep indulgence in decelerating consumption experiences, unrestricted consumption for oneself, particularly the bodily self, sustaining beloved consumption rituals exemplify consumption strategies of intensifying and luxurification. Corroborating and extending prior work (Epp and Price 2008; Thompson 1996) a third important dimension strengthens relational bonds to family and partnership but also friends and peers through relational consumption. Consumption is related to nurturing and integrating others into consumption, sharing (Belk 2010), but also purely other-oriented, strengthening linked lives.

Ascetic non-consumption is the most radical consumption strategy right before and after child-birth. Not always do women experience non-consumption as hardship but also as liberating a more altruistic facet of themselves, and as relieve from the strenuous life of a consumer. Women seek to engage in sustainable consumption and disposing of possessions that became incompatible with their new

self-understanding as mothers. Non-consumption strategies relate to fears of social sanctions, contestations of meaningfulness of consumption practices, or when consumption is practically impossible or inaccessible. Contrasting dominant market-induced risks of over-consumption in families (Thomas et al. 2014), non-consumptions practices socially legitimize women in their mothering role against markets and consumerism, and also rebuke luxurious lifestyles of the more privileged mothers.

Later phases in transition exhibit extensive, and more or less successful attempts of countervailing an excessive investment into others and divestment of consumption for the mother herself. Compensatory consumption, oscillating between phases of ascetic and indulging consumption, self-leveraging and liberating consumption strategies, as well as consumption that catches up with postponed or inaccessible pleasures bear witness of the perceived burdens of motherhood or hardship that comes with compliance to self-sacrificing or severe financial restrictions of single mothers. Reconsumption also promotes self-reflexivity and juxtaposition of roles, selves, and personal growth (Russell and Levy 2012). Overall, our study maintains that consumption in transition is fluid and liminal. Consumption is partly constraining, but also helps to liberate, support, legitimize and bring to perfection women's changing self-understanding and concept of motherhood.

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Word of Mouth Theory Revisited: The Influence of New Actors on Seeding Campaigns

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ABSTRACT:

This study provides a more detailed account of online WOM by examining the relationship between marketers and tech-bloggers in the consumer electronics sector. Tech-bloggers are found to be a socially embedded entity involved in constant and multichannel interactions with other bloggers, their audience and marketers. This collaboration extends beyond seeding campaigns and has implications for how we model online WOM.

INTRODUCTION

The growth in online platforms such as blogs and social networking sites (SNS) has resulted in significant changes to information distribution and marketing communications. These new social media channels provide a way for individuals and companies to gather and spread information about products and services through online Word of Mouth (WOM) communication (Hennig-Thurau et al. 2004). Due to the nature of WOM online, information can diffuse more quickly, has a wider reach and, due to the written format, is more persistent than traditional WOM (Hennig-Thurau et al. 2004, Godes and Mayzlin 2004, Berger and Schwartz 2011). Research has shown that online WOM can have a critical effect on sales of products such as television shows (Godes and Mayzlin 2004), games (Zhu and Zhang 2010) and or books (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006).

The aim of this research is to empirically examine the emerging category of 'tech bloggers' and how they use WOM in an online blogging environment. This paper revisits traditional WOM and considers online WOM (Kozinets et al. 2010) and the use of blogs as part of seeding campaigns in marketing communications (Hinz et al. 2011). It focuses on the tech-bloggers ecosystem and explores their relationship and cooperation with companies that see blogging as a viable online marketing communications channel.

BLOGGING AS WOM

Most of the studies to date have looked at aggregated information such as volume or valence neglecting individual variations of influence in online WOM (Moe and Trusov 2011). As the impact of WOM depends on who is talking to who there is a need to get a better understanding of key individuals involved in online activity (Godes and Mayzlin, 2004). These key individuals, identified in traditional WOM as opinion leaders (Arndt, 1967), market maven (Feick and Price, 1987) or social hubs (Goldenberg et al. 2007), are considered to be highly influential as they gather information from a variety of sources and diffuse that information via advice to others in their social nexus (Weimann, 1994). McQuarrie et al. (2013) argue that bloggers, as one category of online influencer, have the potential to attract large audiences to influence the behaviors and attitudes of others through their online communication channels. However, they are critical of the use of existing offline WOM concepts noting that "[o]ne could label the phenomenon electronic word of mouth and call these bloggers opinion leaders or market mavens (Feick and Price 1987; Kozinets et al. 2010), but this obscures what is new and different about their consumer behavior." (2013, p. 137)

This study provides an alternative account for blogs by adapting Vaast et al. (2013) notion of 'tech-bloggers' as an "emerging actor category" within online environments, comprised of individuals that "create and disseminate news, opinions, reviews, advice, and other

information developments via the internet using blogging and associated technologies" (2013, p. 2). Tech-bloggers diffuse news and evaluate products such as smartphones, notebooks and tablets on a regular basis. Readers ask for advice, consult them in complex decision making and participate in an established online community built and maintained by these emerging actors. More importantly they are seen as a credible source of information compared to other forms of reviews and are able to engage with their audience in various ways. As a result, they construct a sizeable online audience and transform their leisure pursuit into a time and resource intense activity. Contrasting the notion of "blogs" as a tool for personal use (Blood 2004), these tech-bloggers have emerged from online activity centred on personal displays to create an online presence that extends to the public arena. The public display and large numbers of followers makes them more attractive for marketers (McQuarrie et al. 2013). Given the discursive nature of blogs (Blood 2004) and the increased influence from marketers, bloggers do not evaluate products independently but are socially embedded in an emerging and continuously changing system where practices are formed.

WOM THEORY

Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1945) introduced the "two-step flow of communication", that includes "opinion leaders" as information conduits who filter information and pass it to their peers via WOM with their own interpretations. The "multi-step flow of communication" (Robinson 1976; Weimann 1982; Burt 1999) developed this idea adding that: 1) individuals obtain information from multiple sources including mass media, influential individuals such as opinion leaders or other sources. 2) Opinion leaders not only assess information from mass media, they exchange and include information from other opinion leaders and information recipients (Robinson 1976, Troidahl and Van Dam 1965).

The linear marketer influence model includes marketers as important actors in the flow of communication attempting to influence individuals through targeted advertisements and promotions via credible sources who simply evaluate the product (Kozinets et al. 2010). Information is then disseminated without any alteration (Engel, Kegerreis and Blackwell 1969) or amplified (Godes and Mayzlin 2009). Unlike the linear model organic WOM develops as a naturally occurring conversation when an individual wants to share experience about a product (Kozinets et al. 2010). Thus, the role of the marketer is transformed as messages are "co-produced", as opposed to simply shared, by the recipients. Kozinets and colleagues (2010) looking at WOM in online communities, introduce the "the network co-production model" where marketers provide further information or products to review and encourage individuals to talk about them. They focus on the use of blogs and seeding campaigns in online communities (centered on smartphones) where marketers provide further information or products for review and encourage individuals to talk about them. Looking at 83 blogs for six months they categorize bloggers as acting nodes (consumers directly influenced by a marketer) who play a central role in diffusing information to consumers. Kozinets et al. (2010) found that the influence from marketers can lead to a 'dual role' and some commercial-communal tension arising from what may be seen as a 'conflict of interests'. Thus, bloggers have been found to be equally influenced by marketers and other bloggers or

consumers. However, the network co-production model represents those bloggers as highly individualized and ignores the various forms of communication that could develop among bloggers. For instance, Kumar et al. (2004) found a high density of communication between blogs in terms of comments and linkage creations resulting in a fairly homogenous group. Moreover, McQuarrie et al. (2013) highlight that bloggers do not form an alternative community – rather they are embedded in the traditional marketplace that includes mass media (e.g. journalists).

WOM MARKETING AND SEEDING CAMPAIGNS

Marketers use a number of different approaches to seeding. One indirect approach is to “engineer” WOM among their customer base and increase the number of conversations that take place (Godes and Mayzlin 2009). Another more direct approach, one that is marketer initiated but consumer diffused, is to target product samples at selected consumers (Kozinets et al. 2010). These seeding campaigns (Lehmann & Estaban-Bravo 2007) aim to target product sampling to selected consumers. Thus these are product specific campaigns are scheduled over a certain period of time. Often interchangeably used, WOM marketing (Godes and Mayzlin, 2009) has a similar focus on specific individuals but is less formulated in terms of duration and focus (Kozinets et al. 2010).

Both WOM marketing and seeding campaigns are developed to help marketers to exploit new audiences by attracting a group of targeted customers to adopt and review the product at an early stage in the product lifecycle with the hope of attracting other consumers (Libai, Muller & Peres, 2013). As the information in these campaigns is diffused by the targeted individuals this tends to be more cost efficient than using traditional mass media advertising (Hinz et al., 2011). Thus, increased attention has been paid to seeding campaigns as a new tool that could add or even replace traditional media advertising particularly with a younger target group (Godes & Mayzlin, 2009). According to Hinz et al. (2011) there are four factors that have a major influence in the success of a seeding campaign: First, the type of content can be either product advice or news. Second, the structure of the network should contain a large audience to reach more potential consumers. Third, marketers have to find individuals who are willing to participate in the review process and share content. Finally, an incentive must be given to those influential individuals to participate in such seeding campaigns. However, in these studies seeding campaigns are often limited to empirically capture single campaigns with one specific product (Kozinets et al., 2010). This fails to capture the dynamics of the relationship between marketers and bloggers within the networked environment and examining the nature of relationships is essential to understand the profitability of such seeding campaigns (Libai, Muller and Peres 2013). Moreover, assuming that bloggers become a permanent member of the marketplace it raises further questions about the nature of WOM marketing in seeding campaigns.

METHODOLOGY

Existing studies on blogs (Zhao and Belk 2007, Kretz 2010, McQuarrie et al. 2013, Vaast et al. 2013) primarily focus on blog content due to the convenience of data collection. Thus they do not provide insight to the context and overall shaping of bloggers and blogging as an activity. This research attempted to provide a conceptually grounded and methodologically comprehensive qualitative study that explored the views and experiences of tech-bloggers in online WOM. The research combined an empirical enquiry of bloggers and marketers they are working with qualitative interviews. This has required purposive sampling to identify key participants

within the consumer electronics sector in Germany. This geographical focus addresses the difficulties outlined elsewhere in drawing on a random sample of blogs. Sampling was conducted using blog rankings (Zhao and Belk 2007, Lawson-Borders and Kirk 2005) to identify blogs in the product category with a sizeable audience and blog aggregators (Vaast and Davidson 2009, Kretz 2010, McQuarrie et al. 2013). The sample was refined by eliminating blogs where a main author could not be clearly identified. Qualitative interviews were the primary source of data. Fifteen in-depth interviews were conducted either face to face or online with ten bloggers identified through the sampling process and five marketers that cooperate with those bloggers. Within blogger interviews we applied a snowballing technique to identify marketing experts these bloggers mostly work with and ranked those by the number of mentions in blogger interviews.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Blogger to Blogger relationships

All ten bloggers claimed that in the early stages of establishing their blog they actively sought out other popular bloggers and learn by imitating other blogs, replicating practices from more established bloggers. Once established they began to develop their own practices to distinguish themselves particularly notable in blog format and writing style. Establishing a close connection with an established blogger has been very beneficial as established bloggers can give advice, introduce new bloggers to marketers or help them construct and build their audience. Introducing other bloggers on their blog or constantly linking to each other and interacting is one means of attracting and building audiences (Kumar et al. 2004). However, bloggers claimed that interaction is much more goal oriented and this is reinforced by the fact that interaction between bloggers is concentrated in the early stages of blog development. Among bloggers we obtained shared practices that include validating and citing sources, funding transparency and maintaining interaction formed and negotiated amongst bloggers. This seems to create little conflict among the bloggers and is in fact mutually beneficial in building audiences and reputation.

A community of practice – As part of the interaction between bloggers they read and observe other blogs within the same product category. A shared practice that has been established is to acknowledge work from other blogs by regularly citing them. Tech-bloggers need to validate their sources in order to be taken seriously and regular citations or links to other established blogs is one way of doing this, as Alexander notes (see table 1). This both facilitates information exchanges between blogs and gives credibility to the blogger and the information. This is seen as an active attempt of professionalization by applying journalistic practices (Hass 2005) to their repertoire. Thus, they are not consumers in a traditional sense as they express expertise and become more professionalized.

As part of their professionalization, bloggers need to assert their independence and overcome the problem of “dual role of consumer–marketer colors” in appealing to both their audience and marketers (Kozinets et al. 2010, p.83). As blog audiences grow and interaction with marketers is increasing (McQuarrie et al. 2013) bloggers devise ways to retain their independence while cooperating with marketers. This includes posting a separate page where all forms of support and their purpose is listed (Sascha) or publically acknowledging the commercial nature of the blog (Fabien). The need for funding transparency is highlighted by Carsten (see table 1).

Reinforcing practices – The findings emphasized the importance of bloggers to align with such shared practices. Those blog-

gers who do not conform to these practices (e.g. making funding sources transparent) find themselves ostracized as established bloggers distance themselves from the non-conformists. This is further expressed in a public critique of non-confirmative behavior (e.g. not citing others).

Blogger to Marketer relationships

As bloggers develop links with marketers they become significantly more attractive to readers as they are able to report better. As this cooperation becomes more formalised it reduces the uncertainty of return from a marketer’s perspective. Thus, it may be assumed that marketers prefer cooperating with bloggers they know or that are coherent with practices such as transparency of funding.

New ways of interaction – As a consequence of marketer’s interest in blogs in expanding their marketing communications bloggers have formed relationships with companies that grant them further access to information and new products for review. This might include direct communication in advance of launch or direct access to individuals in the company As a Microsoft marketer noted cooperation is preferred where messages are authentic complying with the overall narrative of the blog (Kozinets et al., 2010). Marketers encourage and support ongoing communications with specific actors (bloggers) for certain campaigns often selecting from a pool of influencers they know or have worked with. Thus it is noted that relationships between bloggers and marketers are sustained beyond individual seeding campaigns.

Continuous interaction – Although much of the cooperation is centered on specific campaigns (Kozinets et al. 2010, Hinz et al. 2011), there is a continuous interaction between bloggers and marketers. Clearly much of the activity is centered on specific campaigns where there is a lot of activity around the launch of new devices but relationships include ongoing access to information from the company, and invitations to participate in conferences and events. Funding support can include travel reimbursement to these events or allowing bloggers to keep devices following the review where they can use these to increase readership, for example by building their own promotion around the device. This continuous interaction is central to building relationships particularly in the early stages of the relationship as Lutz noted (see table 1).

Establishing more permanent relationships – As a result of these relationships that develop between marketers and bloggers it has become apparent, during the empirical investigation that opportunities for more permanent relationships with marketers emerged leading to the creation of occupations specialising in seeding strategies. Marketers in this study referred themselves as influencer relations or blogger relations - specialists that are the main contact with bloggers. They could be employed internally in marketing or public relations departments or externally such as consultants or campaign manager which serves implications to the current understanding of marketer communications.

Table 1 – Summary of empirical themes

<i>Blogger – Blogger relationship</i>	
<p>Validating and citing sources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communal practice highlighting the acceptance of other bloggers. 	<p>“References are incredibly important to me because it verifies my work. It is sad to see if other blogs take exclusive information from one of my articles and do no link. This is unacceptable.” (Alexander)</p>
<p>Transparency in terms of funding</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Justify for interaction with marketers Prerequisite for a relationship with marketers and other bloggers. 	<p>“I do not take money from any company that wants to have their products presented. Usually devices are loaned for a period of time and this is clearly labelled as such and is not interfering with my opinion in any kind of way.” (Carsten)</p>
<p>Reinforcing practices</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A topology of bloggers involved in shaping practices. 	<p>“We have to fight really hard to be perceived as credible. Everyone that is misbehaving is like a stab in the back.” (Sascha)</p>
<i>Blogger – Marketer relationship</i>	
<p>New ways of interaction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Multiple conversations across multiple channels Personal and closer interaction 	<p>“If a manufacturer releases new devices, there are pre-press releases via e-mail. But I also have the spokeswoman of Samsung on Facebook, so I contact her directly. They are very sincere. You would think that it is totally formal, but I have found it to be very personal.” (Jan)</p>
<p>Continuous interaction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relationships built beyond campaigns. Further collaborations apart from seeding campaigns. 	<p>“Some of those people I know for more than five years now, so I know that everything runs smoothly. But with new ones you have to be in continuous interaction and send little reminders to be considered when new devices are in. If it goes well for the first few times, it becomes more relaxed.” (Lutz)</p>
<p>Establishing more permanent relationships</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A variety of marketer roles involved in communications One specific point of contact. 	<p>“Some manufacturers are now represented by an agency or new relations people, which transform the nature of communication as we don’t connect with companies anymore; we connect with people within or around the firm.” (Felix)</p>

A modification of WOM theory

The proposed model (figure 1) builds on the network co-production model which depicts a direct influence from marketers to targeted consumers diffusing to final consumers. In contrast, the modified network co-production model attempts to capture the complexity of the relationship between marketers and bloggers, the relationship between groups of market intermediaries (blogger to blogger) as well as the relationship between bloggers and their readers (consumers). It offers a further account of the nuances of members in the ecosystem.

As well as the marketer interaction identified by Kozinets et al. (2010), there are various marketer roles (influencer and blog relations either internal or external) involved in social interaction with bloggers. Following Vaast et al. (2013) we refer to bloggers as actors as they emerged from traditional bloggers based on their specific practices as a result of their interaction. Due to their close interaction between them, they form a fairly homogenous group which we refer as an actor category. Due to their professionalization, their practices diverge closer to traditional market members such as journalists (McQuarrie et al. 2013). Thus the actor category is positioned among known concepts of traditional markets (journalists and bloggers).

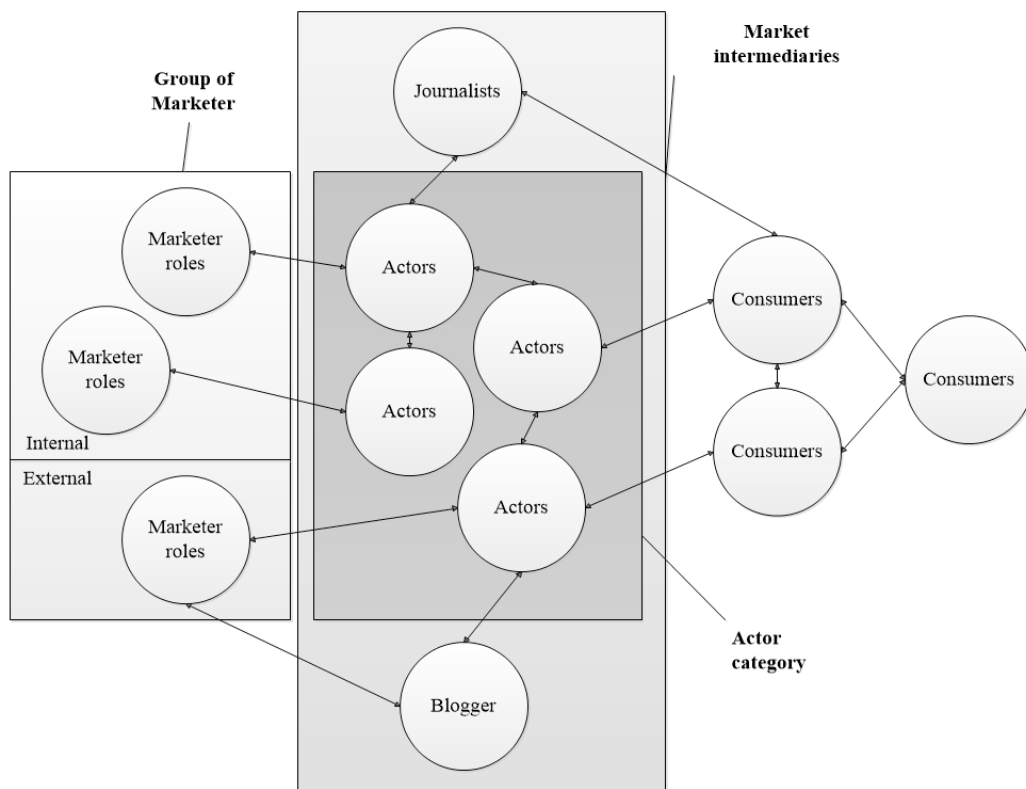
volves both actors and consumers contribution to the co-production of information.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper provides a more detailed and nuanced account of online WOM by investigating product seeding in relation to tech-bloggers within the sector of consumer electronics. A key issue is the role of actors as co-producers of information (Kozinets et al., 2010) along with consumers as well as marketers and other actors (as Robinson, 1976 discussed in relation to opinion leaders). By foregrounding the position of actors and looking at the nature of their relationships with companies and other bloggers we are able to identify the ways in which these individuals can influence WOM in an online environment. Importantly it highlights the role of tech-bloggers as emerging actors in online WOM communication.

We found that sustaining relationships with marketers evolve beyond individual seeding campaigns as a need emerges for more specialised roles to facilitate the changing nature and increasing complexity of communication between marketers and actors. It further illustrates the complexity of interaction over various communication channels. Thus, there is a need for these specialists to

Figure 1 – A modification of the network co-production model



The model portrays the actor not as a single receiver and diffuser of information (Engel, Kegerreis and Blackwell 1969) but rather as a multi-connected entity acting on the information (Godes and Mayzlin 2009). Our evidence suggests that actors are less isolated than previously assumed. They have multiple connections and channels to communicate receiving information from marketers, mass media including journalists and consumers. This information is processed, evaluated and shared in consideration with other members of this system. The actor at the center of these multiple conversations

acts as an intermediary between consumers and marketers. Thus we propose that those actors are not only a channel of marketer initiated messages - they are a powerful entity engaging in a multiplicity of conversations through multiple channels. Consequently, these actors play a key role in marketing communication and information exchange. The co-production of information is not restricted to consumers (Kozinets et al. 2010) but involves other actors (e.g. tech-bloggers) and marketers. This transforms the communication from a one way diffusion of information to a two way conversation that in-

react to those new ways of interaction over a longer period and establishing longer term relationships. Though, these findings generate several propositions for further testing. Within the relationship between marketers and actors we obtained a variety of collaboration formats apart from seeding products that could lead to a grey area of practices. As shared practices are continuously transformed, it is not clear how these forms of cooperation and these relationships will develop. Given the transforming form of interaction between marketers and actors, future collaboration may be challenging as blogs may become fully sponsored by marketers. Any shift to externally managed communications is likely to demand even more transparency. Moreover, a limitation of this study is an underrepresentation of consumers as part of the developed model. Future research might capture the consumer's account and potentially unveil a perception gap among consumers, marketers and bloggers.

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“You’ve got great taste”: An Ingratiation Theory Perspective on the Specificities of Online Luxury Brand Communities

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ABSTRACT

This study draws from ingratiation theory to investigate the specificity of online luxury brand communities, using an observational netnography. We analyze and discuss the diverging strategies held by low and high power community members, and the role played by flattery in maintaining and gaining status in the community.

INTRODUCTION: THE GROWING USE OF SOCIAL MEDIA BY LUXURY BRANDS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ONLINE LUXURY BRAND COMMUNITIES

The 2009 global financial crisis and the growth of Asian and Middle Eastern markets have forced luxury brands to adapt to reach new types of customers and increasingly rely on digital platforms and social media to enhance customer relationships and brand image (Erdogmus and Çiçek 2012; Kim and Ko 2012). Although most luxury brands initially adopted a careful approach with their online presence—for example, the Italian luxury brand Prada only set up its website in 2007—most brands have since developed a strong online presence. As of February 2015, brands such as Louis Vuitton and Burberry have more than 18,000,000 ‘likes’ on their official Facebook page. Chanel is the most “pinterested” brand on the eponymous social network.

Luxury consumption was traditionally associated with an exclusive in-store experience (Lindquist 1974), but in the past decade, luxury brands have begun engaging in a two-way dialogue with customers, offering them opportunities to write reviews of collections or products, “like” Facebook pages and campaigns, and interact with other luxury consumers online (Kim and Ko 2012; Kretz and Voyer 2013). In addition, luxury consumers have also initiated online communities dedicated to the consumption of luxury goods.

However, the growing use of digital platforms, online communities, and social media among luxury companies and their customers arguably contradicts the essence of luxury consumption, which consists of a drive for the exclusiveness and prestige typically associated with owning such goods, as well as the feeling of belonging to a certain elite (Grossman and Shapiro 1988; Phau and Prendergast 2000). The current study explores the specificity of these new types of brand communities by investigating the meaning of being part of an online luxury brand community in the fashion industry and the strategies consumers engaged in such communities use.

LITERATURE REVIEW: BRAND COMMUNITIES, LUXURY CONSUMPTION, AND INGRATIATION THEORY

Brand communities are “specialized, non-geographically bound communities, based on a structured set of social relationships among users of a brand” (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001, 412). They allow consumers to feel emotionally connected and to accomplish collective goals (Zaglia 2013). They have their own norms (Schmitt 2012), use storytelling (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001), and can develop a common language (Casaló, Flavián, and Guinalú 2008). Brand communities allow social group cohesion and transparency between forum members (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001). Members’ status on online communities is determined according to a series of implicit rules, with

members who post a higher number of messages typically enjoying higher status (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001).

Luxury consumption is often related to status and power. From classical scholars such as Veblen (1899) and Bourdieu (1984) to more recent work on the evolutionary aspects of luxury consumption (Han, Nunes and Drèze 2010), luxury consumption has been deemed a highly communicative act, which can be used to send signals about status, wealth, social class, and, thus, social and economic power. Power and status can be obtained through conspicuous consumption, such as public displays and acquisitions of luxury products, which enhances one’s social status (Amatulli and Gudino 2012; Kastanakis and Balabanis 2012).

The specific nature of luxury consumption is likely to play a role in the behaviors and motivations of members of luxury brand communities for two reasons. First, members’ interactions in online brand communities are typically highly structured and hierarchical (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001) and can be further reinforced by the status dimension of luxury consumption. Second, the exclusive nature of luxury consumption means that some consumers can use online communities to develop a feeling of belonging to the luxury world, without having to buy expensive items, and thereby still enhance their self-esteem and perceived power at a lower financial cost (Belk 2013; Muniz and O’Guinn 2001).

The association of luxury consumption with power and status is also likely to affect the nature and types of relationships developed in these communities. Consumers are likely to employ specific strategies when engaging and interacting with other members, especially when interacting with members displaying a higher status in the community. According to Berry (1994), individuals often modify their behaviors – and use exaggerated compliments – when interacting with someone displaying expensive luxury items.

Jones’s (1964) ingratiation theory thus seems applicable to frame and understand relationships in online luxury brand communities. Ingratiation refers to an act of flattery, typically given by a low-power person to a high-power one, to gain social acceptance and approval (Wortman and Linsenmeier 1977). According to Jones, low-power people tend to engage in ingratiation strategies to gain consideration from high-power people. Jones distinguishes among four types of ingratiation strategies. The first strategy, called “complimentary other-enhancement,” consists of an act of flattery in which a low-power person exaggerates and tries to explicitly adulate a target high-power person by emphasizing his or her qualities. For this strategy to work, Jones suggests that the tactic must be considered a natural way of complimenting the target person. The second strategy, “conformity in opinion, judgment, and behavior,” refers to the act of trying to appear as if one shares the same opinions, values, and beliefs of the target person. A low-power person tries to do so by seeming as similar to the high-power person (Jones 1964) and, therefore, equally likable (Byrne 1971). The third strategy, “self-presentation,” involves enhancing one’s own qualities to inflate perceived importance and attractiveness. Finally, the fourth strategy is based on “rendering favors”; by giving favors to high-power people, low-power people can increase their chances of receiving favors in return and thus become more attractive to high-power people.

Bohra and Pandey (1984) further refined Jones’s theory and added a fifth strategy, referred to as “self-deprecation.” In this strat-

egy, a low-power person presents him- or herself as being less attractive to induce pity from the high-power person. An increase in the use of ingratiation can be triggered by previous rejections from a target person (Romero-Canyas et al. 2010). Furthermore, people with low self-esteem are more likely to use ingratiation (Wu, Li, and Johnson 2011). Finally, Inesi, Lee, and Rios (2014) show that powerful people can be self-objectified by subordinates, through the use of ingratiation tactics.

METHODOLOGY: AN OBSERVATIONAL NETNOGRAPHY

We conducted netnography research on PurseForum.com using an observational procedure (Kozinets 2002, 2006). PurseForum.com is a members-only thread forum dedicated to luxury brands. We chose the brand Hermès because it was one of the most active brands discussed by members on PurseForum.com (31,532 threads and 2,043,023 posts, representing 10% of the total number of threads and posts). Hermès is ranked as one of the most valuable luxury brands (*Forbes* 2014) and the second-best luxury brand worldwide according to BrandZ (2014).

We extracted the data set from five threads on PurseForum.com, representing 935 posts, originally posted between 2009 and 2014. Threads were purposely selected according to their length—longer threads indicated more active conversations over a longer period, therefore providing richer data. We chose the final coded threads on the basis of (1) recently created threads, in which members were active in the last few days during the observation process, and (2) frequency and regularity, in that we selected posts when members interacted daily with one another, which thus would entail a more thorough online active conversation. We processed threads and posts with NVivo 10, using thematic analysis as the method of data analysis (Kozinets 2006). We defined categories *ex ante* (Braun and Clarke 2006) to investigate ingratiation strategies, as defined by Jones (1964) and Bohra and Pandey (1984).

RESULTS: THE DIVERGING STRATEGIES OF HIGH- VERSUS LOW-POWER COMMUNITY MEMBERS IN ONLINE LUXURY BRAND COMMUNITIES

We first identified high- and low-power members on the basis of members' histories in the community. Criteria used to identify high-power members were the number of months or years members had been registered for and their total number of posts. We classified members as high power if they met three criteria: they (1) had been forum members for more than a year, (2) had posted more than 500 posts, and (3) displayed an important collection of luxury items in their posts. High-power members had all received the label of "established member" on the forum. By contrast, low-power members were less active or had only recently joined the forum. Table 1 summarizes the results.

In the forum, high-power members retain and enhance their status by (1) displaying ownership of an extensive and growing luxury item collection and (2) being considered a reference person for fashion advice by low-power members. Low-power members mainly endorse the role of advice seekers by, for example, occasionally addressing high-power members to understand which item they should purchase:

I'm going to buy a new bag soon and I really love the Verona PM and the Alma PM in Vernis. If you could only have one of them, which one would you choose, any why? :) Thanks in advance. – TheAnni

Low-power members do not talk about or display a large collection of luxury items. They are also usually not, compared with high-power members, "thread masters." The main ingratiation tactic low-power members use tends to be what Jones (1964) refers to as a complimentary other-enhancement strategy. This tactic seemed especially common in the early stages of relationship development

TABLE 1
A TYPOLOGY OF HIGH- VERSUS LOW-POWER MEMBERS ON LUXURY BRAND COMMUNITIES

Member type	Member characteristics	Power/status markers on the forum	Strategies used to enhance power/status in the community
High-power members	Forum members for more than a year Post more than 500 posts Display an important collection of luxury items in their posts Receive the label of "established member" on the forum	Discussing and displaying a growing luxury item collection Being considered a reference person for fashion advice by low-power members Becoming thread masters	Artificially creating a scarcity of replies, when replying to low-power member posts, so that replies and acknowledgments become tokens given to low-power members.
Low-power members	Less active or have only recently joined the forum Posts contribute less to the general threads Tend to mainly reply to high-power members' posts	Endorsing the role of advice seeker Implicitly competing with other low-power members to gain recognition of high-power members	Complimentary other-enhancement strategy: a tactic especially common in the early stages of relationship development between high- and low-power members. Expressing admiration for high-power members' collections, using flattery, sometimes in an exaggerated manner Using self-depreciation, sometimes accompanying flattery

between high- and low-power members. The following compliment illustrates the way a low-power member typically expresses his or her admiration of a high-power member's collection:

WOW!!! That is an absolutely amazing collection, I'm impressed. You've got great taste, and style. (And I've always thought that your avatar was very chic too.) – Designvixen

Most posts using this type of ingratiation strategy followed a similar complimenting structure, alternating expressions of admiration (e.g., "I'm impressed"), exaggeration (e.g., "an absolutely amazing collection"), and flattery (e.g., "You've got great taste, and style") (see Table 1). Flattery was sometimes accompanied by a second ingratiation tactic—self-depreciation (Bohra and Pandey 1984)—which we occasionally identified in our analysis. For example, SkipToMyLou, a low-power member, posted, "I wish I had parents like yours," pointing out a potential difference in social background and the lack of financial support received from his or her parents in comparison with the high-power member.

The tone adopted by low-power members seems mostly genuine, which reinforces the effect of compliments on high-power members. This also suggests that despite a lack of knowledge about or connection with high-power members outside the forum, low-power members tend to develop a sincere admiration for high-power members. Developing strong connections with high-power members seems more important for many low-power members than connecting with the brand. Our analysis also revealed an implicit competition among low-power members who regularly post on the forum, not only to flatter high-power members but also to reestablish their existence on the forum.

In most situations, high-power members acknowledge admiration gestures from low-power members by replying to each compliment, usually thanking members with short, concise, and generic "thank-you" posts. The following reply, written by a high-power member, illustrates a typical response to a series of compliments received:

Erinrose, canadianstudies, doreenjoy, ehemelay, Sewon - Thank you! – Glamourdoll

High-power members seem to use such short responses to (re) emphasize their status. Whereas low-power members use wordy complimenting posts on the forum to attract the attention of high-power members, high-power members artificially create scarcity of replies so that their replies and acknowledgments become tokens given to low-power members.

The use of a complimentary other-enhancement ingratiation strategy on the forum can lead to the development of offline friendships between community members. On certain occasions, high-power members who seemed genuinely flattered invited low-power members to enjoy some shopping activities together, as illustrated in the following dialogue:

AH!! I saw your signature with the group photo and was SO EXCITED! I have exams right now, so I havent been around... (P.s. Just saw your blog ... you are SO pretty!) – Basicandorganic

You are always so kind to me with your sweet compliments! maybe we can meet up and go shopping together when I'm in Toronto! Good luck on all your exams~ – Glamourdoll

As high-power members develop a more personal relationship with low-power members on the forum, the discussion often goes beyond luxury consumption, resulting in a more personal, informal dialogue. Low-power members who established a more personal relationship with high-power members often began asking more personal questions, mostly unrelated to bag acquisitions or the luxury world per se (e.g., personal sociodemographic questions):

Sorry for askin but how old are u now? – Bhadra
Bhadra – thank you! I turned 18 last month. :) – Glamourdoll

Another sign of this proximity between some low- and high-power members comes from low-power members referring to high-power members by their real names, rather than their pseudonyms. Such familiarity and proximity contributes to flattening the hierarchy between the low- and high-power members.

DISCUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

Online brand communities have been discussed extensively in marketing literature during the past 15 years (Casaló et al. 2008; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Schmitt 2012; Zaglia 2013). The current study contributes to the literature on brand communities in two ways. First, by exploring a newer type of online community, dedicated to the consumption of luxury goods. Unlike traditional brand communities, which offer consumers an opportunity to share and interact with other members on favorite and financially accessible brands, online luxury brand communities give members a stronger feeling of belongingness, as community membership opens doors to an inaccessible world for many. Second, by drawing from ingratiation theory to understand the behaviors of members in these communities.

Our results suggest that the specific nature of luxury consumption affects the nature of relationships and strategies used to build a network in the community. Online luxury communities appear even more hierarchical than traditional communities of consumption, and this hierarchy results in the use of diverging strategies between low- and high-power members to gain or maintain power within the community. In line with previous research on the structure and hierarchies of online communities (e.g. Muniz and O'Guinn 2001), high-power members regularly post messages and have acquired over time a certain notoriety on the forum. They present themselves as wealthy or coming from wealthy families (e.g., glamourdoll, who claims her parents pay for her luxury designer bag collection) and share with the rest of the community their bag acquisitions. Low-power members are much less active on the forum and appear more dependent on high-status members, whom they regularly try to flatter with compliments. Low-power members use two main types of ingratiation strategies to increase their status within the community: complimentary other-enhancement (Jones 1964) and, occasionally, self-depreciation (Bohra and Pandey 1984). They actively try to gain recognition and acceptance (Belk 2013) through regular posting, to maintain their hierarchical position (Burt 2000).

Low-power members on online luxury forums seem to display what Belk (1988) refers to as the need to feel belongingness with other, "extravagant" people—that is, those who are active, prominent members in the luxury world. By using their avatars, low-power members can become someone else and develop an extended self that connects with the world of luxury (Belk 2013). Members also use explicit pseudonyms such as "glamourdoll" and "bagenvy" to leave their "real" self and embody their "ideal" self (Belk 2013): a person who owns luxury designer bags and belongs to the prestigious, exclusive world inhabited by similar elites (Solomon 2002).

Overall, high-power members' motivations for joining online luxury consumption communities appear to be the display of exten-

sive collections, symbolizing their power and attracting ingratiation. Conversely, low-power members exhibit a drive to flatter high-power members, to increase their perceived status. Consumers portray themselves as purse and bag "lovers," interested in the product itself rather than creating a relationship with the brand through its social media services. This issue potentially raises questions about the way companies should use social media in the context of luxury consumption, as well as the evolution of the digitalization of online luxury brand communities.

This study has two main limitations. First, the community studied, PurseForum.com, is a niche community, focusing on a narrow topic: small and medium-sized luxury leather goods. Second, the scope of the research was limited to one luxury brand: Hermès. Although the brand is an iconic and sought-after luxury brand, the nature of fashion is such that certain brands can attract specific profiles of customers, sharing different psychological traits (e.g., extroverts vs. introverts). Further research should therefore explore similar communities focusing on other brands and product categories. Additional research could also investigate the role of the "quiet" or "loud" nature of a luxury brand (see Han et al. 2010) on the type of ingratiation strategies people use. For example, discussions around loud luxury brands, which have a higher vertical signaling power, could lead to increased competition among low-power members. The nature of the product category discussed, as well as members' gender or cultural origins, could also affect consumers' strategies in the community. For example, the decision to share information about a prominent and conspicuous luxury item (e.g., a designer bag), compared with sharing a more discreet piece of clothing (e.g., a jumper), could be related to the need to divulge one's "trophies" (e.g., Han, et al. 2010; Veblen 1899). In other words, such behaviors could pertain to an implicit loud branding strategy in an attempt to become part of an online luxury brand community (Swaminathan, Stillee, and Ahluwalia 2009). Finally, research could further investigate the motivations of high-power community members, possibility using offline interviews, to understand how the online character they develop relates to their real self in the offline world (Kretz and Voyer 2013).

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The Use of Weber Fraction as a Tool to Measure Price Sensitivity: a Gain and Loss Perspective.

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ABSTRACT

Price sensitivity measured as Weber fraction and price elasticity of demand depend on the frame of reference: a purchase may be considered either as gain (price decrease condition) or loss (price increase condition). The paper compares psychological and economic methods of studying the price / demand relationship.

INTRODUCTION

There is a plethora of studies in consumer behavior that demonstrate a poor knowledge of prices on the part of customers. For example, Dickson & Sawyer (1990) observed that more than half of shoppers did not remember the prices of articles they had just put into their shopping carts in a supermarket. However, the results of research on price knowledge are inconclusive. The actual memory for prices varies from 5% to over than 50% of correct recalls (Estelami & Lehman, 2001) and is highly dependent on the method of study and socio-economic variables (Gaston-Breton & Raghuram, 2013). Still, marketing specialists purposefully use high or low price strategies assuming that consumers can compare prices to some point of reference (Kotler & Anderson, 2010). Such strategies would be useless if consumers did not have some kind of price sensitivity, i.e. the ability to compare the actual price with one believed to be typical on the market.

There are many measures of price sensitivity, and some of them are designed exclusively by marketing research companies. Most of such approaches either register actual shopping behavior as a function of price changes (Tellis, 1988), use a simulation of a shopping situation (Burke, Harlam, Kahn, & Lodish, 1992) or measure the so-called willingness to pay (Miller, Hofstetter, Krohmer, & Zhang, 2011), i.e. consumers' predictions on how much they would spend, if they happened to buy a certain product. Some studies, however, use methods derived directly from perception studies in psychology. Monroe & Venkatesan (1969) probably were the first to use the perceptual methods for studying price sensitivity. In one of their studies the authors used the limit method borrowed from Woodworth and Schlosberg (1954). In the study of perception the limit method is used to investigate the difference threshold, i.e. the change of a physical property of a stimulus that is registered by the participants of the experiment as "the just noticeable difference". For example, in the study of acoustic perception the participants hear an initial tone at a certain level of loudness and are exposed to a series of tones that are gradually louder. What is measured in this kind of study is the difference in decibels between this initial tone and the tone that participants perceive as louder than the first one. The tones may be presented in an ascending or descending order but the difference that the participants are able to register does not depend on the presentation order. Monroe & Venkatesan mirrored this method by presenting the participants initial prices (high and low) for seven different products (e.g. blouse, hair dryer) and then a set of 14 new prices serially in ascending and descending orders. Their study proves that buyers not only have an upper constraint on pricing but also refuse to buy products, if they are priced below the lower limit of the accepted price range.

THE WEBER FRACTION AND THE GAIN – LOSS PERSPECTIVE

Much experimental and brain imaging research confirms the hypothesis that numbers are represented in human mind not only in verbal and graphic codes, but also as "fuzzy" representations of numerical magnitudes that largely speaking obey the Weber law (Dehaene, 1997). This is reflected by the distance and size effects: the reaction time needed to distinguish two numbers is inversely related to the numerical distance between those numbers, and for an equal distance it increases with number size. One consequence of this is the fact that the standard deviation of estimated prices should be proportional to their means. If this proportion is constant for a certain product, then it should be regarded as the statistical equivalent of the Weber fraction (Woodworth & Schlosberg, 1954). Indeed, Dehaene & Marques (2002) showed that the typical value of the Weber fraction, measured as SD/Mean ratio was around 0.35 and was similar in the studies across different countries when the price was expressed in the native currency. When the consumers have well established knowledge of prices of the frequently bought items, the Weber fraction is typically around 0.15. This value may therefore represent the intrinsic variability associated with the cognitive system of number representation.

The crucial difference between perceptual and pricing studies that use psychophysical methods lies in the very nature of the tasks. The sheer mentioning of the money concept in any kind of study automatically activates cognitive representation of money with all its psychological consequences (Vohs, Mead, & Goode, 2006). One obvious consequence is that money is used for making transactions. Even if people spend money on buying products, they typically do not have a feeling of losing money, rather they estimate whether their purchase was a good or bad deal (Thaler, 2008). Inevitably the concept of money brings about gain and loss perspectives. One can either make a good deal or pay more than expected and therefore make a loss. Seminal studies by Kahneman & Tversky (1979) showed that the same outcome can be valued differently depending on whether it is considered as a gain or loss according to some reference point. For example, even positive information such as price reduction by 5% can be regarded as a loss if someone expected a price cut of 10% (Puto, 1987).

EXPERIMENTAL STUDY

The study was conducted with the use of a web based service for gathering data from on-line questionnaires. In the study participated 518 respondents: 47% males and 53% females. The participants were randomly assigned to one of two groups: price-decrease condition and price-increase condition. In both groups the participants were asked to make decisions at what price they would buy the following six items: a toothpaste, a loaf of bread, a ball pen, a pair of shoes, an indoor hot tub. The name of each item was presented separately on a computer screen with the first, initial price below it. In the price-decrease condition the initial price was the highest one and the participants were informed that they should consider it as too high to buy the product. After they had pressed the button, they could see the next price which was lower by 5% from the initial one. The participants' task was to make a decision to either buy the product for this lower price or to wait to see the next reduced price. If they decided to wait, they could see the next lower price – a 10% reduction

from the initial one. There were 9 price reduction options for each product and they were presented in descending order with an increment of 5% from the initial price in each step. The key instruction for the participants in this group was the following: “Imagine that you have decided to buy each of the following products but when you discovered their prices you thought the products were too expensive. However, you may want to buy each product for a lower price. You will see the consecutive reduction of prices. Please, make your decision and choose the price that you would already accept for each product”. The task of the participants was to mark on the web page the prices that they do not accept (“I would not buy for this price”) and the prices they accept (“I would buy for this price”).

In the price-increase condition the procedure was similar to that used in the price-decrease condition, but in this case the first initial price was the lowest one and was followed by nine prices presented in an ascending order with the same incremental steps of 5% as in

prices did not differ in the groups of ascending and descending order of price presentations (Wilcoxon test: $z = .52, p = .6$). However, the distribution of acceptance prices was different in two groups. Technically speaking a two dimensional plot with prices on axis X and the frequencies of participants accepting actual price level for a particular product is a cumulative distribution curve and can be used to extrapolate a probability density distribution. Table 1 presents means and Weber fraction for all six products from the study. Table 1 also presents the price elasticity of demand for each product – the concept that will be discussed below.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations and Weber fractions for six products presented in the study (Mean prices are presented in the Polish Currency Polish zloty, PLN = 3.3 \$)

The calculation of the Weber fractions followed the procedure described by Dehaene & Marques (2002), therefore the Weber fraction is a result of dividing the standard deviation by the mean. As in

Product	Price-decrease condition			Price-increase condition		
	Mean	Weber	Price elasticity	Mean	Weber	Price elasticity
Toothpaste	6.33	0.202	-1.32	6.55	0.078	-2.24
Bread	1.78	0.225	-0.95	1.94	0.077	-1.56
Ball pen	2.68	0.2	-1.03	2.44	0.09	-1.53
Shoes	198	0.186	-1.74	179.25	0.077	-2.02
Hot tub	10457	0.222	-1.50	10422	0.08	-2.02
Refrigerator	1640.97	0.190	-1.85	1315.11	0.079	-1.85

the descending order. The participants were instructed that they had to imagine buying each of the products for the initial price. The key instruction phrase in this group was the following. “You will see an ascending list of prices for each product. Please make your decision and choose the price that you would still accept for each product even though it is higher than your initial conviction”. Similarly to the other group, the participants were marking the prices they would and would not accept. The initial prices in both groups were chosen after a pilot study in which a different group of participants was asked to list low and high prices for the same items as those used in the experiment. The prices in the study were presented in Polish currency (Polish zloty, abbreviated as PLN) and whole study was prepared in Polish – the language native to all the participants.

FINDINGS

The participants from the price-decrease group were informed that they should consider the first initial price for each product as too high, so they unanimously marked all initial prices with “I would not buy for this price” tag. However, as the prices went down, the number of those who would accept certain prices went up. On the other hand, the participants from the increase condition were instructed to accept the initial, and in this case the lowest price, and as the prices went up, the numbers of those willing to buy the products for the given prices were diminishing. The mean of the two price estimates when the participants changed their decisions (from “I would not buy” to “I would buy” in the decrease condition and vice versa in the increase condition) can be treated as the average accepted price for each of the six products used in the study. The means of accepted

seems from the data presented in Table 1 in the case of each product the Weber fraction was at least twice as much higher in the price-decrease than in the price-increase condition. Although there were only six types of products, the differences between the Weber fractions are statistically significant: binomial test, $p = .016$.

As the Weber fractions from Table 1 reveal consumers are twice as much more sensitive to price changes when the prices go up with the comparison of price reduction. From the practical point of view it means that when consumers do not accept the initial price (as in the decrease condition), they differ very much in their opinion on how much the price should be reduced to be accepted. On the other hand, when consumers accept the initial price (as in the increase condition), they are more consistent in accepting the higher price. This result is in line with the prospect theory (Tversky & Kahneman, 2007) that states that judgments are asymmetric. But the novel finding from the study is that consumers differ much more in the case of accepting gains than losses. Even though the average accepted price does not depend on the gain or loss perspective.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF PRICE SENSITIVITY AND ECONOMIC CONCEPT OF PRICE ELASTICITY

The concept of price sensitivity should be in accordance with the economic concept of elasticity of demand. When consumers are more sensitive to price changes this should be reflected in price elasticity of demand, which is represented by the formula in equation 1:

$$(1) \quad e_p = \frac{dQ}{dP} \cdot \frac{P}{Q}$$

where e_p stands for price elasticity, dQ – change in quantity of demand, dP – change in price, P and Q – actual price and the quantity of demand.

The formula in equation (1) yields a negative value as the changes of demand are inversely related to the changes of price (Begg, Fisher, & Dornbush, 2008). Price elasticity of demand is calculated as the ratio of the percentage difference of the demand and the percentage difference of the price. In the standard version this ratio is calculated in such a way that it is the same regardless if one takes into account the rise in or reduction of price. Such an approach does not take into account the type of the decision situation as it is seen by a consumer. The rise in and reduction of price are psychologically different, hence they trigger a different framing of the buying situation: either as a loss or as a gain. As the reference point is the key factor in incorporating the particular frame, then the order of comparing prices, i.e. if the current price is higher or lower than the reference point, should be also taken into account in the calculation of price elasticity. This hypothesis was verified by Putler (1992) who observed that the absolute value of price elasticity of demand on eggs was twice as much higher (0.78) in the case of price increase in comparison with price decrease (0.33). Therefore even small increase in price made the purchase unattractive to twice as many consumers than the equivalent decrease in price made the purchase attractive.

The price elasticity of demand may have different values along the demand curve, however it can be also expressed as the steep slope of a line that approximates the demand as a linear function. Therefore, the general price elasticity is stable along the demand curve, what is expressed by equation 2:

$$(2) \quad e_p = \frac{P}{Q} \cdot \frac{1}{\text{tg} \alpha}$$

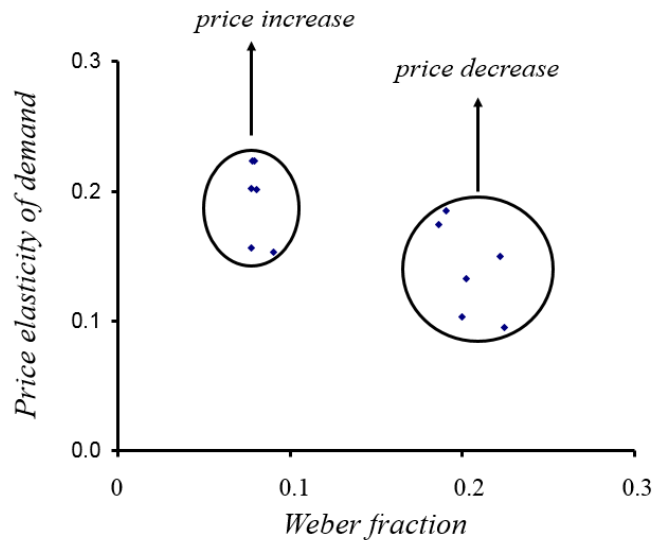
where α stands for the angle of slope of the linear approximation of the general price elasticity.

When the demand curve is approximated by a linear function its slope is constant along the range of prices and therefore the reverse of the slope, measured by $1/\text{tg} \alpha$, can be regarded as the general indicator of price elasticity of demand. Although the data used in the experiment described above come from a study that only simulates purchase decisions, it can be used to calculate the general price elasticity of demand as the numbers representing different levels of prices can be paired with the proportion of participants who declared buying products with those prices. The general price elasticity of demand was calculated separately for the participants in the price-decrease and price-increase conditions. In the case of every product the absolute value of general price elasticity of demand is significantly higher in the increase than in the decrease condition. For example, rise in price of toothpaste by 1% reduces the demand by 2.24% while the decrease of price by 1% increases the demand by 1.32%. Generally, the price elasticity of demand is about 40% higher in the case of an increase than decrease of the price for all six products used in the study. All values of general price elasticity are presented in Table 1.

If the elasticity of demand is high, then even small changes in price are reflected in the changes of the quantity of demand. Likewise, when the price sensitivity is high then consumers are more influenced by price changes. As the relation between price sensitivity and the Weber fraction is reversed, therefore higher values of the Weber fraction should be associated with lower absolute values of general price elasticity. Indeed, this pattern of relation was supported

by the data of the study (Spearman $\rho = -.76, p < .05$). Figure 1 summarizes this result in a graphic form.

Figure 1. The relation between the Weber fraction and the absolute value of the general price elasticity of demand for six products used in the study



On the basis of the analysis presented above it can be concluded that perceptual ability to distinguish prices is strictly connected with the economic concept of price elasticity of demand.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The aim of this study has been to investigate differences between price sensitivity in price-increase and price-decrease conditions. The limit method, that is a presentation of prices in ascending or descending orders, used in the study was borrowed from the studies of perception. Price sensitivity was measured by means of the Weber fraction, which was defined as a division of the standard deviations of accepted prices over the means. The Weber fraction has been used in the study of price perception since the 1960s (Webb, 1961), nevertheless the analogy between the perception of physical properties of stimuli and prices is not straightforward. Although most consumers are not able to distinguish between the weight of two products, if they differ less than 2% in weight, still all of them would not have problems in noticing even a small difference between two different prices of exactly the same product, though it might take some time when the difference is really small (Thomas & Morwitz, 2009). However, noticing that the new price differs from the previous one is not equivalent to triggering motivation to buy or refrain from buying a certain product. For example, Miller (1962) observed that price reductions must amount to at least 20% in order to make buying attractive. Therefore price sensitivity is not only perceptual, but also a motivational concept, that is it reflects a tendency to accept the actual price instead of investing time into finding a more attractive option. In the study presented above, the Weber fraction was defined as a proportion of the standard deviations of accepted prices and their arithmetic means. As it turned out, the average accepted price decrease is around 20% of the initial price which is equal to the value proposed by Miller. On the other hand, consumers are very likely to refrain from buying a product if its price has increased by only 8% from the initial accepted price. In other words, the range of price acceptance in the reduction condition is about two times bigger than the range of price accepted in the price-increase condition.

The psychological concept of price sensitivity can be compared with the economic concept of the general price elasticity of demand. Although the way of calculating price elasticity of demand makes this value independent of the order in which new and old prices are inserted into the Equation 1 (see above), the data gathered for the study allowed for calculating the price elasticity coefficient separately in the case of price-increase and price-decrease conditions. As assumed, the price elasticity coefficients were negatively correlated with the Weber fractions. Consequently, the products that elicited higher price sensitivity also elicited higher price elasticity of demand. Moreover the calculations for price elasticity revealed that in the case of price reduction the demand is less elastic than in the case of price increase. And this result directly mirrors the same observation based upon the values of the Weber fraction.

The price of a product as any kind of number has a certain semantic value (Brannon, 2006), especially in the case of consumer behavior - prices can be regarded as high, low or average. But there is also a pragmatic aspect of price perception: the estimation of the fact if the price is high or low is highly dependent on the context. This context may be activated by external sources, e.g. the previous price indicated in the promotional materials or internal sources, e.g. a recall from memory of a previous encounter with the same product priced at a lower or higher value. In the case of the research presented above, the context was directly presented to the participants as the starting, initial price. In the decrease condition, this initial price was presented as too high and in the increase condition was presented as low. In both cases, the initial prices may form an anchoring effect (Ariely, Loewenstein, & Prelec, 2003). However, it should be noticed that those anchoring prices did not have an influence on the assessment of the prices that the participants would accept for products they saw in the study. In this respect, the result of the research presented above differs from standard findings. The Weber fraction that was used for calculating the price sensitivity is a relative measure that takes into account those average accepted prices. It can be concluded that the price-increase situation amounts to smaller variation (as measured by standard deviation) in the range of accepted prices than the price increase. Therefore both price sensitivity and price elasticity of demand should be studied, taking into account the appropriate frame of reference.

In a famous quotation, Henry Ford stated that "My policy is the price reduction and this is the first step in management" (Ford, 1923, p. 146). Indeed, even if consumers consider the initial price for the product as too high, the reduction in price makes them less sensitive to further price changes and therefore the demand is less elastic. The tendency to find gains or avoid losses in purchase decisions is a behavioral consequence of the motivational states represented in the minds of consumers. However the demand is more dependent on price changes in the case of price increase. In this case, the margin of the increase is significantly smaller than the margin of price reduction. Therefore, even if consumers accept some increase in price, they will be very soon reluctant to buy a product if the price is increased even by a small margin. This conclusion is supported both by the psychological concept of price sensitivity and the economic concept of price elasticity of demand.

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The Role of Design in the Appropriation of Shared Objects: Autolib in Paris

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ABSTRACT

This article looks at consumers' appropriation of cars in a carsharing system. Underpinned by research on design and design knowledge, our paper illustrates how specific design elements contributed to the appropriation of shared vehicles through controlling, knowing and creating the product and the service.

INTRODUCTION

Virginie has a client meeting and decides to drive there. She looks at her phone: three cars are waiting for her one block away. She has been using Autolib, a carsharing system supported by Paris' City Council, for almost two years now. She knows the vehicles (there's only one model, the Bluecar, an electric car) and the system intimately. She places her card on the reader and the door of the vehicle in the middle opens. She unplugs the car from the charging station and gets in. The car greets her: 'Hello Virginie' and starts playing her favorite radio. She presses the pedal; she is on the road again. She has come to love that feeling.

In a context of rising collaborative consumption (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; John, 2013) a new focus on sharing behaviors (Belk, 2007, 2010) and access-based consumption (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012) has emerged in the research community. Studies have looked at the pros and cons of using instead of owning for consumers and companies (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012; Meijkamp, 1998; Jonsson, 2007). Sharing is often depicted as a liberating form of consumption as it frees the consumer from the domination of objects (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012) and even as a form of anti-consumption that allows consumers to express their rejection of the market (Ozanne and Ballantine, 2010). Belk (2010) distinguishes between an affective form of sharing ("sharing in") and a more economically driven "sharing out". In this second type of sharing, the consumer is not driven by an altruistic motive but rather by practicality or cost reduction. This second type of sharing is probably less impressive than collaborative projects between consumers, and yet it is the most interesting to study in order to observe new relationships between consumers, products and brands (Belk, 2010). When a consumer owns a product, a natural process of appropriation towards that object occurs. Appropriation is a fundamental characteristic of human behavior. It is crucial in the self-fulfillment process (Serfaty-Garzon, 2003), and helps consumers in the construction of their identities (Belk, 1988; Cerulo, 1997; Kleine et al., 1995; Kleine and Baker, 2004). In marketing, appropriation of the product is necessary in order to create a relationship with the brand (Fournier, 1998). When an object is shared the dynamic of appropriation is threatened (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012). How can a company conceive a product that will be shared but that also will enable consumers to develop a certain appropriation towards it, thus creating a relationship with the brand? Based on the analysis of current theories in the discipline of design and design thinking, our paper explores the links between design and appropriation in the context of shared objects. Specifically, we look at key design elements that can have an impact on creating appropriation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sharing

Sharing is a specific form of consumption, a model that differs from traditional gift giving or commodity exchange (Belk, 2010). This specific form of consumption invites us to reconsider the consumer-

object relationship. The role of consumption as a possession-based activity has long been studied in marketing (Belk, 1988; Richins, 1994; Ahuvia, 2005), as it remains the dominant form of consumption (Guillard, 2014). However this traditional scheme has recently been disrupted by the emergence of the sharing economy (Botsman and Rogers, 2010). Sharing is in itself an ambivalent term. It signifies both cutting something into pieces and living a common experience. Belk (2010) distinguishes between "sharing in" that qualifies sharing behaviors existing in close, intimate circles such as family or friends; and "sharing out", which is when sharing happens outside of the extended self of the individual. Car sharing is an example of sharing out, when consumers use cars that belong to a third-party (Meijkamp, 1998; Jonsson, 2007; Katzev, 2003). Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) have conceptualized those instances of consumption as "access-based consumption", which they defined as 'transactions that can be mediated in which no transfer of ownership take place'. Studying a case of car sharing, the authors refuted that a perceived sense of ownership could exist between the consumers and the accessed object, meaning that no appropriative relationship existed. However the company they chose to focus their case study on had not implemented a design project for their product or service.

Design

Implementing a design project implies thinking about the product itself but also about the actors of the object (the users), and the situation of usage (the consumption context) (Findeli and Bousbaci, 2005). The discipline of design is, in its most recent conception, highly concerned with 'the accomplishment of [human beings] individual and collective purposes' (Buchanan, 2001). Design research tries to link insights from social sciences, such as marketing research, with the development of new product and product features (Buchanan, 2001). From a marketing point of view design is often depicted as a mere product development activity, and on the other hand, to designers marketing is often too concerned with cost and managerial issues. This situation creates communication and understanding issues between the two disciplines (Beverland and Farrelly, 2011). Yet as these authors show, when the two fields work hand in hand the results can be sensational. It is thus necessary to understand design as a culture, integrating elements from production to distribution; consumption to waste; demography to consumer psychology (Julier, 2014). The discipline of design, with a strong reflection on the definition of a product and knowledge on product features' roles in consumption can help us analyze how to generate appropriation of a shared product. It is our understanding that marketing research could benefit from a more design-oriented point of view.

Appropriation

The common sense given to appropriation is to "make something mine". The feeling of appropriation is universal and an inherent part of human nature. Rouhette (Encyclopedia Universalis) gives the example of engraved bone weapons dating back to the Paleolithic as a representation of appropriation. Appropriation is not to be confused with ownership. The later is defined by legal standards whereas appropriation's definition is rooted in common sense. Appropriation implies actions from the individual who wishes to make something his. It is a dynamic and complex process.

This phenomenon has been studied largely in the case of spaces (Fischer, 1981). In marketing it was particularly the case in servic-

es marketing and store design (Aubert-Gamet, 1996, Kolenc, 2008; Badot and Lemoine, 2009). Place appropriation can be defined as a process of “actions and interventions on a space to transform and personalize it” (Aubert-Gamet, 1996). In the context of experiential consumption (Holbrook and Hirschman, 1982) research has shown that the appropriation of the experience’s space is necessary to allow the immersion of the consumer into the experience (Bonnin, 2002; Carù and Cova, 2003).

Etymologically, to appropriate something refers to the natural action by which food penetrated the organism. This is relevant in the case of object appropriation and the extended-self theory. Sartre’s work (1943) theorizes the human desire to have things. He identified three ways one could appropriate something: creating (making something to have it), knowing (knowing something intimately contributes to its existence for me) and a third one that can be described as controlling. Controlling refers to overcoming an obstacle. It is also linked to the ability to use the object and to have the power to destroy it (to modify its matter). To Sartre, wanting to have an object meant wanting to be into a relationship with this object.

Belk (1988) drew on Sartre’s work to understand the impact of this relationship on consumers’ identity construction. He examined how our possessions become a part of our selves to constitute our extended selves. He translated into three self-extension processes the three having ways developed by Sartre (1943): controlling/appropriating, creating and knowing. He added a fourth way which he identified as symbolic contamination. Contamination is a passive form of self-extension that occurs by involuntarily incorporating others into one’s extended self (Argo, Dahl and Morales, 2006). Fernandez and Lastovicka (2011) deconstructed this process of self-extension by looking at how objects could contaminate the self. They answered Belk’s (2005) call to develop an alternate, non-Western view of the concept of self-incorporation by offering a more assimilationist view. Rather than to conceptualize self-extension as the individual extending oneself towards the objects, they are looking at ways that possessions are assimilated inward. The locus of control is moved from the individual to the object. They found that controlling is the main element of the appropriative process. Creating and knowing intimately lead to controlling via mastery of the object (Fernandez and Lastovicka, 2011). More specifically they found that contamination occurs on all four processes of self-extension. Creating and knowing intimately implies contamination, and as a consequence so does controlling.

Sartre (1943) defined possession of an object as ‘being through the object’. Behind every having behavior is a will of being (Fromm, 1976). The link between the appropriated object and the self is strong. Marxist theory goes further by stating that it is only through the appropriation of the means of production that workers could be freed from a bourgeois appropriation, make sense of their life and find purpose. Appropriation is crucial in the development of the selves and the well-being of individuals. In today’s context of rising sharing behaviors this process seems threatened (Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012), which is why it is necessary to understand how to enable consumers to appropriate objects that they share with others.

METHODOLOGY

Because we aim to understand the process of appropriation of shared objects our research follows a comprehensive logic. Hence, a qualitative methodology is preferred. The literature could not provide enough depths to formulate a hypothesis because studying sharing is relatively new in marketing research. That is why we engaged our research through an abductive approach, constantly going back and forth between the field and the literature.

We conducted interviews with users of the carsharing system Autolib in Paris. Autolib offers a network of electric cars in Paris and

its close suburbs. For about ten euros a month, plus a small cost for each journey, users have access to all the cars and benefit from the service and the infrastructure. Autolib and companies like Zipcar share many common characteristics, however Autolib differs in that it supports only one type of car. Its fleet of car is homogeneous and consists in the model “The Bluecar” designed by Pininfarina. Thirteen interviews were conducted with Parisians and close suburbs inhabitants (see Table 1. below). Each interview lasted between forty and seventy minutes. The discussion focused on sharing in general, the relationship with the company Autolib and the Bluecar.

Table 1. Informant Demographic Characteristics

Name	Age	Profession	Place of residence	User for
Carla	27	Student	Suburbs	6 months
Marianne	25	Intern	Paris	2 years
Olivier	27	Consultant	Paris	4 months
Tristan	22	Intern	Paris	1,5 years
Johanna	26	Student	Paris	2,5 years
Jean-Marc	31	Employee	Paris	1,5 years
Lionel	29	Engineer	Suburbs	2,5 years
Jean-Baptiste	28	Engineer	Paris	7 months
Mélissa	23	Student	Suburbs	6 months
Christophe	30	Engineer	Suburbs	1,5 years
Gaëlle	32	Employee	Paris	2 years
Sacha	20	Student	Paris	10 months
Valérie	27	Lawyer	Suburbs	1 months

Categorization of the interviews was done both deductively (appropriation as an existing construct) and inductively (identifying emerging themes) (Spiggle, 1994). The analysis was guided by the constant comparative method of analysis described by Spiggle (1994), in which each incident in the data is compared with other incidents of the same category in order to identify similarities and differences. Our analysis led us to understand the appropriation process, the relationship with the firm’s product and service, and the consumer’s view of sharing in general. Specifically, we were able to identify key design features involved in the appropriation process.

FINDINGS

Our findings follow Sartre’s (1943) theory of appropriation and Belk’s (1988) theory of self-extension. The first three processes of appropriation were recognized in our interviews: controlling, knowing and creating (Sartre, 1943; Belk, 1988). Instances of contamination were identified, yet none of them were positive contamination (Argo, Dahl and Morales, 2008). As a result contamination was not examined here as a process of appropriation (Fernandez and Lastovicka, 2011). Out of the thirteen respondents, only four did not felt appropriation of the Bluecars. Two of them felt the negative contamination of others too much (Argo, Dahl and Morales, 2006) and drove with gloves or washed their hands as soon as they got out of the car. One did not use the service enough (only once every three or four months). Finally the fourth was fully engaged into altruistic sharing and had the feeling of living in community (closer to the ‘sharing in’ described by Belk, 2010). The other respondents really felt like the cars they were using

were theirs. This was expressed through sentences such as ‘Yes, to me, when I’m in the car, I put the music on and I feel like I’m in my car, I do not feel as though I am in someone else’s car’ (Johanna, 26). Our analysis indicated a real appropriation of the shared car for these respondents. For each of the three processes of appropriation we identified the key design features that enabled these feelings.

Controlling

Appropriation by controlling implies overpassing a difficulty or mastering the matter (Sartre, 1943; Belk, 1988; Brunel and Roux, 2006). Because we exercise a control over an object it becomes ours: ‘It is yourself who leads, there’s no mechanics, no ‘machine’ ready to dominate. It is there and it works. There is a real feeling of possession’ (Olivier, 27). This feeling is enabled by the electric motor of the car and the automatic gear: driving is smooth and silent, and thus we understand that this has for consequence that the driver feels in complete control over the vehicle. It is important to note here that automatic gear and electric cars are not, to this day, very common in France. We also noticed that respondents were empowered by the height of the driver’s seat. Even if the car is quite small and ‘urban’, the seat is higher than usual, giving them an impression of control: ‘Something interesting is that the car is quite high, a bit like 4x4, so that the driving’s seat is quite high, higher than almost all the other cars, and that reinforces the game-like sensation’ (Jean-Baptiste, 28). This game-like sensation is central to the controlling element. When Sartre first explained what he meant by ‘mastering the matter’ he gave the example of games and sports. Finally, the design of the service also played a role in giving control to the users. The possibility to book a car, to book a parking space at the place of destination and the vast implantation of the electric charging stations established a ‘whenever I want, wherever I want’ system that empowered consumers.

Knowing

Knowing is a form of having, it is because I know the object that it exists for me (Sartre, 1943; Belk, 1988). The simple fact of seeing something reveals it to me and participates to its existence for me. In this way, I ‘own’ it because it exists through my eyes. With the Bluecar it is less abstract; the feeling of owning the car emerged from the habits that are created between the user and the car. Perhaps one of the most important design features that made possible the appropriation of the shared cars was the uniformity of its fleet vehicles. Because of the use of one single model, the Bluecar, users were able to recognize the car in the street from afar, to know the specificities associated with driving it and to describe the vehicle’s interior. Moreover it established the impression of always getting in the same car: ‘You’re used to it. We know where all the buttons are, there is no need to search for anything every time’ (Carla, 27). Because of this uniformity, habits are created between the users and the cars: ‘Yes I am very familiar [with the car], I know that the first thing to do is to turn the power on because the built-in computer can be slow sometimes. So I turn the power on first to get it started and in the meantime I adjust the mirrors and the seat. I do it in that order.’ (Lionel, 29). This relationship of familiarity is reinforced by the role of the built-in computer. Favorite radio stations are saved, as well as favorite destinations. When the user enters the car, the radio is automatically the same than the previous time, just like in possessed cars.

Creating

Creating is the oldest form of appropriation. At the origins men needed to create the objects they wanted to use and own. Today this can be attained through invested time, energy and money (Sartre, 1943; Belk, 1988). Designing a service that involves consumers in the

process is crucial in this regard. Users clearly expressed the necessity of their involvement: ‘You just have to understand the mechanisms. After a while it becomes mechanical but at the beginning you have to understand it well. You can’t just arrive and leave, you have to lay [your card] to show that it’s you, [...] things like that.’ (Mélissa, 23). The long subscribing process reinforced this feeling of involvement: ‘it’s really a peculiar process. You must really want to use them to try it, you have to take a card and all’ (Tristan, 22). Money and energy invested for each journey, in the good functioning of the service were also factors of appropriation: ‘[...] then you’ve got your Bluecar flashing, you lay your card on the detector to open the small shutter, you unplug, you put away the thing, the electrical supply, you get into your car’ (Tristan, 22). Each time a car is used the driver has to re-plug it into the charging station. When a feature is malfunctioning or a car is damaged, users are invited to report the issue to the customer service.

DISCUSSION

This article adds to current research on sharing and access-based consumption (Belk, 2010; Bardhi and Eckhardt, 2012). Specifically, this research contributes to our understanding of the existing relationship between consumers and shared products. Appropriation of shared cars was made possible thanks to strong product and service design features at key points in the appropriation process. Specifically, we identified that design enabled users to control and to know the vehicle as well as to create the service.

The present research also aims to contribute to the discussion between the disciplines of marketing and design. Both are focused on the end-users and their relationship with objects. While the number of research on product design in marketing journals is slowly increasing (Luchs and Swan, 2011), the two fields do not collaborate easily (Beverland and Farrelly, 2011). Research that combines both approaches can contribute to narrowing this gap and to create connections between the two disciplines.

This article presents the limits inherent to the nature of our research. We have studied the appropriation process in the context of Autolib in Paris; our results are tied to this context. Secondly, the number of interviews is limited, in particular to understand consumers who do not feel any appropriation of the Bluecar. It could be interesting to develop solutions to give them the keys to appropriation.

This research can benefit companies in the sharing economy. By looking at best practice in the field they can ameliorate their products and services to better respond to the consumer’s desire for wellbeing. Indeed it is our understanding that consumers will be more inclined to engage into loyalty behaviors with cars that they feel are ‘theirs’.

Finally, this article opens several potential research avenues for further research to better understand the relationship between the consumer and the shared object. Ethnography has a strong tradition in design research (Button, 2000) and with that in mind it would be relevant to observe consumers in their daily activities involving shared objects. Also, other shared objects should be included in the research to broaden the perspectives, such as household appliances shared amongst occupants of the same building. Furthermore questions arise regarding the appropriation of a shared *place*: are the dynamics the same than for shared objects? Kleine and Baker (2004) show that place attachment shares many characteristics with possession attachment. Both objects and places are central for the consumer’s definition of self. This encourages future research to compare the appropriation process for shared objects and places. It might be, for instance, interesting to observe these dynamics in coworking spaces.

Table 2. Summary of Findings

Theme	Definition	Design element	Quotation example
Existence of appropriation	9 respondents expressed feelings of appropriation towards the car: controlling, knowing or/and creating (Sartre, 1943)		'Yes, to me, when I'm in the car, I put the music on and I feel like I'm in my car, I do not feel as though I am in someone else's car' (Johanna, 26).
Controlling	Overpassing a difficulty or mastering the matter (Sartre, 1943; Brunel and Roux, 2006)	→ Electric motor of the car and the automatic gear: driving is smooth and silent, driver seat is high: driver feels in complete control over the vehicle → Empowerment via service design: 'whenever I want, wherever I want': Consumers control the service process	'It is yourself who leads, there's no mechanics, no 'machine' ready to dominate. It is there and it works. There is a real feeling of possession' (Olivier, 27).
Knowing	Knowing is a form of having, it is because I know the object that it exists by and for me (Sartre, 1943). The simple fact of seeing for instance something reveals it to me and participates to its existence for me	Uniformity of the fleet's vehicle contributes to create habits. The consumer: → Recognizes the car in the street from afar → Knows the specificities associated with driving → Describes the vehicle's interior → Has an impression of always getting in the same car	'You're used to it. We know where all the buttons are, there is no need to search for anything every time' (Carla, 27) 'The personalization is well done, having our radios already there, the station closest to my home in my favorites' (Jean-Marc, 31)
Creating	Creating is the oldest form of appropriation. At the origins men needed to create the things they wanted to own. Today this can be attained through invested time, energy and money (Sartre, 1943).	Co-construction of the service via subscribing process, money and energy invested in the good functioning of the service. Each time a car is used its drivers has to re-plug it into the charging station. When a feature is malfunctioning or a car is damaged, users are invited to report the issue to the customer service.	'[...] then you've got your Bluecar flashing, you lay your card on the detector to open the small shutter, you unplug, you put away the thing, the electrical supply, you get into your car' (Tristan, 22)

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Home is Where the Money is: Financial Consumption in Global Mobility

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ABSTRACT

Prior studies argue that global mobility destabilizes consumers' sense of home by uncoupling it from particular local settings. This paper extends existing research by showing how globally mobile consumers express their sense of home through financial consumption and develop a set of financial consumption practices as an answer to the demands of their mobile lifestyle. This way, financial consumption can serve as a grounding mechanism, anchoring an individual in a particular location by means of economic capital.

INTRODUCTION

Financial consumption patterns of different consumer groups have attracted interest of sociocultural consumer researchers, however, the majority of contributions from the field have been situated within a number of local Western contexts (Bernthal, Crockett, & Rose, 2005; Henry, 2005; Peñaloza & Barnhart, 2011). While the influence of consumer ethnicity on consumption of financial services is now a well-acknowledged occurrence (Peñaloza 1994; Jain & Joy 1997; Peñaloza & Gilly 1999; Chai et al. 2012; Chai & Dibb 2014), existing studies do not explore the ways in which consumer movement itself can be an important influence on financial decisions. Studies that take consumer mobility as the primary point of focus (Bardhi, Eckhardt, & Arnould, 2012; Figueiredo & Uncles, 2015), however, tend to overlook the issue of financial consumption, either mentioning it superficially, or not mentioning it at all.

This study adopts a mobility perspective (Sheller & Urry, 2006) in order to discuss financial consumption patterns and practices of globally mobile consumers. Building upon theoretical and empirical knowledge from the field of consumer mobility studies, in this article I discuss the influence of consumer movement on financial consumption. Focusing on mobility allows the researcher to take a look on consumer movement as an independent agent that can influence consumer behaviour outside the boundaries of local contexts.

CONSUMPTION IN MOBILITY

Consumer cosmopolitanism

According to extant research, one of the most recognizable traits of globally mobile consumers is their cosmopolitan orientation that emerges as a result of coming into contact with a multitude of foreign cultures (Bardhi et al., 2012; Figueiredo & Uncles, 2015). Cosmopolitanism can be defined as a state of mind characterized by the deterritorialization of social identity (Hannerz, 1990), it can manifest as a consumption style (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999) characterized by openness to cultural diversity and a pursuit of new experience on a global scale. Cosmopolitanism often emerges under the influence of global mobility, but stays with consumers even when mobility is limited or after the actively mobile period is over (Holt, 1997, 1998; Üçok & Kjeldgaard, 2006). Flexibility and adaptability being pursued as ideals of a cosmopolitan consumer lifestyle can prevent consumers from building long-term friendships and strengthening social ties in their place of residence as well as abroad (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999).

Weakening of relationship ties

According to Bauman (2003) the age of globalization and uncertainty gives birth to "the man with no bonds". The detachment and flexibility of globally mobile existence can manifest in the con-

sumption domain as "liquid" relationships to possessions. This type of relationships was conceptualized by Bardhi, Eckhardt and Arnould (2012) as specific type of relationships that individuals who live in condition of extreme mobility form with their belongings and other consumption objects. In this relationship possessions are valued for their situational value, instrumental use-value and immateriality. Instead of forming enduring attachment to possessions, mobile consumers replace them in each locale; moreover, possessions that are kept should be functional, accessible, portable and easily disposable.

Unlike other forms of object relationships, such as the extended self (Belk, 1988) or immigrant relationships to possessions that emphasize the identity-linking value (see e.g. Mehta & Belk 1991; Oswald 1999), the globally mobile do not want to form solid relationships with their consumption objects, as their nomadic lifestyles are way too uncertain and unpredictable to sacrifice the practical logic for the sake of nostalgia and attachment. According to Bardhi, Eckhardt and Arnould, (2012) this approach to possession relationships can be regarded as a coping mechanism that helps global nomads deal with the risk, discomfort and uncertainty of their lives of constant relocation.

Flexibility

The logic of flexibility appears as a red thread in most of the research accounts of life in the interconnected globalized world, be it theoretical concepts of instantaneous time (Urry, 2000), time-space distanciation (Giddens, 1990), liquid modernity (Bauman, 2000) or the empirical accounts of mobile consumers' relationships to possessions (Bardhi et al., 2012), or their deterritorialized identity projects (Bardhi, 2004; Hannerz, 1990; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). The uncertainty of globally mobile lifestyle requires flexibility, and the need for flexibility becomes all-consuming in people's lives influencing their social relations as well as their consumption activities under the guise of the idealized imagination of free cosmopolitan lifestyle (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Pursuing flexibility, mobile professionals organize their present consumption in order to satisfy the needs of their imagined globally mobile future selves (Bardhi et al., 2012; Figueiredo & Uncles, 2015).

One aspect of life and consumption in global mobility, however, remains under-researched. The importance of economic capital in facilitating, managing and maintaining global mobility has been acknowledged by many researchers (Bardhi et al., 2012; Field, 1971; Figueiredo & Uncles, 2015; Hannerz, 1990; Konrád, 1984; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999), however, empirical accounts that would provide an in-depth investigation of the ways in which globally mobile consumers deal with their finances are scarce.

Financial consumption of moving consumers

How do globally mobile consumers manage their money while being on the move all the time? A small number of acculturation studies touch upon this question in relation to financial consumption of ethnic immigrants in different countries – culture-specific consumption patterns, consumer adaptation to new service environments and trust issues that arise between the immigrants and the local service providers (Chai, Deans, & Biggemann, 2012; Chai & Dibb, 2014; Jain & Joy, 1997; Peñaloza & Gilly, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994).

While this is undoubtedly a big step towards understanding of what happens to financial consumption when consumers move outside their country of origin, ethnicity does not explain the particular

influence of mobility and movement on financial consumption. For instance, Jain and Joy (1997) highlight the importance of acknowledging the cultural context in order to understand motivations of consumers' financial behaviors, arguing that the meaning of money and financial products may differ between different cultures. This study is significant as it attracts attention to culturally embedded differences in consumption decisions defying traditional economic models of consumption that claim that income determines consumption that in turn determines saving. However, it is still embedded in the relationships between two local cultures from different parts of the world, and it does not focus on consumer mobility and movement as an influence in itself.

It has been previously argued in research that the financial sector can be especially unaware of cultural differences in the marketplace, operating color-blind marketing strategies that result in consumer alienation (Burton, 1996), therefore more inquiries in the financial behaviors of moving consumers are needed, especially those that are not limited to a particular localized consumption context, but explore the larger processes of multiculturalism when consumers adapt to several marketing environments at the same time (Kipnis, Broderick, & Demangeot, 2014). Not only migrating consumers adapt and learn the rules of the game in their new countries of residence as indicated by Peñaloza (1994) or engage in relational bonding with local financial service providers (Chai et al., 2012), they can also transfer and convert their economic capital between different cultural contexts (Hughes & Askegaard, 2008) as well as employ it in order to execute and navigate their international movement (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999).

Existing acculturation studies that focused particularly on immigrant consumers' financial behaviours (Chai et al., 2012; Chai & Dibb, 2014) took a linear perspective of dividing these consumers into highly acculturated and low acculturated groups and tried to measure how the acculturation levels can potentially influence trust and relational bonding in the financial context. All these studies are united by the primary focus on consumer ethnicity rather than consumer mobility and are operating from within the dialogue of concepts of home and host cultures. But if the acculturation process is initiated by movement, why don't we look at movement itself as an important influence on financial decisions and consumption behaviours? Studies that take mobility as a point of departure and particularly focus on globally mobile consumers mention their financial behaviours superficially – for instance we know that mobile consumers prefer immaterial access-based services like virtual financial accounts (Bardhi et al., 2012; Figueiredo & Cayla, 2011) and that the economic capital is indeed important for them (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999), yet there is a surprising lack of studies that would take an in-depth look into the lived consumer experiences of financial consumption occurring in global mobility. In the next sections I will provide an overview of my method before proceeding to the discussion of ongoing findings.

METHOD

Guided by my aim to explore consumption of financial services in global mobility, I have chosen globally mobile highly skilled professionals as the context of this study. Unlike other moving populations, such as ethnic immigrant groups or traditional expatriates on a short-term assignment abroad, who follow a linear trajectory of relocation from home country to a new country of residence with the purpose of settling down or subsequently returning to their home country, these individuals live in the cultural context of global mobility: they serially relocate for personal and business purposes and their population is spread across many different countries. They consider themselves citizens of the world rather than members of local

communities and identify themselves with other transnational professionals, rather than with people living in their country of origin or current country of residence (Bardhi et al., 2012; Bardhi, 2004; Field, 1971; Figueiredo & Uncles, 2015; Figueiredo, 2012; Hannerz, 1990; Konrad, 1984; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Moreover, it has been argued their international mobility is facilitated by their economic capital (Bardhi, Östberg, & Bengtsson, 2010; Thompson & Tambyah, 1999).

The study is based on 23 semi-structured in-depth interviews (McCracken, 1988) with globally mobile professionals who resided in 9 different countries at the moment of the interview. The choice of interviews as the main source of data collection was guided by the need to understand financial consumption from the point of view of consumers. The sample consisted of 9 male and 14 female professionals aged from 24 to 50 years old (Appendix 1). During the data collection I used the snowball sampling strategy that has been previously used by researchers dealing with sensitive topics or researching consumer groups that are not easily accessible (Bardhi et al., 2012; Ger & Sandikci, 2006). The interviews lasted on average 40-90 minutes and were transcribed verbatim, generating 332 pages of text subject for further analysis.

All transcripts were analytically coded (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006), highlighting the instances in the data that were related to the main categories of financial consumption, relationships with banks, mobility and practices. I further conducted analytical reduction of the data across interviews (Figueiredo, 2012; Holt, 2002) looking for emerging patterns related to financial consumption (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). Finally, on the third stage of analysis, related to the structuration and reconstruction of theory (Burawoy, 1998; Kates, 2006) I tried to explain the phenomenon at place in light of existing theory and the social forces that inform the selected research context.

FINDINGS

Practices of financial consumption

Global mobility context requires a certain set of consumption practices which are created as an answer to the demands of the environment. Financial consumption of globally mobile professionals primarily falls into two categories – financial practices and relational practices. **Financial practices** relate to the ways in which mobile consumers manage their own money and their own financial situation. This includes basic things they do on a regular basis – for example getting salary, doing money withdrawals, making deposits, saving money, budgeting, paying day to day bills, and doing money transfers. While all these practices are common operations in which most of consumers all over the world engage regularly, in global mobility the practice of money transfers becomes very important, as it is one of the tools with which consumers manage their global mobility. **Relational practices** are the ones consumers employ in order to interact with their banks or to manage relationships with other people – this includes extensive use of internet or mobile banking, problem-solving by phone or email when something goes wrong, and updating the banks every time they move to a new country. It can also include managing a joint account with a partner or a family member, and collaborating with other people when they need to share bills or to do shopping. For example, Victoria and Karen set up automatic money transfers in order to facilitate sharing rent payment with their respective roommates. Snezana, Svetlana and Alina have accounts in their home country connected to their debit cards where they parents or friends can put money if they need them to buy something in Italy. This also helps them to avoid unnecessary extra fees.

Financial consumption and a sense of home

As an overall pattern of financial consumption participants of the study tended to pool their investment and savings activities either into their home country or in the country that they call home. The consumption pattern depended heavily on whether a person was planning to stay in the country for the long time or was just considering it a temporary arrangement. While the temporary arrangement was characterized by consumption of basic low-involvement services, such as current account and debit card, in the majority of cases savings, mortgages and investment activities were kept in the home country where a person either had a network of support of family and friends, or property. Victoria, a Swedish professional who is currently living in London said that her Swedish account would be with her forever, as she had had it for all her life – and while she was moving around living in the US, Spain and the UK, she always used her Swedish account as a safety net where she saved her money, where she had a mortgage and where she transferred all her money each time she was closing account in one of the countries she previously lived in.

It does not necessarily need to be a country where a person grew up in – it could be as simple as a country whose passport a person possessed or the country where they owned property. For instance, Jean was born in Paris and spent most of his years in France, however, he had a savings account with the large amount of money in his second country of origin, where his parents came from before relocating to France. The same way, James, who was born in Bosnia and had a double Bosnian/Croatian nationality, played on the stock market in Croatia. Another example is Janet, who had left her home country, Colombia, and closed all her accounts there, when she met her husband and started travelling around the world with him. Over the years they have lived in Venezuela, Nigeria, Trinidad, USA, Trinidad and Tobago and Italy. They acquired property in Trinidad and Miami, USA, and this is where she preferred to keep her savings.

Expressive functions of financial consumption

Financial consumption can also be used as a way of resistance to relieve the tension of feeling unaccepted in the current country of residence. Both Jean and Ratheesh were not feeling happy in the countries they currently resided in and both said that they preferred to keep their money outside of their countries of residence. Jean managed this tension by actively identifying with his home country, France. Previously he experienced a couple of episodes of perceived racism in Italy, where people who met him for the first time thought that he was one of the political immigrants and repeatedly asked him why did he come to their country and what was he planning to do there. Jean was really upset by that, and during the interview he underlined that he didn't want Italy have any of his money, because he was French and he wanted to keep it all in France. Ratheesh, though he openly expressed his desire to settle down somewhere in Europe, said that the UK won't have any of his money for as long as they had these strict immigration laws and could kick him out of the country any time they wanted. He had spent the last 5 years of his life in London working as a consultant for a big transnational company, however, he didn't want to take a mortgage there and preferred to keep his savings and investments in India.

I would not be putting my money in any investment project in any country until I'm actually... confirmed that I have... I'm not saying citizenship, but at least if I had permanent residency, that I could live there forever, maybe I would... But otherwise I don't think it's intelligent to invest. You know, these people can

kick me out anytime they want, right? That's the only reason I'm not investing yet. *Ratheesh*

When I moved abroad I always kept my money in France and I'm transferring all my money in France actually, all my stipends, all my salaries. Every month I transfer my money to France for a very specific reason because as a French person I want my money to be in France so it can be beneficial to the French economy rather than the place where I am. It's very national, it may really sound very bad but I really see it this way. *Jean*

While Jean made a decision to keep his money in France partly motivated by his feelings of patriotism and his desire to contribute to the French economy, Ratheesh had made his choice under certain external constraints. His decision to keep money in India came after considering potential risks connected with his current migration status in the European Union.

Financial consumption can also express one's desire to live in a country. For example, Fiona, who had lived and worked in Italy for several years, didn't close her French bank account that she acquired while being an exchange student in France. She actively used it while travelling, and when asked why she didn't close it, she answered that she wanted to come back to France and to live there. Alina, originally from Kazakhstan, didn't save money on her Italian account for quite a long time, preferring to keep her savings in Kazakhstan, where her friends and family were. However, the more she lived in Italy, the more convinced she was that she wanted to stay in the country and build a life there, especially after she met her boyfriend. She has recently started a savings account in her Italian bank, where she is now keeping her money.

DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Money can move freely around the world and is not dependent on national boundaries (Appadurai, 1990). Giddens (1990, p. 22) regarded money as one of the ultimate disembedding mechanisms – a symbolic token that lifts transactions out of their immediate milieus of exchange. Symbolic tokens can be defined as any “media of interchange which can be “passed around” without regard to the specific characteristics of individuals or groups that handle them at any particular juncture”. Giddens considered money the primary mechanism of lifting transactions out of particular exchange locales, making it possible to enact transactions between various agents widely separated by time and space. The global flow of money as a symbolic token can be facilitated through expert systems that contribute to the removal of social relations from their immediate context – wherever one goes, one can rely on the technical expertise provided by financial advisors, lawyers, doctors and so forth. The infrastructure of expert systems allows mobile consumers to travel anywhere in the world while being sure they can rely upon appropriate sources of professional knowledge when needed.

Are globally mobile consumers truly people without bonds when it comes to their financial consumption practices? Findings of this study suggest a link between mobile consumers' sense of home and their financial consumption. Over the years researchers developed multiple definitions of home. Traditional notion of home regards it as a physical space, a safe haven where one can retreat from the outside world (Hareven, 1991). Home can be a focal point of identity anchoring (Bardhi, 2004) and a place where one can achieve security, stability and familiarity (Nowicka, 2007). Migrant consumers who leave their home country to build a new life abroad can try

to recreate the home environment in a new country through favorite possessions (Mehta & Belk, 1991) or foster bonds with home culture through food preparation (Chytкова, 2011). In an attempt to systematize the multiplicity of understandings of home, Bardhi and Askegaard (2008) introduce two perspectives through which we can understand how consumers relate to place: home-as-order, that regards home as a physical place where one feels well oriented in sociocultural order, space and time, and home-as-identity, that is based on one's personal identification with and emotional affiliation to a place. Figueiredo (2012) conceptualizes home in mobility as a network of elements such as physical objects, practices, emotions, meanings and social relations. For globally mobile consumers "home" can become a choice rather a stable notion of the place where they come from (Bardhi et al., 2012).

Findings from this study extend previous research, showing how mobile consumers' sense of home manifests in their financial consumption. While global mobility and serial relocation can destabilize consumers' sense of home, causing them to uncouple their sense of home-as-identity from their country of origin (Bardhi et al., 2012; Figueiredo & Uncles, 2015) recreating home-as-order in temporary places of dwelling (Bardhi & Askegaard, 2008; Nowicka, 2007), financial consumption can help consumers anchor themselves in their perceived or desired home country by means of economic capital. This way home becomes not only a place that mobile consumers feel familiarity or emotional affiliation with, but also a place where they pool their financial resources. While money can still function as a disembedding mechanism that lifts transactions outside immediate local contexts (Giddens, 1990), consumers can simultaneously reembed themselves in their perceived or desired home countries by means of their financial consumption choices.

An important area of financial consumption that requires further attention is the legal aspects of consumers' international financial lives. Independently of what a consumer subjectively considers their home country, a country of their official citizenship will have its own financial and taxation laws that a consumer is obliged to follow whether they want it or not. At the same time, if a consumer is officially a non-citizen of their perceived home country, they might face some restrictions on the local financial services market that can potentially manifest in different rights compared to the legal citizens, or the uncertainties related to their migration status. Future research can investigate potential constraints and risks represented by country laws, migration and tax authorities in relation to mobile professionals' financial consumption choices.

Finally, participants of this study represent a relatively privileged group of highly skilled globally mobile professionals, and their consumption experiences may differ from those of other mobile populations, such as unskilled workers, Roma nomads or refugees that find themselves in different economic and social conditions and potentially have less access to economic capital. Researchers have previously noted that access to economic capital, technology and support infrastructure facilitates the flexible and unattached lifestyle of elite global professionals in comparison with those social groups who cannot engage in similar consumption practices due to a limited access to these resources (Bardhi et al., 2012; Figueiredo & Uncles, 2015). Future research can potentially take a closer look at financial consumption practices of less economically affluent groups of mobile consumers.

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Table 1. Summary of the results

Financial consumption practices in mobility	
<i>Financial practices</i>	ways in which mobile consumers manage their own money and their own financial situation. This includes basic things consumers do on a regular basis –getting salary, doing money withdrawals, making deposits, saving money, budgeting, paying day to day bills, and doing money transfers. The practice of money transfers stands out as very important, as it is one of the tools with which consumers manage their global mobility.
<i>Relational practices</i>	practices that consumers employ in order to interact with their banks or to manage relationships with other people – this includes extensive use of internet or mobile banking, problem-solving by phone or email when something goes wrong, and updating the banks every time they move to a new country. It can also include managing a joint account with a partner or a family member, and collaborating with other people when they need to share bills or to do shopping.
Financial consumption and a sense of home	
<i>Consumption patterns</i>	mobile consumers tend to pool their investment and savings activities either into their home country or in the country that they call home
Expressive functions of financial consumption	financial consumption can be used as a way of resistance to relieve the tension of feeling unaccepted in the current country of residence financial consumption can express one's desire to live in a country.

Table 2. Participants of the study

#	Name	Age	Gender	Status	Degree	Occupation	Home country	Current residence
1	Anna	27	F	Single	MSc	PhD Student	Ukraine	Australia
2	Michael	29	M	Single	MSc	Product manager	Netherlands	Sweden
3	Richard	36	M	Single	MA	Marketing professional	Canada	Sweden
4	Elina	N/A	F	Single	N/A	Procurement manager, head of division	UK	Austria
5	Viktoria	29	F	Single	MA	Operations executive	Sweden	UK
6	Audrie	26	F	Single	MBA	Part-time job in the shop	China	Italy
7	James	24	M	Single	MA	Risk management specialist	Bosnia, Croatia	Germany
8	Fiona	24	F	Single	BA	MA Student	Bulgaria	Sweden
9	Daniel	31	M	Single	MSc, MD	MBA student, entrepreneur	Russia, US	Spain
10	Alanna	27	F	Married	MBA	Unemployed	United States	India
11	Fiona	29	F	Single	MA	Consultant	Albania	Italy
12	Alina	30	F	Single	MA	Banking professional	Kazakhstan	Italy
13	Gianni	32	M	Single	MA	Banking professional	Italy	Italy/Romania
14	Karen	29	F	Single	BA	Student	Germany	Italy
15	Janet	50	F	Married	MBA	Takes care of family business	Colombia	Italy
16	Snezana	28	F	Single	MA	HR professional	Serbia	Italy
17	Jean	29	M	Single	MSc	Consultant	France	Italy
18	Stephen	30	M	Single	BA	English teacher	UK	Italy
19	Ratheesh	30	M	Single	MBA	Consultant	India	UK/Sweden
20	Svetlana	27	F	Single	MA	Banking professional	Russia	Italy
21	Albert	27	M	Single	MBA	Consultant	Poland	Italy
22	Heather	N/A	F	Single	BA	Freelance project manager	Sweden	Canada
23	Anastasia	32	F	Single	MBA	HR professional	Austria	Italy

Consumer Socialization and Intergenerational Brand Loyalty in the Context of Soccer

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the intergenerational evangelization of new supporters. Through the ethnography of two rival football clubs in Brazil, we show how engaged supporters transmit the club mythology through ordinary and extraordinary rituals. We discuss the implications of this process for studies on intergenerational influences, brand loyalty, and family identity.

INTRODUCTION

With few exceptions, the pattern is: you are “Colorado” [Sport Club Internacional supporter] or you are “Gremista” [Grêmio Foot-Ball Porto Alegrense supporter] because of your father, your mother or because of your grandfather, isn’t it? I’ll never forget when my father took me for the first time to the Beira-Rio [stadium]. I’ll never forget when my grandfather used to take me to the matches. There is this feeling; it passes through it. This is something I see more and more, fathers and mothers, grandparents, that thing, building that loyalty: I’m Colorado, of course, I’m red, right? (Eduardo, International Supporter and sports sponsor representative).

Studies on intergenerational influences posit that parents pass brand preferences and attachment to brands to their children in the course of socialization process (John 1999; Moore, Wilkie, and Lutz 2002; Grisaffe and Nguyen 2011). In some cases, such influence on brand loyalty can be stronger than those of traditional marketing variables (Gil, Andrés, and Salinas 2007). This suggests an important relationship between the consumption activities within a household and the production of what we understand as “family” (Moiso, Arnould, and Price 2004). Advancing on the scientific enactment of these relationships, studies from different streams of consumer research have demonstrated that objects (Curassi, Price, and Arnould 2004), brands (Moore, Wilkie, and Lutz 2002), and specific family practices (Epp and Price 2010) contribute to the formation of family identity as older passes it to newer generations (Epp and Price 2008).

Despite having generated important insights on the outcomes of intergenerational influences, extant literature falls short on the understanding of the very nature of the processes through which parents socialize children into their preferences, tastes, and consumption values. Extant research generically points out that, as young consumers evolve in life stages, they will learn through observation (John 1999; Gil, Andrés, and Salinas 2007), develop a set perceptions about their parents (Cotte and Wood 2004), and cumulate transmitted information (Moore, Wilkie, and Lutz 2002). Moreover, in cases of products or brands with strong family identity value, the literature remains silent. So, how do families socialize their children to products, brands, or myth markets with strong identity value? And, how does family identity is reproduced by in this process?

We seek to answer these questions through the analysis of the intra-familial evangelization of new supporters of two football clubs in Brazil. In this context, club partisanship –or clubism– is strongly mediated by a passion that one generation pass to the next (Damo, 2005). Through an ethnographic research, we seek to understand how such “passion” is created and kept alive through a careful process of “evangelization” of young supporters by their parents, who need to make sure their children do not support the greatest rival club. This process is rich in “narratives, rituals, social dramas, and everyday interactions” (Epp and Price 2008, p. 61) that include many consumption activities and market-mediated resources, and becomes

central to the family identity itself. As the family socializes children as supporters of one club, they become unconditionally loyal for life.

As we uncover the evangelization process of new supporters and how it co-constitutes family identity, we provide an extreme context to contribute to three important ongoing discussions in consumer research. First, we enhance our understanding of the nature of intergenerational influences. Second, we provide insights to the discussion on the formation of strong brand preferences and brand loyalty (Fournier 1998). And third, we deepen our understanding of the ways in which consumption activities and market resources help in the process of family identity building in the earlier stages of their life-cycle.

CONTEXT AND THEORY

In order to understand the evangelization of new supporters, we dived into the universe of one of the most intense club rivalries in Brazilian football. Grêmio de Foot-Ball Porto Alegrense (Grêmio) and Sport Club Internacional (Inter) are among the biggest Brazilian teams, each counting around 6 million self-identified supporters (Globo Esporte 2014). In this context, club “choice” is strongly influenced by family. Damo (1998) shows that 70% of both club supporters have chosen their club by direct influence of family members. In a further investigation, he found an 80% match between son/daughter and father’s club partisanship. To understand the nature of this influence, we trace the main mediators operating in this social space (Latour 2005).

First, it is important to realise that football is a game, a form of agonistic ritual, which separates winners from losers every match. It is a modern sport, early developed within the Romantic ethic of eternal love and amateurship (Campbell 2005; Elias e Dunning 1985)

Football was brought to Brazil by European immigrants, who were among the founders of the first Brazilian clubs (Damo 1998; Mascarenhas 2000). Grêmio was founded in 1903 by a group of young German descendants. Inter, by its turn, raised as two Italian descendants had their membership request in Grêmio rejected because of its rigid (racial/elitist) criteria for association. Offended, they founded Inter in 1909 (Coimbra and Noronha 1994). Rivalry among clubs evolved and made them grow while consolidating their differences in supporters’ imaginary. By the 1950, they were two big clubs with growing capitals, including massive communities of supporters. Supporters, by that time, started to think of themselves as “Gremistas” (Grêmio Supporters) and “Colorados” (Inter supporters) (Damo 2005); two *nations* in the form of imagined communities of feeling (Anderson 2008; Damo 2005).

The more elitist, racist and rigid criteria for participation in Grêmio, compared to Inter, made this two imagined communities evolve, think and feel themselves through basic social dichotomies (rich/poor, elite/working class, white/black, arrogant/humble). Notwithstanding today’s social similarity among both supporter’s communities, their historical agonistic constitution remains central to supporters identities and club partisanship meaning. Clubs represent and enact social differences circulating in society through club partisanship –the myth– in a form of modern totemism, with clubs being the totems (Damo 2005).

Second, the agonistic nature of the football game and of Grêmio and Inter imagined communities historical constitution, imply that every match may become an opportunity for joking with each

other (also when they play against other teams). Joking relationships (Mauss 1979) enact the circulation of emotions that constitute club partisanship (pride, honor, glory, shame, infamy, ruin). In Brazilian football, jocosities get a strong sexual connotation. This might be a source of tensions when family members support rival clubs (Damo 2005).

As shown before, the “choice” of the “club of the heart” by young supporters is strongly influenced by family members who are fanatic supporters. This connection suggests that the strong fidelity of club partisanship is in part due to the drifting of kinship mediations (Damo 2005). Kinship is constituted by “blood ties” that are bonds of solidarity “deeply affective, deeply binding, actually breakable but to be broken under the most unusual, tragic, unforgivable circumstances” (Schneider 1992, p.195). In a space strongly mediated by parents/children blood ties, the jocosities with sexual connotation evoke symbolic incest, a taboo in Brazil. Here we have an important mediation for club fidelity: parents who are fanatic supporters do not want to “passivize” or be “passivized” every week by their children. They avoid that by evangelizing their beloved ones have the same club passion.

All these mediations (game as agonistic ritual; historical rivalry; clubism as a form of modern totemism; supporters as imagined communities of feeling; the flow of jocosities that get sexual connotation; and the strong influence of family in child club choice), contribute to the notion that club partisanship *must* be passed from generation to generation in the context of engaged supporters of Grêmio and Inter. But, how does it happen? What are the practices, the consumption activities, and market resources that form the network of actors that enact the evangelization process? Before answering this question, we turn to methods.

METHOD

We conducted our research following the onto-epistemological tenets of actor-network-theory (Callon 1998; Latour 2005; Law 2004). We collected data from the universe of two big Brazilian clubs as part of broader research program on the interrelated uncertainties about marketing, consumption and emotions. As natives of Brazilian clubism (first and second author are respectively Grêmio and Inter supporters) we have been evangelized and evangelized other sup-

porters. This embodied condition colored our data interpretation and made us possess the basic knowledge to become able to “speak to the natives in their own language” (Geertz 2012). Having the native condition as a point of departure, we tried to reassemble the wider network of mediations that constitute this universe.

First author has conducted the two main fieldworks, one in each of the focal clubs. The main concern during Inter fieldwork was with the understanding of club passion itself and the possible relations it has with consumption. Grêmio fieldwork was oriented towards tracing the specific mediations of marketing to club passion. In both cases, the mutual constitution of club partisanship, family and market resources were observed. We collected data through participant and non-participant observation in supporters’ homes, football matches, marketing action, formal and informal interviews, and document/historical analysis. First author wrote a total of 254 pages of observations across the two fieldworks; conducted twenty-eight interviews of one hour of duration on average with supporters (8) and producers who are also supporters (20); took and analysed more than 300 hundred photos and shot more 40 hours of video.

For this paper, evidences of the mutual constitution of family and club partisanship came mainly from the first fieldwork. These evidences were selected and kept in a separate archive. Inspired by the hermeneutic approach (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995; Thompson 1997), we fluctuated through parts and the whole data set, challenging interpretations, and generation insights about what we called the evangelization of new supporters.

FINDINGS

I will make a huge effort for her to be Colorada (Inter supporter). I know that afterwards at school [she will suffer other influences], but no way. Today she looks at Inter’s emblem and talks “Inter, Inter”. It is a brainwashing, I know. (Ricardo, supporter)

For engaged supporters, club partisanship is emotionally embodied and becomes central to their individual and familial identity. In this context, transmitting the club mythology from generation to generation becomes a social obligation, as consequence of the mediations above elaborated. Supporters do so through a series of ordinary and extraordinary rituals, summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Rituals of Socialization

	Rituals	Characteristic	Human actors	Non-human actors
Ordinary	Association	Early conditioning to like club’s motives	Parents	Red (x blue) stuff, songs, chants, stadium, etc.
	Interacting with the media	Daily watching, reading and listening to sports’ shows	Parents, journalists, players	Media, TV sets, newspapers, radios, house, cars, etc.
	Joking and mocking	Jocosities usually directed to rival supporters	Parents, older relatives, parent’s friends, classmates	Jokes, history, championships, matches, etc.
	Storytelling	Narratives about the glories of the past	Parents, past players	Past games, books, DVDs, museums, etc.
Extraordinary	Going to the stadium	Extraordinary experiences of match day on the stadium	Parents, players, fellow supporters, referee, rival supporters, vendors	Stadium and surroundings, ball
	Materializing the club	Special interactions with the club	Parents, players, shops’ personal, club’s employees	Club products, especially shirts, stadium, museum, etc.
	Celebration of victories	Celebrations of important wins and championships	Parents, players, fellow supporters, journalists	Cars, honks, streets, trophies, etc.

Ordinary Rituals

To the purpose of this research, rituals are regarded as the “symbolic form of communication repeated in a stereotypic fashion”. It can be either the most visible family celebrations and traditions as well as the less acknowledged patterned routines within a household (Bennett, Wolin, and McAvity 1988, p. 216; Rook, 1985). Ordinary rituals are important to consumer socialization, in general (John 1999). When reflecting about how they became a supporter, several informants remembered such rituals enacted by their parents or relatives, which they are also promoting with their children.

Rituals of association are one of the first ways parents employ to socialize their children into the club’s universe. Such rituals include the early conditioning of children to like everything that is red (therefore good) (Inter’s color), in opposition to what is blue, the color of the rival. It includes the systematic teaching of the club’s motives, colors, players, and songs, as immediate and readily observable perceptual features (John 1999) of relevant club elements. Ricardo, for instance, sings Inter chants on different occasions and used to sing club’s anthem as a bedtime song to his one-year-old daughter. In other cases, parents reported encouraging their children to cheer (or boo) when they happen to see the anything related to the team (or rival).

Local sports media has a prevalent role in representing and reproducing the club’s universe, often through the lenses of Inter versus Grêmio rivalry. In this context, *interacting with the media* becomes a daily ritual. When talking about their early club related memories, some of our informants fondly remembered when they used to see their fathers reading the papers and listening to the radio football news on daily situation, as going to school. These rituals were particularly important after great winnings/loses, which were taken as moments of rejoicing/agony that extend the emotions generated by the matches’ results.

Generally mediated by the interaction with the media is the usual *joking and mocking* against rival supporters. This takes place in several social interactions within the realm of school, work colleagues, close friends, and the few opposite supporters from the extended family in such way that children grow up getting used to this type of brand related interaction (Fournier, 1998). For instance, it is usual for an older relative or friend to the parents to ask which team the child supports and joke (e.g. “you sufferer”, “I’m sorry”) or compliment (e.g. “how smart”, “look like a champion!”) depending on the answer. Parents ordinarily make jokes against the rival team in the presence their children, reinforcing their feelings for one club against the other.

Another set of rituals involves the often nostalgic *storytelling* about the glories, the dramas, the heroes, great victories and “battles” of the past. When reflecting about how they became Colorados, our informants make sense of how such stories used to impress them during childhood and pre-teen years. “It was my father who taught me to be Colorado, who taught me to go to Beira Rio [stadium], who always told me Inter’s stories, the amazing matches, the building of Beira Rio [with brick donations from supporters]” (Cluvio). The marketing departments of both clubs seem to understand the importance of such stories in order to keep alive the myth of the club. They seek to materialize it in the museums, books, DVDs of great accomplishments, posters, among others.

These four types of ordinary rituals mediate the creation of children’s passion for the club, building a sense of belonging to an imagined community of feeling, which becomes an actor in the network of family and club partisanship relations.

Extraordinary Rituals

Extraordinary rituals help to crystallize the associations built in ordinary rituals due to its special dimensions, detached from regular daily life. We identified three main extraordinary rituals that contribute to the evangelization of new supporters.

Going to the stadium is the most important of the rituals. All of our informants remember going to the stadium as among the most special parent/child experience they use to have. The atmosphere of the stadium, the crowd, the intense expression and sharing of collective emotions, and everything that involves the colorful, noisy, and carnivalesque spectacle (Bakhtin 1984) seems to intensify the ties with the club, as Cluvio exemplifies:

You don’t have much idea of the game. But, game after game you start to get the sense of what the game is, to learn the colors. I see it from Junior [younger brother]. From very young, he could not even talk, but he knew what Inter and Grêmio were. It is very much a family thing. Just like when my father used to take me, match day was ice-cream and unlimited soda day.

Matches are extraordinary experiences for children and get engraved in their memories for life. Those informants who now have children report to take them to the stadium after a meticulous process of game choice to increase the chances of a positive experience (especially related to winning). This way, parents evangelize children through experiencing stadium with a different and special corporeal state that prepare their sensibilities for the tensions of the game. The stadium can also be a place for eating goodies, where children are allowed to call names, and where they can spend quality time with their parents through the experiencing of strong positive and negative emotions. During both fieldworks, we could witness such rituals going on. It was common to see parents taking their children by hand, teaching the chants, swearing together to the referee, and encouraging the children to celebrate scorings, as the pinnacle of the game, in a very expressive and emotional manner.

The second set of extraordinary rituals involve the different forms that parents *materialize the club* to their children. This comprehends taking them to club experiences, such as trainings, meetings with players, guided visits to the stadiums and museums, as well as buying all kinds of club paraphernalia, from t-shirts to pacifiers. Our informants who are parents deliberately buy many kinds of products to their children in order to “surround them with red”. Among these, one particular possession is designed to almost seal the children’s fate as a supporter: the club membership. Some of our informants got the membership from their parents when they were very young –which help them claim that they were “born Colorados”– while others enrolled their newborns in the first months of their lives.

The last of the rituals involve the celebration of victories. From the honking at the stadium exit after winning a game, to the celebration of important championships, such moments get registered as very special ones in young supporters’ memories, who feel rewarded. Indeed, that is one of the earliest childhood memories of Cluvio, who remembers “when we won the Brazilian [Championship] in 1979 my father made a huge red and white kite to celebrate it.” To all of them, the winning of Copa Libertadores (the equivalent to the European Champions League) and the FIFA Club World Cup in 2006 was considered a redemption for all “dry” times, which was celebrated as something that compensated “all the suffering of the 80’s” (Barbara).

Taken together, ordinary and extraordinary rituals co-constitute a network that create and reinforce a sense of (family and club) com-

munity among evangelized supporters. As their lives are mediated by the deliberate efforts –enacted as gifts that transmit meanings (McCracken 1986)– of association and conditioning to preference formation, children get more and more involved, effectively embodying club passion. As these rituals are enacted by their most important references (parents) and associated with the circulation of strong and incarnated emotions relevant to their identity, children develop emotional bonds that mediate their family relations. As the time passes, the relationship between family as a whole and in different familial dyads is reproduced and reinforced through club partisanship, such as: when a son starts to take part in dinner table soccer conversations; when the whole family attends a game or gather around the couch to watch it at home; when, at the stadium, older and younger brother hug each other after every scoring; when a 36-year-old daughter gets a surprise birthday party from the entire family with Inter’s motives; and when a wife announces her pregnancy to her husband with Inter’s baby t-shirt saying: “now you will have someone to put this t-shirt”. It also manifests in our (researchers) own experience, when after many years, the evangelized son starts to take his father to the games, reversing roles, as in the case of the first author. Or when, as in the case of the second author, during the streets’ celebration of the most important championship in the history of the club, his younger brother in tears hugs him and says: “Thank you, brother”.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We analyzed the process of socialization of new supporters in the context two rival Brazilian clubs. Football club fans are conceived as imagined communities of feeling (Anderson 2008; Damo 2005). As such, they carry strong identity value (Holt 2002; Holt 2004). To pass the club’s mythology along, our informants engage in ordinary and extraordinary rituals, which can be both intentional and non-intentional. We now discuss the threefold nature of our contribution.

Epp and Price (2008) advocate that “we might better understand intergenerational influence processes by examining how particular brands are embedded in family and relational identity enactments” (p. 55). Our study provides an extreme context to understand intergenerational influences on brand relationships embedded in larger system of social relations (Fournier 1999). Here, parents work to evangelize children, reducing potential threats that supporting the rival team might bring to the social order within the household. This helps to provide alternative explanations for intergenerational influences on consumers’ preference formation beyond dominant cognitive models (Moore, Wilkie, and Lutz 2002; Cotte and Wood 2004; Gil, Andrés, and Salinas 2007). We show that in some cases, preference development is not only an outcome of observation, imitation, or direct learning. It is also carefully constructed by parents through an emotionally charged process. By uncovering the sociocultural mediators that make evangelizing “a must do” for engaged supporters, we answer Fournier’s (1998) call to understand the specific processes through which strong and long lasting brand loyalties are constructed.

The cognitive approaches to consumer socialization tend to treat it as a natural and unintended process that parents do when performing their socially ascribed roles. Our study highlights a context where parents are fully active in the process also because of the mediation of forces circulating from different sociocultural spaces. With this, we show that the actors constituting brand and brand loyalty go far away in time and space from “simply a collection of perceptions held in the mind of the consumer” (Fournier 1998, p.344).

Our analysis might also shed light on consumer socialization controversies in the contexts of brands, product categories, and life-

styles with strong identity value for consumers and high competition among opposing parties. Similar processes could be found in cases such as Apple x PC (Muñiz and Schau 2005), American x Japanese automobiles (Schouten and McAlexander 1995), and anti-consumption x consumerism (Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler 2010). We propose the potential existence of an agonistic dimension of brand loyalty development in addition to Fournier’s (1998) elements, as brands may become totemic enactments of socially relevant differences, as in the case of Grêmio x Inter rivalry.

Finally, our analysis deepens the understanding of the ways in which family identity is mediated by consumption practices (Epp and Price 2008). The process of evangelization is made through rituals that systematically produce associations between the individual, the club, and the family. These rituals produce emotional bonds that accumulate in family memory and are made persistent through the materiality of club elements. As the time passes and socialized consumers are fully invested in the passion, club partisanship becomes an important mediator that reproduces families’ subjective sense of collectivity and continuity over time.

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Toward a Spatial Theory of Taste Formation

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to argue for the development of a spatial theory of taste. We posit that taste might be better understood as being spatially formed and performed via consumers' aesthetic experiences at various consumption places. We illustrate the usefulness of a spatial conception of taste for contemporary consumer research.

INTRODUCTION

This paper argues for the development of a spatial theory of taste formation. In consumer research, taste has provided a valuable tool and it has mostly been utilized as the theoretical apparatus of our aesthetic choices, preferences, lifestyles and identity projects. However, there is no consensus on how taste is formed and performed in the contemporary marketplace. Consumer researchers have engaged more with the functions and consequences rather than with spatial processes of taste formation. Existing theories of taste are limited due to their primary focus either on consumption practices and/or on postmodern assertions about the fluidity and fragmentation of consumers' tastes. Based on a review of previous literature on aesthetics, theories of taste and aesthetic consumption experiences, we illustrate how taste might be understood as being spatially formed and performed through consumers' aesthetic experiences at various consumption places. We highlight the importance of consumers' aesthetic experiences and their spatial context to the formation of tastes. Inspired by a phenomenological interpretation of Bourdieuan theories of taste and their subsequent use within consumer research, we argue for the development of a spatial theory of taste formation. This reveals the importance of consumption places, which are culturally embedded within certain fields of consumption, and the diversity of ways that consumers' aesthetic experiences and identity investments within these places might be related to their tastes and identity projects. Accordingly, we argue that a spatial theory of taste offers consumer researchers the possibility to investigate the topoanalytic relationality of consumers' tastes and also place their identity projects within a physical, socio-cultural, and historical frame. We conclude by illustrating how a spatial theory of taste formation might be of relevance to diverse streams of consumer research. We also explain why such a theoretical shift toward a spatial conception of taste would be useful for contemporary marketing theory and practice.

AESTHETICS AND JUDGMENTS OF TASTE

Any discussion about taste necessarily incorporates the concept of aesthetics. Aesthetics is an ambiguous and ill-defined concept. Early abstract conceptualizations of aesthetics might be traced back to the works of ancient philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle in their efforts to build theories of beauty and art. Both philosophers viewed the aesthetic experience as inferior to rational inquiry because it seemed vague or too abstract to conceptualize (Cazeaux 2000). Understandings changed following Kant's (1790) publication of the critique of aesthetic judgment where he aimed to evaluate whether the faculty of feeling pleasure could lead to the creation of a third philosophical branch to accompany metaphysics and ethics (Kivy 2004). Since then, aesthetics has been studied and conceptualized from a variety of disciplines and streams of thought. One of the main aims of Kantian aesthetics was to explore how and whether standards could be developed for the notion of aesthetic judgments,

that is for judgments of taste. Kant maintained that taste is subjective and universally subjective at the same time; subjective to the individual perception level and universally subjective at the social level where it needs to be communicated and justified to others (Gallegos and McHoul, 2006). Kant's study of judgments of taste initiated a growing interest and discussion outside the field of philosophical aesthetics. Accordingly, any efforts to develop working theories of taste seem to broadly revolve around these two levels.

Within the sociological and consumer research literature, aesthetics and taste have been conceptualized in a diversity of ways. First, taste has been theorized as a mechanism for social and/or cultural distinction (Allen 2002; Bourdieu 1984; Holt 1997). Such studies identify the structural aspects of taste, quite often deal with class-based and status oriented consumption practices and ultimately provide a macro-social interpretation of the consumption phenomena at hand. Second, taste has been studied as a marker of affiliation to specific groups, communities and/or fields of consumption (Arsel and Bean 2013; Arsel and Thompson 2011; Holt 1998; Kates 2002; Thornton 1996). This strand of consumer research investigates consumers' desire for belonging to groups/communities/fields of consumption, primarily through the employment of taste as a lifestyle marker aligned with the tribal aesthetics of postmodern consumer culture (Maffesoli 1996). These efforts attempt to move away from the macro-social and structural dimensions of taste and build more contextualized interpretations. Third, taste has been considered as a mechanism of aesthetic discrimination (Banister and Booth 2004; Bourdieu 1984; Joy and Sherry 2003; McQuarrie et al. 2013; Wilk 1997). Here, consumer researchers deal either with the processes through which individuals achieve distastes (Banister and Booth 2004; McQuarrie et al. 2013; Wilk 1997) or with aesthetic consumption practices that distinguish them from other consumers in the marketplace and often possess artistic qualities (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; Joy and Sherry 2003). Finally, a wide range of studies explores taste as a sensory output related to five senses (Bloch 1995; Townsend 1987; Venkatesh et al. 2010). Aesthetics and judgments of taste are mainly associated with visual forms of objects and sensory experiences related with texture, harmony, order, and beauty (Venkatesh et al. 2010).

In general, these streams of research highlight how taste is defined individually, through groups, and within social determinants, and practiced economically and culturally within discursive formations in the production of aesthetic appreciation (Fenster 1991). Furthermore, some of these studies position aesthetics and judgments of taste within the everyday lives of consumers. However, it is argued that most of these studies focus on the functions and practices of taste rather than on how taste is formed. Even when they do so, they emphasize the portrayal of consumers' identity investments in the marketplace and the practices of taste, rather than with how and where consumers form, shape and perform their tastes. Aesthetic experiences and aesthetic consumption practices are inextricably linked with the nature of the context of the contemporary marketplace and have been hitherto studied within consumer research (Joy and Sherry 2003; Venkatesh and Meamber 2006; Houston and Meamber 2011). However, we argue that previous research has failed to adequately position consumers' tastes within their experiential marketplace context. In this paper, we posit a phenomenological approach to estab-

lish our understanding of aesthetics and taste. Such an approach considers aesthetics as being part of consumers' everyday lives which unfold through involvement with aesthetically oriented everyday consumption experiences and practices (Venkatesh and Meamber 2006). Accordingly, we consider taste to be spatially formed and performed via consumers' lived experiences within the contemporary marketplace. In the next section, we delve deeper into issues of taste formation as related to consumers' selves and identity investments and further illustrate our rationale toward the development of a spatial theory of taste.

IDENTITY INVESTMENTS AND TASTE FORMATION

In the social sciences, it is Bourdieu's (1984) writings that have received the most attention and inspired subsequent work on aesthetic judgments and the development of individuals' tastes. The relationship between identity and taste has been a focal point both in his early and later writings on taste, through the development of analytic constructs such as habitus and field. Bourdieu's work aimed to show that judgments of taste reflect the processes by which dominant groups obtain their power and influence (Woodward and Emison 2001). Bourdieu (1984) forwarded a sociological conception of taste in which appreciation and judgment of aesthetic experiences mainly serve to create social and cultural distinctions. Consequently, such experiences should be seen more as social rather than aesthetic categories, as 'social imposition in disguise' (Korsmeyer 2001, 201). In doing so, Bourdieu argued that taste is formed through the employment of various forms of generalized capital (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) that develop through consumers' identity investments and lead to different levels of internal disposition, termed habitus. Bourdieu's (1984) conceptualization offers important insights about identity and taste formation and influenced a wide range of consumer research that dealt with the (re)production of socio-cultural distinctions and consumers' identity projects in the contemporary marketplace (Arnould and Thompson 2005). However, his conceptualization deals with the structural aspects of taste, which mainly account for consumers' primary socialization (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013), rather than with how taste is formed and performed in certain social fields, and even more specifically, marketplace spaces.

In his later writings, Bourdieu aimed to dismiss generalized capital conceptions and instead replace them with field-dependent ones, that is with capital conceptions and identity investments that touch on specific social fields (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Field-specific capital is not only acquired as part of consumers' primary socialization processes but also as part of their participation in various social fields throughout the course of their lives. As such, habitus is continuously developed and re-enacted along with consumers' engagement in different fields of consumption. Consumer research which explores the tribal aesthetics of the contemporary marketplace is aligned with field theory conceptions. A number of researchers have investigated the communal consumption practices of extraordinary consumption experiences (Celsi et al. 1993; Arnould and Price 1993; Kozinets 2002), of lifestyle subcultures (e.g. Kates 2002; Schouten and McAlexander 1995), of brand communities (Cova and Pace 2006; Muniz and O'Guinn 2001; Muniz and Schau 2005) and recently of taste regimes (Arsel and Bean 2013). This stream of research aimed to explicate how consumers create field-dependent capital through their identity investments in these consumption communities (Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013). These studies were often directed towards the portrayal of various consumption practices within which consumers participate, as members of such com-

munities; practices which were often orchestrated by the discursive aesthetics of these communities (Arsel and Bean 2013).

Another stream of consumer research explored the socio-cultural tensions that arise within the domain of marketplace performances by employing a field analysis logic. Marketplace performances have been defined as 'multifaceted social interactions through which different forms of capital (economic, social, cultural) are routinely exchanged, and varying degrees of interpersonal familiarity and commitments to the relationship are established' (Ustuner and Thompson 2012, 797). For example, several researchers explored the status games of consumers in lower, middle and higher status social fields and how these games are exposed in a variety of marketplace contexts (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson 2013; Ustuner and Thompson 2012). Although these researchers embraced Bourdieu's field-dependent conceptions, their inquiries mostly focused on the macro-social dimensions of taste and the status games that are generated when a marketplace performance in a specific consumption field occurs. A notable exception is Arsel and Thompson's (2011) study into experiences of the hipster myth within the indie field of consumption, in particular consumers' attempts to disassociate themselves from the hipster myth in order to protect their field-dependent identity investments. As the authors point out, consumers' lived attachments with (indie) places and their associated cultural ambience help them to relate themselves to the indie consumption field.

Such efforts based on late Bourdieuan work started to recognize the corporeal nature of physical and social space and how it influences fields and the distribution of capital. Yet, we argue that even Bourdieu's late field-specific writings provide a largely aspatial sociological analysis (Hanquinet et al. 2012). As Crossley (2001) notes, both field theory and the habitus concept fail to take into full consideration the reproductive role of human agency, which is grounded in individuals' actions and interactions and ultimately shapes and/or transforms their habitus. His argument is based on a phenomenological interpretation of Bourdieu's work and points us in two directions.

First, it reveals that existing theories of taste formation fail to uncover how consumers who participate in these marketplace contexts might be positioned within a broader socio-historical framework (Askegaard and Trolle-Linnet 2011). We argue that, amongst others, the reason for this is the emergence of the 'practice turn' (Warde 2005) within consumer research which shifted scholars' attention toward the exploration of consumption practices and activities that result from consumers' exercise and performance of their tastes. However, one of the main limitations of practice-oriented approaches to taste is their lack of positioning within a broader structural framework (Warde 2014). In Bourdieuan terms, this would require delineating the exact interrelationships between consumers' generalized and field dependent identity investments (Arsel and Bean 2013; Arsel and Thompson 2011).

Second, Crossley's argument pinpoints the embodied and transformative potential of the habitus concept, potential which is recognized by scholars within and outside the sociological field (Casey 2001; Wacquant 2004). Previous consumer research studies have illustrated that identity is shaped and developed through consumers' continuous engagement with discourse and experiences (Joy and Sherry 2003; Thompson and Hirschman 1995; Venkatesh and Meamber 2006; 2008). As Venkatesh and Meamber (2008) point out, aesthetic consumption experiences might lead to taste formation along with cultivating consumers' identities. Extending this line of work, we propose to delve deeper into the spatiality of such aesthetic and aesthetically oriented consumption experiences and their influence on consumers' tastes and identity investment processes.

A spatial theory of taste might allow consumer researchers to place consumers' identity projects within a broader structural framework of relations based on Bourdieu's field theory, and also reveal its embodied and transformative potential. In doing so, we highlight the need to analytically bridge the construct of taste with that of the aesthetic experience in order to be able to explore how consumers enact their identity investments in the marketplace through their participation in aesthetic experiences that are grounded in the wide array of consumption places available at hand. In the next section, we turn to the concept of the aesthetic experience and the ways it has been hitherto utilized in consumer research in relation to space and place.

AESTHETIC EXPERIENCES AND THE SPATIALITY OF TASTE

Aesthetic experiences and aesthetically oriented consumption experiences have been of major interest in marketing and consumer research. The concept of the aesthetic experience has been subject to multiple meanings and usages in the broader field of consumer research. We posit a broad definition of the aesthetic (consumption) experience that covers experiential, symbolic, sensory and affective dimensions (Charters 2006; Houston and Meamber 2011). We further illustrate how these dimensions of the aesthetic experience have been hitherto investigated within consumer research. During recent decades, consumer research scholars shifted their attention toward aesthetically oriented consumption experiences. These are aligned with the 'experiential turn' within management circles, which highlights the centrality of staging memorable experiences as key drivers of economic value (Pine and Gilmore 1998; Schmitt 1999). The aesthetics of experiential consumption are associated with postmodern theorizations of the overall aestheticization of everyday life (Featherstone 1990; 1991) and a shift from a production-oriented society, based on work ethics, to a consumer-oriented society, based on consumption aesthetics (Bauman 1998). Postmodern experiential consumer research pinpoints the multisensory, experiential, and emotive facets of consumption through the diffusion of a bricolage of subjective choices, symbolic meanings, hedonic reactions, and aesthetic principles (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982; Holbrook and Hirschman 1982) and the existence of pluralistic and free-floating tastes and lifestyles (Firat and Venkatesh 1995). Consumer researchers have explored the sensory and affective aspects of consumption experiences that often acquire an extraordinary nature (e.g. Arnould and Price 1993; Celsi et al. 1993; Kozinets 2002). Other studies have been concerned with the exploration of aesthetic consumption practices as evidenced in a variety of aesthetic consumption spaces (e.g. Joy and Sherry 2003; Venkatesh and Meamber 2006; Houston and Meamber 2011). Finally, recent experiential consumption studies explored the processes by which consumers create attachments to consumption spaces (e.g. Debenedetti et al. 2014; Kozinets et al. 2002; MacLaran and Brown 2005; Visconti et al. 2010). Such studies aimed to investigate how consumers develop emotive and/or symbolic associations with their surroundings (Debenedetti et al. 2014).

With the exception of a handful of these studies (Debenedetti et al. 2014; MacLaran and Brown 2005; Visconti et al. 2010), aesthetic and aesthetically oriented experiential consumer research has not accounted for the spatial dimensions of the contemporary marketplace that emerge in different consumption places, and shape consumers' aesthetic experiences. Indeed, place itself has been mostly utilized as a static concept and rarely as a significant source of meanings within the consumer research domain (Sherry 2000). In addition, the exact interrelationships between the spatiality of aesthetic experiences and consumers' tastes remain underexplored. We argue that this is mainly a result of the fact that both space and place have been

subject to a wide range of definitions and interpretations within consumer research, and the two terms are often utilized interchangeably. In this paper, we are inspired by a phenomenological approach to space and place (Bachelard 1964; Casey 1998; 2001; Tuan 1977). A phenomenological conception implies that place is simultaneously a ground of action that is physical and historical, social and cultural (Casey 1998; 2001), and that we subsequently understand the world through our spatial experiences in various consumption places. We argue that most of the above studies do not follow a phenomenological understanding of place and rather tend to treat place as something that is subsumed into existing categories. In other words, consumer research has not explained how habitus and taste are topoanalytically related to the aesthetic experiences that emerge in a wide range of consumption places (Bachelard 1964). Such a topoanalytic exploration is argued to be able to lead to the development of a spatial theory of taste that fully uncovers the embodied and transformative potential of consumers' tastes while placing them in a broader structural framework of relations. In doing so, it might also lead to the creation of experiential snapshots that capture the fluidity of postmodern consumer tastes.

A SPATIAL THEORY OF TASTE?

Our theoretical discussion calls for the development of a spatial theory of taste formation that is more attentive to the significance of the consumption places that are culturally embedded within certain fields of consumption, and to the diversity of ways that consumers' aesthetic experiences and identity investments within these places might be shaped, influenced and related to their tastes and identity projects and vice versa. As a result, a spatial theory of taste is concerned with two main research objectives, namely how consumers' tastes are performed in the contemporary marketplace through their engagement in a wide range of aesthetic and aesthetically oriented consumption experiences, and how, in turn, the meanings of specific consumption places tend to shape consumers' aesthetic experiences and tastes. Little empirical work, within consumer research, reveals the embodied and potentially transformative potential of consumers' tastes and simultaneously positions identity investments within a broader structural framework of relations. Previous studies have focused more on the practices and outcomes of taste, rather than with how taste is actually formed and performed at the marketplace through consumers' participation in aesthetic experiences which are grounded in various consumption places. A spatial theory of taste formation might allow consumer researchers to investigate the topoanalytic relationality of consumers' tastes within and across fields of consumption, and also place their identity projects within a physical, socio-cultural, and historical framework.

A spatial theory of consumers' tastes contributes to, and opens avenues for, future research in distinct yet interrelated trajectories of consumer research. It responds to recent calls from a stream of consumer research theorists that argue for a move towards an epistemology of consumer culture theory research (Arnould and Thompson 2005); one which takes into account 'the context of context' (Askegaard and Trolle Linnet 2011, 381) of inquiry through the exploration of both the macroscopic and microscopic dimensions of consumption experiences. Also, future consumer research efforts on the spatiality of taste could fall into the emerging stream of research that investigates the spatial poetics of the contemporary marketplace (Debenedetti et al. 2014; Kozinets et al. 2002; MacLaran and Brown 2005; Visconti et al. 2010). Linking space and place with taste might provide novel insights into the experiential and/or retail design of contemporary consumptionscapes, and also uncover the transformative potential of consumers' tastes that are enacted within the con-

temporary marketplace, and how they influence and affect consumers' ongoing identity projects. A spatial conception of consumers' tastes would lead to the development of a nuanced theory of taste formation, which is arguably missing from contemporary theorizations of taste within consumer research and beyond.

In the light of the maturation of the experiential consumption era, the nature and context of the contemporary marketplace seems to be of central significance to the development of a refined understanding of consumers' choices, preferences, and tastes. Places are important. The French commercial spaces investigated in Debenedetti et al. (2014), the past and present spatial environment of the Irish Powerscourt shopping mall in MacLaran and Brown (2005), the public street art spaces in Visconti et al. (2010) are all powerful examples that show us how consumers perform, and potentially transform their tastes through their place-specific identity investments. As Arsel and Thompson (2011) illustrate, indie consumption places act as colors in consumers' identity palettes to help them draw their disassociation with the hipster myth in the canvas of the indie consumption field. Addressing how such diverse consumption places might both affect and create continua of consumers' tastes, might arguably lead us to a novel and sophisticated approach to segmenting and targeting consumers; an approach grounded in consumers' identity investments within the genius loci of the marketplace.

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Brand Scouting: Co-creation of Value in the Football Manager Community

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ABSTRACT

This paper enhances our understanding of collective value co-creation in the context of brand-centered communities. Our study is based on a netnographic exploration of the Football Manager (FM) game community. We introduce the concept of brand scouting and describe how it extends and goes beyond current theorizations of value co-creation.

INTRODUCTION

Previous research has highlighted the blurred distinction between production and consumption and the diversity of ways through which consumers engage in value co-creation with companies, either at the individual or at the collective level. However, the exact process of collective value co-creation, the roles of consumers in the process and the reasons for consumer participation remain somehow unclear.

The aim of this paper is to further explore how and why consumers participate in value co-creation in the context of brand-centered communities. Our study is based on a netnographic study of the Football Manager (FM) game community and interviews with key community members. The FM game is a football management simulation game. The task of gamers is to act as football managers by taking control of a football team of their choice, in any league of the world, and manage team tactics and squad selection, player transfers, and other duties associated with the football manager post (Crawford 2006). Gamers build their imaginative football management careers through the temporal progression of the game. Given its simulation character, one of the most important and fulfilling aspects of the FM game is its capacity to offer a realistic representation of the football world. To achieve this, each year the company releases a new edition of the game, containing the latest information on the football world. This information is stored in a huge database upon which the game is based. The FM Greek online community is a fan-site affiliate Greek community, but is not officially associated with the company that creates the game, namely Sports Interactive.

Our findings illustrate how members of the FM community participate in the co-creation of the FM game through the concept of *brand scouting*. We conceptualize brand scouting as the cyclical process through which brand and/or product enthusiasts are committed, as members of a brand-centered community, to providing unpaid research work for the brand in the form of scouting undertaken within and beyond the confines of the community for the sake of enhancing their consumption experiences. We further describe how the process of brand scouting extends and goes beyond current theorizations of value co-creation.

THEORY

Consumer research has long argued that there is no clear distinction between production and consumption as they take place simultaneously and appear to have a cyclical relationship (Firat and Venkatesh 1995). Value co-creation has proved a popular topic of interest across numerous fields, and researchers have highlighted the diversity of ways through which consumers participate in value creation with companies (Cova and Dallı 2009). Value co-creation has become an all-encompassing term which portrays any type of brand value that is inherently co-produced with consumers (Vargo and Lusch 2004; 2008). The underlying logic of value co-creation is the active role of consumers in the process, which often occurs

through their direct interactions with companies and/or brand offerings (Grönroos 2008; Grönroos and Voima 2013).

Consumer researchers have most commonly explored value co-creation in the collective context of brand-centered communities (Cova et al. 2015; Cova and Pace 2006; Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001; Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder 2011; Schau et al. 2009). Brand-centered communities emerged as a result of the neo-tribal ethos of postmodern consumer society (Maffesoli 1996; Cova 1997). Neo-tribal marketing theories posit that consumers form temporary groupings which often revolve around shared passions and emotions for certain brands, products, services and/or consumption activities (Cova and Cova 2002). Brand-centered communities are neo-tribal groupings that exhibit three core characteristics: consciousness of kind, rituals and traditions; and moral responsibility (Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001). Value co-creation within brand-centered communities deals with how consumers as members of these communities co-create the symbolic meaning of brand consumption (Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder 2011). In this sense, consumers add value to the brand through their immaterial labor within the confines of the community, that is through the contribution of affective and cultural resources to brand value (Cova and Dallı 2009).

Various streams of research have focused on different aspects of value co-creation within brand-centered communities. First, due to their voluntary contributions for the benefit of the brand, members of brand-centered communities have been theorized as prosumers (Xie et al. 2008), working consumers (Cova and Dallı 2009; Zwick et al. 2008), and more recently brand volunteers (Cova et al. 2015). A common element of these theorizations is that they account for the degree of exploitation or emancipation that emerges from consumers' interactions with companies for the sake of brand value creation (Ritzer 2014). However, the actual reasons for voluntary consumer participation in the co-creation process remain under-explored. Second, researchers have focused more on the range of consumption practices that form part of the value co-creation process and take place within brand-centered communities (Muñiz and Schau 2005; Schau et al. 2009). Schau et al. (2009) identified nine consumption practices that consumers perform within the community to enhance brand value. Recent consumer research has extended this line of inquiry to delineate the roles of consumers within the co-creation process depending on their contribution to the co-creation of the symbolic meanings of the brand (Pongsakornrungrungsilp and Schroeder 2011). Nevertheless, the actual steps of the co-creation process and the roles of consumers *within* the process are blurred. Third, researchers dealt with the potential benefits that consumers acquire from the outcomes of the value co-creation process (Cova and Cova 2012; Xie et al. 2008). Xie et al. (2008) forwarded a view of value co-creation in which consumers co-create value with companies for the development of products that then become consumption experiences.

We argue that previous studies do not fully explicate the actual process of collective value co-creation within brand-centered communities. Moreover, the exact roles of consumers as value co-creators and the reasons behind their participation remain unclear. We aim to further delineate how and why consumers participate in value co-creation within the context of the FM game and the FM community.

METHOD

An interpretive approach was followed. Data were drawn from a ten-month netnography within the Greek FM online community and long interviews (McCracken 1988) with key FM community members. The netnography followed the guidelines suggested by Kozinets (1997; 2002) and subsequently addressed concerns and recommendations for conducting trustworthy netnographic research. After a period of ‘lurking’ in the FM community, the lead author identified himself as a member of the community by registering on the site and posting on the community forums, stating his role and the scope of the research. Textual data were gathered from all the active forums of the online community, which contained approximately 700,000 posts at the time of the research, and were publicly accessible (Langer and Beckman 2005). Data collection involved observation of the community and iterative searches of the posts available in the community (Arsel and Bean 2013). The process of collection continued until we reached theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss 1967).

Interviews with FM community members provided a further source of data on the value co-creation process and the symbolic meanings of their FM consumption (Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011). Five community members were recruited on the basis of how long they had been community members, their community membership status and how active they were within the community research team. All participants were interviewed online via direct chat programs and interviews lasted approximately one hour. Grand tour questions and floating prompts were used throughout the course of the interviews (McCracken 1988).

The data were analyzed by applying a constant comparative process (Glaser and Strauss 1967) of coding, categorizing and abstracting (Spiggle 1994) in order to develop emergent themes. Initial themes, which emerged from the netnography, were utilized as a guideline to categorize interview data (Schouten 1991). To ensure trustworthiness of the findings, we relied on triangulation across the netnographic and interview data, and on extended observation of the community context (Kozinets 1998; Wallendorf and Belk 1989). All participant names were changed to ensure confidentiality. After being informed about the study, interviewees filled out and signed a consent form where they stated their voluntary participation.

FINDINGS

The FM community can be theorized as a brand-centered community (Muñiz and O’Guinn 2001). Our netnography illustrates the existence of a team of FM community members who conduct football-related research both inside and outside the limits of the community. The aim of this team is to ensure that the FM game can be seen to realistically represent the ‘real’ football world from a Greek perspective (e.g. in terms of player and staff attributes and characteristics, football leagues and teams per country, information about the worldwide football market and regulation changes). Research reports are then sent to Sports Interactive which updates the game’s database, either in new or existing versions through the release of modification files. Members of the FM research team play the improved versions of the game, thus entering into a form of evaluation of their own work.

We introduce the concept of brand scouting to capture this complex and multi-faceted process of value co-creation (Figure 1). In partial alignment with the term’s meaning within the football world, we define brand scouting as the cyclical process of collecting, analyzing, reporting and evaluating football information and data related to the FM game, within and beyond the confines of the community. The cycle of the brand scouting process is maintained through the ongoing

changes of the Greek football world which need to be reflected in the upcoming versions of the FM game. We illustrate members’ roles within the FM community research team (head researcher, assistant researcher, and other researchers) and also describe how community members engage in brand scouting to enhance their gaming experiences.

‘I scout, therefore I play’: The FM research team

The FM community research team consists of three types of football researchers who undertake brand scouting, namely head, assistant and other researchers. This team of researchers is normally responsible for collecting data for one or more football team (including their players and staff members, their attributes, characteristics and so on) that participate in the Greek Football Leagues. Numerous forum threads exist, within the community, dedicated to brand scouting for each of the 66 teams in the Greek leagues, and the collected data are shared with the FM research team. In a process of analysis that resembles the constant comparison method (Glaser and Strauss 1967), new data are added or excluded for each football team until the development of the final data report which is then sent to the company, Sports Interactive. The research undertaken by the members of the FM community research team is one of the key reasons that makes the game so realistic and, hence, enhances members’ gaming experiences. This is clearly appreciated below in Buz’s quote, when he was asked whether the game could be so realistic without the voluntary work of its fans.

Buz: “No, not at all and this is the case in Championship Manager, the rival game, which is also a very nice game but the database sucks. And the database is a big issue, if it wasn’t so representative, I wouldn’t like the game. This is mainly because in Championship Manager, there are not research teams in each country like in Football Manager; I think...there are people who voluntarily help for the research. When you do something you love, you do it well. It’s not random that big football teams ask for the database before even the game is launched or the fact that Mourinho [prominent football manager] has said that he plays FM also”.

(interview)

Buz mentions that the game’s realistic database is a key aspect of his meaningful gaming experience. Realism is highlighted as a key difference between FM and its main rival, Championship Manager. Buz puts some of the issues with the Championship Manager game down to a lack of cooperation between research teams and fan communities. By stating ‘when you do something you love, you do it well’, Buz acknowledges that the research conducted by the members of the FM community is because of their passion for the FM game. The results of brand scouting are clearly translated into fans’ perception of a realistic database, yet this also goes beyond the confines of the FM community. As Buz points out, there are football teams who ask for the game’s database even before the game is marketed and even well-known managers (e.g. Jose Mourinho) have stated that they play the FM game. By enlisting these prominent examples, and especially by using the phrase ‘it’s not random’, Buz wants to focus on how realistic the game is and emphasize the worth of the work conducted by the members of the FM research team.

Members of the FM community engage in value co-creation in order to co-construct and improve their own gaming experiences (Xie et al. 2008). The intertextuality of the FM game with the real football world (Crawford 2006) is the main driver for FM members to participate in value co-creation, both inside and outside the limits of the community. Members of the FM community also utilize their

gaming experiences as a form of evaluation of their own research work, on the grounds of improving (that is, make close to reality) the next versions of the FM game.

The mythical status of the head researcher(s)

Being a head researcher is the ultimate role that a member can have within the FM community research team. Head researchers deal with the management and coordination of all the collected information and data and their diffusion within the FM research team. Head researchers directly communicate with the company to provide the final data report (Grönroos and Voima 2013). They are also responsible for selecting the members that will be appointed as assistant researchers. Tim comments on the role of the head researchers in the FM community.

Tim: "For the head researchers, I have to say that they are doing a very good job. They deal with all the teams in Greece, even the local ones, by posting news, signings, etc. They really try hard in order to have a better representation of the Greek League and its players. It's their hobby, their passion. I have heard that one of the head researchers created his own database for the game in 2000–2002 versions in order to provide a better representation of the Greek League...then they created the site [FM community]. They became an affiliate of Sports Interactive and you know the rest".

(interview)

Tim appreciates the work of the head researchers. His language reveals respect for these members who are trying to improve the FM game. Tim also evidences that these members, who actively deal with research, do it because of their passion for the FM game. He provides the example of one of the head researchers who used to release unofficial databases of the game. Tim's statement 'I have heard that he created his own database' suggests that such stories may have achieved mythological status. In Tim's narrative, the logical sequence of the head researcher's passion for the game is followed by the formation of the FM community and the fact that later the community was officially recognized by Sports Interactive as one of its fan-affiliates. His phrase 'you know the rest' clearly indicates how proud he is of the evolution of the community and the role that the head researchers play in the co-creation of the FM game.

Being an FM assistant researcher and the role of other researchers

The process of becoming an assistant researcher and the duties involved are complex. Those with assistant researcher ambitions are required to watch matches of the team she/he chooses to scout, to have a good knowledge of the FM game, to follow the rules and guidelines set by the head researchers, to be online several hours per week in order to communicate with the FM research team, to follow the deadlines set by the FM research team, and finally to also collect data about the youth teams of the team she/he chooses to scout. It is also expected that assistant researchers will watch live football matches of the team and gain inside information from players, staff members, and so on. Candidates for the position of assistant researcher are required to undertake a trial period of brand scouting before securing it. Accordingly, all those members of the FM community who aspire to be assistant researchers and enter into a trial period, or those members of the FM community who participate occasionally in brand scouting are termed here as 'other researchers'. The quotes of other researchers, Tony and Alex, are presented here.

Tony: "Guys, I could do the scouting of Atromitos team. I know the coach of the team and I can watch the team's home games for free. I promise, as a fanatic football manager gamer, that I will do perfect work".

(forum)

Alex: "[...] I would like to be responsible for the scouting of Anagennisi Karditsas. I think that you don't have scouts for this team. I live in Karditsa, I can watch the team live and I have a good knowledge of the game and the database as I am a gamer for several years. I do not have any inside info for the team and I haven't proved that I am worthy of becoming a scout but this can easily change if you give me the chance".

(forum)

Tony seems to understand the requirements in order to transit from the position of the other researcher to that of the assistant researcher. He aims to show that he is in a better position compared with other researchers; 'I know the coach', 'watch the team's home games for free'. By stating his passion for the game, 'fanatic football manager gamer', Tony aims to demonstrate that he knows very well how the game functions and that his passion for the game will be reflected in his brand scouting duties, 'I will do perfect work'. Accordingly, Alex elaborates why he should qualify as a scout; living in the city of the team he wishes to scout, playing the game for several years and having a good knowledge of the FM game. However, Alex also recognizes that he does not fully meet the requirements of brand scouting since he doesn't have any inside information for the team and no previous experience in this task. Alex's desire, 'if you give me the chance', also illustrates the complex process of becoming an assistant researcher of the FM community research team.

DISCUSSION

This paper further enhances our understanding of the process of collective value co-creation, the roles of consumers within the process, and the reasons behind consumer participation through the concept of brand scouting (Figure 1). In particular, our work extends previous consumer research on the value co-creation processes (Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011; Schau et al. 2009). We delve deeper into the process of value creation to investigate the exact role of consumers as providers of value (Pongsakornrunsilp and Schroeder 2011). Our findings illustrate how value is co-created outside the community (data collection), inside the community (data analysis), how value is transferred to the market (data report), and how value is consumed and evaluated from community members (data evaluation). We also showed how consumers engage in value creation in order to enhance their own gaming experiences (Xie et al. 2008). It is through their voluntary work that consumers pursue the common purpose of getting satisfaction from their consumption experiences (Cova and Cova 2012).

We contribute to emerging understandings of working consumer conceptualizations by exemplifying how these consumers are brought into play within the context of the FM community. Consumers not only produce immaterial labor within the FM community (Cova and Dalli 2009) but also participate in the production of actual labor undertaken beyond the confines of the FM community. Issues of double exploitation then become much more complex (Cova and Dalli 2009; Ritzer 2014; Zwick et al. 2008). In contrast with Cova and Dalli (2009), members of the FM community are able to exploit and evaluate the tangible benefits obtained from their labor by playing the new versions of the game. They compromise and undertake unpaid work for the sake of meaningful gaming experiences (Cova

et al. 2015). In the context of the FM community, double exploitation is masked through the process of brand scouting. It is balanced and mediated through members' sense of obligation (Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001) to the work undertaken from the FM community research team.

Finally, we challenge current theorizations of the nature of value co-creation (Grönroos 2008; Grönroos and Voima 2013). In the context of the FM community, direct interactions between companies and consumers are not the key aspect of the co-creation process. The only type of direct interaction and control that the company seems to exert over the community (Cova and Pace 2006) is through the head researchers. We argue that the experiential interaction that members of the FM community have with the FM game is the key driver of value co-creation. Their hunger for realistic and, subsequently, meaningful gaming experiences is what brings them into the value co-creation game in the first place.

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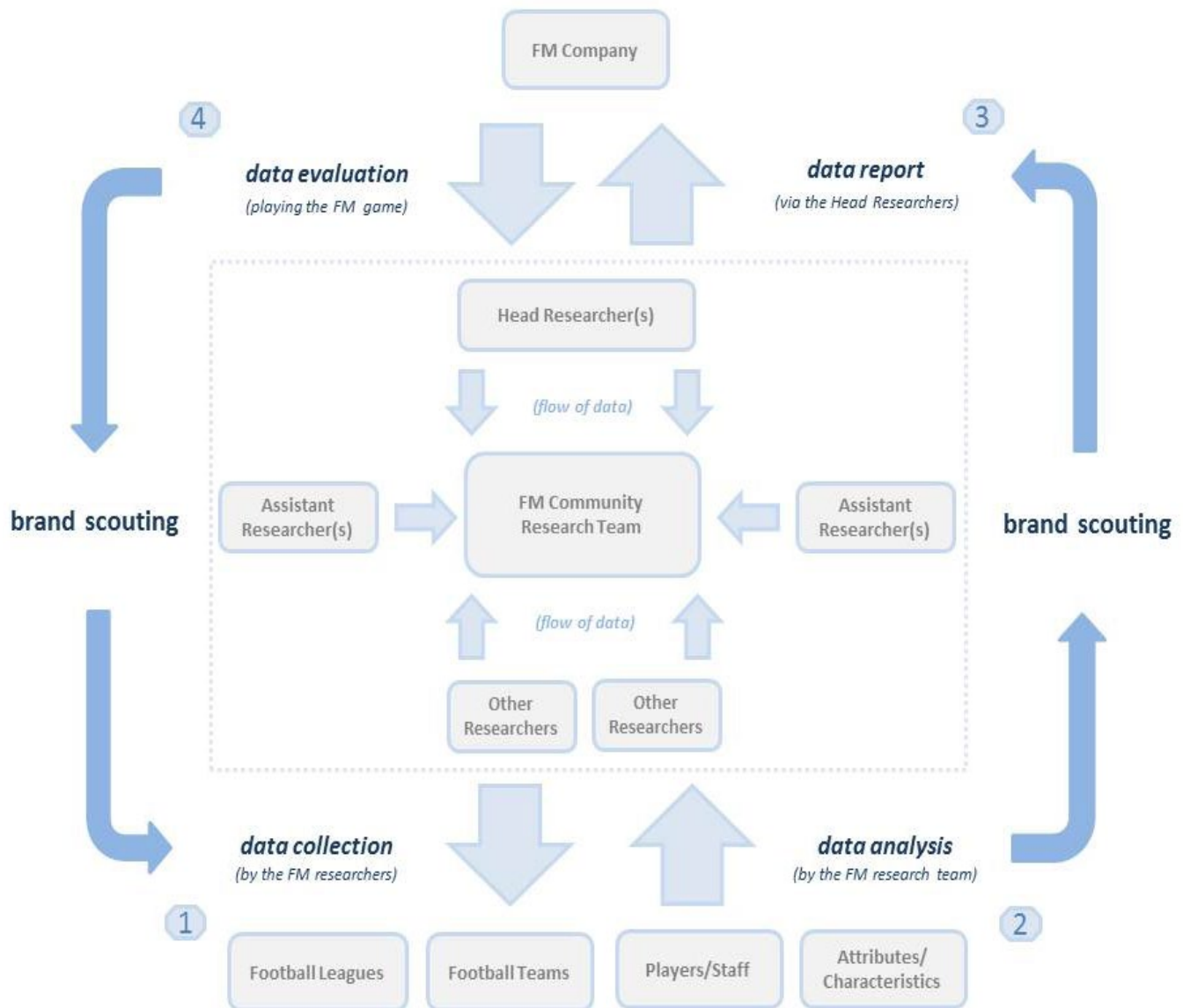
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Figure 1: Theoretical framework of brand scouting



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Table 1: Illustrative data

Brand scouting	Data collection-analysis-report-evaluation
<p><i>‘I scout therefore I play’: The FM research team</i></p>	<p>Dan: “The process of scouting until the data are incorporated into the FM game: a) There are certain rules and limitations for the collected data, which are set by the head researchers, b) scouting involves personal judgment; For the attributes and characteristics that correspond to a football team and its players, for example, c) a discussion and opinion exchange takes place between the researchers in the FM community research forum, d) the data are then reported to the company and incorporated into the game’s database, e) the game is then tested from the company’s testers, the head researchers and selected scouts, f) all the necessary corrections are made, g) after the release of the updated version, the game is evaluated from all the users and feedback is collected, h) the same process is repeated all around”. (forum)</p> <p>Lem: “I would like to have more interaction with the players in the game (in training, when you make substitutes, when they make transfer offers for them and you want to keep them in the team, when you want to explain them why you placed them in the transfer list)” (forum)</p> <p>Tim: “I buy the authentic version. Actually this year I bought it authentic because I watched how much time and work the guys, that deal with research in the Greek community dedicate, and I thought it was the right thing to do”. (interview)</p>
<p><i>The mythical status of the Head researcher(s)</i></p>	<p>Lino: “Help us make more realistic the Greek football Leagues! Read the instructions carefully before anything you post!” (forum)</p> <p>Agis: “You don’t need any approval to participate in the research forum. This is why it exists at the first place...so that anyone can post his opinions, which are evaluated and taken into consideration in the final report...The only requirements to post there is to be objective and not to cause problems, and to follow the rules...So, join the research forum and post your opinions”. (forum)</p> <p>Jack: “We examine all the cases. It’s not so simple to choose someone [recruitment of researchers]. How many times did you watch Akkratitos [Greek football team] playing last year? I need specific data and suggestions” (forum)</p>
<p><i>Being an FM assistant researcher and the role of other researchers</i></p>	<p>Lakis: “Guys, if it’s possible, I want to scout Akkratitos [Greek football team]. Of course, I would prefer to scout Panathinaikos [famous Greek football team] but it’s obviously not possible. I live near Akkratitos’ football stadium and my grandfather is part of the team’s council”. (forum)</p> <p>Nikos: “I would like to take charge of the scouting of Panthrakikos [Greek football team] because I live in Komotini [the football team’s home] and I will have the chance to watch the team live and possibly get some inside information” (forum)</p> <p>John: “How is it possible that Estoyanoff [Greek football team attacking player], who has ‘humiliated’ all of the defenders of the Greek Football League, has only 13 dribbling and 13 crossing [player attributes]???” (forum)</p> <p>David: “I wonder why Christodolopoulos [Greek football player] appears in the game as a wonderkind [FM player profile] and who is responsible for this. I really can’t see how his profile [in the FM game] is reflected with his real profile and value”. (forum)</p>

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Encouraged Intrusion and the Entering of a Subordinate Consumption Field

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ABSTRACT

In order to explore consumer culture's potential to change social relations, this investigation immerses into the growing consumer culture of *foodies* occupying the historically feminine space of domestic cooking. It offers a tentative theory on the entering of subordinate consumption fields in contexts where the entering is sanctioned by cultural authorities.

INTRODUCTION

What happens in social relations when whole collectives enter new domains and start consuming in a new way? In critical research traditions such as consumer culture theory (CCT) (Arnould & Thompson 2005) the micropolitics of consumption is well known, described and problematized (e.g. Holt 1998). It has for example been illustrated in investigations of status-wise subordinate consumption fields that are entered by groups traditionally treated as superior to the field (Skeggs 2004) creating structural incompatibilities under conditions of heterology (Coskuner-Balli & Thompson 2013). Such entering gives the opportunity for the social field and its traditional members to raise its and their status, but conversely also the risk for the new members to partly lose their superiority. This article will specifically treat the social relations of gender and how its symbolic boundaries are negotiated in a consumer culture by looking at what happens when men enter a traditionally feminine consumption field.

Gender scholars have long agreed that a predominant share of the western middle-class is moving away from strict gender roles, and that we at best no longer need to ask the binary question *if* men and women subscribe to gender equality but rather *how* this is done (e.g. Szabo 2014, 2013, 2012; Beagan et.al. 2008; Deutsch 2007). Although this may be an altogether too optimistic stance, given that anti-feminist movements now are growing in popularity in the western world (on one hand through the extreme right parties' growth in Europe and on the other hand through the global growth of extreme sharia law enforcing terror networks), it is still of great interest to understand how gender relations change in a post-feminist context where such changes are at large encouraged.

In order to investigate the potential of consumer culture to contribute in changing social relations, this investigation immerses into the growing consumer culture of *foodies* occupying the historically feminine space of domestic cooking. It offers a tentative theory on the entering into subordinate consumption fields in contexts where the entering is sanctioned by public authorities; *encouraged intrusion*.

FOODIE CULTURE AND CHANGING GENDER CODES

Foodie culture, referring to "people with a passion for eating and learning about food" (Cairns, Johnston and Baumann 2010, p.591) refers to the contemporary proliferation of advanced cooking and eating among middle class consumers in contemporary western society. For the sake of further analysis I will henceforth tentatively use the term 'foodies' as referring to people who nurture a passion towards advancing their experience and knowledge regarding food, cooking and eating. In consumer research gender relations have often been investigated in the empirical domain of domestic food consumption where the focus predominantly has been on feminine identities (e.g. Bugge and Almås 2006; Moisis, Arnould and Price 2004) typically drawing upon the sociologist's Marjorie DeVault's

(1991) seminal findings on women "nurturing" their families with love through food. Masculine identities on the other hand have mostly been studied in other consumption areas (Coskuner-Balli & Thompson 2012; Ostberg 2010; Littlefield and Ozanne 2011; Littlefield, 2010; O'Barr 2006; Attwood 2005; Schroeder and Zwick 2004; Holt and Thompson 2004; Patterson & Elliott 2002) with a few noteworthy expectations (e.g. Brownlie and Hewer 2007). However, turning to more general sociological and cultural studies, the focus on a growing male consumer culture oriented around food and cooking is more emphasized (e.g. Szabo 2014, 2013, 2012; Cairns, Johnston and Bauman 2010; Swenson 2009; Mechling 2005; Julier and Lindenfeld 2005; Hollows 2003ab; Adler 1981). Some of these researchers (e.g. Aarseth 2009; Chapman 1988) suggest that the so called "new man" has been torn between feminism and consumerism discourses for more than three decades, but that the commercially oriented lifestyles of today are offering a growing plethora of various masculinities; masculinities that one would not readily know where to place in terms of above discourses and its produced identities. At the same time some emphasize that the intensified interest in food, eating and cooking has thrived exactly by additionally stigmatizing the feminine in a quest to create a new masculine cultural space of 'cool' in the domestic kitchen.

Hence, the growing interest in food among men has in academia been regarded as a sign of both cultural feminization and modernization of masculinity (Aarseth 2009; Aarseth and Olsen 2008; Kemmer 1999, 2000) as well as a disguised masculinization of culture (Cairns et. al. 2010; Roos, Prättälä, and Koski 2009; Hollows 2003a, 2003b, 2002). It is a well-established conclusion in gender studies that historically when men have indulged in labor associated with femininity (such as cooking or cleaning) they have performed it in a way that makes it conspicuously distinct from the feminine associations by positioning it as leisure rather than labor, and making it understood as an art form motivated by pleasure and fun rather than a chore motivated by necessity (O'Barr 2006; Skeggs 2004; Felski 2000). In the case of cooking this is typically carried out by taking charge (only) at special occasions and then making it into a public performance of artistry and experimentation calling for praise (Kemmer 2009; Aarseth 2009; Hollows 2003b; Roos et.al. 2001) whereas women more typically have engaged in the mundane, necessary, more chore-like, everyday cooking to construct individual identity of caring femininity as well as family identity (Bugge and Almås 2006; Moisis et al. 2004; Miller 1998; DeVault 1991). Here Cairns et al (2010) found affirmations in foodie culture of the gendered distinction in cooking between leisure and work. The three dimensions of foodie discourse that they identified were (1) *pleasure*, where women foodies pursued the pleasure ethos but experienced that their vivid appetite was still in conflict with "proper" gendered culture, (2) *care work*, where women felt that their duty as care-takers came into conflict with foodie culture ideals, and (3) *knowledge and expertise*, where the never-ending refinement of food knowledge, the seeking out for new information, the looking up to celebrity authorities, the display of their expertise and the engagement in food "projects" were much more salient for the men's identity construction than for the women's. Indulgement into myths of cosmopolitanism and hunterism further distinguished men from women. According to Cairns et. al. (ibid) their findings suggest that even if the foodie culture indeed does challenge traditional gender norms, it is still constrained by structured gender relations. Women were still held back by the

cultural expectation to care for others and they could not choose *how* to be a foodie; that was a male privilege.

In relation to intersectionality between class and gender, according to Roos et al. (2001) gendered differences in food consumption are related to sociohistorical class dispositions where not least Bourdieu (1984) has suggested that men from the (French 1960's) working class typically had an instrumental and functional relationship to their bodies, rather than the feminine, light, and sophisticated appetite embodied by women and middle-class men. Furthermore, Roos (ibid.) found among their male, Finnish carpenters and engineers that idle-class men have many masculinities to choose from which enables them to combine meanings from various classed associations to masculinity, and even femininity, to construct an eclectic, but "proper", identity of new cool. Also, Swenson (2009) who studied televised representations of masculinities among TV chefs, found that when men entered the kitchen as scientists, entertainers and athletes, often all at once. This can be put in contrast to Skegg's (2004) proposition that "proper" feminine identity is locked into *one* position across classes; in other words, a woman must always behave "womanlike", and if belonging to a higher status group she must never play with lower feminine class identities. Related to this construction of proper gender identity Hollows (2003b) found that British celebrity chef Jamie Oliver doesn't only "educate the viewer about how to cook but manages to negotiate "the tension between the new man and the new lad" (citing Moseley 2001:38, p.230). He transgresses traditional class and gender boundaries and thereby constructs this new lad but must still detach himself from associations to femininity by constructing domestic cookery as recognizably manly. He not only shows that he can occupy the domestic feminine scene but simultaneously rises above it by making dull housewife dishes "really well" (Hollows 2003b, 241) and thereby occupy the domestic "but is not contained, or defined, by it" (ibid, p.242). He can, as suggested by Skeggs (2004), engage in feminine activities because whenever he wants he can escape. Likewise, in recent investigations of the meanings of men's domestic cooking Szabo (2014, 2013, 2012) finds that the (in majority) middle-class men she studies, draw on both traditional culinary femininities and traditional culinary masculinities in parallel to blurring the roles, because they can.

In CCT attention has indeed been paid to the intersectionality of gender and class (e.g. Holt & Thompson 2004; Coskuner-Balli & Thompson 2013) but the context has been predominantly North American, not especially famous for hegemonic feminism. In fact the aims for those studies are rooted in the very assumption that men meet strong societal resistance when entering a feminized space, for example in their trial to enhance the status of domesticated cultural capital, as in Coskuner-Balli and Thompson's (2013) investigation of at-home-fathers. However, what happens in a context where feminism is the cultural norm and the entering of non-traditional cultural domains is encouraged by cultural authorities, and even state-sanctioned? We should better be able to see how (and if) consumer culture can be part of changing (or further cementing) gender roles if we study in an empirical domain (domestic foodie culture) and a geographical context (a site where feminism is enforced by public and cultural authorities in various ways) where men are culturally encouraged to enter non-traditional cultural domains, and especially if we also study women in that same cultural domain. This way the potency of consumer culture to be part of influencing social relations should emerge in brighter light.

METHOD

Hence, in order to investigate the potency of consumer culture to organize gender relations, the empirical research aim was

to explore the drawing upon traditional versus non-traditional, and blurred gender roles in an unusually gender equal, post-feminist context among both women and men. Focus was aimed at the use of language; how did respondents talk and write about their interest? The data collection was carried out among consumers in Sweden, a well-known country in terms of its feminist movement history (for example, Sweden has its own feminist party represented in the EU Parliament), welfare model and equality efforts in regards to gender and class. In 2011 UN's development organ, UNDP, ranked Sweden as the highest in the world on gender equality (Bolling 2011). The relatively seen high gender equality in Sweden was in this research considered a significant advantage as possible gendered differences would be exceptionally telling in terms of remaining structural asymmetries on a symbolic level.

Consumer research-oriented ethnographic methods (Elliott & Elliott 2003; Arnould & Wallendorf 1994) were applied, with the aim to interpret the findings in an existential-phenomenological way (Thompson, Locander, and Pollio 1989). Participant observation and interviews were conducted both inside people's homes and during activities chosen by the consumers, and photo-diaries were given to the respondents a month before the interview. In the photo diary five days were to be covered in text and photography by the respondent according to the diary's instruction (e.g. "A day when you plan to cook for a special occasion" and "Take a picture of an ingredient you are somewhat embarrassed about"). The photo-diaries were firsthand to be used as prompts during the interviews and not primarily as data material in itself, however, the stories in the diaries showed to be very interesting and ended up being coded as well. The author created the semi-structured interview guide and photo diary, and later involved eight graduate students to carry out the fieldwork. The students were carefully trained and instructed in ethnographic methods before sent out and the procedures and material quality-checked before use.

36 consumers (see table 2 below) were selected using a snow-ball technique. 19 of these were men and 17 were women. The author and students used their own contacts in order to find acquaintances of acquaintances making out an on one hand demographically, relatively heterogeneous (old and young, high-income and low-income, living in cities or in the country-side, various occupations) group. On the other hand the criterion of homogeneity for the selection was that the respondent should express a strong interest for cooking and eating food, in terms of for time, effort and money spent, relative other interests.

More than 1000 pages of verbatim transcripts, and 100 pages of written diaries were coded and analyzed by the author. However, the photos and diaries were in the analysis for this specific article used only as prompts during the interviews and not as data sources on their own. Quotes that showed to be relevant as illustrations of important insights were translated into English by the author.

FINDINGS

In this research the empirical domain is a traditionally feminine sphere entered by men. Among the male respondents I identified three ways to approach the "new" consumption field; (1) *Isomorphic Navigation*, (2) *Deconstructive Rearticulation*, and (3) *Disruption*.

Most men used all these three approaches but each individual weighed more towards one than the others. The interviews with the female respondents revealed responses to each of these approaches as unthreatened, co-operative and competing, or by-passed.

Isomorphic Navigation: The men in this study tried to navigate among the cultural tensions coming out of different norms and pressures from different actors in their environment. In a quest to be

Table 1. Respondents

Name	Sex	Age	Occupation	Income SEK/ month	Food Budget	Life Situation
Aboma	M	30	Project employee / PhD natural sciences	27 000	4 000	Living with girlfriend
Agneta	F	57	Dep. officer Service & Care	37 000	7 000	Married + two children (18 and 21 years old)
Anders	M	22	Student BSc Service Management	11 000	2 000	Single (living in a collective)
Anna	F	40	Project Manager advertising	45 000	5 000	Married + two children
Birgitta	F	23	Student MSc Law	9 000	4 000	Boyfriend
Camilla A	F	28	Teacher	24 000	2 500	Married + 1 child (3 years old)
Camilla S	F	24	Student in interactive design / food blogger	7 000	2 000	Boyfriend
Desiree	F	52	Economically independent	Varies	3 000	Married + two children
Elisabeth	F	25	Sales and marketing	29 000	6 000	Single, living with friend
Emmy	F	38	Nurse	23 000	3 500	Married + two children
Erik	M	23	Student MSc Engineering	10 000	1 500	Living with girlfriend
Eva	F	43	Machine engineer	31 500	3 300	Living with boyfriend
Fredrik	M	23	Sales and administration	12 000	2 500	Single
Helena	F	30	Marketing coordinator	31 000	2 500	Married
Henrik	M	24	Student MSc Law	8 200	2 500	Living with girlfriend
Johan H	M	26	Student MSc Business Management	10 000	2 000	Single
Johan L	M	22	Student in Criminology	9 000	3 000	Living with girlfriend
Johan S	M	25	Researcher / Recruiter	24 200	3 000	Girlfriend
Klara	F	23	Student Liberal Arts / Chef student	9 500	3 500	Single
Klas	M	22	Student Medicine	8 200	2 500	Girlfriend
Lisa	F	45	Self-employed, marketing	45 000	5 000	Married + two children
Malin	F	38	"In-between- jobs"	25 000	3 500	Married + 3 children
Matilda	F	22	Student MSc	8 500	2 000	Single
Mats	M	24	Student MSc Literature	8 200	3 000	Single
Mattias	M	33	Warehouse worker	16 000	3 000	Single
Maximilam	M	22	Student BSc Management	8 700	2 000	Single
Nicholas	M	38	IT consultant	55 000	5 000	Married
Nils	M	22	Student BSc Service Management	9 000	2 000	Single (living in a collective)
Paolo	M	25	Sourdough baker	40 000	3 000	Living with girlfriend
Piero	M	30	Researcher / PhD	21 000	3 000	Single
Oskar	M	30	PhD student	23 000	3 500	Living with girlfriend
Ove	M	24	Student MSc Marketing	9 500	2 500	Girlfriend
Siri	F	24	Student Political Science / Arabic	10 800	8 100	Living with boyfriend
Sophie	F	25	Project manager in youth project	20 000	5 500	Single
Stephan	M	48	Controller	33 000	4 000	Single
Veronika	F	34	Student MSc EU Food Law	9 000	2 500	Living with boyfriend

gender-wise different the result is a movement towards unfamiliar sameness *isomorphism* (DiMaggio & Powell 1983), a feminine such. Seeing themselves as men different from other men, they navigate more towards already established rules and cultural capital aggregated in the female sphere than towards traditional signs of masculinity. They often refer back to their mother or grandmother as role models and prime inspirers. For example, Anders does not try to create a distance between himself and associations to femininity in domestic cooking. He talks, acts and seems to feel comfortable in the existing universe of codes.

I am just like my mum when I cook. [] I get inspired a lot by cook books like for example Heston Blumenthal's or Per Morberg but I always go back to what mum and grandmother taught me. [] I've been telling my grandmother to write down her recipe for cabbage roll in order to be able to make them myself, but they tend not to write down recipes. It is just something that is ingrained in her spinal cord. (Anders 22)

In one sense someone in the family has already paved their way to foster this feminine interest, but so has consumer culture in that cultural authorities, like male chefs, at the market legitimize their interest. Likewise, women in the study that have men prone to this isomorphic navigation express pride of the fact that they have men cooking at home, and enjoy the “intrusion” in a way that also reflects some experienced sense of power traditionally held by men. For example Agneta, 57, who says, “we cook a lot together but during the week I come home and sit down at a set table, emphasizes the last words by humorously breasting up and acting pompous. A joke that would typically not have been politically correct if it were the other way around. Hence, immersed in the foodie culture embracing men cooking, they together with the State encourage their male partners’ occupation of domestic space.

This approach partly corresponds to what Thompson & Holt (2004) refer to as *gender tourism* where men adapt feminine practices as a “revitalizing treat”. However, in this State-sanctioned context the treat is not exotic or rebellious, but in contrast expected. By adjusting to the symbolic universe as is, these male foodies may risk lowering their status temporarily but in the long run contribute to raising the status of the field by making it more gender neutral.

Deconstructive Rearticulation: In this approach the enterers of the already existing consumption field, work discursively to turn the stigmatized into something admirable by breaking the unnecessary links of articulation (Hall (1986) in Kozinets 2001) between two elements. Through so called *rearticulation* (breaking discursive and unnecessary links between elements) they can deconstruct cemented dichotomies of gender relations (Butler 2004) and that way redefine the symbolic scene without violating its present cultural premises of existence. For example, the break-down of the dichotomy of (feminine) planning vs. (masculine) impulsivity in the domestic kitchen; planning as in doing careful research is celebrated but at the same time being impulsive-as in “having that feeling”- is also made into something positive. Women are often portrayed as needing recipes whereas a cool guy free rides through the universe of produce, but when the discursive linkage breaks down anything seen as part of careful planning can lose its stigma. For example Johan celebrates the unpretentious and down-to-earth. He despises the bling-bling and self-righteousness of the professional kitchens in the ranking lists but loves the perfection of simple, good quality produce.

Like Noma [restaurant in Copenhagen, Denmark, ranked number 1 in the world four years in a row], that is not even food anymore! They are just trying to show off. At some point you

reach a level when the food only is made for the elite. I mean really, how tasty is fried lava? Sap beer is not very tasty at all, but yes it is made from sap. I mean, it's awesome that it's possible to make it out of sap, but...come on! (Johan H, 26)

A similar rearticulation observed in the data is the connection between traditional male professional chefs and housewives on one hand and the demand on perfection as opposed to sloppiness on the other. Both men and women in this study speak about this perfection as a synonym to pretentiousness, and thereby deem imperfection a virtue, just as unpretentiousness, often with consumer cultural references to unpretentious TV chefs like Jamie Oliver, Per Morberg or Tina Nordström, Indeed the rearticulation into perfection vs. unpretentiousness somewhat degrades perfection but at the same time is more inclusive than its original binary. Like Birgitta who cooks and plans with passion and doesn't conform to historically set ideals for the housewife perfection.

I think it's more important that it tastes good than is good looking, and I'm probably a bit sloppy in a way, and also when I invite people to eat. Yeah, the onion is not perfectly chopped and everything is not really perfect, but I think that's kind of typical of me. That I maybe, I don't know, but that my personality shows in my cooking. I maybe try to be ambitious, but when you look a bit closer you can see that the onion is poorly chopped, that there is a hole in the dress, and that the nail polish is cracking (laughing) and, yes, that's probably how it is... (Birgitta 23)

Disruption. A final observation was that the men were eager to tell how they in some sense were parts of changing the domain, and that they were not limited by any boundaries given by the fact that it was an already existing sphere. They were not there to conform; they were there to change the premises. Like Ove, 24, who experiences his own approach to cooking as something almost provocatively new in the domestic arena. He is astonished with the obsolescence of that scene and during the interview he often comes back to the need to create a new way to look at domestic cooking, where he sees himself as one of the pioneers;

"It is fantastic to cook. Combining tastes and just you know...to learn...I mean, I never cook the same thing. I experiment every day! ...This thing with just daring to test things...people poop in their pants when you say that you just tossed some spices in the casserole kind of; 'but my God, didn't you follow a recipe?? My God did you use more than salt and pepper??' People are so God damn scared of trying things!"

They also embedded their stories in a much more dramatic (see e.g. Skeggs 2004; Holt & Thompson 2004) and homosocial context than the women and referred to friends and parties where they had a central role in setting the rules. Eva is a blogger and passionate sourdough baker. She raves about the dramatization fellow male bloggers and men in general engage in when they come up with something “new” in cooking. She is irritated about it in a way that reveals a slight experience of being set on the side-lines even if she knows she is better than they are. Here she comments on why she thinks so many men blog about their cooking:

I think it's like barbecuing, “wow, this is masculine”. It requires some thought and can be complicated, and that feels good. God, I don't think it is complicated at all! It's like barbecuing, it is not complicated at all but they have peed territory and said “We are sooo good at this”. (Eva 43)

Whereas the Swedish middle-class cultural context puts strong pressure on gender equal ideas, sociality with other male friends was still revealed as very important. The academic meanings of hegemonic masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005) and homosociality ('the nonsexual attractions held by men (or women) for members of their own sex' and contributes to the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity (Bird 1996) p 121) are naturally not reflected upon by the male respondents as something working against society's equality quest. In contrast when talking about the interest in cooking and eating surprisingly traditional codes are used among these relatively gender-equal men. The women seem in one way more free (because this is their domain?) but also more constrained (because they know that the "right" way is today the man's way?). The traditional culinary roles (Szabo 2014) and power relations are in that way here reproduced because the sphere of new meanings is not the original sphere but a parallel sphere of higher status organized by signs of masculinity floating in consumer culture.

DISCUSSION

To summarize the findings on a transferrable level they have been integrated into the tentative theoretical model of Encouraged Intrusion (see figure 1).

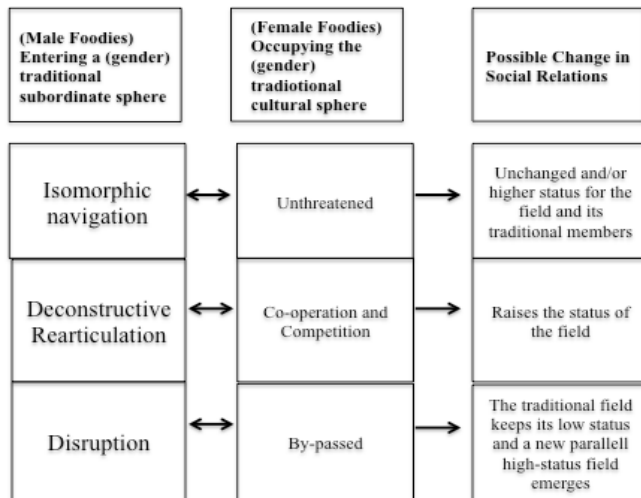


Figure 1. Encouraged Intrusion approaches

In this investigation the context was an at large encouraging one where the state officially sanctions gender equality actions. Hence, the consumers in this study were structurally free to change old gender structures. However, culture shows to be phlegmatic, as the entering of a traditionally gendered space not automatically turns ungendered when the exotic gender enters it. In this paper theories like homosociality (Bird, 1996), hegemonic masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005) articulation theory (Hall (1986) in Kozinets 2001), cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) and neo-institutional theory (DiMaggio & Powell 1983), have been used eclectically to begin to understand the complexity of the large qualitative data set. The conclusive insights contribute especially to consumer culture theory (CCT) with enriched discourse and understanding of the process at work when actors enter a previously (to them) subordinate consumption field. The tentative theoretical model presented proposes that the strongest potency of consumer culture to change social relations happens in the practice of deconstructive rearticulation. It is here, in the language, in the displacement and movement of meaning (McCracken 1988), that gender relations meet on equal terms in my data. Hence, the implication for any actor (be it the State, the Market or

consumers themselves) interested in changing the social relations in equality terms should primarily engage in deconstructing links of meaning first through language and second through affirmative practice. With the State as endorser the use of free-floating signs in consumer culture seemingly make new meanings possible. However, the same free-floating signs in consumer culture in this investigation are also used to reinforce already held power by bypassing the subordinates. In this way consumer culture shows to be a opportunist cape-turner happy to serve any structural change, but also any structural cementation, at hand, as long as it feeds the Market.

For future research this tentative theory can be developed not least by investigating other consumption fields traditionally associated with a subordinate sociocultural group, and across other, for structural change, benevolent contexts.

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Consumer Proclivity for Sustainable Consumption: A Social Normative Approach

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ABSTRACT

Some consumers deliberately reject normative sustainable consumption behaviors, while simultaneously engaging in others that are not normative. To understand this paradox a causal model is developed and three studies are used to test it. Results suggest that a personality trait drives particular consumers to reject a behavior if it is perceived as normative.

INTRODUCTION

Motivated by the prevailing need to understand CB as it relates to sustainability (Thøgersen and Schrader 2012), this paper addresses the research question: why do some consumers purposefully avoid particular sustainable consumption behaviors (SCBs), even in the face of social pressure to comply, while at the same time engaging in other SCBs where no such social pressure exists? In pursuing this paradoxical question, I consider consumer personality coupled with a social normative approach.

Sustainability is critical. The future well-being of humankind depends on how resources are consumed. It is estimated that by 2030, 60% of the world's population will occupy the middle class as 150 million consumers enter this class yearly; accordingly, energy demand will increase by 40%, and the demand for water will surpass supply by 40% (WEF 2013). "We are living as if we have an extra planet at our disposal ... using 50% more resources than the Earth can provide ... by 2030, even two planets will not be enough" (WWF 2012, 1). The "business as usual" paradigm cannot continue. To avoid global disaster, ballooning consumption must be restrained.

As suggested in the foregoing paragraph, theoretical understanding of the importance of sustainability is known, however, there exists a gap between this knowledge and action directed at implementable solutions (Thøgersen 2005; Thøgersen and Schrader 2012). A spate of well-intentioned major global policy initiatives has done little to reduce worldwide consumption (Prothero et al. 2011). The seminal UN Brundtland Commission's 1987 Report, the 2000 UN Millennium Summit, the 2005 UN World Summit, and others, have articulated the significance of protecting resources, however, their recommendations were characterized by implementability difficulties, resulting in no real tangible outcomes that have re-oriented the current global path of non-sustainability.

In this paper, I move the focus from the esoteric and conceptual, to the practical and operational. Using the individual consumer as the unit of analysis, I seek to understand the interplay between social normative influences and consumers' personalities that impact SCB. The extant consumer-oriented literature on sustainable consumption (SC) gives insufficient attention to the role of social influence. "Social influence is often poorly theorized or simply absent from behavioral models and research" (Axsen and Kurani 2012, 312). It is here that I seek to make a contribution and support the ACR's mission to "facilitate the exchange of scholarly information among members of academia, industry, and government worldwide."

This research is positioned within the limited CB social influence literature on SC and specifically, the Transformative Consumer Research movement, by providing research that, "benefits consumer welfare and quality of life for all beings affected by consumption across the world" (ACR Website). Adopting a multi-disciplinary perspective, this research is informed by literatures from marketing, CB, psychology, sociology, and policy works from the UN, government, and NGOs. In the following sections I overview salient lit-

erature and develop a model that addresses the research question. After testing the model, findings are presented, followed by a general discussion.

THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

What we know about sustainability has originated from policy makers (governments and NGOs), and academics. Policy makers have generated wide-ranging policies intended to advance sustainability, but these have lacked operationalization. Resultantly, consumers have been reluctant to accept these efforts and modify their consumption behavior (OECD 2008). In contrast, academics have focused on issues related to implementability (Schrader and Thøgersen 2011). Specifically, a pervasive concern has been the divergence between knowledge and real action needed to advance SC, and the need to understand the reasons for this gap (Thøgersen and Schrader 2012). The notion of sustainability focuses on adopting a long-term perspective of natural resource management with environmental protectionism suggesting that via careful management, humankind can avoid resource-depletion, making these resources available for future generations (Thøgersen 2005). Sustainability has been approached along two sides of an equation: SC (how products are demanded/consumed), and sustainable production (how products are produced to fulfil demand).

Conceptualizations of SC (demand side) have evolved over time with governments/NGOs driving world thinking. Most approaches have emphasized the need for consumers to behave in ways that can enhance the future well-being of humankind by minimizing the impact on the earth's resources/environment. A pragmatic definition states that SC is, "the use of goods and services required to meet basic needs and improve quality of life without placing at risk the needs of future generations. This includes the selection, purchase, use, maintenance, repair and disposal of any product or service" (Government of Canada 2013). This behaviorally-focused approach is adopted here, and can be operationalized to reflect SCBs: recycling, self-sufficiency, and closeness to nature. These will be discussed later.

The CB literature has studied sustainability in relation to: ethnicity and skepticism (Luchs et al. 2010); congruency of political ideology and persuasive appeals (Kidwell et al. 2013); and product distortion and recycling (Trudel and Argo 2013). Although important, little research has involved social influence with SC (Axsen and Kurani 2012). Often unrecognized, social influence is a formidable determinant of behavior (Liu et al. 2012).

Central to social influence is the distinction between normative and informational influence. Deutsch and Gerard (1955) provided an enduring explanation of each concept where normative influence relates to the "influence to conform with the positive expectations of another" (629), while informational influence is the "influence to accept information obtained from another as evidence about reality" (629) – people try to gain social approval and liking, and avoid negative outcomes (rejection/embarrassment). Also, they rely on others' actions and attitudes as a source of information about the nature of reality (Goldstein et al. 2008; Cialdini 2001a). Other's expectations (norms) are important and are the basis of social functioning.

Norms are rules that stipulate how members of a group are expected to behave under given circumstances, and "may be thought of as legitimate, socially shared guidelines to the accepted and expected patterns of conduct" (Birenbaum and Sagarin 1976, 11). Essential

for social life (Blau 1964), norms are directed at certain behaviors called social actions (Coleman 1990), like recycling. Much social behavior is driven by social norms. Here, society is defined as, “any fairly large group of people who share a common culture, think of themselves as having inherited a common set of historical traditions, interact with other group members frequently, and see themselves as being associated with a particular geographic area” (Teevan and Hewitt 1995, 26).

CONCEPTUAL MODEL AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The model (fig. 1) explains why some consumers intentionally avoid particular SCBs while engaging in others. Central to the mod-

el is the role played by the personality trait, consumer propensity to deviate (CPD). Psychological reactance is modeled as an antecedent to CPD, while as a consequent effect, SCB is captured by measuring representative behaviors: *recycling*, *self-sufficiency*, and *closeness to nature*.

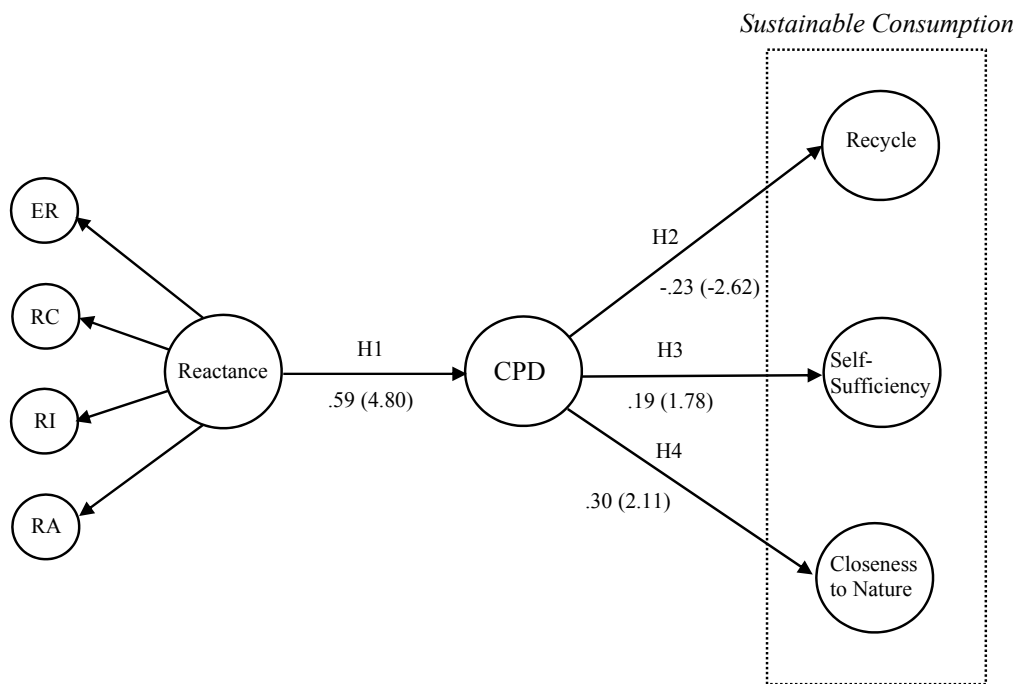
Consumer Personality: Consumer Propensity to Deviate (CPD)

Consideration of personality in SC research has been limited. However, personality traits can predict SCBs. Luchs and Mooradian (2012) found strong evidence to support the importance of personality when they modeled the agreeableness trait as a mediator between gender and SCB. This reinforced related research that showed how

FIGURE 1

RESULTS OF PATH ANALYSES (STUDY 3)

Psychological Antecedents → Behavioral Outcomes



Notes:

- a. All paths are significant where H1: $p < .001$; H2: $p < .01$; H3: $p < .10$; and H4: $p < .05$.
- b. Path loadings are indicated and t-values are in parentheses.
- c. Reactance was measured using an 11-item, four-factor version of the Hong Psychological Reactance Scale (Hong and Faedda 1996): emotional response toward restricted choice (ER); reactance to compliance (RC); resisting influence from others (RI); and reactance toward advice and recommendations (RA).
- d. CFA Fit Indices (CPD alone): $\chi^2 = 30.98$, (d.f. = 14, $p = .01$), $\chi^2/d.f. = 2.21$, GFI = .95, RNI = .97, CFI = .97, and RMSEA = .08
- e. CFA Fit Indices (Reactance alone): $\chi^2 = 36.71$, (d.f. = 29, $p = .15$), $\chi^2/d.f. = 1.27$, GFI = .96, RNI = .97, CFI = .97, and RMSEA = .04
- f. CFA Fit Indices (Recycle, Self-Sufficiency, Closeness-to-Nature alone): $\chi^2 = 30.35$, (d.f. = 24, $p = .17$), $\chi^2/d.f. = 1.27$, GFI = .96, RNI = .98, CFI = .98, and RMSEA = .04
- g. CFA Fit Indices for the Model: $\chi^2 = 388.76$, (d.f. = 291, $p < .001$), $\chi^2/d.f. = 1.34$, GFI = .85, CFI = .93, and RMSEA = .05
- h. *Recycling Scale* Items: (1) newspapers; (2) glass jars/bottles; and (3) cans.
- i. *Self-sufficiency Scale* Items: (1) family/friends change oil in car; (2) gotten skills to increase self-reliance (e.g., carpentry, car repair, or plumbing); and (3) exchanged goods/services in lieu of payment with money.
- j. *Closeness to Nature Scale* Items: (1) intentionally avoid meat; (2) contribute to ecologically oriented organizations; and (3) grow own vegetables.

various personality traits can predict behavioral outcomes (Hirsh 2010; Hirsh and Dolderman 2007). A personality trait is a persistent, identifiable characteristic that defines a person (Solomon et al. 2014). This is consistent with Bandura's (1986) approach emphasizing the personality-behavior link and states that it is, "a broad enduring disposition to behave in certain ways" (5).

As personality trait, CPD explains why some consumers are more likely than others to engage in norm-violating behavior and is formally defined as, "the inclination or tendency for consumers to willfully contravene consumption norms as defined by members of [their society]" (Voyer 2014, 723). A key feature is the deliberate/intentional norm-violation aspect (i.e., to be "anti"), which conceptually stands in contrast to a consumer's desire to be "different." CPD varies across all consumers to a greater or lesser extent. Like Midgley and Dowling's (1978) innovativeness construct, CPD is not defined in terms of an actual behavior, but rather an individual's propensity. Although a propensity cannot be acted upon without an opportunity, it's omnipresent.

Psychological Reactance

Reactance suggests that when people feel that their freedom of choice is threatened in some way, they will become impelled to resist what is being taken away (Brehm 1966). Little CB research has been devoted to this construct apart from a few studies (e.g., Clee and Wicklund 1980; Kivetz 2005; Liu et al. 2012). Some consumers place great importance on (perceived) freedom to dispose of products in a manner of their choosing and find government regulations that mandate recycling provocative. For example, Seattle (USA) and Gatineau (Canada) have recently employed "garbage police" to randomly inspect residents' garbage bags for (prohibited) recyclables; those consumers who are found guilty face fines. Such campaigns might trigger defiant behavior and negate the desired outcomes (Clee and Wicklund 1980). Reactance is related to consumers' responses against normative pressure; some may respond aggressively, others with self-presentational methods using public image, yet others may try to facilitate a sense of control and establish an illusion of power (Gilbert et al. 1988).

Psychological reactance can be modeled (and measured) as a personality trait, and is positively related to other personality variables such as: internal locus of control, self-esteem, and others (Hong and Faedda 1996). Brehm (1966) suggested that any message (or ad) aimed at trying to change attitude or behavior could be construed as a threat to freedom. When faced with this perception, some consumers will violate norms and react by, "producing even more of the undesired behaviors as a means of demonstrating choice" (Burgooon et al. 2002, 215) – faced with a proscriptive norm, some consumers will embrace the ("prohibited") behavior and engage in it (Brehm 1966); the behavioral outcome (a boomerang effect) will be contrary to the norm. A consumer who is likely to be highly reactionary would also be more inclined to breach norms. I hypothesize that reactance will be positively related to CPD:

Hypothesis 1: The greater the consumer's psychological reactance, the greater the CPD.

Sustainable Consumption (SC)

The OECD (2008) maintains that SC includes: recycling, efficiency in the consumption of resources in the home, minimization of waste, and environmentally sound purchasing practices of households. This reinforces the aforementioned definition of SC, operationalized to include measures for recycling, self-sufficiency and closeness to nature. Closely related to SC, the concept of vol-

untary simplicity is about reducing consumption (Etzioni 1998; Prothero et al. 2011). Voluntary simplifiers are consumers "who are resisting high consumption lifestyles and who are seeking, in various ways, a lower consumption" (Alexander and Usher 2012, 66 – 67). The same authors directly link voluntary simplicity to SC and state, "human beings need to consume differently and produce commodities more efficiently" (67). Further, they emphasize that voluntary simplicity is a coherent and necessary behavioral solution needed for SC.

Voluntary simplicity is conceptualized as the degree to which an individual selects a lifestyle intended to maximize his/her control over daily activities, and to minimize his/her consumption and dependency (Leonard-Barton 1981). Leonard-Barton (1981) operationalized this concept by advancing several behavioral manifestations including: recycling; self-sufficiency; and closeness to nature.

Recycling of Resources. Recycling (paper, bottles, cans, etc.) is now normative in developed nations (OECD 2008). Enhanced by government programs (e.g., home "blue boxes," public recycling bins), this expectation is a dominant consumption norm. The amount of recycled material can be increased through activation of norms (Schultz 1999). Given recycling's normative aspect, I hypothesize an inverse relationship with CPD:

Hypothesis 2: The greater a consumer's CPD, the lesser the likelihood of that consumer will engage in recycling behavior.

Self-sufficiency proposes that consumers rely more on themselves to do various tasks (e.g., repair one's own vehicle, develop skills like carpentry/plumbing to enhance self-reliance, or engage in barter) (Leonard-Barton 1981). Unlike recycling, self-sufficiency is not normative, especially in developed nations. For busy consumers, time is at a premium; they purchase convenience goods, shop at retailers that offer convenience, and seek professional repair services. Lifestyles characterized by time scarcity/constraints, coupled with technological complexities, drive consumers to greater dependence on products and amenities. Social pressures compel consumers to adopt a work-and-spend lifestyle while simultaneously feeling the "conditions of urban living or the effects of pervasive marketing" (Sanne 2002, 273). I hypothesize that the more a consumer becomes self-sufficient, the more he/she digresses from social expectations of convenience-oriented consumption (lessened self-sufficiency):

Hypothesis 3: The greater a consumer's CPD, the greater the likelihood of that the consumer will pursue self-sufficiency behaviors.

Closeness to Nature captures the essence of ecological awareness to include growing one's own food, vegetarianism, and/or contributing to ecologically-oriented organizations (Leonard-Barton 1981). As the world's population increases, food production and consumption become critical as does the interdependency between people and resources. Driven by consumer demand for inexpensive and plentiful food, large-scale commercial agricultural operations have become prevalent, and have led to the steady demise of smaller, more ecologically-friendly family farms. Consumers have not modified food demand based on what the land can more efficiently produce. Due to a socially-expected desire to enhance convenience, consumers retreat from nature (e.g., purchasing food items vs. growing them). Closeness to nature is not socially normative and therefore:

Hypothesis 4: *The greater a consumer's CPD, the greater the likelihood of that the consumer will pursue behaviors oriented to enhancing his/her closeness to nature.*

RESEARCH DESIGN, METHOD, AND RESULTS

Central to the model is the notion of deliberate norm-violation (captured by CPD). Three studies were used to comprehensively assess the model. Study 1 was exploratory and sought to understand consumers' beliefs related to norm-violation. To evaluate construct validity, study 2 focused on the psychometric behavior of the focal construct, CPD, by examining it in relation to conceptually related constructs. Lastly, study 3 served to ultimately test the hypotheses.

Study 1 – Exploratory

In study 1, I sought to better understand the domain, and examine how my theory-driven approach to norm-violation was consistent with that of the general consuming public's (c.f. Netemeyer et al. 1995). Three open-ended questions asked respondents to describe: (1) the type of person that they associate with rule-breaking; (2) consumption rules they follow; and (3) what consumption rules, if any, they break. Questionnaires were completed by 51 students (11 PhD and 40 MBA) from a North American (N.A.) business school, and were analyzed for any general themes and/or frequently mentioned ideas. Results confirmed that norms and their violation are highly salient – 77% of respondents cited social norms as necessary for appropriate conduct. They construed the type of persons associated

TABLE 1: INTERNAL CONSISTENCY AND CORRELATIONS (STUDIES 2 & 3)

Study 2	Internal Consistency			Correlations								
	Comp. α	Coef. α	AVE	CPD	CNS	DUCP	Inf-N	Inf-I	Age	Income		
CPD ^a	.90	.90	.57	1.72 (.86)								
CNS ^b	.92	.92	.60	.08*	4.24 (1.33)							
DUCP ^c	.85	.87	.48	.29	.48	4.45 (1.21)						
Inf-N ^d	.91	.90	.55	.10	.23	.12	3.35 (1.26)					
Inf-I ^d	.68	.73	.36	.01, N	.27	.18	.63	4.33 (1.20)				
Age	--	--	--	-.06, N	-.01, N	-.14	-.60, N	-.05, N	18.95 (4.50)			
Income ^e	--	--	--	-.06, N	-.03, N	-.02, N	-.12	-.07, N	.24	1.16 ^f (.64)		
Study 3	Comp. α	Coef. α	AVE	CPD	React.	Recycle	Self-Sufficiency	Closeness to Nature	ATSCI	SDB	Age	Income
CPD	.91	.90	.58	1.86 (.94)								
Reactance	.86	.74	.38	.47	3.74 (.81)							
Recycle	.91	.69	.44	-.22	-.07, N	4.32 (.97)						
Self-Sufficiency	.91	.69	.44	.14*	.003, N	.01, N	2.43 (.93)					
Closeness to Nature	.91	.69	.44	.18	.05, N	.08, N	.17	1.81 (.64)				
ATSCI	.90	.85	.45	.01, N	.14*	-.10, N	-.03, N	-.19	3.94 (1.00)			
SDB	--	--	--	-.06, N	-.16	.04, N	.08, N	.12, N	-.37	4.04 (1.83)		
Age	--	--	--	-.13*	-.19	.27	-.27	.06, N	-.32	.14*	26.82 (9.04)	
Income ^e	--	--	--	-.04, N	-.15*	.27	-.27	.05, N	-.32	.01, N	.84	2.28 ^f (1.57)

Notes: Correlations are Pearson Correlations. All correlations are significant at the .05, .01, or .001 levels (2-tailed), except where noted by * ($p < .10$) or N (not significant). Diagonal entries are mean values, and standard deviations (in parentheses).

^a CFA Fit Indices (CPD alone): χ^2 of 72.09 (d.f. = 14, $p < .001$), χ^2 /d.f. = 5.15, GFI = .95, RNI = .96, CFI = .96, and RMSEA = .10

^b CFA Fit Indices (CPD & CNS): $\chi^2 = 265.07$, (d.f. = 89, $p < .001$), χ^2 /d.f. = 2.98, GFI = .92, RNI = .95, CFI = .95, and RMSEA = .07

^c CFA Fit Indices (CPD & DUCP): $\chi^2 = 214.46$, (d.f. = 89, $p < .001$), χ^2 /d.f. = 2.41, GFI = .93, RNI = .95, CFI = .95, and RMSEA = .06

^d CFA Fit Indices (CPD, Inf-N, & Inf-I): $\chi^2 = 464.60$, (d.f. = 149, $p < .001$), χ^2 /d.f. = 3.12, GFI = .89, RNI = .92, CFI = .92, and RMSEA = .07

^e Personal Income; ^f This value indicates annual mean income is < \$40K

with rule-breaking as those who tend to deliberately breach norms (expectations/rules). Importantly, the recycling rule was the most frequently stated social norm. Thus, understanding of the domain was enhanced, and results suggested that the consuming public's conception of deliberate norm-violation was in accord with mine.

Study 2 – Validity

The goals of study 2 were to assess construct validity and to ensure that CPD reflected the key notion of intentional norm-violation (“anti”) vs. a desire to be unique/innovative (“different”). Web-based survey methodology was used. By clicking a URL contained in an invitational email, respondents entered a commercial survey hosting site. Respondents were undergraduates from a large N.A. university ($N = 395$, $M_{age} = 19.0$, $SD_{age} = 4.5$, Female = 54%).

Measures and Predictions. The questionnaire consisted of: the CPD scale; three validity measures; and a demographics section. All scales' items were seven-point. CPD was measured using a seven-item scale (Voyer 2014). To evaluate CPD's dissimilarity with desire to be “different,” the *Consumer Novelty Seeking (CNS)* scale, measuring the desire for consumers to seek out new product information, was included (Manning et al. 1995). The *Desire for Unique Consumer Products (DUCP)* scale, measuring the extent to which consumers hold a personal goal of acquiring products that few others possess, was included (Lynn and Harris 1997). *Consumer Susceptibility to Interpersonal Influence* was included. This two-dimensional scale [*normative influences (Inf-N)*, and *informational influences (Inf-I)*] captures the need to identify with others (or enhance one's image) by being mindful of others' expectations (Inf-N), or by seeking information from others (Inf-I) (Bearden et al. 1989). These measures are conceptually related to, but distinct from, CPD. I expected all measures to be correlated positively and weakly to CPD.

CFA Results. Using AMOS, CFA on CPD alone indicated: acceptable fit (table 1, note a); appropriate item loadings (.70 to .79); and suitable squared multiple correlations (.49 to .62). CFAs that modeled CPD with one of the three validity measures individually indicated acceptable fit (table 1, notes b, c, d). Results confirmed CPD's unidimensionality and satisfactorily performing items.

Analyses. CPD's interitem correlations were acceptable (.45 to .64) as were corrected item-to-total correlations (.66 to .75). Internal consistency measures for CPD were satisfactory (table 1). Convergent validity was assessed; in CFAs conducted with CPD and validity measures, t -values of all CPD items exceeded 15.09 ($p < .001$) suggesting CPD's convergent validity (Segars 1994). Two tests for discriminant validity were performed. Firstly, variances ranged from .01 to .40 (from table 1, by squaring the correlations), and were substantially less than the constructs' AVE values, indicating adequate discriminant validity (Fornell and Larcker 1981). Secondly, in a principal components analysis of a five-construct model (CPD, CNS, DUCP, Inf-N and Inf-I), CPD demonstrated that none of its items loaded more heavily on another construct than on itself, again, reinforcing discriminant validity.

Construct Validity: Assessment of Predictions. Predicted correlations (CPD and validity measures) were supported (table 1), suggesting CPD's construct validity. The low mean CPD score (1.72) was not surprising since most consumers are not inclined to breach norms. CFAs (table 1, notes a, b, c, d) suggest that validity measures were seen by respondents as distinct from CPD.

Study 3 – Assessing the Model

The aim of study 3 was to assess the model and its hypotheses. Web-based survey methodology (per study 2) was used. Respondents were students (undergraduate, graduate, part- and full-time)

at a small N.A. college ($N = 159$, $M_{age} = 26.8$, $SD_{age} = 9.0$, Female = 25.8%).

Measures and Predictions. The survey included measures for: reactance, CPD, three behavioral measures for SC, two validity measures, and a demographics section. Reactance was measured using the 11-item, seven-point, Hong Reactance Scale (fig. 1, note c). CPD was measured using Voyer's (2014) scale. SC was captured using three behavioral measures: recycling; self-sufficiency; and closeness to nature (each reflected by three-item, five-point, Likert-type statements, fig. 1, notes h, i, j) drawn from Leonard-Barton's (1981) multi-dimensional Voluntary Simplicity Scale. Additionally, the conceptually related measure, *Attention to Social Comparison Information (ATSCI)* (Lennox and Wolfe 1984), was included as a validity measure to assess its distinctiveness from CPD. It captures the extent to which one is aware of, and concerned about, the reactions of others to one's own behavior. Both constructs (CPD and ATSCI) suggest that the consumer engages in comparison: CPD to norms, and ATSCI to others' reactions. I predicted the correlation between them to be low or nonsignificant. Also, included as a validity measure, was *Social Desirability Bias (SDB)*, assessed using a 10-item version of the Marlowe-Crowne scale (Strahan and Gerbasi 1972). I predicted SDB's correlation with CPD would be low or nonsignificant.

Results. Initial analyses focused on examining measures' factor structure and psychometric performance of items. CFAs were conducted on each measure individually; fit indices were found to be acceptable (fig. 1, notes d, e, f). Factors' standardized item loadings were acceptable (all $\lambda > .7$), as were internal consistency measures (table 1). All hypotheses and predictions were supported as evidenced by path analyses in fig. 1, and correlations in table 1, respectively. Of note, the correlation between SDB and CPD was not significant and suggested that CPD did not likely suffer from this bias (table 1). All path loadings (fig. 1) were significant. The CFA on the complete model indicated acceptable data fit (fig. 1, note g).

GENERAL DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Paradoxically, there is a disparity between some consumers' positive attitudes towards sustainability and their actual unsustainable behaviors (Prothero et al. 2011). This research helps to explain why this difference occurs. The model highlights the important role played by personality and norms in determining behavior. Findings suggest that when particular SCBs are perceived as socially normative, such as *recycling*, high-CPD consumers will deliberately breach that behavioral norm and thwart the behavior; however, when other SCBs are not seen as socially normative, as with *self-sufficiency* and *closeness to nature*, the same consumers will pursue them.

Several contributions have been made to CB theory. Understanding of the role of personality in relation to normative influence was broadened. The persuasion (attitude change) literature was enhanced by extending the prominent elaboration likelihood theory (Petty and Cacioppo 1986) – norms could act as peripheral cues in terms of their impact on various consumers' personality-driven tendencies to adhere (or not) to the norms. For example, choosing to toss a used plastic bottle into either a recycling container or a garbage container is for most consumers a trivial decision and thus, would likely be processed peripherally. Also, by focusing on personality, I reinforce and extend Cialdini's (2001a; 2001b) work on social and interpersonal influence where he proposed persuasion principles (social validation, consistency, etc.).

Policy makers can leverage these findings to formulate communication plans designed to boost SCB. Implementability is essen-

tial. Action-focused plans and ads must center on CB by recognizing varying consumer personalities. Ads should be designed to shape individuals' perceptions of particular SCBs by controlling the manner in which the desired SCB is presented to consumers – market segmentation can help along with some principles of social influence extended by the current research. For a “low-CPD” target segment, the “if everyone is doing it, it must be right and so, you should do it too” approach could be employed – consistent with the principle of social consensus (Cialdini 2001b; Goldstein et al. 2008). For a “high-CPD” target segment, presenting the message as being normative should be avoided – ads could present the SCB as a suggestion, or as being “cool” and “unique” in order to reduce normative influence. Ultimately, academics, managers, and policy makers must work in a coordinated and synergistic fashion if SC is to be realized in practice.

Limitations. Rational choice has been assumed to prevail. No detailed consideration of potential biological, political and economic factors has been made. Research involving norms can spur concerns such as: (1) how many members are required for norm-formation; (2) what do people have in mind when judging norms; and (3) what the person evaluating the behavior regards as good/bad (Gibbs 1995).

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Consumption and Identity in Arduous Situations

How the Adaptation of Travel Practices Among Very Elderly People Modifies Their Identity

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ABSTRACT

This research explores how elderly people continually modify their identity through consumption. We conducted an ethnographic research in the French railways, to observe how elderly people adapt their practices in a constraining context. The results also revealed how socio-material objects could help elderly people to travel successfully.

INTRODUCTION

The aging process can be considered under biological, psychological or sociological aspects, all of those having an impact on consumption (Moschis 2012). The biological aging of cells modifies one's behavior (Moschis 1991 ; Goldberg 2009). Psychological aging focuses on the alteration of the decision and seeking information process (Yoon et al. 2009), and the changing of personality (Brown and Lowis 2003). Social aging is characterized by the emergence of new roles like that of grandparent (Schewe and Balazs 1992) or the way social ruptures like retirement influence consumption (Schau et al. 2009).

Generally, the process of aging is considered either from a euphoric perspective, in which personal developments and other benefits are highlighted, or through a dysphoric one, in which the elderly face a global degeneration. From this perspective, elderly people are fragilized and the role of marketing and consumption is to assist and to take care of them. Notwithstanding that numerous research goes beyond a restrictive approach of aging based on the age of people and includes multi-dimensional aspects of aging (cognitive, psychological and social), it addresses the process of aging from a determinist perspective (Wells and Gubar 1966 ; Kang and Ridgway 1996 ; Lambert-Pandraud and Laurent 2010). To schematize, becoming an elderly person gives one an intrinsic status, whose consequences over consumption are ineluctable.

Recent developments in Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) have deconstructed this approach while considering the elderly as having a plastic identity (Arnould and Thompson 2005). This stream of research has two consequences concerning research about aging. The elderly and their personal entourage can modify and transform their identity (Barnhardt and Penalzoa 2013). This research also shines a light on the role of consumption by inverting the relationship between consumption and aging. They apprehended how consumption could influence the process of aging (Schau et al. 2009; Barnhart and Penalzoa 2013).

Our research aligns with this perspective and prolongs the role of consumption. The identity of an elderly person is perceived as a continuous negotiation on a meso-social (Barnhardt and Penalzoa 2013) or micro-individual level (Schau et al. 2009). Our research shifts this perspective when observing the role of consumption for the elderly who do assume their identity as such. Under the prism of consumption, we investigate how elderly people navigate between a macro-social image of old age and micro-social interactions and how this navigation influences their identity. The impact of socio-material settings of objects is an essential piece of this research. We describe how elderly consumers interact with objects not designed for them, and how those strategies of adaptation nurture a redefinition of their identity. Our paper begins with the relationship between old age and consumption. Then we present our data gathering process based on an ethnographic investigation among elderly people in the French

railways. Our results present their practices of adaptation during their journey along a semiotic square of analysis.

IMAGINARY OF OLDNESS AND CONSUMPTION

The social imaginary of oldness remains mostly negative (Gullette 1997). The evolution of the age pyramid and the increasing number of elderly people following the aging of the baby-boomer generation contributes to a better perception of the elderly. Notwithstanding, researchers remark a gap between the image of the elderly and the values promoted by our modern societies, what Kuyper and Bengtson describe as a social breakdown syndrom (1973). The emergence of liquidity and acceleration as values in the late modernity of capitalism (Bauman 2000 ; Rosa 2010) tends to ostracize elderly people as slow and backwards. Even among the elderly, those who are positively appreciated embrace the value of "jeunisme" (Ahmadi 2001, quoted by Rosa 2010). Rather than wisdom due to their old age, Ahmadi (2001) reveals that they put forward their youthfulness, particularly their flexibility and adaptation to new situations. They appreciate the features that mask their old age and distance themselves from other seniors. The elderly have to deal with this imaginary, which assigns them an expected role, that of the old man (Goffman 1959).

There is a constant negotiation within this role. At a macro-social level, the role the old man should assume is translated in an imaginary of wisdom but also progressive loneliness and distance towards material and mundane issues. Consequently, the elderly are apprehended as disempowered persons. In this perspective, consumption is a way to preserve the daily lives of those people (Kang and Ridgway 1996 ; Wells and Gubar 1966). This function of protection hinders the elderly from consuming as a means of negotiating their plastic identity. At the meso-social level, discussions about the endorsement of this role take place between the elderly and their acquaintances (Barnhardt and Penalzoa 2013). The consumption is a central issue of this negotiation. There is also denial and acceptance about this role at a micro-social level. "Younger" elderly people would try more to conceal their status (Tepper 1994). In comparison, "Older" elderly people internalize this consumption as a form of assistance (Tepper 1994). They would better accept ways of consuming in accordance with their social role as an elderly person.

This path to disempowerment in their consumption seems all the more accepted as older people become older. However, what appears as an undeniable tendency should be questioned. Firstly, the increasing number of elderly consumers living alone implies a lot of individual decisions. Secondly, elderly people are still quite often puzzled by consumer situations in which they face challenging situations. They do not only have to develop adaptations like the SOC model (Baltes and Carstensen 1996 ; Freund and Baltes 1998), but also to deal with the specific collective imaginary associated with the elderly. Thus our research tries to understand how elderly consumers who assume their identity use consumption in arduous situations (when they may face the social imaginary of oldness). We chose travel contexts in which they have left their reassuring habits. In analyzing those practices, we articulate how they have an impact on the negotiation process of the identity of older people.

METHODS AND RESULTS

We conducted an ethnographic fieldwork with elderly people in the French trains (high-speed, ie TGV and regional, ie TER). The train was an interesting research subject for different reasons. At first, this conveyance overlaps travel practices and forms of consumption as Warde defines them, ie “a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes, of goods, services, performances, information or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion” (2005, p137). Elderly people are engaged in routinized practices when they use those modes of transportation, and in return those practices structure how they use them as objects and services (Warde 2005).

Secondly, the train can be analyzed under the prism of materiality. Materiality is not considered as a symbol of this collective imaginary, but as a practical frame for the interaction between individuals (Miller 2005 ; Latour1994). The train as a material object can reveal what the discourse about the collective imaginary associated with elderly people might conceal. The socio-material settings (eg. stairs in the station, reservation kiosks) could be challenging for elderly people because they are not designed for them. They translate the collective imaginary, ie the inadequacy between traveling and elderly people.

Furthermore, among trains, differences exist between high-speed and regional. Those two objects overlay two different socio-material settings (in terms of speed, access, reservation) and offer two different experiences. The TGV has high speed, elevated cars, and long platforms whereas the TER has slow speed, short platforms and many stops.

Thirdly, train transportation happens in a social context with other passengers. The theater scene is dressed and senior citizens have to choose their social role in front of this audience. This context is a priori hostile because the elderly have to share this public space with the rest of the population and deal with material settings they do necessarily not fit in.

Our fieldwork was structured in two phases. We began with data collection in regional trains in the region of Rennes and Lyon. The SNCF (French National Railways) gave us full access to the trains between March and April 2014. We recruited senior citizens

directly in the stations. They had to be old enough (between 65 and 92 years old) not to contest their social status. The selection was based on physical or cognitive clues (like difficulties finding one’s way in the station). After this phase of selection, we accompanied them during their trip inside the train. We followed fifteen elderly people on ten different journeys. We combined passive observation and informal interviews with the people recruited during the trip. Parallel to this stage of participant observation, we conducted twenty-two comprehensive in-home interviews with pre-recruited seniors varying in terms of socio-demographic and physical profiles: they experience some type of difficulty when travelling.

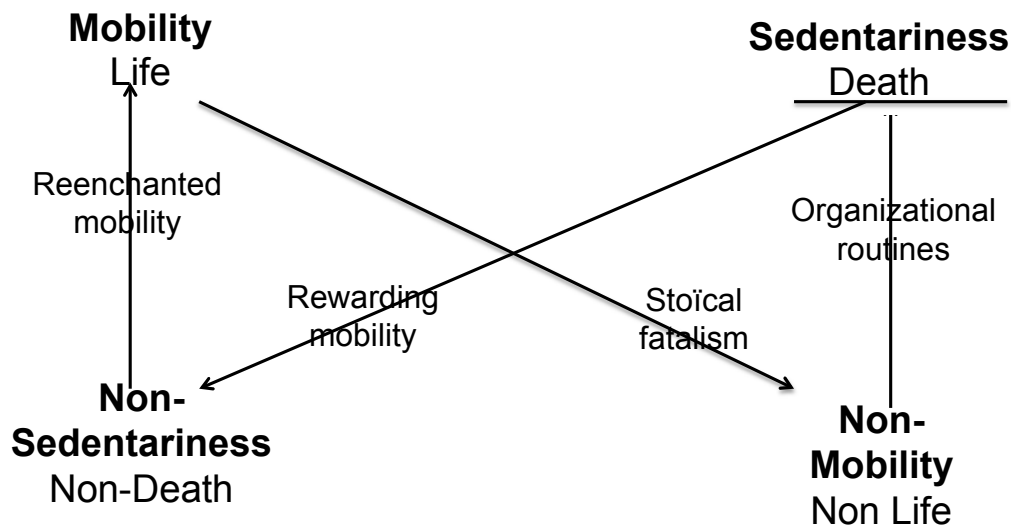
During the second phase, between May and June 2014, we observed four elderly people traveling on the high-speed train, the TGV. We accompanied them from their home to their final destination (we pre-recruited those people because of the obligation to book a reservation before getting on the train). We also observed the behavior of elderly people in the station before taking their train during several days of fieldwork in Parisian stations (Gare de Lyon and Gare Montparnasse). Seventeen in-home interviews with elderly people traveling via high-speed trains were also conducted (based on the same recruitment criteria as the regional train part of the research).

The data were analyzed to understand how elderly people travelling alone adapt their consumption practices in a hostile context. Different strategies were identified. Those strategies are presented along a semiotic square. The semiotic square organized two forms of opposition (contrary oppositions and contradiction oppositions) (Floch 1990). Another relation (implication) close the square. In our analysis, the semantic opposition is based on the difference between Life and Death (figure 1). Life represents mobility (when the elderly people can travel), and Death Sedentariness (when mobility becomes such a trial that they stay at home). Mobility becomes non-Mobility in a contradictory relation when the natural flow of moving is constrained by physical, financial or symbolical barriers. The other contradictory relation opposes non-Sedentariness to Sedentariness.

Those practices (along the semiotic square) describe how elderly adapt their journey and the consequences on their status role and specifically their own identity.

FIGURE 1

THE DIFFERENT ADAPTATIONS OF TRAVEL PRACTICES AMONG ELDERLY PEOPLE



The first practice is a stoical fatalism. In this practice, their expectations as travelers are quite low, by simply travelling they are fully satisfied. The ride is an end in itself, they derive individual benefits and pride from this accomplishment. Of course, this test should not be too painful, otherwise they do not repeat the experience. However they often attribute the fact that they accomplish their journey to the services provided by the carrier. Gilbert discusses his expectations for the regional train:

It is true that train information is displayed at the last moment, sometimes you have to hurry to catch the train. But when I get on the train, I always find available seats. Today I will go to Vitré to see a friend. She will pick me up at the station, and it is a chance because I no longer drive (Gilbert, 82 years, observation TER Rennes/Vitré, March 2014).

Gilbert accepts this transportation as a lesser evil. He realizes that his mobility has been constrained since his abandonment of the car and accepts the difficulties of the regional train, provided he can maintain his individual mobility. This stoical fatalism reduces margins of mobility to a bare core : the elderly person has internalized his or her social role as inactive and sedentary. They face growing barriers to their mobility (physical or social). In this tendency towards non-mobility, maintaining mobility is a chance that is worth sacrifices in transportation.

The second practice-identified in the semiotic square is organizational routines. Those routines enact non-mobility situations but try to avoid the horizon of sedentariness. In the tendency to immobility, they sound like active strategies to compensate the encountered difficulties. In the logic of the semiotic square, non-mobility implies a sedentary lifestyle, and organizational routines are desperate attempts to stand up against this inevitable reality. These routines can be analyzed as an illustration of the SOC (Selection Optimization Compensation) theory (Freund and Baltes, 1998; 2002). They illustrate the need to secure mobility by reducing all sources of anxiety and uncertainty arising from transportation disabilities. The senior incorporates "habitus" of traveling like arriving long in advance at the train station or using luggage with a comfortable grip.

Those routines are a resurgence of former individual travel habits they duplicate now that they face disabilities.

But they are embedded in a more global organization managed by the train authorities. To reduce this potential gap, elderly travelers valorize human contact with employees of the station. They also crave interactions with other passengers. Those multiple experiences of human contact offer them a security blanket throughout their trip. They have a practical finality (to find their way for example), but in doing so, elderly people also assume their status. To arouse some feelings in other travelers, seniors play the role of the old man. They insert their behavior in social interactions related to this codification. When elderly people are playing this role they try to engage the other passengers. The case of Andrée explains such strategies:

The rise in the train is laborious because everybody has to arrange his luggage. The entrance is often crowded and it is not always easy to get on and off either especially at my age... and often there is a nice person to offer to carry your luggage then I accept. You have to be in warm dispositions toward others. People have pity on you (Andrée, 81 ans, observation TER Brest/Rennes, March 2014).

These first two practices identified (stoical fatalism and organizational routines) are mechanisms to delay the "death of mobility", akin to a sedentary lifestyle. Their old routines do not bridge a grow-

ing gap with the socio-material settings of a travel environment (luggage to carry, a train to catch in a limited time, a cognitive timetable to understand...). Those solutions can be seen as a bandaid solution that new constraints would irremediably break down. Finally, they emphasize the difficulties regarding mobility and express publicly the social status of elderly people. Those two practices in the semiotic square also appear as a tacit acceptance of the reduction in the horizon of mobility.

The last two practices along the semiotic square introduce a shift in perspective. Instead of considering a narrowing mobility horizon, elderly people incorporate this perspective to better overcome it. The third practice identified is one of rewarding mobility. Mobility makes sense for seniors, especially through an easier grip with the train considered as a material object. Regional trains are assimilated to such an object, particularly when they are compared with the "trial" of taking the TGV. The TER is a train whose socio-material features are easily appropriated by elderly people. They can get on the train with level access of use (without stairs) ; inside the train, moving from one car to another is possible ; there are no reservations needed, anyone can sit anywhere ; and next to the door, individual seats are available, where many elderly people enjoy resting before getting off. Through their socio-material properties regional trains offer elderly people the possibilities of exploration and marking, two aspects of appropriation (Caru et Cova, 2003). Commuting during the day is also possible because of the short travel distance. When they take regional trains, elderly people rediscover control over mobility. The example of Ali is enlightening :

Ali lives in Venissieux and takes the train to Verpillère two/three times a month to visit his daughter and grand-daughter. With regional trains he can make same day return trips. During the way back to Venissieux, he keeps an eye on the screen inside the train on which the next stations are displayed. He doesn't get up immediately when Venissieux is announced as the next station. He knows this journey quite well, and calculates he has enough time to get ready before arrival. He leaves his place just before the train enters the station, he stays on the first stair while the train is stopping, then walks down. Downstairs, he himself opens the door and leaves the train without difficulties (Ali, 74 ans, observation TER Lyon/Bourgoin Jallieu, March 2014).

Ali does not travel despite the ruggedness of the trip, but thanks to the socio-material characteristics of the train which give him a physical fluency and a symbolic pride. Despite growing problems hindering his ability to drive, his independence in the inner circle of his family is maintained by the properties of the regional trains. While many modes of transportation like the TGV underscore their inadequacy in a mobility context, the regional train is an object which corresponds to his capacities.

This convergence also relies on the symbiosis of two imaginaries. The TER connects many rural stations and villages abandoned by modern means of transport. The meshing of the territory evokes memories and nostalgia for seniors who lived there, or grew up with these evocative names. In elderly people's minds, regional trains are the last bastion of an idealized rural past. This rewarding mobility is a strategy based on physical and symbolical appropriation from elderly people. This appropriation offers their identity a narrative continuity. They can accept who they are at present (through their mastering of the journey) while remembering themselves who they were before (through memories).

The last practice identified is that of reenchanting mobility. The elderly may have a difficult time coming to terms with their reduced mobility. Elderly people fantasize new trips through the possibilities trains offer them. The destinations served trigger new travel opportunities and a resurgence of the desire. Gisèle's trips to Saint-Malo are one such example of reenchantment :

This morning Gisèle decided to take a little excursion to Saint-Malo to « see the ocean » because the weather in Rennes was pretty nice. She decided to leave her 90 years old husband for the day when she discover the shining sun in the morning. During the trip, quietly installed in the train she reads some magazines. Halfway, she noticed that her excursion was compromised by the fog. The weather was completely deteriorated when arriving in Saint-Malo, so ...she immediately took the next train to Rennes (Gisèle, 82 ans, observation TER Rennes/Saint-Malo, March 2014).

Departing is a quick decision for Gisèle. She is always ready to travel. Her mobility is restricted by her age and her disabled husband. She can not travel long distances, but considers the train as an opportunity for escape which can be easily mobilised. The structural restrictions in her mobility do not eradicate her desire for consumption. When other modes of transportation are impossible, trains and particularly regional trains allow her access to new opportunities to travel. With the TER, Gisele has a window through which to escape from the routine of her mundane life and her identity as a devoted wife.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research identifies four practices in which the elderly adapt their journey while their mobility tends to reduce. We specifically analyzed the role of transportation in these arrangements. Such adaptations also mobilize the social status associated with their old age, and have an impact on them in return. Our results can be discussed and bring contributions with several streams of research.

Our first contribution concerns the role of consumption in relation to the identity of the elderly. Consumer research and particularly CCT have explained how elderly people may renegotiate their identity through consumption (Barnhart and Penaloza 2013 ; Schau et al. 2009 ; Price et al. 2000). Our research confirms those results but also emphasizes the fact that this renegotiation is marginalized by growing constraints. They tend to nuance the theory of a successful aging process that stresses self-fulfillment strengthened by consumption (Steverink et al. 1991 ; Tornstam 1997 ; Schau et al. 2009). Consumer research considers mostly discourse from seniors about their aging, whereas our research tends to focus on their effective behavior. Our research stresses that the influence of consumption in the redefinition of their identity reduces as the physical and symbolic constraints expand. But we precise that this process still functions with people becoming very old. Elderly people always deny their own limit through desire (Comte-Sponville 1984). In this research, regional trains like the TER are a source of desire. This dialectic (to push away the boundaries through opportunities of consumption) maintains a constant albeit less effective redefinition of their identity.

The second contribution of this research concerns the link between objects and identity. Previous research exposes how the socio-material properties of the object can frame the interaction between individuals (Miller 2005 ; Latour 1994). Our results underline also identical-material properties of the object. Through their materiality, conveyances (high-speed and regional trains in our research) circumscribe the possibilities of elderly people (what they can do and what becomes impossible for them). They also reflect how the identity

of elderly people is evolving. However, people do not actively use the properties of objects as in other research (Schouten 1991). The process is passive, and properties of the objects follow the identity of people. In this research, seniors are diminished by the pressure of high-speed trains whereas they appreciate the peaceful slowness and the rural itineraries of regional trains which correspond to their own pace. Like a mirror which reflects their self-image, the regional train, in an isomorphic process, accompanies their own evolution.

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Bad Blood and Tender Nomadics : The Returns of Poetic Brutality

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to liberate the possibility of poetics in the research of consumer and idea behavior. It proposes the concept of poetic brutality, and advances connections for the returns of poetics in ten themes. True to its generative nature, it performs a novel academic progression from pre-inventive insight generation to structured ideation.

INTRODUCTION

One thing still clings to poetry, like a wet piece of litter to the bottom of the bin, that advertising has lost but might yet exploit: the profitless, the nihilism, the truth that hurts, that doesn't want to be heard.
Nick Ascroft (2003)

Before the publication of a dedicated article on the role of poetics in consumer research (Sherry & Schouten, 2002), the qualitative landscape for lyrical research was deemed to be populated by an interpretive and phenomenological stream (Spiggle, 1994). In the early part of this century, poetics in the minds of the wider marketing research community has remained restricted under stationary interpretive, postmodern and introspective labels, which do neither the bold original advances of the past nor an energetic creative future of the poetic possibility justice. This article aims to revisit poetics as the road less taken, and remedies the lost attention to the liberal inclusion of art and literature in the aesthetic procurement of market intelligence (Belk, 1986; Stern, 1988a, 1988b).

The term poetics is used to denote figurative thinking in general, beyond the literal effect of poetry as a literary format condensed in language, and for predominantly metaphoric presentations in for instance language and psychology (Gibbs 1994), architecture (Bachelard 1978), sociology (Brown 1977) or anthropology (Brady 2000). Poetics refers to a mode of inquiry and form of presentation of reality that is aesthetically conscious, uses condensed evocative forms, applies figurative and metaphoric language, avoids the artificial distancing that characterises academic endeavours and is unafraid of experiential and sensual immersion. Poetics in academia result in an 'artful-science' (Brady 2004). Poetics has been reinvigorated in more recent theoretical contributions (Canniford, 2012; Wijland, 2011; Wijland & Fell, 2009). The acceptance of the representation in creative writing (Brown, 2014; Schroeder, 2014) as a form of inquiry has seen new projects that challenge aesthetic academic boundaries (Schouten, 2014; Wijland, 2014).

We see the future of the ancient heritage of poetics, as a nomadic hunt into the invisible everydayness, and a high potency option to open up deviant insights into the chaosmos and multiplicity of contemporary consumer and idea behaviour. It provides an alternative to examine the often 'unrepresentable' details or minutia of life in pre-cognitive explanations in the mapping of affective and atmospheric intensities (Hill, Canniford, and Mol 2014). In idea behaviour, poetics procures managerial returns in the acceptance of fragmented brandscapes that live in the expressive contexts of digital brevity. Finally it offers methodological forays in post-ironic stylistics that may build on the previous attention for expressive form (McQuarrie & Mick, 1996) and on past applications of the roots of poetics in premodern allegories (Stern, 1989).

THE SITUATED RETURNS OF POETICS

*Something between breaths, if only for the sake
Of others and their desire to understand you and desert you
For other centers of communication so that understanding
May begin, and in doing so be undone.*
(Ashbery 1975)

The canvasses academics have at their disposal offer few opportunities to both illuminate a poetic process in theory, and make it perform itself as a transparent journey, from the intuition of contributive gaps and multi-sensory inceptions across media, to conceptualisation in the cool landings of textuality of an article. Or, to phrase it in the theme of this ACR conference: to advance the connections of a perceptual and conceptual process. The ACR tradition however makes a little explored allowance. Here, the publication of the winning entry in the 2014 ACR Film Festival functions as a pre-inventive exposure to the precognitive intuitions of the constructs surrounding poetic brutality. This article builds on the intuitively grounded multi-media sketching of the film 'In Brutal Times' (Wijland 2014) and unfolds a conceptual textual representation as repeatable process in form.

The following 10 film themes showcase the potential of songs in situ. They represent the returns of poetic brutality, as a cyclical refreshment of the accomplishments of past travellers, as a future oriented and innovative alternative in a digital world, and not least in positional nudges that aim to liberate poetics from ingrained limitations of its use in the narrow field of marketing and consumer behavior.

Surface Phenomena. The probing to sense the outer layers of a setting often metaphorically start on the reverse side of the screen of information, with an attention for external appearances as a less obvious perspective. The suspension of a priori mental conceptualisations in which the '*phenomenon is likely to be envisaged as a large, indistinct mass*' (Hirschman 1986), with textures that are fully open to impressions. In hindsight, interpretive avenues have become the dominant qualitative operand in the last 20 years, since its difference with phenomenological approaches was made explicit (Spiggle 1994). This rekindles an aesthetic attention for what demands little notice, and '*sets before our eyes the absent object*' (Dryden 1667).

Instant Brutality. One of the radical ways to discern the complexity of atmospheres, is to let attention zoom in on a stand-alone moment, and apprehend each component as an open-ended possibility. As a poetic attitude, it is deemed to adopt a firm rejection of closure (Hejinian 1985). The quest for acute perceptions may be a sequence of fragments, and an assimilation of instants in an as yet non-accumulative process (Lefebvre 2005). This itinerant rendering redresses the utilitarian allurements of conceptual imagination.

Narrative Fallacy. The meaning makers in marketing have long been infatuated with the aptitude to become 'myth' merchants (Wijland 2009a). At the level of noticing, a pre-emptive narrative may clean up the native messiness (Law 2004) of indigenous observations. The insight procurement in the lives and stuff in the market may paint an anti-paysage of disenchantment that fit stories in culture. Poetics ploughs in a more open field, and implicitly critiques the pre- and post-structuring in narrative possibilities.

Quick Inscription. Then again, the singularity of inscriptions (Sherry, 2000) of poetics may offer alternatives in future-oriented open-sourced marketing concepts and situated digital contexts. In

contemporary meaning markets every process is accelerated and clocks at increased speeds, for both producers and consumers. The returns of a brutal poetics relies on a quickening of perceptions.

Prospecting Outside. The method of introspection has been one of the bones of contention, even among fellow travellers (Sherry and Schouten 2002; Wallendorf and Brucks 1993) in the consumer Odyssey (Belk 1986). While introspection as a way of knowing has been vindicated since (Gould 2011), the singularity of poetry specifically still suffers from a confining association with subjectivity. Poetic brutality would argue for powerful returns in the opposite realm: as a revelatory approach that may be better attuned to the subtleties of the external rhythm of marketscapes, as a savage attitude and formal mediation to make surrounding superficiality sing, and as a better way to apprehend the fake, real and raw in the outside.

Material Poetics. Market intelligence and conceptual ideation have a great stake in being able to eloquently arrest the meaning of the silent things. Material poetics (Wijland 2009b) has been the subject of ACR's heretical opening act (Wijland and Houston 2008). Brutality in this respect may have two perspectives: on the one hand a close attention to the form and presence of inanimate minutiae which are performative in their own right. They are deemed to possess a poetic agency (Wijland 2011), and especially idea development finds its inspiration the way in which tangible and touchable stuff quietly sings. On the other hand, textual poetry may be able to capture a fine representation of physical surroundings.

Lyrical Planning. Brutal insight generation in planning may be seen as is a reformulation of information 'from below' (Mayer 1995); not as a linear chain of associations, but as a way of looking that by-passes the mental blocks of a functional fixedness that temporarily defers expertise. This works as a conscious counteractant to looking 'from above': with a specific goal in mind. Brutality then functions as a kind of open-minded deconstruction that gauges the creative 'affordances' in a given challenge. In *Pattern Recognition* (Gibson 2003) planner Cayce Pollard wears clothes from which every trade mark has been carefully removed; she responds to labels by getting sick. She lives in a 'design-free' zone to keep her sensitivity to brands optimized, when she is called into action as a market 'dowser'; a tender nomad for a forensic apprehension of the bloody traces of marketable meaning.

Advertising Songs. In a similar way as researchers privileging interpretive alternatives, copywriters have been immersed in a cultural storytelling as a conceptual thought pattern. In the shifting sensibilities of the digital world however, in which a cohesive control of the narrative has been cut-up in bite-sized exclamations at the mobile fingertips of a lightening fast audience. Puma's *After Hours Athlete* becomes a staccato ideation 'with a ring of truth to it' in which a runner's category finds an identity (Droga 2011).

Pomo Postmortem. Few interventions have left more indelible traces in academic minds across beliefs than the promo of the pomo. Its success as a branded paradigm has made it a blanket response for all non-positivist adventures, and it has stopped the living development of poetics dead in its tracks. It is suitably ironic that the most fervent supporters of poetics (Brown 1998a; Sherry 1991) as a way of seeing and knowing in marketing and consumer behavior have provided reviewers sui generis with a one word short cut for the dismissal of ancient poetics in the late 90's. With reviewers from all denominations mentally pre-categorizing and spelling every poem as a pomo, the fall-out for poetics as a distinct research methodology has been devastating. Poetics may offer new baroque possibilities, which accept the messiness of marketing moments, prioritizes evocation, and in its quilted questioning of narrative spills over the edges in an openness of interpretations in the disjointed scavenging of percepts.

Premodern Romance. And so in 2015, the lifecycle of particularistic singing may offer the post-romantic enticement of a nomadic tenderness and the post-ironic revelation of a scenic post-digital view that respects meteoric flashes from the accelerated market scape. Then again in the ancient foraging of meaning, the hunting and gathering of impressions we may reacquire with a more brutal market mechanic as an artful part of the academic guild 'clothed alle in o lyveree / of a solempne and a greet fraternitee' (Chaucer 1977).

ON POETIC BRUTALITY

*'Je n'ai jamais été de ce peuple-ci. Je n'ai jamais été chrétien; je ne comprends pas les lois.
Je n'ai pas le sens moral, je suis une brute.....'*
(Rimbaud 1873b)

We unfold poetic brutality as an alternative to constitute a lyrical interdisciplinary meaning-making process that transcends the mental boundaries of art and commerce. The overall objective is to analyse how a poetic approach imaginatively works in the context of marketable meaning, not least in the inspirational context of brandscapes as mental spaces, which are particularly suited for assessment through aesthetic and evocative techniques. The article expands the positions which claim that the poets of consumer research are '*brute empiricists*' (Sherry and Schouten 2002), and the managerial benefit to call on poetic techniques in facilitating the chunking of branded messages (Stern 1999). Poems, are a very literal variant of a poeticised research culture (Sherry and Schouten 2002), which mirrors the everyday occurrence of brands as a gathering of interactive artefacts (Lury 2004) that generate their own cultural poesis (Stewart 2005). Brandscapes form an emergent assemblage (Hill et al. 2014), that actively impacts forms of knowledge with a life of their own (Stewart 2005). This fortifies the idea, that the researcher of inherently metaphorical concepts such as brands, has to be 'attuned to the poetic dimensions of culture' (Friedrich 1996). Marketing research and poetry have been linked regularly, especially in representing consumer behaviour, although the poets' 'way of knowing' was still considered 'other' compared to the researcher's way (Stern 1998).

Gregory O'Brien, the curator of the Wellington Art Gallery, comments: '*The branded environment, in the commercial sense, is a nightmare from hell*'¹. The intentions of a contemporary lyrical engagement with marketplace artefacts is reflected in the working title of *Une Saison en Enfer* (Rimbaud 1873b) as an acute expression of the idealism of youth '*hurt by the ugliness which it encounters*' (Starkie 1961). To paraphrase Rimbaud's term: there is bad blood, '*Mauvais sang*' (Rimbaud 1873a), between poets and the dominant culture of marketplace. A radical rebuke that is brutal *in its form* is as salient today as it was in the 19th century. The market functions as the dominant logic against which a poet, as projects critical sensibilities:

'...if Rimbaud were to be revived, resurrected and reconfigured today, it is doubtful whether he would be impressed by our prosaic attempts to capture the poetics of the market place [...] it has to be said that the essential enchantment of the market place still eludes us. Indeed, if Rimbaud were alive today, one suspects that he would once again turn his back on the world of marketing letters and seek the dérèglement de tous les sens ...' (Brown 1998b)

In terms of exposure and reach, advertising may have displaced unsponsored poetry as a vehicle for expressing a culture's sentiments. There is no doubt that poetry had an elevated place as a guardian of cultural values, although poets themselves have expressed their worries on the death of the art form as a leading medium

(Epstein 1988; Gioia 1992; Hall 1989; Shetley 1993). Advertising has been designated as ‘the poetry of commerce’ (Stern 1988); the two are cultural meaning producers with shared sensibilities. While traditionally operating in disparate spheres, the well-worn path of antagonism may be the least exciting avenue to explore a vagabond poetics in the assessment of aesthetic consumer and producer strategies. Rimbaud’s artistic quest mourned the bitter loss of beauty, and how to recapture her from memory. The poetic approach based on a systematic sensual derangement, in the evaluation of what’s ugly and what is beautiful, casts a shadow forward to a more sensuous version of scholarship (Stoller 1997). We propose that the understanding of the concept of poetic brutality, as the mental and spiritual engagement of talented humans with the cultural artefacts of brandscapes that invite individual meaning making, may be dissected in three main components: pre-inventive noticing, patterned insight and creative ideation. They each provide a theoretical buttress for the domains of a poeticised research culture in a market context.

Brute Noticing. Poetics enables a form of brutal pre-cognition as to how sense, see and preconceive the *quality* of the objects of an inquiry. The ‘*derèglement de tous les sens*’ enables an intentional approach for a reinventive reshuffling as a decomposition of reality (Clifford 1981). The ethnographic requirement of a fearless noticing (McCracken 2009) of brute facts and meaningful stuff is opened up by poetics in a sensual pre-patterning. This may reside in a black box of solipsism and absorption (Pinsky 1977), but we propose four poetic inflections of brute noticing. *Immediacy* and instantaneity are cornerstones in the perception of currency and nowness. An aesthetic deconstruction benefits from arresting an atomic array of disconnected moments. *Distantiation*, in all its forms and figures, constitutes, par excellence, the critical moment in understanding (Ricoeur 1981). The nomadic distance from hegemonic myths, specifically related to the awareness of the language of marketing and markets, favours a critical perceptiveness of its function. In poetic research, distantiation operates as a defamiliarisation with hegemonic exchange experiences; it is an essential pre-requirement to perform a hermeneutical progression (Ricoeur 1981). The concept of *indeterminacy* enables brutal views of brandscapes as open-ended and fragmented spaces, made up of solitary objects with links that are imbued with an unpredictable anti-theatricality, largely innocent of syntax. Indeterminacy fosters open-ended ambiguities, in sound and imagery as a distinctively poetic act (Perloff 1981, 1991). Here, we may focus more on the internal rhythm of a brand’s rubato, and capture how its presence speeds up or slows down. Finally, we may be supported by the idea that the task of poetry is that we do not represent, but recognize and respond to *otherness* (Blanchot 1969). What is notable in artful and commercial poetics is a striking commitment to the strangeness of the common (Edmond 2012). Otherness is an attitudinal position that oscillates between sameness and difference as an a priori refusal to be limited by a pre-emptive engagement with a brandscape, as a consciously conceptualised dress for use value.

Brute Insight. The generation of brutal insights is a necessarily messy inception, in which we factualise relative meaning as a lyrical, but conscious patterning process. The poetic codification of what we select in this stage is a wilful approximation of what makes sense. We propose four articulations of brutal codification. Poetic insights are subject to a brutal *reduction* as an intervention rationale, which affirms, emphasizes or subverts an aspect of a brandscape in the most concise length of utterance. This radical progression to casual combinations privileges a ‘cutting away’ to elements, in which the objective must be to invoke a superior form of reduction (Friedrich 1996), relies on the combination of radical economy and condensation. Language has poetry as its most elegant linguistic technique

of reduction, to some not dissimilar to pleasingly brief mathematical presentations (Sapir 1951). Secondly, in purveying uniqueness, conscious insights are fuelled by an awareness of *aesthetic scarcity*. It requires the compliant reconnaissance of edgy ‘connoisseurs’ with a sensitive cultural palate for unexpected niches of aesthetic expression. Brands, like all other economically worthy entities, derive their aesthetic value from the relative position of scarcity. In line with the required particularity that sets a brand apart from its competitors, the value of cultural capital is best expressed through aesthetic styles that are ‘socially scarce’ (Holt 1998). Following on from this, brute insights benefit from a *discrepancy* that explores paradoxical fits and counterintuitive matches. As is fictionally staged in the praxis of *Pattern Recognition* (Gibson 2003) and *The Savage Girl* (Shakar 2002), brutality revolves around locating a semiotic ‘differentia specifica’ as the most distinctive poetic acumen (Jakobson 1960). Beyond the radar for scarcity, brute poetic insight generation scopes the potency of difference, as an anti-dote in a market context that has a fundamental predisposition for integrated cognitive and relational structures. Finally, brute insight doesn’t shy away from *intimacy*, as the capability to fabricate embodied scenarios of ‘isolated objectivity’ and a way to conceive of intimate (Stern, 1997) perceptions in analogue and digital markets. This is a contradistinction from the subjective introspection to which poetic approaches are traditionally related. Instead, it shifts the fragile percepts on the basis of a situated interiority, in order to harvest vulnerable song lines from the marketplace.

Brute Ideation. How we *re-present* aesthetic market concepts, such as brandscapes, in content, form and style depends on the creative deed to conventionalise the mental relationships of an idea, with the intent to communicate. Etymologically poetics simply means ‘making’, an act to conceive in form. Be you poet, brand planner or copywriter: in the final instance we strive to give imagination a voice: ‘trouver une langue’ and find your tongue. We propose four poetic inflections of brutal ideation that authenticate its stylistic differential. First, the predisposition of the maker to adopt a brute *mentalism*, in the faculty to lyrically conceptualise possible worlds in bits and bites. The increasingly contingent character of unstable brandscapes favours a sequence of permanently open-ended enchantments, not primarily bound by consistency. The idea that brands are poetry volumes an a disparate assemblage of moods and atmospheres, with an intuitive suspicion of a singular fingerprint, seems more contemporary than the brand as a novel. As such, poeticised ideas benefit from a brutal *currency*, in which nowness translates with a pragmatic intentionality of purpose, is more important than stringent conceptual continuity. This prioritises an attuning to everyday, everywhere (digital) engagement, in which we seek a deconstructed harmony. Poets not only happily live with the idea that no meaning, however sweeping, is ever intended to be finite: openness is a productive invitation. Advertising and poetics have always shared the persuasive addiction to brutal *brevity*. This urgency reconfirms a particular fashion of composing a style, with poetics as a creative condensation strategy to the shortest mean utterance, in which koans and tweets meet as equals (Droga 2011). Even though brevity makes poets seem like essentialists, lines may never intended to be more than inconclusive approximations. Finally, commercial and artistic ideation meet in the brutal *beat*. Rhythm is what sets poetry apart from other textual and literary expressions. The idea that a heartbeat is as quintessential as the meaning of words, and even that true poetry relies on white breathing spaces as silences in between lines and stanzas, defines what makes brutal ideation tick.

POETIC INDWELLING AS AN ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

Poetry is the subject of the poem,
From this the poem issues and

To this returns. Between the two,
Between issue and return, there is

An absence in reality,
Things as they are. Or so we say.

From : *The Man With The Blue Guitar*
Wallace Stevens (1937)

In its conferential brevity, this article argues that the returns of poetics are an exciting part of the future of consumer research and idea behavior and its smooth ride badly needed debadging (Hewer and Brownlie 2010), not least from the branded dents caused by limiting introspection and the persistent aftershocks of pomofication. Its timeless contribution is both in the theoretical and situated argument to poetics as a logic of discovery. In its twinned poetic-prosaic presentation, it aims to confirm a fresh performative opportunity within the body of ACR. The subsequent film and article stages provide a powerful exposition of a pre-inventive multi-media intuition, with a theoretical contribution that enhances the open future afforded by poetic brutality. The returns show how intuitive noticing, perceptual insight and conceptual ideation, comfortably live in the fluidity of market currencies.

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¹ O'Brien, Gregory. E-mail to the author. 8 Oct. 2014

Online livestreams, community practices, and assemblages. Towards a site ontology of consumer community

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ABSTRACT

Extant research on consumer community assemblages and practices needs to be complemented by an understanding of community sites. We examine online livestreams from the Dota2 game community to show that multi-level sites allow for assemblage heterogeneity without requiring alignment, and that community practices might be universal but depend on specific sites.

CONSUMER COMMUNITY: ASSEMBLAGE OR PRACTICE?

Consumption communities are a long-standing and central object of consumer research. Over time, a large number of very different communities have been analyzed through a broad spectrum of theoretical lenses. Not surprisingly, many different qualities and descriptors have been worked out, even though authors by and large agree on a core set of commonalities (Chalmers Thomas, Price, and Schau 2013). There are even a number of alternative classification systems according to which different types of communities can be sorted, possibly calling for a typology of typologies (Schau, Muniz, and Arnould 2009; Canniford 2011; Chalmers Thomas et al. 2013; Närvänen, Gummesson, and Kuusela 2014). Across this multiplicity, two currently predominant and paradigmatic perspectives can be detected: the assemblage theory view exemplified by Chalmers Thomas, Price, and Schau (2013), and the practice theory view exemplified by Schau, Muniz, and Arnould (2009). Broadly put, the former perspective examines the elements which form communities in order to identify the structural forces that shape how communities develop and influence markets. In particular, communities are conceptualized as “an assemblage of diverse actors” or “social entities [that] are ‘patterned networks of heterogeneous materials’” (Chalmers Thomas et al. 2013, 1011). The dynamics of community are seen as effects of features of its elements; such as consumers’ needs or actors’ resources. In other words, assemblage approaches start with the ‘What’ of communities. The second perspective, in contrast, zooms in the ‘How’ by asking how “collectives exhibit community-like qualities” and “how they create value” (Schau et al. 2009, 30). The nature and effects of communities are thus derived from the characteristics of the core routine activities that sustain them. Both perspectives share key insights and can be seen as complementary. For one, both emphasize that individual consumers’ intentions or actions are not sufficient to explain community phenomena and thus acknowledge the importance of the cultural, technological and emotional dimensions. Moreover, the heterogeneity of community actors and resources highlighted by the assemblage approach is reflected in the different elements that are seen as shaping practices in the practice-based view. Further, assemblage views explicitly assume that it is in and through practices that the various elements of actor-networks come together to produce the social reality of consumer community. Rather than rivalling each other, we argue that both tacitly presuppose one another. Practice approaches tend to take the broad availability of uniform compatible elements as given, although the circulation and align-ability of elements themselves often depend on specific conditions or processes (Shove et al. 2010). When zooming in on practices, in other words, they trust that assemblages of actors and resources are already in place. Assemblage approaches, in turn, put much faith in the orderly and smooth operation of the practices

through which the network is upheld in spite of heterogeneity and power play (Bajde 2013). If community dynamics and effects are the result of an interplay of the What and How, one could say, then each perspective focuses on just one side by presupposing the unproblematic givenness of the other. While this procedure is arguably inevitable, we hold that instead of remaining fixated on either approach, consumer researchers need to attend in more detail to the concrete circumstances that are required for community resources to be reliably mangled into community practices (Hill, Canniford, and Mol 2014). Prompted by our empirical case at hand, the present study seeks to remedy this oversight. In addition to the What and How, we ask about the Where and When of consumer community. Working towards a *site ontology of consumer communities*, we examine the sites in and through which consumer community manifests in the case of an online gaming community, because we contend that the affordances and constraints of these sites have formative influences on both community practices and community assemblages.

A SITE ONTOLOGY OF CONSUMER COMMUNITY

We borrow the concept of the site from Schatzki (2002, 2005, 468) who broadly defines it as “a type of context” in which “context and contextualized entity constitute one another.” Various sites have been studied in consumer research. One example is a public discourse which forms the context on which each single newspaper article (or discursive move) draws, and which is ultimately made up of the totality of discursive moves (Humphreys 2010). Unlike approaches that seek to demonstrate how a phenomenon is determined by some external and pre-given entity (e.g. the rationality of agents or stable class structures), site ontologies acknowledge the reflexive and performative nature of sociality, thus arguably avoiding the pitfalls of individualism or structuralism (Reckwitz 2002). Sites of consumer community that have been studied so far include tribes (tribal rituals and gatherings are both constitutive of and constituted by tribes; Cova, Kozinets, and Shankar 2007), brand community practices (practice performances are expressions of practices, which are in turn bundles of repeat performances; Schau et al. 2009), networks of heterogeneous members (actors in a network are members by virtue of the community which is in turn comprised of members; Chalmers Thomas et al. 2013) and community websites (the web is the totality of webpages, which only exist as part of the web; Kozinets 2007). Because sites are contexts and an event can stand in several contexts at once, these different theoretical accounts of the sites of community do not necessarily contradict one another. But since a site is an “arena that surrounds or immerses something and enjoys powers of determination with respect to it” (Schatzki 2005, 468), different types of sites require the attention of the researcher depending on the phenomenon in question. Mechanisms through which sites shape communities are manifold: they can ease certain performances while constraining others; augment some aspect while masking another; problematize issues or normalize them; function to erect boundaries or transgress borders; exert power or challenge it. Per our definition, e.g. self-printed magazines or online forums are sites on which communities manifest through performances that draw on community resources. Thus, we do not claim that such sites of community have not been taken into account until now. While physical gatherings or face-to-face interaction are still routinely being presupposed as the

most vivid, authentic, or real site of the performance of community (Chalmers Thomas et al. 2013; Martin and Schouten 2014), the role of different media and especially the internet has since long been acknowledged. Following in the footsteps of such advances, we study the nature and impact of what we identify as a novel type of site of consumer community: online livestreams.

FROM WEBSITES TO STREAMSITES

Like most aspects of consumption, communities are influenced by the process of mediatization (Lundby 2009), the progressing transformation of social practices through the influx of media technology. With regard to the internet, communities have been quick to take advantage of new technological possibilities, yet also conservative in sticking to certain well-established forms (e.g., simple hierarchical text-only forums are still the backbone of much community activity). Websites are the dominant form of sites in which online community manifests. Per our definition, websites are asynchronous, that is, turn-based and permanent online media environments. Community performance proceeds in turns as for example forum entries, wiki entries, or videos are posted one after another and then remain accessible in their original form (often for years). The technological infrastructure parses community performance into units of actions and reactions which are distributed only as already completed acts. In our view, websites thus do not allow for interaction (coeval and joint conduct) in a strict sense. We suggest that many typical qualities of online communities result from this, for example their ability to collect detailed documentations, plan events or develop complex new solutions or products (Kozinets, Hemetsberger, and Schau 2008; Chalmers Thomas et al. 2013) – but also a tendency for conflicts and antagonisms (Giesler 2008; Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler 2010). If these qualities are indeed due to websites' structural co-determination, then they are bound to evolve as a new form of online site emerges.

We are currently witnessing the beginning of another important step in the evolution of online consumption communities. Livestreams enable consumers to attend live events from around the globe and engage audiences via multi-layered feedback architectures (Dholakia and Reyes 2013; Seo and Jung 2014; Woermann and Kirschner 2014). Online livestreams are live broadcasts of audio-visual content on the web in which several forms of interactive media like chatrooms, webcam video, twitter feeds, and more converge into a continuous stream of content. The focal activity of the Dota2 gaming community we studied consists of live casts in which the audience uses interactive media to co-create the content of the stream, e.g. by chatting with the presenter, voting for the next game or action, embedding links to YouTube videos or pictures, as well as donating during the show. These screen practices create "synthetic situations" (Knorr Cetina 2009) which stretch over spatial, temporal and social boundaries whilst synthesizing several communication media and perspectives at once. Building on Goffman's (Goffman 1969, 122) definition of a social situation, we might say that the media environment of streamsites "extends over the entire territory within which mutual monitoring is possible." Because they include feedback channels, streamsites constitute a "screen-reality" (Knorr-Cetina 2009) for each individual participating in the synthetic situation.

METHODS AND CASE

Our study draws on 3 years of participant observation in the gaming community that has evolved around the computer game Dota2, currently one of the most widely played games with over 1 million concurrent players per day (Warr 2015). In addition to play-

ing, consumers also watch professional players compete against each other in online or live tournaments that have to date awarded over 28 million USD in prize money. Our study focuses on online livestreams showing Dota2-related content. Established research practices of Netnography (Kozinets 2009) primarily focus their attention on data provided by websites. Therefore, the methodological stance in researching streamsites has to differ in some respects. Our engagement ranged from watching and recording different online-livestreams to participating in the chat or playing online on the same field as respective streamers. A dual or even triple monitor setup that is common in the community, for example allowed us to participate in an online match and watch another player's stream at the same time, making it possible to adjust our strategy accordingly, or to interact with the community of a stream channel via its chat. With the help of screen-capture software we recorded our own conduct as well as the action on the screen. This heavily mediatized research environment allowed us to focus on our engagement in the site whilst recording and thereby archiving other perspectives of what is going on. In a second step we used this data to recombine the different perspectives of the observed by relying on the knowledge we acquire due to our deep engagement. The main corpus of our data from the Dota2 community consists in 957 hours of screen capture video collected during 3 years of participation in online livestreams, contextualized by 6 day-long video-aided participation in community events, 8 interviews with industry professionals and gamers, as well as netnographic data from community websites.

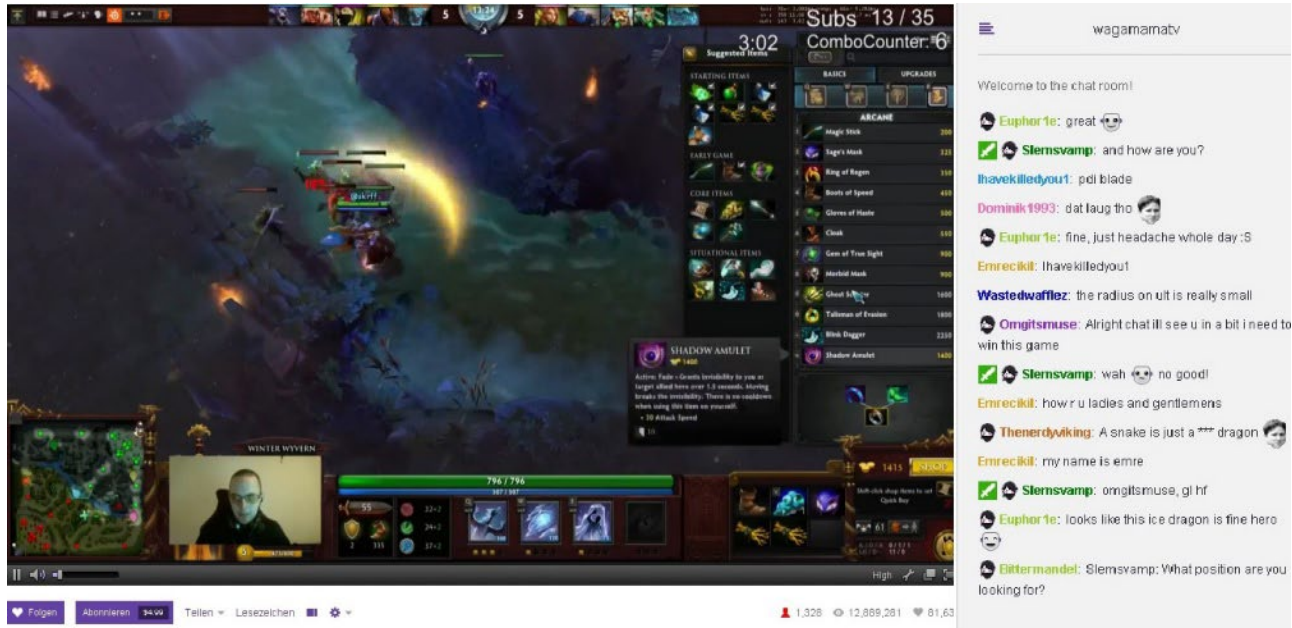
Figure 1 shows a screenshot from a popular Dota2 livestream, illustrating the media architecture through which gameplay, video technology, audience and caster are pulled together and assembled into an intelligible site of community. The focal video content visible for the audience is a copy of (a part of) the caster's own screen – in this case a game of Dota2 he is currently playing. Special streaming software transmits the signal via a broadcast platform like twitch.tv, together with the casters' audio comment. The platform adds a chat window to the video stream through which the audience members continuously talk to each other. The caster can see the chat on a separate screen and will at times respond to the discussion via text or voice. Further, audience members can subscribe to the stream channel or donate small sums of money (typically 1-2\$) through services like PayPal. These actions will in turn trigger an automated alert message on the stream, programmed by the caster. This technology creates a multi-layered feedback channel media architecture that shapes and frames the possibilities of how viewers and caster co-create the content of the stream. For example, if the caster gets a donation, a mini-video (a gif) is automatically shown which typically contains a reference to a meme, a joke or saying developed by the community. Additionally, an automated voice reads a message sent in together with the donation. In this way, the donator can e.g. thank the caster for his work, but also tell a joke or suggest an activity for the streamer or the community.

FINDINGS

On-site Practices

Figure 1 exemplifies the different layers of communication that impact the viewing experience of livestreams. Beyond being mere channels of communication, the different windows the stream combines are the site of the performance of community. As table 1 shows, the (brand) community practices found by Schau et al. 2009 to be key for the performance of community can all be found on Dota2 livestreams. In addition to these universal practices, however, we also observed community-specific practices such as troll-

Figure 1: A screenshot from the popular Dota2 stream Wagamama showing a live game the caster is playing, the caster (bottom left), the chat and a overlay providing contextual live data (e.g. current viewers).




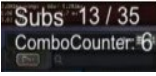

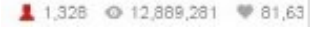
ing (posting messages that have no other function than to provoke other chat participants) or cospasta (a message created by a user in reaction to an on-stream event is copied and re-pasted by many others). We emphasize that some practices require a particular kind of site. Just like the skydiving community requires free-fall in order to perform key practices, cospasta is specific to text-based chats or forums. Accordingly, we add to the prior insight that a set of universal community practices exist the caveat that some practices are bound to particular sites. Welcoming, for example, occurs in-game (players ritually greet each other at the start of every game through in-game chat), in the chat (chat participants greeting one another as they enter), is routinely performed by the caster (welcoming the viewers at the beginning of each cast), and is even implemented in the form of a software bot that automatically greets every new subscriber. Because practices are site-specific, studying e.g. how community practices create value requires attention to community sites. In our case, value-creating practices were often not mutually compatible. The entertainment value of the stream on the one hand depends on the quality of the game of Dota2 that is being shown, but on the other hand on the insightful or entertaining cast provided, as well as one the interaction in the chat. All three practices – gaming, casting, and chatting – must often be conducted separately by different users in order to reach a high level of proficiency. For example, the game itself requires full focus from the player (if the caster is playing him- or herself while casting, it will either be a casual game), and a successful cast must not react to the ‘noise’ in the chat, such as trolling. Another example of how value-creating practices are bound to sites is the in-game chat that is technically available to players, but is hardly used because the separate chat system offers richer community practices, and because chatting in-game would severely harm gameplay. Crucially, the community practices described in table 1 are nevertheless dependent on the coeval performance of gaming, casting, and chatting. Only because the streamsite enables the mutual observability of their synchronous performances, a live gathering of the community can occur on the stream. Synchronicity and observ-

ability, however, are not just given, but established and organized by the site architecture.

Sited Assemblages

Similar to our argument that studying community practices require attention to community sites because practices can be site-specific, we hold that institutional perspectives focusing on how resources are mobilized within heterogeneous assemblages need to pay attention to sites. As our example shows, certain resources might require a particular type of site in order for an assemblage to produce or exchange it. For example, Kozinets et al. (2008) have shown how different forms of consumer creativity occur relative to particular types of sites (e.g. wikimedia vs. blogs). In contrast to prior accounts, which assume either that translation must occur between distinct (parts of) networks (Giesler 2012) or that obligatory points of passage exist which can control and manage touchpoints (Martin and Schouten 2014), our case shows how certain sites that are different from interactions or websites, enable co-presence and collaboration between heterogeneous and even antagonistic networks in real time. As a detailed analysis reveals, this is because separate but interlinked media channels allow for distinct communication routines and thus (community) practices to be performed coevally and with the option of, but not a necessity for, sustained or regular ‘synch’ or mutuality. Unlike in a face-to-face talk, for example, a caster on a stream must not always visibly understand what is happening in-game, and (s)he can also choose to ignore what is being posted in the chat for longer stretches of time. Nevertheless, (s)he can and will also share a conversation with the chat, or become fully attuned to and emotionally immersed in the in-game action (e.g. to the point of shouting at the screen, or crying), or play a game with the community members. In other words, the streamsite affords network homogeneity and shared performance of practices, but it does not require it constantly. Because the different performancescapes (Tumbat and Belk 2013) which the layered media channels offer are functionally and structurally de-coupled, they are stabilized in that they are to a large extent shielded from problematic or destructive mutual interference. Criti-

Table 1: Brand community practices in Dota2 livestreams. (based on Schau et al. 2009)

Practice	Data Examples
Welcoming	In figure 1: “Emrecikil: How are u ladies and gentlemens”; “Slemsvap: and how are you?” Every new subscriber is automatically greeted by a bot.
Empathizing	In figure 1: “Euphor1e: fine, just headache whole day :S” – “Slemsvap: wah, no good!”
Governing	 As indicated by the sword-icon, acts as a moderator in the chat, he enforces social norms and can ban users.
Evangelizing	The caster regularly encourages the audience to follow or subscribe to his channel or to donate. Jokes or dismissive comments about rival games like League of Legends.
Justifying	Re-framing computer gaming as eSports. The caster reading out a message from a subscriber that the community “saved his life” during a time of depression.
Staking	The community follows a status hierarchy based on in-game prowess: Newbies ->Casuals->Competitive- > Pro. Special events such as “Newbie Tuesday” are held.
Milestoning	 Members self-describe based on in-game achievements, e.g. “My name is Waga and I’m 7k MMR.” In figure 1, the “Sub counter” records the number of new channel subscribers.
Badging	 In figure 1, chat participants who are subscribers are identified by a symbol.
Documenting	 In figure 1, the total viewer count (>12.000.000) of the channel is shown, as well as the followers. A “Donator Leaderboard” and a weekly announcement of the highest donations by the caster.
Grooming	Optimal game strategies, the honing of personal skills and the right technological set-up are core themes across all gaming livestreams.
Customizing	Most streaming software and the game Dota itself was developed by the community. Fan art, modding and inventing new community-specific memes are core activities.
Commoditizing	Trading in-game items, item betting, donation practices that are similar to service transactions (“10\$ Donation = 1h extra streaming”); the controversies these cause.

cal incidences in our data make clear that these borders are vital for the functioning of the stream as a site of community, because said borders between the different performance systems are being policed and repaired whenever they are unintentionally or purposefully broken. In our view, assemblage approaches do not offer a satisfactory conception of how different networks or assemblages relate to each other, especially because it entertains the rather abstract notion that all nodes in a network are in fact ‘black-boxes’ which, if opened, can reveal that they themselves consists of a sub-level network (Bajde 2013; Martin and Schouten 2014). Not only is there a paucity of empirical cases demonstrating the viability and indeed necessity of this complex understanding; it also raises the question of how such multi-level networks relate to each other: how do they conflict, share resources, or co-evolve? Our discussion of streamsites points to a viable answer at least for the realm of consumer community. An eSports livestream is an assemblage composed of various elements or actants such as software, consumers, players, and media channels. However, key elements such as the computer game, the chatroom, or the donation system are themselves complex and wide-ranging networks that have their own structures, dynamics, hierarchies and arguably even time horizons. If one would indeed treat them as black boxes when looking at the stream as an assemblage, their conviviality and the processes of reciprocity that are crucial for the livestream phenomenon would disappear from view. In a way, black-boxing networks would mean missing out on the very liveness of livestreams.

Outlook - From virtual place to sites

The virtual as a place or space is the key theoretical metaphor that has structured research on forms of online consumption since

the early 1990s (Kozinets 2002; Kozinets et al. 2008, 2010). Expanding on prior work by Dholakia (Dholakia and Reyes 2013; Zwick and Dholakia 2006) and Knorr Cetina (2009; Knorr Cetina and Preda 2007), we argue that the dominant metaphor of virtual worlds or on-line spaces is ill-suited to understand livestreams. Conceptualizing community performance as occurring in a single shared space like a website implies several general conditions which might be necessary for face-to-face interaction orders (Goffman 1983), but are not without alternatives when it comes to other sites. They include a shared focus of attention, the collaboratively established possibility of mutual intelligibility, and an at least superficially shared consensus, or the absence of open conflict. In the current literature, it is either tacitly presupposed that these conditions are being met, for example in that shared rituals are defined as core elements of tribes (Cova and Cova 2002); or else it is assumed that for example frame alignment practices must be invoked to remedy this lack (Chalmers Thomas et al. 2013). Our research shows that it depends on the site in which community is performed whether or not these conditions are indeed necessary or even feasible. As our empirical examples in table 1 make clear, the different layers of the site architecture that get synthesized in a livestream operate in relative independence from one another: sometimes they share a focus of attention (e.g. the chat and the cast both discuss the same in-game events happening at that moment), but often they do not (chat, caster, and game avatars are engaged in separate and idiosyncratic conversations, practices and time flows). The streamsites allows for the coeval performance of several different practices conducted by separate, heterogeneous actors or assemblages of actors (e.g. the caster, the eSports athletes, and the chat participants). At the same time, it also retains key neces-

sity of community coherence and collaboration, in particular their mutual observation capability and their mutual communication addressability. Having shown that the forms and effects of both community practices and community assemblages are dependent on community sites, we thus argue that further attention to the ways in which community sites enable and configure coherence, collaboration, communication, co-creation and ultimately consumption will allow future studies to better understand the paradoxes of both assemblage heterogeneity and practice universality.

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Competitive Papers—Extended Abstracts

When do Partitioned Prices Increase Demand? Meta-Analytic and Experimental Evidence

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers encounter numerous surcharges and fees in the marketplace. Although some research has shown that dividing or “partitioning” prices into multiple components can increase consumer demand (e.g., Morwitz, Greenleaf, and Johnson 1998), other research has demonstrated negative effects.

We propose a theoretical framework to examine extant and new moderators of partitioned pricing, classifying moderators based on the source of their impact as *presentational*: varying the presentation, thus affecting recall biases and demand; *evaluative*: affecting surcharge evaluations as more or less acceptable, thus affecting demand; or *attentional*: affecting the attention paid to surcharges, thus affecting recall biases and demand. We tested these moderators by meta-analyzing 149 observations in 43 published and unpublished studies, using a hierarchical linear model (HLM) with experimental condition at the higher level and observation at the lower level to control for correlations.

The following moderators were examined—*presentational*: surcharge format and presence of total price (new); *evaluative*: surcharge benefit, seller reputation, and surcharge controllability (new; defined as the seller’s control over charging a surcharge); and *attentional*: absolute surcharge magnitude (ASM), relative surcharge magnitude (RSM), price level, and typicality of partitioning (new; defined as the extent to which partitioning a surcharge is the norm for a product category).

For each observation, we contrast-coded surcharge format, seller reputation, and presence of total price, and we coded price level, ASM, and RSM as continuous variables (ASM and RSM had low correlation in our dataset). Two independent judges contrast-coded surcharge benefit, surcharge controllability, and typicality of partitioning. We also used control variables for DV type (scale, non-scale), single- versus multi-item scales, number of variables manipulated, publication year, publication status, study location, within- versus between-subject designs, same control condition in multiple contrasts, and hedonic vs. utilitarian category. All these variables were mean-centered.

Cohen’s *d* (Cohen 1977) was computed for each observation, corrected for small-sample bias, and weighted by its inverse variance (Hedges and Olkin 1985). Next, we estimated an HLM on the weighted, bias-corrected *d*. We also estimated other models that tested an alternative specification (Viechtbauer 2010), pair-wise interactions between significant factors, only theoretical factors, only uncorrelated variables, and non-weighted Cohen’s *d*.

Our HLM correctly predicted the direction of 67% of the effects, and the mean effect of partitioned pricing on demand was marginally positive (mean effect = .09, $p = .09$). Of the control variables, only DV type, year of publication, publication status, and hedonic vs. utilitarian category are (marginally) significant. Of the significant *presentational* moderators, presence of total price is negative ($\beta = -.16$, $p = .09$), suggesting that partitioned pricing has a less favorable effect when the total price is present. Based on our contrast-coding, the change in the effect size of partitioned pricing for total price present versus absent is .32 Cohen’s *d* units, a small change. Turning to the significant *evaluative* moderators, surcharge benefit is positive

($\beta = .31$, $p < .001$), suggesting that high-benefit surcharges increase evaluations of partitioned pricing (vs. low-benefit surcharges) by .62, a moderate increase.

Finally, examining the *attentional* moderators, price level is directionally positive ($\beta = .0003$, $p = .10$), suggesting that a \$100 increase in price level increases the effect of partitioned pricing by .03, a trivial increase. Fourth, typicality of partitioning is positive ($\beta = .29$, $p < .005$), suggesting that partitioned pricing has a more favorable effect when surcharges are typically (vs. atypically) partitioned by .58, a moderate difference. Other moderators are not significant, but this may be due to low variance. In the interaction model, none of the interactions was significant, but all models generally replicated our HLM’s results. Notably, surcharge benefit and typicality of partitioning are significant in all models. Presence of total price and price level were less robust.

Although the meta-analysis shows the moderating role of typicality, the driver of the effects is not clear: are we observing a positive effect for typical surcharges and a null effect for atypical surcharges or a null effect for typical surcharges and a negative effect for atypical surcharges? Moreover, in the meta-analysis, typicality varied based on whether surcharge components were typical or atypical. To address these issues, we ran a follow-up experiment to replicate the meta-analytic effect of typicality, but we held the component constant and manipulated typicality by using norms.

MTurkers were randomly assigned to a 2 (price presentation: all-inclusive, partitioned) \times 2 (typicality of partitioning: typical, atypical) between-subjects design, and imagined searching for a flight. To manipulate typicality, we adapted the manipulation by Redden, Fitzsimons, and Williams (2007) and presented four reference flights. In the typical conditions, all flights had a base price and a taxes surcharge, making partitioned pricing typical. In the atypical conditions, all flights had all-inclusive prices, making partitioned pricing atypical. Next, participants saw the partitioned or all-inclusive target price and then responded to a preference scale. A 2 \times 2 ANOVA on preference revealed an effect of typicality and a marginal interaction. Planned comparisons revealed a significant effect of price presentation in the typical conditions ($F(1, 96) = 4.16$, $p = .04$, $d = .40$), but not in the atypical conditions ($F(1, 102) = .04$, $p > .83$, $d < .07$): in the typical conditions, partitioned pricing increased preference ($M_p = 5.2$, $M_{ai} = 4.6$) but, in the atypical conditions, there was no change ($M_p = M_{ai} = 5.3$).

In sum, we proposed a theoretical framework to classify moderators of the effect of partitioned pricing on demand as *presentational*, *evaluative*, or *attentional*. We also meta-analyzed 16 years of partitioned pricing research, with results suggesting the moderating roles of typicality of partitioning, surcharge benefit, presence of total price, and price level. Coefficient magnitudes and significance levels suggest that marketers should first focus on typicality of partitioning, followed by surcharge benefit, presence of total price, and price level. Additionally, we introduced the typicality construct to partitioned pricing research; the meta-analysis and the follow-up experiment both show that typicality moderates the effect of partitioned pricing. Future research might use eye-tracking

methodologies to test the role of attention in this process and thereby further our understanding.

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Health Aversion

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A seemingly persuasive approach to promote consumption of healthy food is to highlight the health benefits of eating them, but is that actually effective? Applying extant literature to answer this question leads to predictions in both directions, i.e., that making healthiness of food salient could lead to decreased healthy consumption (e.g., Maimaran and Fishbach 2014; Raghunathan, Naylor and Hoyer 2006) or increased consumption (e.g., Irmak, Vallen and Robinson 2011).

In current research, we build a connection between the literatures on self-control, goals, and reactance to propose a mechanism to predict the outcome in this scenario. We find that emphasizing health benefits of eating healthy food is not only ineffective, but could negatively affect general self-control. Consumers - especially those who report health goals as less important - see the emphasis on health benefits of eating a food as goal imposition, and experience an impulsive reactance to act in opposition. The aversive state of reactance depletes regulatory resources and lowers subsequent self-control. This reduces not only healthy food consumption, but also the performance on other activities that require volitional self-control. In contrast, consideration of health-unrelated reasons to eat something healthy consumes relatively lower amount of self-regulatory resources. We refer to this backfire response to overt health persuasion as 'health aversion'. Current research provides converging evidence of the phenomenon of health aversion through five studies.

In Study 1, we provide evidence of reactant behavioral response to health-related arguments through lowered consumption of healthy snacks after viewing a health (vs. taste vs. no) message. In a lab experiment, participants were shown a message that listed health (vs. taste) related reasons to eat spinach; those in the no message condition did not see any message. Following this, participants were provided some baby carrots and cherry tomatoes, ostensibly as complimentary snacks for participating in the study. Participants who saw the health (vs. taste vs. no) message ate significantly lower quantity of the healthy snacks. We replicated this in Study 2 by measuring self-reported intentions; participants instructed to write a list of health-related (vs. health-unrelated) reasons to eat spinach indicated lower intentions to consume spinach.

As Study 3, we ran a field experiment disguised as a small lemonade stand run by children. In a popular summer recreational area, we sold lemonade under two different framing conditions across three days. At this lemonade stand, passers by who were interested in buying lemonade could choose between a smaller serving size framed as "healthy" (vs. "eco-friendly") or a larger "regular" (in both conditions) serving size. Purchase of the healthier option (i.e., smaller serving size) was found to be lower under healthy (vs. eco-friendly) framing.

In Studies 4 & 5, we used the ego depletion paradigm (Baumeister et al 1998) to demonstrate the negative effect of reading health (vs. taste) message on regulatory strength. In Study 4, we provide evidence of measured reactance mediating the path from reading a health (vs. taste) message to lower self-control. Participants in the lab were shown the same health (vs. taste) message as in Study 1, following which, they were asked to engage in a frustrating task (solving an unsolvable anagram). Persistence on this task served as a measure of self-control; state reactance was measured using Hong's reactance proneness scale (Hong and Faedda 1996). Those who read

the health (vs. taste) message felt higher reactance, which predicted lower persistence. Finally, we established through Study 5 that this health aversion effect is the strongest among those who least value the health goal. After presenting the health (taste) message, we measured participants' self-control through persistence on squeezing a handgrip - ostensibly as a physical exercise task (Muraven et al 1998). In addition, we recorded the time each participant spent reading the message about spinach as a measure of healthy consumption behavior. Participants who were shown the health message and reported lower health goal importance performed worst in the handgrip exercise. The same pattern for results was found on the measure of time spent reading the message about spinach. Presumably, health communications are targeted toward consumers who do not consider healthiness as being important to them; yet, individuals who value the health goal less appear to be most resource depleted after viewing the health (vs. taste) message. These findings, in aggregate, highlight the need for health marketers to consider the unexpected backfire effects of communications that emphasize the health benefits of consuming healthy food.

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The Intensification Effect: Increasing Perceived Repetition Reduces Adaptation When Attending to Distinguishing Aspects

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Hedonic adaptation is defined as the drop in enjoyment of an experience with repeated exposures (Frederick and Loewenstein 1999). Because repetition is assumed to automatically translate into reduced enjoyment, existing research focused on reducing perceived repetition to reduce hedonic adaptation (Epstein et al. 2009; Redden 2008; Redden and Galak 2013). We question this assumption by proposing that the negative impact of perceived repetition is but one manifestation of its more general “intensifying” impact on experiences. We hence conceptualize each repetition of an experience as highlighting the aspects that people attend to. The consequence of increasing perceived repetition may be therefore increased or decreased hedonic adaptation, depending on the aspects one attends to. We believe that whether one focuses on non-distinguishing versus distinguishing aspects of an experience is an appropriate dimension to examine the proposed intensification effect.

We propose that when people focus on non-distinguishing aspects of an experience, increased perceived repetition serves to intensify their negative effect on enjoyment. This suggests that prior research that exclusively reported a negative effect of perceived repetition had, one way or another, participants focus on non-distinguishing aspects of the experience. Because this dimension has not been studied, prior studies have done nothing to control for the effect of such differential focus. Indeed, prior literature shows that when left alone, consumers are more likely to naturally attend to the non-distinguishing aspects of their experiences (Kahneman and Miller 1986; Festinger 1954). We find that this is also the case in the current setting, with participants who were left to their natural tendencies exhibiting similar rates of adaptation as those who were told to focus on non-distinguishing aspects of an experience.

What happens, however, when one focuses on the distinguishing aspects of their current experience? We contend that focusing on distinguishing aspects of an experience may extend enjoyment. If perceived repetition indeed has an intensification effect on enjoyment, as we propose, then increased perceived repetition may help to slow adaptation when attending to distinguishing aspects of an experience. In sum, perceived repetition may accelerate or decelerate adaptation, depending on whether one focuses on non-distinguishing or distinguishing aspects of an experience.

Experiment 1 (n=78) was a 2 (focus: control versus distinct) x 2 (repetition: high versus low) between-subjects design. Participants were told that they would listen to a song sample six times in a row, rating their enjoyment after each episode (101-point scale; 0=not at all, 100=very much). Participants were asked to focus on a distinguishing aspect of their experience (the distinct condition), or were not given any instructions (the control condition). Perceived repetition was manipulated via an attention manipulation (cf. Epstein et al. 1997), with participants either observing (high repetition) or actively solving (low repetition) some math problems while listening to the song sample.

The perceived repetition manipulation worked as intended. While increased perceived repetition increased the rate of adaptation in the control condition ($\beta_{\text{high-repetition}} = -5.98$ versus $\beta_{\text{low-repetition}} = -3.19$, $F(1, 376) = 3.99$, $p = .05$), it reduced adaptation in the distinct condition ($\beta_{\text{high-repetition}} = -.25$ versus $\beta_{\text{low-repetition}} = -3.29$, $F(1, 376) = 4.22$, $p = .04$). Stated differently, high (vs. low) repetition increased adap-

tation differences between distinct and control conditions ($\beta = 4.64$, $F(1, 376) = 6.62$, $p = .01$), supporting our intensification hypothesis.

Experiments 2A and 2B focused on the high repetition condition in Experiment 1. Experiment 2A (n=61) showed that forcing participants to focus on the non-distinct aspects of the song sample led to adaptation patterns similar to that in the control condition ($\beta_{\text{control}} = -3.75$ versus $\beta_{\text{non-distinct}} = -4.00$, $F(1, 302) = .04$, $p = .85$), suggesting that consumers’ natural tendency may be to attend to non-distinguishing aspects of their experiences. In addition, we replicated the findings of the high repetition condition of Experiment 1, as those in the distinct condition had significantly lower hedonic adaptation rates compared to the non-distinct ($\beta_{\text{distinct}} = .11$ versus $\beta_{\text{non-distinct}} = -4.00$, $F(1, 302) = 7.83$, $p = .006$) and the control ($\beta_{\text{distinct}} = .11$ versus $\beta_{\text{control}} = -3.75$, $F(1, 302) = 7.74$, $p = .006$) conditions.

Asking participants to focus on the distinguishing aspects of a song may have inadvertently increased their belief that it is a likeable song. Perhaps it is this implied likability of the song that led to its sustained enjoyment in the distinct condition. Experiment 2B (n=73) aimed to rule out this alternative explanation by asking about half of the participants to focus on the likeable aspects of the song sample, while the remaining half focused on its distinct aspects. We expected that focusing on distinct aspects would lead to slower adaptation than focusing on likeable aspects that are not necessarily distinct. Indeed, we found this to be the case ($\beta_{\text{likeable}} = -3.57$ versus $\beta_{\text{distinct}} = -1.03$, $F(1, 363) = 4.20$, $p = .04$), ruling out this alternative explanation.

We hypothesized that focusing on distinctions (non-distinctions) increased (reduced) perceived variety in the category, a perception accentuated by perceived repetition. This in turn led to sustained (reduced) enjoyment. Experiment 3 (n=127) examined the proposed process using a 2 (repetition: high versus low) x 2 (focus: control versus distinct) between-subjects design with a different repetition manipulation. Replicating Experiment 1’s findings, we found a significant interaction ($\beta = -5.37$, $F(1, 609) = 9.46$, $p = .002$); with increased perceived repetition increasing adaptation in the control condition ($\beta_{\text{high-repetition}} = -5.80$ versus $\beta_{\text{low-repetition}} = -3.13$, $F(1, 609) = 5.14$, $p = .02$), but reducing adaptation in the distinct condition ($\beta_{\text{high-repetition}} = -1.01$ versus $\beta_{\text{low-repetition}} = -3.29$, $F(1, 609) = 4.40$, $p = .04$).

In addition, we found that increased perceived repetition increased perceived variety in the distinct condition ($M_{\text{low-repetition}} = 6.08$ versus $M_{\text{high-repetition}} = 7.33$; $F(1, 126) = 3.37$, $p = .07$), and reduced perceived variety in the control condition ($M_{\text{low-repetition}} = 6.18$ versus $M_{\text{high-repetition}} = 4.80$; $F(1, 126) = 4.96$, $p = .03$). Importantly, perceived variety in the category mediated the interactional effect of repetition and focus on adaptation, where the increased repetition increased (decreased) variety perception in the distinct (control) condition, which then slowed down (enhanced) adaptation [Estimate: 5.98, 1.55–15.12].

Our findings contribute to the adaptation literature by introducing the key insight that perceived repetition has an intensification effect on adaptation, suggesting that it does not always hurt the enjoyment of an experience. Attention to distinguishing vs. non-distinguishing aspects proved ideal to test this hypothesis. We also showed that the effect of perceived repetition on enjoyment occurs via its impact on perceived variety in a category. We believe it would be worthwhile for future research to further clarify the role perceived repetition plays in adaptation.

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Knowledge About a Product's Creator and Its Effect on Product Anthropomorphism

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers sometimes anthropomorphize products, imbuing a nonhuman objects with humanlike characteristics (Aggarwal and McGill 2007; Epley, Waytz, and Cacioppo 2007; Guthrie 1993). According to the SEEK model (Epley et al. 2007), one key basis of anthropomorphizing is the activation of knowledge structures about humans. The current research focuses on a similar cognitive process, and proposes a novel factor—beliefs about human-essence transfer—as a key antecedent of anthropomorphism. We propose that people are more likely to anthropomorphize products when given information about the person who created the product. We suggest that people believe that a person who creates a product endows that product with a small part of his or her own self. Once the creator is seen as residing in the product, the product is imbued with humanness. We call this the “Gepetto effect” after the classic children’s tale from Italy, *The Adventures of Pinocchio* (Collodi and Mussino 1968), which describes a woodcarver named Gepetto whose creation of a puppet becomes human.

We propose that consumers’ lay beliefs about the creation of a product often facilitate anthropomorphism of the product. The creation may be perceived to be the physical embodiment of the beliefs and character, the spirit and ambition, the goals and aspirations, and indeed, the humanness of its creator. Like conceiving a child is the unique instance where essence is transferred through one’s DNA to an offspring, the transfer of the creator’s essence to the product can be similarly perceived.

People often engage in magical thinking that a person has a hidden and unique essence composed of immaterial qualities that can leave one’s corporeal self and transfer itself on to an object through physical contact (Nemeroff and Rozin 1994). For instance, a T-shirt just tried on by a stranger is liked less and is less likely to be bought than when a T-shirt appears untouched (Argo, Dahl, and Morales 2006). We propose that touching may not be necessary because when an individual creates something, the individual is the origin and source of all causal forces acting upon the creation and is entirely responsible for the manifestation of those causal forces on the object. According to the property transmission hypothesis, “causes tend to impose their own properties on effect objects” (White 2009, p. 775). That is, a creator imposes his or her properties on a product. Further, the properties most likely to be transmitted are those that relate to perceptions of human essence. Hence, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1 When a product is seen as being created by a person, it is more likely to be anthropomorphized than when the product is not seen as being created by a person.

Empirical Evidence

Two studies test the hypothesis. Study 1 uses photographs of the actual creator of Roomba as well as the product itself, and creates six different morphs of the two pictures such that each succeeding morphed picture reduced the proportion of the creator’s image. Half the participants were told that the pictured individual was the creator and the other half were told the picture was of a random person. Participants viewed all 8 of the photos including the two pictures without the morph, and indicated the extent to which they saw the person or the product. Results show that participants ‘saw’ more of

the person in the morphed photos when they thought the person was the creator of the product than when they thought that the person was a random individual, and this effect was significant when the visual of the person was less obvious.

Study 2 exposed participants to a brief description of four different products (Roomba, Deep Blue, Clocky (a wheeled alarm clock), and Pillow Mate (a torso-shaped pillow). Participants were asked to draw a sketch of the four products. Results revealed more anthropomorphized images were drawn when the participants thought that the product was created by a person than by a company – for three of the four product types.

In sum, across the two studies using different measures we find converging evidence in support of the premise that if a product is associated with a person as its creator, then that product is more likely to be anthropomorphized compared to a product that is not associated with its creator. This effect seems to occur because the essence of the creator gets transferred to the product through the very act of product creation.

Our research contributes to the burgeoning anthropomorphism literature by proposing a new antecedent of anthropomorphism. In addition to its theoretical value, our research highlighting the “Gepetto effect” has practical implications for marketers who may be able to encourage buyers to anthropomorphize inanimate products—via information that links the product with its creator.

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Consumers' Pro-Environmental Behaviors: The Role of Framing and Emotions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Companies have been increasingly developing green (i.e., environmentally sustainable) products in order to attract consumers and be appreciated by the society at large (Olsen et al. 2014). Yet, despite the global relevance of the sustainability, little is known about the factors that might determine the effectiveness of communication strategies. Therefore, the issue of how sustainable products should be communicated to win consumers' preferences represents an under-researched area of inquiry.

The present research investigates how different frames companies may use in their communications may produce different effects on consumers' behaviors and pro-environmental attitudes. We first demonstrate that in communicating green products emphasizing positive social effects of environmentally sustainable behaviors (i.e., positive framing) activates pride, whereas emphasizing negative social effects of environmentally unsustainable behaviors (i.e., negative framing) activates shame (Bagozzi et al. 1999; Mizerski 1982; Soscia 2013, Tracy and Robins 2007). Moreover, we show that negative framing is more effective than positive framing at influencing consumers' sustainable behaviors and attitudes.

Two separate studies test the effects of positive versus negative framings on environmentally sustainable consumers' choices and attitudes. Study 1 explores the effect of message framing on environmentally sustainable choice. We manipulated the frame through hypothetical shopping situations involving the purchase of a green product, and then observed the effect of this manipulation on the tendency to choose that option. We also tested whether or not pride and shame mediated that effect, and whether or not the direct and indirect effects of the message frame on choice are moderated by personal concern for the environment. Study 2 shows that, when exposed to unsustainability-oriented stimuli, people feel a sense of shame that increases their pro-environmental attitudes. Moreover, the study analyzed whether or not consumers' disposition to empathize with others (empathy as trait) moderated the effect of the framing used on shame and on individuals' pro-environmental attitudes.

In Study 1 we used type of framing as independent variable, respondents' choice as dependent variable, pride and shame as mediators, and concern for the environment as moderator. We estimated a moderated mediation model by using the PROCESS SPSS Macro (Hayes 2013). Regressing pride on the type of framing, environmental concern, and their interaction, we found a non-significant interaction between type of framing and environmental concern ($p > .50$). Regressing shame on the type of framing, environmental concern, and their interaction, in addition to a negative effect of type of framing ($b = -.53, p < .001$) and a positive effect of environmental concern ($b = .25, p = .02$), we found a significant type of framing \times environmental concern interaction ($b = -.25, p = .02$). A simple slope analysis showed that, when concern for the environment was low ($M - 1SD$), the type of framing had no effect on shame ($b = -.23, p = .22$). Conversely, when concern for the environment was high ($M + 1SD$), reading a negatively framed scenario induced greater shame than reading a positively framed scenario ($b = -.83, p < .001$). To test whether or not shame transmits this interaction effect on choice, we

estimated the effects of shame on choice, while controlling for type of framing. We found an effect of shame on choice that was positive and significant ($b = .65, p = .002$), while the effect of type framing was not significant ($p > .20$). More importantly, we found an indirect effect of the type of framing \times environmental concern on choice, via shame, that was significant ($b = -.16, 95\% CI = -.47, -.02$). The analysis also returned conditional indirect effects. When environmental concern was low ($M - 1SD$), reading a negatively framed, rather than a positively framed, scenario, had no significant effect on choice ($b = -.15, p > .05$). In contrast, when environmental concern was high ($M + 1SD$), negatively framed scenario induced greater shame than positively framed one ($b = -.54, 95\% CI = -1.29, -.15$).

In Study 2 we estimated the moderated mediation model by using the PROCESS SPSS Macro (Hayes 2013). We first regressed pride on framing; the results revealed a positive effect of framing on pride such that, compared to an unsustainability-oriented communication, a sustainability-oriented communication increased pride ($b = .40, p = .013$). We also regressed shame on the same independent variable by showing a negative effect such that, compared to a sustainability-oriented communication, an unsustainability-oriented communication made participants feel more ashamed ($b = -.61, p < .001$). Second, we regressed pro-environmental attitudes on both pride and shame (i.e., the mediators), in addition to framing, empathy, and their interaction. The results showed a positive and significant effect of shame ($b = .33, p = .002$) and empathy ($b = .51, p < .001$) on attitudes. More importantly, the analysis revealed a significant framing \times empathy interaction ($b = -.27, p = .04$). To probe this interaction more closely, we examined this direct effect at conditional levels of empathy. When empathy was low ($M - 1SD$), sustainability-oriented communication, rather than an unsustainability-oriented one, increased consumers' pro-environmental attitudes ($b = .37, p = .04$). In contrast, when empathy was high ($M + 1SD$), people's attitudes did not vary as a function of whether communication was unsustainability- or sustainability-oriented ($b = -.16, p = .39$). Furthermore, the analysis revealed a significant indirect effect of framing on pro-environmental attitudes, via shame, which was negative and significant ($b = -.20, 95\% CI = -.42, -.06$), thus confirming that an unsustainability-oriented communication, compared to a sustainability-oriented one, induces greater shame, which in turn increases consumers' pro-environmental attitudes. In contrast, the same indirect effect via pride was not significant ($b = .04, p > .05$).

Our studies show that negatively framed messages make consumers more willing to prefer environmentally friendly products than positively framed messages. This effect is mediated by shame, which thus appears to be a key emotional driver in sustainable communication. Therefore, to increase consumers' pro-environmental attitudes and preferences for green products, marketers should develop communication strategies that focus on the negative consequences related to unsustainable behaviors.

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The Effect of Audience Expertise and Information Valence and WOM Transmission

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Scholars have investigated different factors shaping WOM conversations (see Berger 2014 for a review). One important element that can affect the type of information shared is the audience one talks to. For instance, when talking to close others, individuals may craft what they share in a different way than when talking to distant others. The issue of how audience shapes WOM communications has not received adequate attention so far.

Based on the idea that listeners can vary in their level of expertise on the topic at hand, we study the role of audience expertise in shaping WOM. Specifically, we investigate how talking to more or less expert others affects WOM valence. We rely on past work showing that both positive (e.g., Berger and Milkman 2012; Hennig-Thurau et al. 2004) and negative WOM (Amabile 1983; Schlosser 2005) can help consumers project a positive image, and propose audience expertise as a factor explaining when consumers are more likely to share positive rather than negative information and when the opposite occurs.

Theory

Consumer prefer sharing positive WOM to signal their expertise to others (Packard and Wooten 2013) or to show they are smart shoppers (De Angelis et al. 2012) or bearers of good news (Berger and Milkman 2012). However, they prefer sharing negative WOM to show competence and knowledgeability (Amabile 1983; Schlosser 2005). Thus, past research shows that consumers might self-enhance by sharing either positive or negative WOM. What is unknown is what makes them more likely to share positive WOM in some cases and negative WOM in others. We propose audience expertise as an element that can shed light on this issue.

While reality shows that consumers often craft their WOM messages to the audience they talk to, WOM literature has not given adequate attention to the issue of how audience shapes WOM, with the exception of a work by Chen and Berger (2013) showing that individuals talk about controversial topics with distant others rather than close others, and a work by Barasch and Berger (2014) showing that large audiences trigger sharing of self-presentational content while small audiences triggers sharing of content deemed useful for recipients.

We contribute to this literature by studying the effect of audience expertise on WOM. WOM research has focused on the expertise of the communicator, demonstrating that consumers often share WOM to signal their real (Wojinicki and Godes 2011) or ideal (Packard and Wooten 2013) expertise to others. We predict that consumers are more likely to engage in WOM after a negative than a positive experience when talking to expert others, whereas they are more likely to engage in WOM after a positive than a negative experience when talking to less expert others. We hypothesize this effect is explained by sharers' desire to appear competent.

Methods and findings

Experiment 1 tested our hypothesis by randomly assigning 203 respondents to a 2 (WOM valence: positive vs. negative) x 3 (audience expertise: expert, non expert, control) between subjects design. Participants read a scenario about a car purchase situation, manipulated to be either positive or negative. To manipulate audience ex-

pertise, we had respondents imagine talking to either another person known to be expert on cars or to a person who doesn't know much about cars, or to a person they know (control). Dependent variable was a 7-point measure of WOM likelihood.

Two-way ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of audience expertise ($F(1, 197) = 10.79, p < .001$) and a significant WOM valence x audience expertise interaction effect ($F(1, 197) = 6.85, p < .001$): when talking to expert, WOM likelihood was higher after a negative than a positive experience ($M_{neg} = 5.97, SD = 1.03$ vs. $M_{pos} = 5.14, SD = 1.11, t(197) = 2.25, p < .03$), while no difference was observed when talking to non-expert ($M_{neg} = 4.42, SD = 1.99$ vs. $M_{pos} = 4.40, SD = 1.70, t(197) = .05, ns$). However, when audience expertise was unknown, WOM likelihood was higher after a positive than a negative experience ($M_{pos} = 5.81, SD = 1.22$ vs. $M_{neg} = 4.76, SD = 1.63, t(197) = 2.97, p < .001$).

Experiment 2 tested the mediating role of desire to appear competent. 177 respondents were randomly assigned to a 2 (WOM valence: positive vs. negative) x 3 (audience expertise: expert, non-expert, control) between subjects design. Compared to previous experiment, we changed the product (novels) and measured how respondents would feel if they happen to share their experience with the people described in the scenario using two 7-point measures (1 = totally disagree; 7 = totally agree): "I would be very much willing to appear knowledgeable," and "I would be very much willing to show I have high standards in my evaluations" ($\alpha = .84$).

Two-way ANOVA revealed a significant valence x expertise interaction ($F(1, 171) = 7.44, p < .001$). When talking to experts, WOM likelihood was higher after a negative than a positive experience ($M_{neg} = 5.07, SD = 1.48$ vs. $M_{pos} = 4.15, SD = 1.49, t(176) = 2.08, p < .04$), while no difference was observed for non expert ($M_{neg} = 3.89, SD = 2.11$ vs. $M_{pos} = 4.36, SD = 1.88, t(197) = 1.10, ns$). When audience expertise was unknown, however, WOM likelihood was higher after a positive than a negative experience ($M_{pos} = 5.32, SD = 1.22$ vs. $M_{neg} = 3.86, SD = 1.67, t(171) = 3.37, p < .001$).

Next, we ran a mediated moderation model, whereby we regressed WOM likelihood on audience expertise, WOM valence, their interaction, and the "desire to appear competent" (our mediator). The effect of the mediator on WOM likelihood was positive and significant ($b = .45, t(171) = 4.87, p = .001$). More importantly, we found a negative and significant indirect effect of expertise x valence ($b = -.34, 95\% \text{ confidence interval} = .87 \text{ and } -.06$). This finding demonstrates that the desire to appear competent accounts for the differential impact of audience expertise and WOM valence on WOM likelihood.

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Context Effects in Word-Of-Mouth Communications: The Effect of Crowdedness on Social Transmission

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The development of new technologies has increased the amount of word of mouth (WOM) that occurs in places where the sharer is surrounded by others. For instance, consumers often engage in WOM in stores, by posting on social media their comments about what they have just bought. Events and conferences often encourage participants to share information by posting content on social media to increase buzz. In these cases, consumers share information in places that can be particularly crowded.

In this research, we investigate the effect of crowdedness on the likelihood to share information. We argue that people who are in more crowded places might feel to be less in control over the environment around them than people who are in less crowded places. When individuals perceive that their personal control is threatened, they are likely to engage in behaviors aimed at restoring it (Kay et al. 2010; Langer 1975), and engaging in WOM may be one means for individuals to reaffirm their sense of control. Individuals engage in WOM to shape the impression others have of them (Berger and Heath 2007), to give advice (Fitzsimons and Lehmann 2004), and to instrumentally express their own personality in social contexts (Belk 1988; Berger 2014; Sirgy 1982), thus WOM may help individuals re-establish a sense of influence and control. We hypothesize that when being in crowded places, individuals experience a loss of control, which in turn makes them more likely to share information with others than when they are in less crowded places.

In study 1, 101 respondents from an online subject pool were required to be in a public space and to use a GPS enabled hand-held device (such as a smartphone or a tablet) such that we could verify their approximate location. First, respondents indicated where they were completing the survey (bar, library, café, restaurant, etc.) Next, they rated how noisy and crowded their location was. Subsequently, respondents read an article about a product, and they indicated how likely they would be to share this content with other people. Finally, participants completed a reactance measure (Hong and Page 1989). Reactance is a motivational state that is aroused when a behavioral freedom – such as personal control – is threatened or eliminated, and that in turn triggers behaviors aimed at restoring this freedom (Brehm 1966; Wicklund 1976). Trait reactance is the chronic individual tendency to experience reactance: highly reactant individuals tend to react more strongly to threats to their freedom (Brehm and Brehm 1981). For example, consumers with high chronic reactance who experience physical confinement have been shown to make more varied product choices as a way to reassert their behavioral freedom, as compared to individuals with lower chronic reactance (Levav and Zhu 2009). Thus, if the effect of crowdedness on word-of-mouth is driven by the desire to compensate for a perceived loss of control, then the positive indirect effect of crowdedness through perceived control should be observed among those individuals who have a higher chronic reactance, because these individuals should be strongly motivated to reestablish their control.

As hypothesized, as crowdedness increased, respondents perceived that they had less control ($B = -.31$, $t(93) = -3.36$, $p = .001$). In turn, a greater lack of control led to greater likelihood to share, but only among respondents who had high chronic reactance—there was an interaction between perceived control and reactance ($B = -0.42$,

$t(89) = -2.53$, $p < .05$), and mediation analysis revealed a significant mediation for participants high in reactance (+1 SD; LLCI > 0, ULCI = .31). There was also a significant 95% bootstrap confidence interval for participants low in reactance (-1 SD; -0.38, < 0). Perceived crowdedness was correlated with noise ($r = .79$, $p < .001$), but all the effects outlined above hold even when noise is entered as a covariate in the model. These results suggest that the positive effect of crowdedness on sharing, mediated by perceived control, occurs among highly reactant people. Crowdedness instills a perception of lack of control, that in turn encourages greater sharing, among those people who are chronically more motivated to replenish their lost personal control.

In study 2, we tested our predictions by manipulating crowdedness. 119 business administration students participated in this study in exchange for course credit. Participants were assigned to one of two conditions: in the crowdedness condition, 6-8 participants were seated in a 4-person lab room; in the control condition, participants were seated in two adjacent 4-person lab rooms. First, participants read the same article as in study 1 and reported the likelihood that they would share that article with others. Next, they completed a short version of the PANAS (Watson, Clark, and Tellegen 1988) and an arousal measure (Thayer 1989). Subsequently, participants completed a scale that measured their chronic need for control (Burger and Cooper 1979), and the same measure of reactance as in study 1. Finally, participants rated how crowded and noisy the lab room was.

Results revealed a significant two-way interaction between crowdedness condition and need for control ($B = 1.09$, $t(115) = 1.91$, $p = .01$): participants with high need for control (+1SD) were more likely to share the product information when they were in a crowded room, compared to their counterparts who were in a less crowded room ($B = 1.27$, $t(115) = 2.85$, $p < .01$). There was no effect for crowdedness among participants with low need for control ($p > .29$). Noise, negative affect, and arousal were similar between conditions, thus they are unlikely to explain the observed effects.

This research sheds light on the effect of the physical context in which WOM occurs on WOM sharers' behavior, and it suggests that information sharing can be an important means through which individuals can restore a lost sense of control. Our work has also interesting managerial implications. Marketing practitioners can address targeted real-time communications to consumers when they are in crowded spaces or push their social media campaigns in places that a high number of people attend everyday (e.g., trains or metro stations).

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The Role of Desires to Trade on Favorable Terms in Producing the Endowment Effect

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Standard explanations for the endowment effect suggest that product owners are either averse to the loss of their product (and therefore demand more to give it up) (Kahneman, Knetsch, and Thaler 1986, 1991) or that ownership of the product imbues it with some additional value due to its association with the self (Dommer and Swaminathan 2012; Morewedge et al. 2009; Shu and Peck 2011). The current research investigates another possibility: that price discrepancies between owners and non-owners might be importantly influenced by the desire to trade on favorable terms. Specifically, we suggest that, when in a trading position (i.e., exchanging the product for money or vice versa), individuals will only agree to trade if they are sufficiently *motivated* to do so. We predict that they do this by setting prices at which they would be happy to trade. Trading non-owners (buyers) can do this by setting maximum WTP below what the product is actually worth to them. Trading owners (sellers) can do this by setting minimum selling prices above their subjective valuation. In short, we suggest that traders' prices are not those at which they are indifferent between trading and not trading, but are, in fact, prices at which they would *prefer* to trade. Across three studies, we test this idea by comparing valuation in trading and non-trading contexts.

Study 1

Ninety-three students participated in a 2 (Owner vs. Non-Owner) x 2 (Trading vs. Non-Trading) between-subjects design. Participants were first endowed with a product (a chocolate bar) or not (Ownership). Trading conditions were identical to standard buyer/seller conditions. In the Non-Trading conditions, non-owners were identical to "choosers" in previous research (i.e., they chose between receiving money or the product). In contrast, non-trading owners were told they would have to choose between losing money and losing their chocolate bar. This is a novel condition that puts owners in an objectively identical condition to buyers, but which should not be construed as trading. All participants indicated product valuation using an identical incentive compatible procedure. Our primary prediction was that the difference between owners and non-owners would be reduced when not trading.

A main effect of Ownership on valuation revealed the standard endowment effect ($M_s = \$2.52$ vs. $\$1.94$; $F(1, 89) = 4.08, p < .05$). This was qualified, however, by a significant Ownership by Trading interaction ($F(1, 89) = 30.62, p < .001$). Consistent with prior research, sellers valued the product more than buyers ($M_s = \$3.63$ vs. $\$1.46$; $F(1, 89) = 30.18, p < .001$). In contrast, non-trading owners – who had nevertheless been endowed with the product – valued it less than non-trading non-owners ($M_s = \$1.40$ vs. $\$2.40$; $p < .05$) in a complete (unexpected) reversal of the endowment effect. Note that non-trading owners also valued it no more than buyers ($M_s = \$1.40$ vs. $\$1.46$; $p > .60$). This is an important comparison because both of these groups were in objectively identical positions.

Study 2: Removing a Confound

The purpose of Study 2 was to replicate the previous finding and to examine the unexpected reversal. One possibility was that we may have inadvertently caused non-trading owners to construe their

situation as that of a buyer (note that we should still have seen the effects of loss aversion/ownership, which we did not). To address this, we repeated the previous design, adding one condition, leading to a 2 (Ownership) x 3 (Trading: Trading, Non-Trading, Forfeiting) between-subjects experiment. Non-Trading conditions were identical to the previous study. In the Forfeiting conditions, participants were asked how much less than \$5 they would be willing to receive in order not to lose their chocolate bar (owners) or to receive a chocolate bar (non-owners). This was designed to prevent owners, in particular, from re-construing their circumstances as buyers. We used the same incentive compatible procedure in all conditions.

We replicated exactly the findings from Study 1: trading owners (sellers) valued the product more than trading non-owners (buyers) ($M_s = \$2.52$ vs. $\$1.21$; $F(1, 192) = 21.25, p < .001$). Non-trading owners valued the product *less* than non-trading non-owners, as per the previous experiment ($M_s = \$0.90$ vs. $\$1.82$; $F(1, 192) = 12.39, p < .001$). Most importantly, there was no effect of ownership in the new Forfeiting condition ($M_s = \$1.98$ vs. $\$1.69$; $F < 1$), consistent with predictions.

Study 3: Converging Evidence

The final study provided another test of trading motivation, but also kept all participants in objectively identical positions (unlike our previous studies). First, we compared the standard seller/chooser comparisons that have been used to demonstrate endowment, and which put participants in objectively identical positions. We argued that the standard chooser conditions should not involve any trading motivation, but that seller conditions would. In order to remove the trading motivation from sellers (yet keep owners and non-owners in otherwise identical positions) we put owners and non-owners in a second condition in which we elicited valuation by telling participants that they would randomly win an amount from the list (the same list of amounts used in the previous studies). Non-owners were told they would have the choice of forfeiting their winnings in order to receive a chocolate bar, and that they should indicate what they would do for each amount on the list (\$0-\$4 in 25c increments as in all studies). Owners were told they could *only* keep their winnings or the chocolate bar (but not both), and should indicate their choice for each amount. This resulted in a 2 (Ownership) x 2 (Receive vs. Win) between-subjects experiment in which all participants were in objectively identical positions.

There was a significant interaction on product valuation ($F(1, 135) = 5.79, p < .05$). Follow-up analyses revealed the standard endowment effect when comparing sellers to choosers (i.e., the effect of ownership in the "receive" conditions) ($M_s = \$2.34$ vs. $\$1.48$; $F(1, 135) = 15.99, p < .001$). However, there was no detectable effect of ownership in the win conditions ($M_s = \$1.57$ vs. 1.40 ; $F < 1$). Owner and non-owner valuation in the win conditions were also no different than valuation in the chooser conditions ($M_s = \$1.57$ and $\$1.40$ vs. $\$1.48$; $F_s < 1$), consistent with the idea that all three conditions lacked a trading motivation.

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Identity Refusal and the Non-Drinking Self

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction

This paper focuses on the identity refusal work of consumers; a refusal to accept a collective ('non-drinker') identity. Prior academic studies have invariably positioned non-drinkers in terms of collective identities based on their (non) drinking behaviors and motivations. In contrast we seek to develop understanding of the means by which non-drinkers defy or refuse the collective identity that is bestowed upon them, that of 'the non-drinker'.

Conceptual framing

We frame our study within CCT-oriented work which has focused on the way in which marginalized groups seek to develop legitimate and positive collective identities (e.g. Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013); adopt practices of demythologization in order to protect themselves from identity devaluation (Arsel & Thompson, 2011); and demonstrate symbolic identities through the refusal of tastes (Wilk, 1997). Prior work provides examples of contexts where consumers are drawn to a particular practice, identity or brand yet disagree with the connotations, associations or meanings that others link to their consumption choices.

Non-drinkers are invariably positioned in terms of collective identities based on their (non) drinking behaviors and motivations (e.g. Nairn et al., 2006). The identity position as a non-drinker is, therefore, primarily understood as a spoilt identity (Goffman, 2009), which necessitates the employment of strategies for stigma management (Herman-Kinney & Kinney, 2013). While a number of studies have explored identity work in relation to non-drinking practices, these studies do not identify circumstances where those who do not drink question their assigned identity as a non-drinker; suggesting an acceptance of the (non-drinking) identity yet the challenge of what to do with it, how to re-position it. In contrast the concept of identity refusal has received little research attention. We question whether non-drinking is (always) perceived as an effective or relevant means of categorization by non-drinkers themselves, and consider this question in relation to work focused on consumption communities.

For some alcohol abstainers, not consuming alcohol can be an integral part of an important collective identity. However, under what conditions do consumers refuse a collective identity, perceiving it as an irrelevant or unwarranted identity marker? In community terms, some non-drinkers view the 'non-drinking' community as too heterogeneous (Thomas et al., 2014) to suggest shared experience. While communities of practice, by definition, suggest shared practices (e.g. not drinking alcohol), these shared practices should reflect a common endeavor (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). The focus of our study is on those consumers who 'happen' to share practices with others (not drinking alcohol) but reject commonalities, shared meanings, experiences and endeavors; essentially they resist the notion that not drinking alcohol is relevant to their identity work.

Methods

Eighteen undergraduate students participated in interviews. These varied in length from 45 minutes to two hours. An agreed approximate interview schedule was compiled, but our aim was to have

an informed conversation with participants, accepting that their varied experiences would lead to diverse discussions.

Findings and discussion

Our findings reveal that non-drinkers specifically refuse understandings that position their non-drinking practices as central to their identity work, a set of practices that we term 'identity refusal'. We elaborate this understanding with four themes: (1) Irrelevant identity marker: rejection of the 'community' of non-drinkers; (2) A matter of taste, not a moral judgment; (3) An identity marker but not relevant to me; (4) Concealment: the secret non-drinking self. These themes range from a complete rejection of the relevance of the non-drinker as an identity marker (1), to the concealment of non-drinking practices (4), a concealment that provides support for the existence of a non-drinking community with associated practices.

We demonstrate that identity refusal can be understood as a form of distancing from the perceived community of practice of the non-drinker. We reveal a complexity around defining 'otherness'. We demonstrate that for some non-drinkers, it is non-drinkers who are 'othered' and viewed as more alien than drinkers. We therefore demonstrate that 'otherness' or difference is constructed in relation to consumers, but also in relation to other non-consumers.

We question whether alcohol refusal can be understood as a personal act of resistance (incorporating symbolic associations), regardless of the route to abstention and whether or not there are conscious political/ideological motivations (Portwood-Stacer, 2013). For some non-drinkers, the potential 'misreading' emerges from them not consuming something that has become normalized within their wider culture. The identity that they distance themselves from frustrates them, because they do not see it as their own making. Their refusal to embrace the identity, however, risks providing tacit support for the negative connotations (e.g. not social) and an acceptance that these associations are relevant to abstainers more generally. This risks marginalizing non-drinkers further and emphasizing abstainers' positioning as against the norm, and is a key concern for public policy and social marketing in this context.

It is clear there is not one unified, homogeneous community of non-drinkers, and our informants demonstrate their refusal to be identified in this way. From a public policy point of view we need to be more open and informed to the heterogeneity that exists within non-drinkers (Thomas et al, 2013), and indeed what value emerges from this identification at all, since some people (such as our first category of informants) refuse to be identified in these terms

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A Liquid Perspective of Consumption

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In this paper we conceptualize a new theoretical perspective of consumption we call liquid consumption. A range of consumption phenomena has emerged during the last decade that require new ways of conceptualizing and thinking about consumer behavior, such as global mobilities (Bardhi, Eckhardt and Arnould 2012), the sharing economy and access based consumption (Belk 2010; Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012; Chen 2009; Lambert and Rose 2012), digital consumption (Belk 2013); liquid organizations (Kociatkiewics and Kostera 2014), the rise of fast fashion (Samsioe and Bardhi 2014), and liquid art (Bauman 2007c). These phenomena challenge the foundations of our existing conceptualization of consumer behavior, including the centrality of possessions and the dominance of ownership, the nature of relationship to objects (such as notions of attachment, commitment, and loyalty), the *raison d'être* of consumption communities, and the nature of value derived in consumption. To better conceptualize these changes, we propose using a liquid approach to understanding consumption, which is defined as having the following four characteristics:

1. No singularization of consumption objects. Consumers avoid identification with objects and are not necessarily looking to extend the self.
2. Situational value of consumption, which highlights the flexible rather than the solid, rigid or enduring nature of relationships or practices.
3. Use value dominates, in contrast to linking or identity value.
4. Dematerialization: a focus on the immaterial and access over ownership and possession. Value is placed on 'lightness,' in contrast to the economic, physical, emotional and social obligations/burden of ownership and materiality.

The liquid perspective of consumption is inspired by and anchored in the notion of liquid modernity, a social ontology of contemporary modernity put forth by the work of the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2000, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2011). Liquid modernity is a social condition where social structures are no longer stable or long-term, and thus cannot serve as "frames of reference for human actions and long-term projects" (Bauman 2007a, 1). It characterizes contemporary society as an age of individualization and uncertainty, dominated by instrumental rationality and fragmentation of life and identity. Liquid modernity is characterized as a chaotic continuation of modernity where a person can shift from one social position to another in a fluid manner. What is valued is flexibility, movement, lightness, access and speed rather than size, weight, fixity, ownership and locational control.

We propose that conceptualizing consumption as liquid has important implications for how we understand materiality, social distinction, the nature of consumption relationships, and consumer ethics. In liquid modernity, consumer identity is liquid and materiality needs to enable fluidity of lifestyle and movements between identity projects. Thus, we derive four implications for consumer attachment to objects: 1) the temporality of the relationship to materiality; 2) emphasis on use-value; 3) dematerialization and the increased value of access; and 4) emergence of liquid materiality. Further, we maintain that consumers are attached/anchored to practices rather than objects, and a liquid perspective is able to account for this shift. Further, a liquid perspective has important implications for understand-

ing social distinction, one of the cornerstones of how we understand the purpose of consumption within daily life. As a social ontology, liquidity opposes the assumption of static social structures, including class. New forms of distinction have emerged. Bauman (2000) proposes that individual freedom rather than class has emerged as the axis of social distinction. Those who are free from commitments will gain stature in society, as compared to those anchored to people, places or things. It is suggested that geographic mobility will also be key in defining the new elites. Network capital rises in importance (Urry 2007), and conspicuous consumption decreases in importance (Eckhardt, Belk and Wilson 2015).

Regarding consumer relationships, the new ontology suggests that liquid relationships are temporary, bonds are loose and guided by instrumentality without commitment. Ephemeral relationships to products and brands as well as among consumers are valued rather than traditional conceptualizations of consumer loyalty and commitment. Finally, with regards to consumer ethics, it is challenging to be an ethical consumer in liquidity. Morality and social structures are dissolving (Bauman 2000), and there is not a solid base of morals to turn to for guidance. In a liquid consumer culture, one's subjectivity is that of a consumer; one cannot escape being a consumer. Thus, one cannot be ethical as understood outside of consumer culture. To that extent, liquid consumption provides an explanation for the much discussed gap between attitudes and behaviors in the sphere of ethical consumption (Devinney, Auger and Eckhardt 2010).

A liquid view of consumption also has implications for a variety of other consumer research domains, such as consumer welfare, poor and disadvantaged consumers, consumer governance, consumer surveillance, and how consumers use space. We unfold these implications and suggest a future research agenda that takes these into account. We also note that, contrary to Bauman, we do not see liquid consumption as an evolutionary imperative, and we recognize that some areas of the world and of consumption need to be solid to support a liquid lifestyle. We conclude by articulating the boundary conditions of liquid consumption and do not argue that all consumption is liquid. In sum, where the value lies in the consumption process is shifting, as is consumer subjectivity, and a liquid ontology is needed to understand and theorize these shifts.

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Examining the Global Boundaries of Mass Customization: Conventional Configuration Procedures Clash with Holistic Information Processing

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Prior research revealed that information processing is inherently tied to an individual's cultural background. Specifically, Easterners share the belief that different pieces of information coexist interdependently and thus process visual information more holistically, whereas Westerners share the belief that each item exists autonomously and therefore process information more analytically (Nisbett and Masuda 2003). Companies that provide similar user interfaces to consumers across markets do not take these important cross-cultural differences into account and may not market their products most effectively (Haig 2011).

This shortcoming is particularly pronounced for product self-design systems that allow consumers to express their unique preferences (Simonson 2005). While the popularity of such customization systems is increasing among consumers, manufacturers still employ nearly identical user interfaces around the globe. For example, consumers configuring an automobile at Audi's country-specific websites in North America, Europe, or Asia always walk through exactly the same configuration process: first prospective car buyers select a model, an exterior color, and their preferred rims, followed by a number of interior features and add-ons. We propose, and find support based on both lab and field data, that such attribute-by-attribute customization (Valenzuela, Dhar, and Zettelmeyer 2009) is not uniformly beneficial to all consumers; they may be effective for Western consumers but less so for East Asians, given their habitual, more holistic information processing style.

In study 1, which examined whether conventional attribute-by-attribute customization may be suboptimal for East Asian consumers (e.g., Japanese or Chinese), we collected field data in cooperation with a large European car manufacturer. The key dependent measure was the conversion rate of customers when configuring a car online. The dataset included 1,360,991 unique page visitors who configured their car using the company's online car configurator. In line with our proposition, attrition during the configuration process was significantly larger for consumers in East Asia (vs. North America). This general trend is also reflected by substantially lower dealer request rates and lower return rates to the company's car configurator in East Asian markets. These analyses of over a million prospective car buyers across various markets provide a first hint toward conventional MC systems being less beneficial to East Asian consumers. However, the reported findings have limitations: they are based on correlational data and do not necessarily indicate causation. Subsequently, we examined the effect and underlying process in a controlled setting.

Our key hypothesis was that consumers experience more mental simulation of product use and evaluate their customized product more favorably if a mass customization system matches consumers' habitual processing mode. To test these predictions, we designed three experiments involving prospective car buyers in Singapore and Germany. In the experiments, participants configured a car using a mock-up configurator of a large European car manufacturer. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two predominant choice architectures: attribute-by-attribute customization versus choosing from prespecified alternatives. In the former architecture, participants customized their car sequentially, selecting an option (e.g., phantom black) for

each of three attributes (e.g., exterior color). In the prespecified choice architecture condition, participants chose a car from a set of already prespecified alternatives. We controlled for the overall attribute space such that the prespecified alternatives resembled all possible attribute combinations of the attribute-by-attribute choice architecture. Before consumers configured their preferred car, they completed the Kimchi similarity task (Kimchi and Palmer 1982) to assess their culture-specific habits of information processing.

In line with our predictions, study 2 ($N=142$) revealed that when Singaporeans (vs. Germans) used the prespecified (vs. attribute-wise) choice architecture, they experienced an increased ability to mentally simulate using the car, and were more satisfied with their choice. In line with our prediction, these effects were moderated by consumers' information processing styles such that the influence of a prespecified choice architecture was amplified for consumers with a more holistic processing style and vice versa. In study 3, we tested whether priming consumers with their habitual processing style (i.e., priming Easterners holistically and Westerners analytically using the Navon letters task; Förster 2009) may offset the detrimental effects of an attribute-by-attribute choice architecture. As predicted, study 3 ($N=713$) revealed that priming Singaporeans with a holistic processing style before using the attribute-by-attribute architecture increased mental simulation as well as choice satisfaction. For Germans, priming them with an analytic processing style before using the prespecified choice architecture also increased mental simulation and choice satisfaction. In sum, priming consumers with their habitual processing style increased their experience with rather unfamiliar customization formats. In a final study, we aimed to replicate the previous findings by employing a more realistic priming technique. We therefore created two 45s videos based on the company's TV commercials that were displayed without sound to reduce confounds. The "holistic video" included scenes that are closely related to holistic perceptions by focusing on overall broad-based characteristics of a car, such as power and safety. In contrast, the "analytic video" included scenes highlighting single product items, such as xenon headlights and features of the multimedia system. A pretest ($N=202$) confirmed the intended priming effect of the videos on the Kimchi similarity task and also revealed that consumers remembered more single car items after being primed with the analytic video. Using these realistic stimuli, study 3 ($N=853$) replicated the previous effects; the priming of habitual processing styles increased consumers' satisfaction with their product if they used a customization format that is not tailored to their habitual mode of information processing.

This research provides evidence that firms can benefit from tailoring the provided choice architecture to customers' culture-specific information processing styles, therefore contributing to both the emerging field of cross-cultural consumer psychology and marketing (Burton 2009). Thus, consumers' information processing styles establish an important boundary condition for the success of choice architectures in international markets. Given the increasing individualization of East Asian markets and the constant rise of mass customization, the current research provides a new lens on how culture-specific information processing can be aligned with interactive choice environments.

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The Cue-of-the-Cloud Effect: When Cues of Online Information Availability Increase Purchase Intentions and Choice

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Cues that highlight the presence of online product information are commonplace in offline purchase settings. For instance, salespeople or signage at retail stores mention product websites. We refer to such reminders as a ‘cue-of-the-cloud,’ and we examine the downstream consequences of these cues on consumers’ offline decision making. While past work has shown how reminders of the presence of online information have negative consequences (Sparrow, Liu, and Wegner 2011), we propose and find that when consumers absorb relatively large amounts of unfamiliar product information in offline purchase settings, a reminder of online content can enhance purchase intentions and choices. This occurs even when consumers do not visit the online site. We show this effect across four studies, including two studies that take place in a real purchase setting.

Our theoretical framework proposes that this “cue-of-the-cloud effect” is driven by a sense of cognitive ease. A reminder of the presence of online information enhances consumers’ feeling that the currently given information is easy to process. More specifically, when absorbing abundant product information that could demotivate or confuse (Eppler and Mengis 2004; Jacoby 1977, 1984; Malhotra 1982), a cue-of-the-cloud leads consumers to feel that even if they do not know this information themselves, they can conveniently get this information externally. The information is “up there,” in the cloud, and it need not be stored locally, in one’s own mind. In turn, this reduced burden increases the sense of ease with handling the information, because the mind is freed up to address the information directly at hand. Importantly, we argue that this feeling of cognitive ease should be less likely to actualize when cued by non-Internet-related sources of information (e.g., reading printed brochures). We contend that the Internet is an extensive and omnipresent information source, and therefore may serve as an especially powerful cue of information availability (Ward 2013).

In our studies, we also demonstrate boundary conditions of the effect and replicate past findings of a negative influence of a cue-of-the-cloud (Sparrow et al. 2011). We compare the effects of a cue-of-the-cloud in low and high information environments, in which consumers are absorbing abundant (vs. relatively little) product information during the offline purchasing decision. The positive effect of a cue-of-the-cloud on purchase intentions and choices is more pronounced in high information environments. In contrast, we show that in low information environments, a cue-of-cloud can actually diminish purchase intentions and choices, because the cue draws attention to the limited amount of information offered with the product.

Study 1 was a field study at a winery involving a 2 (product information: low-detail vs. high-detail) X 2 (cue-of-the-cloud vs. no-cue) between-subjects design. Customers were greeted by winery staff who either told a lot of details about the wine, or very little detail. In another between-subjects manipulation, customers were either reminded that the winery’s information was available online, or no such reminder was provided. This cue occurred before the wine information was presented. Consistent with our prediction, we observed a significant two-way interaction between the manipulations ($F(1, 129) = 8.59, p < .01$). In the high-detail script, average revenue per customer was higher with the cue ($M = \$25.28$) versus without the cue ($M = \$14.20; t(129) = 6.89, p < .01$), but this effect was at-

tenuated (and directionally reversed) with the low-detail script ($M_{\text{Cue}} = \$10.86$ vs. $M_{\text{No-Cue}} = \$18.95$).

In Study 2, we sought to demonstrate that a cue-of-cloud has a more pronounced effect on purchase intentions compared to a cue of a non-Internet information source. Customers at a winery festival were presented a sampling and information about a new wine before responding to a survey. In a three-cell between-subjects manipulation, customers were told either that (i) the wine information is online, (ii) the wine information is available in a printed sheet, or (iii) no cue was provided. Customers rated purchase intention for the focal wine (7-point scale) and indicated (yes/no) whether the sampling provided sufficient explanation about this wine. Customers that perceived the given information as sufficient in explanation showed greater purchase intentions in the cue-of-the-cloud condition ($M = 5.46$) versus the information sheet ($M = 4.97$) and no-cue ($M = 4.60$) conditions. In contrast, customers that thought that the given information was insufficient had lower purchase intentions in the cue-of-the-cloud condition ($M = 3.86$) versus the other conditions ($M_{\text{No-cue}} = 4.18, M_{\text{Info-sheet}} = 4.39$).

Study 3, involving a scenario about a sleep aid product, demonstrated how consumers interpret an unspecified cue-of-the-cloud that merely mentions a website and how altering statements that accompany the cue could moderate the effects. We measured purchase intentions after presenting product information and the cue-of-the-cloud, both manipulated between-subjects. In high-detail conditions, purchase intentions were higher with an unspecified cue-of-the-cloud ($M_{\text{Cue}} = 4.86$ vs. $M_{\text{No-Cue}} = 3.89$), but this effect was reversed in low-detail conditions ($M_{\text{Cue}} = 3.76$ vs. $M_{\text{No-Cue}} = 4.14$), similar to our earlier studies. Further, study 3 showed that an unspecified cue-of-the-cloud, which only mentions the *presence* of a website, is by default interpreted as a cue that the *same*, given information is available to access online. When we presented a cue indicating that even *more* product information is available online, then this mentioning of the website actually reduced purchase intentions.

Study 4 tested the process mechanism through a mediation analysis. Participants read a winery scenario, similar to study 1, and indicated their intention to purchase wine. In high-detail conditions, purchase intentions were higher with the cue-of-the-cloud ($M_{\text{Cue}} = 5.92$ vs. $M_{\text{No-Cue}} = 4.68$), but this effect was attenuated in low-detail conditions ($M_{\text{Cue}} = 5.36$ vs. $M_{\text{No-Cue}} = 5.20$). The mediation analysis supported a serial mediator model; when provided a lot of wine information, the cue-of-the-cloud enhanced perceived information availability, which enhanced cognitive ease, which in turn enhanced purchase intentions.

Taken together, this work demonstrates how the Internet can affect consumers’ information processing, purchase intentions, and choices in offline settings. Our results can help managers by providing guidelines regarding when a cue-of-the-cloud is a suitable tactic, taking into account the types of consumers targeted, the information environment, and other elements of the purchase context.

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Rebel with a (Profit) Cause: How Rebellious Brand Positioning Leads to the Perceived Coolness

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Coolness has been studied by scholars from different disciplines: semiotics (Danesi, 1994), psychology (Dar Nimrod et al., 2012), and consumer research (Warren and Campbell, 2014). Before its commercialization, the concept of coolness was originally related to rebellious attitudes and behaviors (Frank, 1997). We contribute to the literature on coolness by linking rebellious behaviors to disadvantaged financial, social or cultural backgrounds. Such backgrounds are often presented in the companies' narratives about the background of their founders (e.g., Steve Jobs "home brewing" computers in a garage). Gladwell (2013) refers to people with disadvantaged backgrounds who ultimately managed to be successful as "David," alluding to the young shepherd who defeated the giant Goliath in the episode from the Bible.

Telling stories about a disadvantaged background and narrating how difficult and hard was for the owner to establish the venture has been shown to increase consumers' connection with the brands (Paharia et al., 2011). We claim that when a brand is positioned in a rebellious way, consumers will perceive the brand as cooler if the brand has a disadvantaged rather than an advantaged biography, because disadvantaged brand biography seems more congruent with rebellious positioning.

We argue that brand authenticity mediates this relationship. Napoli and colleagues (2014) point out how consumers perceive a company as authentic if they think that it consistently behaves in accordance with its values and beliefs. In other words, the more a brand acts in congruence with these values at all stages—production, promotion, or customer care—the more this brand is perceived as authentic by consumers. We believe that for a rebellious brand being perceived as an underdog may justify acting against the mainstream rules in order to succeed, increasing the authenticity of the rebellious claim and boosting, in turn, coolness.

Consumers may, nevertheless, evaluate rebelliousness in different ways depending on how important it is for them to be connected with or to be independent from other consumers. We therefore argue that self-construal can act as a potential moderator of the relationship between rebelliousness and brand authenticity, with consumers with higher level of independence finding the rebellious positioning more diagnostic (Aaker, 2000).

We conducted five experiments to test the hypotheses. In Experiment 1 (n = 116) we presented respondents with four descriptions of a person, manipulating his background (disadvantaged vs. advantaged) and his behaviour (rebellious vs. compliant). We found that the interaction between a disadvantaged background and a rebellious behaviour significantly impacts on the perception of coolness ($M_{Disadvantaged_rebellious} = 3.46$, $M_{Advantaged_rebellious} = 2.67$; $M_{Disadvantaged_compliant} = 2.48$, $M_{Advantaged_compliant} = 2.80$; $F(1, 112) = 4.13$, $p < .05$).

This result was replicated in Experiment 2 (n = 150), asking respondents to evaluate the coolness of a painting called "Revolution." We found that an artist's disadvantaged background significantly influences perceived coolness of the painting ($M_{Disadvantaged} = 4.12$, $M_{Advantaged} = 3.58$, $F(1, 149) = 5.14$, $p < .05$). We also introduced feedback about the authenticity of the artist inner feelings through the comment of an art critic. Results showed that a negative feedback about the authenticity of the artist inner feelings influences the perception of an artist with an advantaged background, but not the one with a

disadvantaged background ($M_{Negative_advantaged} = 3.48$, $M_{Positive_advantaged} = 3.98$, $M_{Control_advantaged} = 3.28$ vs. $M_{Negative_disadvantaged} = 4.38$ vs. $M_{Positive_disadvantaged} = 3.68$ vs. $M_{Control_disadvantaged} = 4.36$, $F(2, 143) = 3.59$, $p < .05$).

In Experiment 3 (n = 160) and Experiment 4 (n = 127) we found the same effect of the previous two studies in a marketing context, testing the relationship between a disadvantaged company background and coolness (Experiment 3: $M_{David} = 4.74$; $M_{Goliath} = 3.27$; $M_{Control} = 3.98$; $F(2, 157) = 10.62$, $p < .000$). In Experiment 4, we also tested if this condition influences Coolness when the company becomes a big multinational corporation after having started from humble origins through a brand biography named *Rags to Riches*. The results confirmed this effect ($M_{Goliath} = 3.69$; $M_{David} = 4.83$; $M_{Rags_to_Riches} = 5.12$; $F(2, 125) = 5.34$, $p < .001$). Notably, the *Goliath* and *Rags to Riches* conditions contained the same information about company performance and sales, differing only for the presence of a disadvantaged brand biography in the latter.

We then tested the mediating role of brand authenticity on the relationship between perceived rebelliousness and perceived coolness of the brand together with the moderating role of consumer independence in a moderated mediation analysis (Hayes, 2013). Results showed that perceived authenticity indeed mediated the direct effect of rebelliousness on coolness and that consumers' level of independence moderated the relationship between rebelliousness and authenticity.

Lastly, Experiment 5 (n = 127) examines the relationship between the disadvantaged company background and the perception of coolness in the context of more functional products (appliances). Notably, the effect of the company biography across conditions remained significant ($M_{David} = 4.88$; $M_{Goliath} = 4.21$; $F(1, 126) = 6.40$, $p < .05$). Also, when asked if it was appropriate to advertise the product as rebellious, the respondents in the *David* condition expressed a significantly higher agreement than the respondents exposed to the *Goliath* condition ($M_{David} = 4.95$; $M_{Goliath} = 3.87$; $F(1, 126) = 15.65$, $p < .000$).

This research extends the literature on brand coolness, brand biographies, and brand authenticity, demonstrating how these constructs can be applied to different domains and how they impact consumers' evaluation of advertising clues (such as a rebellious positioning). On a managerial level, this research demonstrates that the use of a disadvantaged brand biography in presenting the company enhances the level of coolness for its brands no matter the size of the company and the product category.

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Making a Discount Feel Like a Favor: How Pairing an Offer with a Favor Request Helps Seal the Deal

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We demonstrate that, in consumer-seller negotiations, requesting a favor from consumers increases acceptance of an discounted offer made by a seller. The favor request effect occurs through increases in perceived reciprocity and in the confidence that the price offered is the lowest possible. Implications are discussed.

To compel consumers to purchase without delay, sellers often allow consumers who have identified an appealing product to negotiate on price. In the US, this often occurs when buying houses, art, designer or vintage fashion, personal loans such as mortgages, and cars, and in some countries (e.g., India) negotiation is common for an even wider array of products and service. Our focus in this paper is on single-issue price negotiation, wherein a consumer has identified a product that they would like to buy, conditional on price. In this setting then, the focus shifts to overpayment concerns and consumers' subjective evaluation of deal favorability (or viewed oppositely, perceived confidence in lowest price).

Sellers should thus be motivated to identify techniques convince consumers that a given offer has low overpayment risk. Inman et al. (1997) demonstrate that purchase restrictions (such as limited time offers or maximum purchase quantities) serve to "activate a mental resource that is used to render a judgment regarding a promoted product" (p. 77). This judgment typically involves a comparison of the current price to a reference price (Meyer 1981) that can come from contextual information (Alba et al. 1999). Without clear reference price information, contextual cues can determine intent to purchase. Research has shown that parties in a negotiation are aware that their negotiation partner will use a set of strategies to maximize their expected payoffs. As these strategies and the desired outcomes are not fully known to both parties, a negotiation process not only involves an expected set of actions, but also a learning opportunity regarding what the other party sees as a desirable outcome (Pruitt 1981). The implication from the expectation of concessions is that although any discount offered by a seller should decrease economic risk, a discount by itself may do little to reduce perceived overpayment risk during a negotiation. Uncertainty may still be significant.

We suggest that pairing a price discount offer with a favor request (i.e., making a request, of the consumer, for an act beyond what is typical in negotiations) will reduce overpayment risk by positioning the discount as worthy of reciprocation. We demonstrate this effect in four experiments.

Experiment 1 - Pairing a Discounted Offer with a Favor Request

This experiment provides the first test of whether pairing a discounted offer with a favor request increases the probability the offer is accepted. Two product categories (record player and coffee table) and two favor requests (recommending the store to a friend and writing a review) are tested.

Method

Participants completed a 2 (context: record player vs. coffee table) x 3 (favor request: none vs. online review vs. recommend) between-subjects design.

Shopping Scenario Manipulation

Participants began by reading a scenario in the role of a consumer seeking to buy either a record player or a coffee table. Participants were then imagined they found an appealing product: "You find a *coffee table/record player* that is appealing to you, but it's listed at a price of \$80 and you don't have much spare money at this point in time. Given the nature of the store, however, you are fairly certain that the dealer will be open to negotiating on the selling price, so you initiate a negotiation with the seller." Participants were then offered a lowered price by the shop owner: "I am willing to lower the price, but you need to know that \$80 was already a very good price on this coffee table/record player. After deliberating for a while, the seller agrees to sell you the coffee table/record player for \$64, saying that it is her absolute lowest price."

Favor Request Manipulation

Those in the control condition read no further information. Participants in the favor request conditions (review/recommend) additionally read: "However, at that price she would hope that there is something in it for her. Specifically, she says that after purchasing the *coffee table/record player* and completing your purchase you should [post a positive review on the *vintage furniture store/electronics dealer* review website// recommend the store to a friend who might be interested in buying *vintage furniture/audio equipment*.]"

At this point, participants indicated whether they wished to accept, reject & counter, or reject the offer. Although this measure has three levels, we group the two reject options together. We do so as our focus is whether a favor request increases *acceptance* of a discounted offer.

Participants and Procedures

319 mTurk participants completed a "4-minute study about shopping" in exchange for financial compensation.

Results

We analyzed the probability of accepting the offer (accepting vs. rejecting) via a logistic regression, with binary variables for scenario (coffee table vs. record player), recommendation favor request, review favor request, and the two favor requests' interactions with the scenario. Both scenarios led to an equal probability of offer acceptance (coffee table = 52.38% vs. record player = 61.26%; $\beta=.053$; $Z=.02$, $p=.88$) and for each scenario we found that each favor request increased the probability of acceptance as compared to the control.

The request for a recommendation increased the probability of acceptance from 40.00% to 62.40% ($\beta=.914$; $Z=12.37$, $p<.01$) (and this effect did not differ significantly between the coffee table (60.32%) and record player scenarios (64.52%; $\beta=.126$; $Z=.06$, $p=.81$). Second, the request for an online review increased the probability of acceptance from 40.60% to 67.69% ($\beta=1.191$; $Z=19.75$, $p<.01$). We found that the effect of the review request was marginally stronger for the record player scenario ($\beta=.961$; $Z=3.213$, $p=.07$) with a probability of acceptance of 78.50% as opposed to 56.90% in the coffee table scenario. Despite this difference, the review favor request still significantly increased probability of discounted offer acceptance for both the coffee table (56.90% vs 39.30%; $\beta=.712$;

$Z=3.852, p=.05$) and record player (78.5% vs 40.6%; $\beta=1.672$; $Z=17.947, p<.01$) scenarios.

Experiment 2 - A Negotiation with Real Financial Stakes

In experiment 2, we investigate whether the favor request effect persists when consumers have real monetary stakes at play. We use a multi-stage negotiation paradigm adapted from Srivastava and Oza (2006), who incentivized negotiation in advance of a consumer choice. We created an iterative negotiation between a seller and a prospective consumer, wherein consumers requested a lower-than-initially-listed price and received at least one counter offer. To further generalize across product categories, the negotiation was for a piece of art.

Method

As in experiment 1, participants were told that they would participate in a shopping scenario as a consumer interested in a product being sold. In addition, they were then told that they would have a chance to earn a bonus based on the outcome of the negotiation. Because the task involved successfully purchasing a product at the lowest possible price, this incentivized participants to obtain a low price for an agreed-upon offer. Thus, participants had real money at stake during the negotiation. Second, to ensure that participants provided reasonable offers, each participant was warned that the seller would likely reject ‘extreme low ball’ offers and subsequently terminate the negotiation process. Participants would thus consider the amount of their offers as carefully as they would in a real-life purchase setting. After these instructions, participants were introduced to the actual shopping scenario which was the same as those in E1, aside from being about a \$100 piece of art.

Setting the Stage: First Consumer Offer and First Seller Counter-Offer

Next, participants began the price negotiation with an initial offer of their choosing (less than \$100) after which they wrote a short justification to the shop owner. The survey was programmed so that any initial offer below \$40 was rejected outright. Participants who provided an offer of greater than \$40 (denoted below by X) read a response and a counter offer of \$Y, where \$Y was calculated as a 25% movement from \$100 toward the participant’s offer. Participants who countered continued to the next step of the negotiation and provided the sample for our analyses.

Participants were asked to provide a second counter-offer (W) and a short justification for the value of their offer. After doing so, they read: “After deliberating for a while, the dealer agrees to sell you the painting for Z. She says that Z is her absolute lowest price.” Z was a 50% movement toward the participant’s most recent offer from the seller’s previous offer.

Favor Request Manipulation

Those in the control condition read no further information, while those in the favor request condition read the same protocol as participants in experiment 1’s review request condition, adapted to be a review posted on “the local art dealers website”. Participants again decided between accepting, rejecting, or countering the offer. The ability to close at this stage, accept versus reject (and/or counter offer), was the focus of our analysis.

Participants and Procedures

136 participants completed the second-stage negotiation and passed an attention check. Each participant was paid \$.20 and could earn up to another \$0.50 depending on how low a final price was obtained (and accepted).

Results

We observed a positive effect of pairing a favor request with a discounted offer on the probability that the offer was accepted (68.9% vs. 48.4%; $\chi^2(1)=5.90, p=.01$). Separating the types of rejections, post-hoc tests suggest that consumers who did not accept the offer were not more (or less) likely to exit the negotiation (9.5% vs 12.90%; $\chi^2(1)=.02, p=.89$). That is, while requesting a favor increased the probability of closing the deal, requesting a favor did not come at the cost of encouraging other consumers to exit the negotiation.

Experiment 3 – Moderating Role of Contextual Appropriateness

For persuasion attempts to succeed, they must be seen as suitable or proper in the circumstances in which they are used (Miniard et al. 1991; Sengupta, Goodstein and Boninger 1997). For instance, use of images not suited for the focal product elicit thoughts of inappropriateness, which decreases persuasion (Miniard et al. 1991). For a requested favor to promote acceptance of a discounted offer, the favor request must increase the perception that the discounted offer is a favor warranting reciprocity. To the extent that the favor request is seen as contextually appropriate, these perceptions should naturally occur. When a favor request is contextually inappropriate (e.g., creepy), however, we expect this to mitigate the otherwise positive effect of favor request effect.

Method

Participants completed one of six conditions in a 2 (product category: jeans vs. painting) x 3 (favor request: none vs. online review vs. send a picture) between-subjects design.

Shopping Scenario Manipulation

Participants in the painting scenario condition then read the same scenario as used in experiment 3, up until the favor request. Participants in the jeans shopping scenario condition read a similar scenario involving \$90 jeans.

Favor Request Manipulation

The online review condition used the same format as previous studies. Those in the picture condition read: “Specifically, she says that after purchasing the *jeans/painting* and completing your purchase she hopes that you would take a picture of yourself posing with the *jeans/painting* when you get home and send it back, to potentially be used on the *store/shop’s* website.”

Contextual favor request appropriateness pre-test

A pre-test with a separate sample of screened mTurk participants confirmed showed that asking consumers for a picture of themselves wearing new jeans was seen as more inappropriate ($M=5.24$) than asking for a picture with a new painting ($M=3.78$; $F(1,73)=17.19, p<.001$). Within the jeans condition, asking for a picture was more inappropriate than requesting a review ($M=3.36$; $F(1,73)=21.39, p<.01$). Finally, the online review request was considered equally appropriate for both scenarios ($F(1,73)=.315, p=.58$).

Participants and Procedures

We recruited 392 participants for a study about shopping for consumer products from mTurk in exchange for financial compensation.

Results

The probability of accepting the discounted offer was analyzed via a logistic regression with binary coding of product category, picture request, review request, and interactions between the type of favor request (review vs. picture) and scenario.

First, in both conditions and consistent with previous studies, we found that the review favor request increased the probability of acceptance relative to the control (60.47% vs. 44.36%; $\beta=6.48$; $Z=6.66$, $p=.01$). This positive effect of the review favor request did not differ between the painting (64.2% vs. 43.9%) and jeans (56.5% vs. 44.8%) product categories ($\beta=.18$; $Z=.51$, $p=.48$), providing additional evidence that the review favor request can be similarly used across various product categories.

Second, and as expected, we found a significant interaction between the product category and the picture favor request conditions ($\beta=.66$; $Z=6.64$, $p=.01$). While there was a positive effect of the picture favor request on acceptance in the painting scenario (63.1% vs. 43.9%; $\beta=.78$; $Z=4.76$, $p=.03$), the picture favor request did not significantly increase acceptance in the jeans condition (32.3% vs. 44.8%; $\beta=-.53$; $Z=2.15$, $p=.14$). Post-hoc analyses suggest that this reduction in acceptance was due to an increase in the probability that the consumers exited the purchase situation altogether (41.5% vs. 19.4%; $\chi(1)=6.64$, $p=.01$). In the jeans condition, participants reacted strongly to the inappropriate (picture) request, some to the point of refusing to continue the exchange.

General Discussion

Across three experiments, we show that consumers are more likely to accept a deal when a seller *requests* a favor than if the discount is offered on its own. We also identify one important boundary condition of this effect, as showing that the favor requested must be appropriate for the purchase context. This work has implications for both the persuasion and signaling literatures.

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Shifting Perceptions of Negative Experiences through Word-of-Mouth: Episodic Dismissal and Asymmetric Effects of Valence on Consumer Evaluations

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Negative product and service experiences often have such an impact on consumers that they can be vividly recalled for a long time afterwards (Mittal, Ross, and Baldasare 1998). As a result, research finds that negative (vs. positive) experiences weigh disproportionately on consumer evaluations such as attitude, satisfaction, and repurchase intentions (Dempsey and Mitchell 2010). Understandably, this has made marketers extremely sensitive to the ramifications of disappointing their customers. However, can the very thing that makes negative experiences so vivid and memorable also make the evaluations associated with them more susceptible to change? The current research examines how consumers who have had negative (vs. positive) product and service experiences respond to social influence in a dyadic word-of-mouth sharing situation. We find an interesting asymmetry, such that evaluations formed by negative (vs. positive) experiences are more malleable and more susceptible to change when consumers are exposed to the contrasting evaluations of others. Drawing from literature on memory, cognitive processing, and balance theory, we argue that this effect is driven by consumers' greater tendency to dismiss their own negative (vs. positive) experiences as being formed by isolated or "one off" events, a behavior we refer to as "episodic dismissal," in order to reduce perceived dissimilarities with a close other.

Study 1

We conducted a 2 (participant's experience: positive vs. negative, between) \times 2 (close other's evaluation: contrasting vs. similar, between) \times 2 (participant's evaluation: before vs. after sharing word-of-mouth, within) mixed subjects study. We first asked participants to write about a negative (vs. positive) service experience (Zhang et al. 2014). We then asked three questions measuring initial consumer evaluations of the experience: attitude, satisfaction and re-purchase intentions, which we combined to form an evaluation index. All participants then imagined sharing the experience they wrote about with a close friend. In the similar close other evaluation condition, participants further read "to your surprise, your close friend responds that he/she also really likes (dislikes) the product or service, and appears satisfied that the two of you share the same opinion." In the contrasting evaluation condition, participants read "to your surprise, your close friend responds that he/she actually really likes (dislikes) the product or service, and appears perplexed that you both don't share the same opinion." We found a significant three-way interaction $F(1,263)=4.39, p=.04$. In particular, participants who had a negative experience upwardly revised evaluations when the close other was revealed to have a contrasting (e.g. positive) evaluation ($t_1=2.60$ vs. $t_2=3.00, p=.000$). However, participants who had a positive experience did not revise their evaluations when the close other had a contrasting evaluation ($t_1=5.96$ vs. $t_2=5.92, p=ns$).

Study 2

We tested whether social distance moderates the results from study 1, such that consumers align negative evaluations with close others, but not with distant others. We used a 2 (participant's experience: positive vs. negative, between) \times 2 (partner's social distance: high vs. low, between) \times 2 (partner's evaluation: contrasting vs. similar, between) \times 2 (participant's evaluation: before vs. after sharing

word-of-mouth, within) mixed subjects design. Our manipulations were the same as in study 1, however, in this study, participants in the high (versus low) distance condition were asked to imagine an interaction with an acquaintance instead of a close friend. We found a significant four-way interaction ($F(1,455)=4.87, p=.03$). Specifically, in the low distance condition, we again found that participants who shared a negative experience upwardly revised their evaluations when close others had a contrasting (vs. similar) evaluation ($t_1=2.60$ vs. $t_2=2.94, p=.000$). However, participants who shared a positive experience did not change their evaluations in either the contrasting or similar close other conditions. In the high distance condition, these results were reversed. Participants who shared a negative experience became significantly more positive when the distant other had a similar (vs. contrasting) evaluation ($t_1=2.22, t_2=2.53, p=.000$), whereas there was a non-significant revision of evaluations among participants who shared a positive experience in both the contrasting and similar distant other conditions.

Study 3

We examined whether our results are driven by "episodic dismissal" (e.g. participants' greater tendency to dismiss negative (vs. positive) experiences as isolated or "one off" events when motivated to align their evaluations with a close other. We conducted a 2 (participant's experience: positive vs. negative, between) \times 2 (close other's evaluation: contrasting vs. similar, between) \times 2 (participant's evaluation: before vs. after sharing word-of-mouth, within) mixed subjects study. The procedure was the same as in study 1, however, following the imagined interaction, we asked participants to indicate the extent to which they considered the experience they shared to be an episodic or "one off" event (e.g. "To what extent do you feel that your experience with this product or service was an isolated event and not representative of the product in general?"). We found a significant three-way interaction ($F(1,230)=9.35, p=.003$) with a pattern of results similar to the previous two studies. Importantly, we also found moderated mediation, such that participants episodically dismissed negative (vs. positive) experiences after sharing them with a contrasting close other (95% CI exclusive of 0 [-.27, -.02]).

Study 4

We attempted to replicate our results in an actual word-of-mouth sharing interaction using the same design as studies 1 and 3. Participants shared a negative or positive on-campus service experience with a confederate who had either a contrasting or similar evaluation. We again found a significant three-way interaction ($F(1,208)=12.92, p=.000$) with a pattern of results similar to the previous two studies.

In sum, we demonstrate that consumers are more likely to change negative (vs. positive) evaluations of products and services when sharing word-of-mouth exposes them to the contrasting evaluation of a close other. We show that the valence of their product and service experiences determines the extent to which consumers can subsequently be influenced to change their evaluations. We demonstrate that consumers are better able to dismiss negative (vs. positive) experiences as isolated events in the face of contrasting opinions, thereby engaging in "episodic dismissal."

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How Goal Distance Influences Regulatory Focus in Goal Pursuit

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This research examines the influence of goal distance on the regulatory focus of goals. Individuals can construe goals as hopes, aspirations and ideals (promotion-focused goals) or as responsibilities, duties and obligations (prevention-focused goals) (Higgins 1997). Previous research identified individual (e.g., Higgins 1997; Aaker and Lee 2001; Cesario, Grant, and Higgins 2004), goal specific (e.g., Lee and Aaker 2004; Chitturi, Raghunathan, and Mahajan 2008) or situational characteristics (e.g., Mogilner, Aaker, and Pennington 2008) which can influence the regulatory focus of a goal. What remains to be seen is whether the regulatory focus of a goal can change as progress toward the goal is made. Here we demonstrate that goal distance can influence regulatory focus of a goal. We also demonstrate that goal distance is not temporal distance or, more broadly, psychological distance.

In earlier stages of goal pursuit, individuals rely on their initial state as a reference point (Bonezzi, Brendl, and DeAngelis 2011) which makes goal attainment/failure represent a gain/non-gain situation. Goal attainment is a positive deviation from the starting state as a reference point and, hence, it is a gain, while goal failure is a non-deviation from the starting state as a reference point and, hence, it is a non-gain; such representation construes a promotion goal (Higgins 1997, 2002; Shah et al. 1998). In later stages of goal pursuit, individuals rely on their desired end state as a reference point (Bonezzi et al. 2011) which makes goal attainment/failure represent a non-loss/loss situation. If a goal is attained it is a non-deviation from the desired state as a reference point and, hence, a non-loss, while goal failure is a negative deviation from the desired state as a reference point and, hence, a loss; such representation construes a prevention goal (Higgins 1997, 2002; Shah et al. 1998).

The goal distance construct involves two factors: assessment of the gap between the current and the desired state and the appreciation of actions necessary for goal attainment (Townsend and Liu 2012). The actual discrepancy between the current and the desired state is positively correlated with the actual amount of time to goal attainment and, hence, is positively correlated with temporal distance. Assessment of the actions necessary to reduce the “gap” draws attention to the difficulty associated with goal attainment (Townsend and Liu 2012); and, since perception of difficulty has been shown to reduce temporal construal (Vallacher and Wegner 1987; Thomas and Tsai 2012), it reduces temporal distance by constraining time resources. Hence, the two factors in the goal distance construct produce pressures on temporal distance which work in opposing directions.

For temporally unfocused goals, where the point in time of goal attainment or failure is not discretely specified (Madey and Gilovich 1993), goal distance influences both actual time to goal attainment and the amount of effort necessary to reach the goal. Therefore, for temporally *unfocused* goals, goal distance will likely leave the subjective experience of temporal distancing unaffected. Greater goal distance will increase actual time to goal attainment, thus putting upward pressure on temporal distance, but it will also increase the perception of difficulty associated with greater effort necessary for goal attainment, thus putting downward pressure on temporal distance. For temporally *focused* goals (Madey and Gilovich 1993), actual time to goal attainment/failure is fixed by some external factor (e.g., date of the driving test, deadline for the assignment, etc.). Hence, for temporally focused goals, goal distance will *not* influence actual time

to goal attainment, but it will emphasize difficulty and make time seem less abundant. The more progress a person makes toward their goal, the more abundant any amount of time to goal attainment/failure will feel. Therefore, for temporally focused goals, goal distance and temporal distance will be negatively correlated.

In study 1, participants were asked to imagine that they passed one (large goal distance) or three (small goal distance) out of the four interview stages necessary to get a job. They were then asked to match promotion or prevention phrases to describe their goal. They were also asked to indicate to what extent getting the job represents a gain versus not getting the job represents a loss. Participants in the large goal distance condition reported being more in the gain frame of mind and matched more promotion phrases, while participants in the small goal distance condition reported being more in the loss frame of mind and matched more prevention phrases to describe their goal. In study 2 participants imagined having set a weight loss goal (15 pounds) and having made little (5 pounds) or substantial (10 pounds) goal progress. Participants then read a promotion or prevention framed advertisement for a fitness program. Large goal distance participants reported more favorable attitude and greater purchase intentions after reading a promotion (vs. prevention) focused advertisement; and the reverse was true for small goal distance participants. In study 3, to demonstrate process, all participants were asked to imagine being half way through goal pursuit (having raised \$250 out of \$500) for a charity. We manipulated reference points by framing goal progress in terms of “to date” or “to go” to manipulate the beginning or the desired state as a reference point (Koo & Fishbach, 2008). “To date” framing produced greater focus on positive (vs. negative) outcomes and a more gain (vs. loss) frame of mind compared to “to go” framing. In study 4, participants imagined having made little (vs. substantial) progress toward a weight loss goal. Large goal distance participants reported that their goal was more of a maximal goal, while small goal distance participants reported that their goal was more of a minimal goal. Temporal distance and construal level indicators were not affected. In study 5, participants imagined having covered 2 or 8 out of the 10 chapters necessary for an exam (temporally focused goal). Large (vs. small) goal distance participants described their goal as more promotion (vs. prevention) focused. Importantly, large goal distance participants imagined the exam to be closer in time and thought about it more concretely compared to large goal distance participants.

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Go Green or Go God? Religiosity Reduces Pro-Environmental Behaviors

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

It is a truism that Americans are deeply religious. Recent surveys show that 77% of Americans consider themselves committed Christians (Newport 2012) and substantially more people believe in angels, the devil, and hell than do those who believe in evolution (Shannon-Missal 2008). Generally, religiosity is hardly negative as religious people exhibit more pro-social behavior than nonreligious individuals (Monsma 2007). For example, they volunteer and donate more (Monsma 2007), cooperate and share more (Ahmed 2009), trust others more (Fehr et al. 2003), and are more trustworthy (Tan and Vogel 2008). However, we believe that in a pro-social domain that requires individuals' will power to change behavior, that is, making differences through human intervention, religiosity will have reversed influences. The current research focuses on one such domain, pro-environmental behaviors.

Freud (1927/1961) argued that at the heart of religion is the strong dependence of people on the omnipotent figure of God. Indeed, most Judeo-Christians believe in a controlling and omnipotent image of God (Laurin, Kay, and Fitzsimons 2012). People who believe and depend on a powerful other, like God, relinquish generalized control to that potent deity (Spilka and Schmidt 1983). Given that the only personality variable that is consistently linked to pro-environmental behavior is perceived personal control (Allen and Ferland 1999), it is possible that Judeo-Christians are less willing to engage in pro-environmental behaviors than nonreligious individuals due to their external locus of control that is derived from their belief in an omnipotent God. In light of these findings, we explore a possibility that religiosity reduces willingness to engage in pro-environmental behaviors via an external locus of control. Through a field study and four laboratory experiments, we tested our predictions.

For the first study, we looked at the relationship between religious affiliation and pro-environmental behaviors using real-world behavioral data from the U.S. population. We collected data to determine each state's proportion of registered Judeo-Christians and nonreligious people to its overall population, and each state's level of pro-environmental behaviors. We found a significant negative partial correlation between Judeo-Christians and the environmental index ($r = -.38, p < .01$) and a significant positive partial correlation between the nonreligious and the environmental index ($r = .29, p < .05$), controlling for gender, education, political affiliation, and income levels for each state.

Since Study 1 gives only correlational evidence, Study 2 was designed to replicate this effect in a laboratory setting using a 2 (religious affiliation: Judeo-Christian vs. nonreligious) x extrinsic religiosity (continuous) between participants design. First, participants responded to two items that measured their pro-environmental behaviors: "How much are you willing to *change your lifestyle* to reduce the effects of global warming?" and "How much are you willing to *spend extra money* to reduce the effects of global warming?" Next, participants responded to the 12-item extrinsic religiosity subscale from the religious orientation scale (Allport and Ross 1967) to measure the strength of their religious beliefs. Study 2 found more evidence that Judeo-Christians tended to be less willing to engage in pro-environmental behaviors than nonreligious people ($t(123) = 1.8, p < .1$). We also found that a weak commitment to one's religion, or extrinsic religiosity, mitigated the effect ($\beta = 1.03, t = 2.548, p < .02$).

Study 3 tested the underlying mechanism that explains why Judeo-Christians engage in relatively few pro-environmental behaviors using a 2 (religious affiliation: Judeo-Christian vs. nonreligious) x 2 (prime: control vs. God) between-subjects design. Participants first completed a priming procedure where they formed grammatically correct sentences using four words from sets of five. In the God condition, five of the ten sets contained a word semantically related to the concept of God and in the control condition, the words were neutral. Participants then completed the external locus of control measure. We showed that Judeo-Christians had more of an external locus of control than the nonreligious ($F(1, 91) = 8.8, p < .005$) and that this difference was due to their religiosity as Judeo-Christians in the God condition had more of an external locus of control than those in the control condition ($p = .01$). As expected, there was no difference in the locus of control for the nonreligious between conditions ($p > .8$).

The objective of Study 4 was to further test the underlying mechanism of the observed effect. If in fact Judeo-Christians' external locus of control is tied to their belief in an omnipotent image of God, then any attempts to manipulate their personal perceived control will not be successful because they believe that God has all of the power. This study used a 2 (religious affiliation: Judeo-Christian vs. nonreligious) x 2 (prime: high control vs. low control) between-subjects design. Participants were randomly assigned to either the high or low control condition. In the high (vs. low) control condition, they wrote about 3 examples of times when they felt they had complete (vs. no) control over a situation. The dependent measure was the likelihood of purchasing various environmentally-friendly products. We found a significant interaction effect between religious affiliation and priming condition ($F(1, 71) = 3.810, p < .06$). Planned comparisons revealed that the nonreligious in the high control condition were significantly more likely to buy green products than those in the low control condition ($F(1, 71) = 3.754, p < .06$). However, there was no significant difference between likelihood of green consumption for Judeo-Christians in the high and low control conditions ($p > .3$). Judeo-Christians' religiosity acts as a buffer to any attempts to change their sense of control. If we use a primary (vs. secondary) approach to increase control, or attempt to change the cause of the perceived lack of control (vs. the result) (Rothbaum et al. 1982), we expect to effectively change Judeo-Christians' low levels of green consumption. In other words, by manipulating the cause of the external locus of control (the omnipotent image of God) rather than manipulating the effect (the external locus of control), we expect to see an increase in their green behavior. This was the rationale for Study 5.

Study 5 utilized a primary approach to manipulating locus of control such that we manipulated the *cause* of Judeo-Christians' perceived lack of control using a 2 (religious affiliation: Judeo-Christian vs. nonreligious) x 2 (priming condition: controlling God vs. facilitating God) between-subjects design. Participants either were primed with the image of God as a controlling or facilitating figure. They then indicated their willingness to buy various green products as in Study 4. We found a significant interaction between religious affiliation and image of God ($F(1, 81) = 9.9, p < .01$). Planned comparisons indicated that Judeo-Christians who were primed with a facilitating God image were significantly more likely to purchase the green

forms of the products than were Judeo-Christians in the controlling God condition ($F(1, 81) = 4.1, p < .05$).

In summary, our research provides the demonstration of a negative influence of religiosity on prosocial behavior in the domain of pro-environmental behaviors, while simultaneously providing the underlying conceptual basis for why we observe this effect. Thus, this research suggest that the external locus of control that is tied to the belief in a controlling image of God should affect consumers in other domains when they experience uncertainty.

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Developing a Behavior-Based Measure of Online Brand-Engagement

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The authors introduce the concept of *online brand-engagement*, and develop a behavioral scale to assess it. Online brand-engagement is conceptualized in terms of consumers' behaviors online about a specific brand, in contrast to previous research exploring enduring personality trait differences in general engagement with brands (Spratt et al., 2009).

While practitioner use of the term continues to grow (Levy, 2013; Posner, 2013), with jobs titles such as "Chief Brand-Engagement Officer" emerging (New York Times, 2008), advertising agencies specializing in it, and leading social network sites such as Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn all reporting engagement as a metric, academic progress has been largely limited to discussions of its conceptualization. In this paper we offer both a reconciliation of debate over conceptualization of online brand-engagement and an online brand-engagement scale. We develop a scale to measure this new construct, validate it along established criteria, and situate it within a nomological network (MacKenzie, Podsakoff, and Podsakoff, 2011).

Brand Engagement Conceptualizations In Marketing

While research exploring brand engagement is in relative infancy, important efforts have been made to conceptualize and define the construct. These efforts can be loosely categorized into two groups which we term behavioral and psychological. Behavioral conceptualizations define brand engagement entirely in terms of brand-related consumer actions. MSI (2010, pg. 4) offers the most precise definition, describing engagement as a "customer's behavioral manifestation toward a brand or firm beyond purchase". Psychological conceptualizations view brand engagement as encompassing more than behaviors such to include psychological processes (Bowden, 2009, pg. 65). Several conceptual papers consider engagement to have cognitive, emotional, and behavioral dimensions (Hollebeek, 2011; Brodie, Hollebeek, Juric, and Ilic, 2011; Brodie, Ilic, Juric, and Hollebeek, 2011; Vivek, Beatty, and Morgan, 2012).

While it is apparent researchers are making efforts to better define and conceptualize brand engagement, agreement has yet to emerge. Given the conflicting understanding of the engagement concept within marketing and its importance in constructing a valid measurement scale, we designed our first study to clarify brand engagement's definition and dimensionality.

Study 1: Consumers' and Experts' Conceptions of Online Brand-Engagement

We approached our first study with two objectives: firstly establishing whether a behavioral or psychological conceptualization should be adopted, and secondly uncovering the dimensions inherent to our adopted definition. These aims naturally lead to a qualitative approach being adopted (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Insights from both consumers and academics in conjunction with the literature on brand engagement formed the data for our first study. Feedback provided offered important insights, with a more precise conceptualization, emerging. Insights were used to further refine understanding of the engagement construct.

Analysis of data generated supported a behavioral conceptualization of brand engagement, with little data supporting a more psychological or relational view of the concept. Support for emo-

tions and cognitions as components of brand engagement also was not found. Consumers and academics alike considered affect as a possible antecedent to engagement rather than part of brand engagement itself.

Integrating the results of our qualitative investigation, we define *online brand-engagement as the extent of conscious performance of brand-related public consumer behaviors online beyond purchase and consumption.*

Study 2: Item Generation and Selection

In addition to deduction from our theoretical definition and earlier data, we re-explored the existing literature on brand engagement as well as conducted further literature reviews related to its dimensions of interaction and creation. From these sources we developed 41 total items that passed initial face validity checks. To further assess initial items, thirteen academics rated the content validity of each item relative to our conceptualization of online brand-engagement (following the procedure of Spratt, Czellar, and Spangenberg, 2009). Results and feedback were used to delete and modify items. This resulted in a revised set of 39 items.

Study 3: Item Reduction and Scale Dimensionality

Factor analysis with analysis of the scree plot indicated two factors were significant (explained variance = 70%). All items had loadings of 0.4 or higher on at least one factor. Examination of the first two factors yielded one dimension related to interaction items and a second dimension related to creation items comparable to what was found in the qualitative research.

A second sample (N = 330) employing the same methodology was conducted using the 20 items to aid in further reducing the number of items. The scree plot for this sample indicated three significant factors (explained variance = 70%). Six items loaded onto the first factor, "Interaction", three items loaded onto the second factor, "Creation", and two items, loaded onto the third factor, "sharing".

Study 4: Confirming Scale Dimensionality

In Study 4 we examined the dimensionality and stability of the scale. We collect data from a new sample of consumers (N = 516). An exploratory factor analysis extracted three factors (explained variance = 81%). We also ran a confirmatory factor analysis for a three-factor model ($\chi^2 = 132.27$, $df = 32$, $p < .01$, CMIN/df = 4.13). Suggested cutoff values of 0.95 were met for NFI (0.97), CFI (0.98), and GFI (0.95) (Hu and Bentler, 1999). RMSEA of 0.08 and SRMR of 0.03 also both indicated good model fit.

Study 5: Assessing Discriminant, Nomological, and Convergent Validity

The purpose of Study 5 was to assess the extent to which our online brand-engagement construct demonstrated discriminant, nomological, and convergent validity. Results supported hypothesized relationships. Correlations between our 10-item measure of online brand-engagement and constructs expected to demonstrate discriminant validity ranged from non-significant to 0.19. Correlation with constructs expected to demonstrate nomological validity ranged from 0.27 to 0.46. The strongest correlations with our 10-item online brand-engagement scale were found with the single-measure forms of online brand-engagement.

Conclusion

Our work makes several contributions. First, we resolve debate over the conceptualization of online brand-engagement and clearly situate it within the behavioral realm. Second, through a multi-stage qualitative investigation we develop a grounded definition and dimensionalization of the construct. Finally, we develop and validate a scale to measure online brand-engagement at a brand-specific level.

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The Art of Brand Name-Dropping: A Dual Attribution Model of Conspicuous Consumption

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Brand name-dropping—the act of explicitly mentioning brands in a conversation—appears commonplace in society. From the music industry and social media to television shows and everyday consumer interactions, brands appear to often find their way into conversations. A number of these brands appear to be expensive and prestige brands. In this work we examine how brand name-dropping of expensive and prestige brands affect observers' perceptions of the actor (i.e., name dropper). With few exceptions (Ferraro, Kirmani, and Matherly 2013), little work has studied conspicuous brand usage, which includes the more specific act of brand name-dropping.

At one level, brand name-dropping can be viewed as a specific instance or means of displaying status, commonly referred to as *conspicuous consumption*. As discussed by Thorstein Veblen (1899), a central idea behind conspicuous consumption is to portray one's wealth to others. More than a century later, a renewed interest has emerged in the benefits of conspicuous consumption with respect to its signaling value (Griskevicius et al. 2007; Nelissen and Meijers 2011; Sundie et al. 2011; Wang and Griskevicius 2014) and means of addressing psychological needs, such as a desire for power and status (Rucker and Galinsky 2008, 2009; see also Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2012). This prior work suggests that conspicuous consumption is largely positive or produces favorable social outcomes. However, recent work introduces the notion that conspicuous consumption carries with it social costs such as negative attitudes toward the consumer (Ferraro et al. 2013). These two streams of work produce an interesting tension as to when conspicuous brand name-dropping produces positive versus negative consequences. The present work provides theoretical scaffolding for understanding when displaying one's brands has positive versus negative outcomes and helps explain the complexities of conspicuous brand name-dropping.

Whereas past research has studied individual signals of conspicuous consumption with regard to increased status or decreased likeability, we build on the multi-dimensional perception of social categories such as the warmth-competence perspective of person perception (Fiske et al. 2002; Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2007) and the more general framework of agency-communion (Bakan 1966; Abele and Wojciszke 2014) assertiveness, decisiveness. We introduce a novel dual-attribution model for conspicuous brand name-dropping. In support of our model, and inconsistent with alternative models considered (e.g., halo effects), we find people perceive the conspicuous brand name-dropper as having higher status and lower likeability compared with no brand name-dropping. Moreover, we demonstrate the social consequences of conspicuous brand name-dropping depend on the signal that is more diagnostic for the situation. Furthermore, we demonstrate that brand name-dropping does not inevitably lower likeability and increase status; in fact, sometimes the opposite occurs with brand name-dropping increasing likability but lowering status. We outline four supporting experiments below.

Experiment 1

Participants (N = 194) were assigned to read an ostensibly real blog post, which described an individual's night out at a club, with reference to either conspicuous brand names or just the products. In both conditions, the individual did not own the mentioned brand or product. We find that participants perceived the target individual to

have higher status ($F(1, 190) = 30.81, p < .001$) but lower likeability ($F(1, 190) = 6.40, p = .012$) after conspicuous brand name-dropping, compared with the no name-dropping condition. This experiment sets the stage for exploring when brand name-dropping may have negative or positive consequences.

Experiment 2

The second experiment aimed to show when brand name-dropping would have negative social consequences (i.e., when communality or likeability is important). Participants (N = 101) were assigned to read a job applicant profile with either conspicuous brands or products mentioned in the hobbies section for an account manager position, which required "maintaining relationships with different clients". We find that conspicuous brand name-dropping negatively impacted the candidate's likelihood of being hired for a job position ($\beta = -0.56, t(99) = -2.92, SE = .19, p = .004$), mediated by applicant likeability (95% CI around the mediator [-1.21, -0.60]).

Experiment 3

The third experiment aimed to show when brand name-dropping would have positive social benefits (i.e., when agency or status is important). Participants (N = 118) were assigned to rate the likelihood of admitting potential customers into an exclusive nightclub. Half read statements from the customers with conspicuous brand names mentioned while the other half read the same information with just the product name. As expected, we show that conspicuous brand name-dropping positively impacted the potential customer's likelihood of being admitted into the nightclub ($\beta = 0.71, t(116) = 4.09, SE = .17, p < .001$), mediated by perceived status (95% CI around the mediator [.02, .29]).

Experiment 4

This final study demonstrates a boundary condition for the effects of brand name-dropping. Participants (N = 101) were assigned to read excerpts from ostensibly real interviews. Half read about interviewees who brand name-drop by bragging about owning the brand while the other half read similar information with the brand name-dropping construed as aspirational by talking about future ownership of the brand. We test and confirm the hypothesis that the perception of high status and low likeability observed in experiments 1-3 are reversed when the brand name-dropper is perceived as aspirational rather than as bragging ($F(1, 93) = 78.24, p < .001$).

The present work offers several contributions. First, we demonstrate evidence for a dual attribution model of brand name-dropping. As such, we demonstrated that, depending on the social context and what signals are diagnostic of the situation, conspicuous brand name-dropping has predictably favorable or unfavorable outcomes for the consumer. Critically, these effects are not inevitable; the status and likeability attributions are reversed when the brand name-dropper is perceived as aspirational rather than as bragging. These results resolve what might be viewed as contrasting findings in the conspicuous consumption literature via the introduction of a more integrated framework.

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Can Buying a Product with a Cause Make Us Better People? Licensing Effect after Purchasing a Product with a Cause

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As companies experience increasing competition, social causes take on a more prominent role in the profit-seeking efforts of the corporate domain. Partnership between product and cause is referred to as cause-related marketing (CRM) (Varadarajan and Menon 1988). Donating money to a charity each time a consumer makes a purchase has become a major corporate philanthropic trend. To consumers, they have opportunities to demonstrate their moral views through consumption decisions. Researchers make the general conclusion that CRM is linked with altruism or warm glow (Gupta and Pirsch 2006; Nowak and Clarke 2003; Webb and Mohr 1998). However, we are going to show this altruistic influence of CRM is not always true based on recent advancements in research on the *licensing effect*. If people feel as if they have been taken more ethical decisions (e.g., installing tankless water heaters and caring about global warming) or taken healthier options (e.g., drinking diet Coke and going to gym), they might compensate by behaving less ethical or healthy in a subsequent context. Research suggests the licensing effect on sequential behaviors in a variety of contexts including consumer purchases (Khan and Dhar 2006), charitable giving (Krishna 2011), energy policy and home energy use (Davis 2008), ethical behaviors (Mazar and Zhong 2010), job hiring (Kuo 2006), racial attitudes (Effron, Cameron, and Monin 2009), and health-related decision-making (Chiou, Yang, and Wan 2011; Wilcox et al. 2009).

This article contributes to this evolving stream of research by proposing that purchasing a product with a cause may license indulgence in self-interested behaviors later. Furthermore, we are going to show that consumers are not aware of how their prior CRM decisions impact their subsequent choices. In support of our theory, we will show that a prior purchase of CRM boost moral regulation and satisfaction in empathetic altruism, which will mediate the preference for a self-indulgent option. Furthermore, we explore how the licensing effect differs after hedonic and utilitarian product purchase. Product type (hedonic vs. utilitarian) has been identified as an important factor in CRM research (Chang 2008, 2011, 2012; Strahilevitz 1999; Strahilevitz and Myers 1998; Subrahmanyam 2004). Strahilevitz and Myers (1998) proposed the concept of *affect-based complementarity* in that the feelings generated by hedonic products appear to work in concert with the feelings generated after making a contribution to a charity to give the consumer a positive experience. Consumers may also use the donation to a cause to rationalize their purchase of hedonic products and thus overcome cognitive dissonance (Polonsky and Wood 2001). If consumers appear to feel that “they have fulfilled their philanthropic obligations,” this may decrease their further efforts for altruism. Krishna (2011) found that people appear to realize their motives for participating in CRM are more selfish than for charitable giving, and then reduce their subsequent happiness. CRM is found more effective with products perceived as hedonic than with those perceived as utilitarian (Chang 2008; Dickinson and Holmes 2008; Drurnwright and Murphy 2001). If the emphatic altruism is more likely to be satisfied when purchasing hedonic products than utilitarian products with a cause, the licensing effect is expected to be enhanced after purchasing hedonic products with a cause than such utilitarian ones.

We design four experiments to investigate the licensing effect after purchasing a cause-related product. A pilot study first examines that people attach higher social and ethical values to a product with a cause than to a product without a cause. In Experiment 1, a 2 (store: conventional vs. CRM) x 2 (task: priming vs. purchase) between-subjects design is conducted and a one-shot anonymous dictator game is used to test the predictions that a priming task of CRM and actual purchase will trigger opposing effects on money-sharing behavior. Experiment 2 employs a 2 (store: conventional vs. CRM) x 2 (task: priming vs. purchase) between-subjects design. Participants' choice between virtue and vice food served as the dependent measure. Same as Experiment 1, a 2 (store: conventional vs. CRM) x 2 (task: priming vs. purchase) between-subjects design is designed for Experiment 3, and uses an E-drawing task as an unconscious way to measure degree of perspective-taking. Experiment 4 extends the licensing effect of purchasing a product with a cause in a field setting and explores the moderating role of product type in the licensing effect. A 2 (store: CRM vs. discount) x 2 (product type: utilitarian vs. hedonic) full-factorial design is conducted. There was no overlap of participants across the pilot study and experiments.

Our studies suggest that exposure to CRM may contribute to a sense of moral self but license socially undesirable behaviors in a variety of domains. To be specific, the results from four experiments showed that CRM purchase causes a licensing effect: consumers become less willing to share (money), become more self-centered (drawing an E on one's forehead), and prefer something vice (choose vice food over virtue food). This confirms that buying a product with a cause affirms individuals' values of moral beliefs and ethical consciousness but the purchase can license subsequent asocial and more self-indulgence behaviors. Compared with utilitarian consumption, hedonic consumption strengthens the licensing effect. Both moral regulation and empathetic altruism serve as mediators behind the licensing effect. In a nutshell, consumers may become more selfish and self-oriented after purchasing a product with a cause, suggesting that CRM does not always show the glory side.

Several avenues present opportunities for future research. Future research may explore when the licensing effect could be dampened. For example, some people buy less preferred items because they are with a cause. If the purchase decision is not made totally voluntarily, the purchase may ease the licensing effect. Furthermore, will the type of cause (i.e., giving to a cause more related to the purchaser or not) or donation magnitude matter? The licensing effect may disappear when the cause is more egoistic or when the donation magnitude is high. More future research should identify boundary conditions associated with the roles of product, cause, and consumer individual differences in the licensing effect.

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Being Correct or Feeling Protected: A Process Account of the Effect of Personal Control on Product Information Processing

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Recent studies have focused on how individuals restore a sense of structure when their personal control has been threatened (e.g., Cutright 2012). In this vein, the present research investigates how consumers regain structure in their environments during the act of product choice. In contrast to prior research, the present research proposes an in-depth process analysis of the different cognitive strategies that individuals use to regain control and the conditions under which these alternative strategies are adopted.

To study consumer information processing, and, specifically, the manner in which new product information is integrated with prior beliefs, I rely on two decades of research on “information distortion” (for a review, see Russo 2014). The phrase “information distortion” reflects decision makers’ tendency to bias their evaluations of new information to support their emerging product beliefs, resulting in confirmatory information processing bias. For instance, in deciding between two vacation packages (Hotel A and Hotel B) described by several attributes, the first piece of information might be seen as favoring Hotel A. Information distortion occurs if subsequent information is evaluated to favor Hotel A to a greater extent than it should, that is, to a greater extent than if one had seen the same information without an existing preference for Hotel A.

How can threats to personal control impact how new product information is integrated with one’s prior product beliefs? Two streams of research have made conflicting predictions. The first stream contends that individuals are motivated to defend themselves from psychological threats (a “defense” motivation). Thus, a threat to personal control should trigger a cognitive strategy that protects one’s beliefs and favors the appearance of distortion. The second stream, embedded in the selective exposure literature, contends that individuals are motivated to be more vigilant after a threat (an “accuracy” motivation), which should discourage distortion. What conditions trigger these two conflicting motivations? I hypothesize that individuals’ generalized beliefs regarding control (locus of control; Rotter 1966) might influence how they respond to situational threats to personal control. Locus of control refers to the extent to which a person expects a situation to be contingent on his or her own behavior (“internals”) versus fate (“externals”). If internals a) believe that they are in control of their experiences and b) are exposed to a threat to personal control, I hypothesize that they should attempt to process information carefully to allow them to regain control over the situation. In contrast, if externals a) believe that the environment controls them and b) are exposed to a threat to personal control, I hypothesize that their logical response should be to protect themselves against the threat. Overall, following a threat to personal control, externals (vs. internals) are therefore hypothesized to activate a defense motivation (vs. accuracy motivation) and to thereby distort information more to protect their beliefs.

Under a baseline condition in which there is no threat to personal control, what would happen to this hypothesized relationship between locus of control and information distortion? Prior research has shown that internals tend to exhibit higher levels of achievement in nearly all domains (Findley and Cooper 1983). Therefore, internals should have learned to trust their judgment more, suggesting that they might exhibit greater confidence. Because confidence is a known driver of distortion, internals should therefore distort information more than externals under baseline conditions. In summary,

the following interaction is hypothesized: under baseline conditions, internals trust their beliefs more than externals do and should therefore exhibit more information distortion (a cognitive explanation), whereas under a threat to personal control, externals activate a defense (vs. accuracy for internals) motivation and therefore exhibit greater confidence and information distortion than internals do (a motivational explanation).

This interaction and its associated mechanism are tested in five studies. All of the studies share similar experimental procedures. First, locus of control is measured using a unidimensional scale, with higher scores reflecting a more internal locus of control (Rotter 1966). Second, a manipulation of threat to personal control is administered (Whitson and Galinsky 2008). Finally, following a manipulation check, all of the participants complete a sequential binary choice task that allows for the measurement of distortion.

Study 1 verifies the predicted interaction between locus of control and a threat to personal control with regard to information distortion. Study 2A tests the hypothesized cognitive and motivational mechanisms, by deactivating (through goal accomplishment) the accuracy and defense goals before the choice task and by comparing the effects of this manipulation on distortion in the presence and absence of a threat. In the absence of a threat to personal control, the typical positive effect of an internal locus of control on information distortion is found to remain unchanged by deactivating goals, confirming that the mechanism is cognitive. Conversely, in the presence of a threat, deactivating the accuracy or defense goal nullifies the impact of locus of control on distortion, confirming that the mechanism is motivational. Study 2B replicates Study 2A. However, instead of inserting manipulation of goal accomplishment, it directly measures the activation level of the defense and the accuracy goals in the act of decision-making, using a recent method developed by Carlson et al. (2014). In the absence of a threat, the relationships between locus of control and both the defense and accuracy measurements are found to be nonsignificant, confirming that the relationship is cognitive. In the presence of a threat, internals are found to activate an accuracy motivation (vs. defense for externals). Finally, Studies 3A and 3B demonstrate that the different information-processing strategies employed by internals and externals drive different choices (Study 3A) and different levels of willingness to pay (Study 3B).

The present study introduces the notion that individuals might not react homogeneously to loss of control. Internals react by adopting an accuracy-motivated strategy, whereas externals react by adopting a defense-motivated strategy. Future research could examine other phenomena that imply a confrontation between beliefs and evidence, such as wishful thinking or the influence of expectations on experience. Such phenomena might be affected by lack of control in a manner similar to information distortion.

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The Effect of Anthropomorphism on Consumer Preference

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Anthropomorphism, defined as imbuing non-human objects with humanlike characteristics (Epley et al. 2007), is often adopted in marketing communications. Prior research has shown that specific appearance designs can enhance the effectiveness of anthropomorphism in marketing (e.g., when the grille of a car resembles the mouth of a friendly person). The current research goes beyond the specific physical attributes of specific products and documents a general elevated effect of anthropomorphism on consumers' preference for products with superior physical attributes (e.g., products with a more attractive appearance design or packaging design). In the next section, we review key findings in the literature and elucidate how and why anthropomorphism impacts consumer preference. Then we present four studies that test our propositions.

Recent research in marketing shows that anthropomorphism induces consumers to apply knowledge in human schema in processing information about products and brands. For example, Aggarwal and McGill (2007) find that product anthropomorphism leads consumers to evaluate the product based on human schema congruity. Consistent with findings in marketing literature, research in neuroscience shows that the same neural systems involved in making judgments about humans are activated when people make anthropomorphic judgment about non-human agents (Castelli et al. 2000). We thus posit that consumers are likely to use the way they comprehend a person to understand a product when the product is anthropomorphized. It is fairly common in our daily life that people form impressions about other people based on their physical appearance (Asch 1946). Person construal research by Freeman and Ambady (2011) shows that appearance cues, such as facial and body features, are often the first input that people access when they form impressions about other people. Empirical studies in the literature have demonstrated many cases that people rely on a person's appearance to make judgments in a wide range of contexts such as strategic games playing (Tingley 2014), criminal sentencing (Porter, Brinke, and Gustaw 2010), political voting (Antonakis and Dalgas 2009), and business practice (Gorn, Jiang, and Johar 2008). Based on prior research on anthropomorphism and person perception, we propose that anthropomorphizing a product would increase the importance of the physical attribute in consumers' product evaluation and choice. As a result, in a decision context involving the trade-offs between physically superior product and functionally superior product, anthropomorphizing the product would increase consumers' preference for products with superior physical (vs. functional) attributes. We first test the importance of physical attributes using the information search paradigm in experiments 1, and then examine the downstream effect on consumers' product preference in experiments 2-4.

Experiment 1 served as an initial test of our basic proposition using an information search task (Jacoby 1977). If anthropomorphism enhances the importance of physical attributes in consumer judgment and decision, we then expect that consumers would allocate more resources (e.g., money) to search information about the physical attributes when the product is anthropomorphized. We used a pictorial presentation to prime anthropomorphism in this study (Puzakova, Kwak, and Rocereto 2013). Participants completed an information search task in which they need to allocate limited forum coins to view product information about physical attributes and functional

attributes. Results of experiment 1 reveal that participants allocated more resource to acquire information about physical attributes when the product was anthropomorphized.

Experiment 2 aimed to test the downstream effect of anthropomorphism on product preference in a real purchase context. Adapted from Aggarwal and McGill (2007), we manipulated anthropomorphism using either first-person or third-person language in the introductions of the product (i.e., portable charger). After reading the introduction, participants used their own money to purchase only one of four portable chargers. Two of them were physically superior whereas another two of them were functionally superior. The percentage of participants who purchased the physically superior chargers served as the dependent variable. As expected, a larger percentage of participants in the anthropomorphism (vs. non-anthropomorphism) condition actually purchased the physically superior chargers.

Experiment 3 aimed to replicate the downstream effect of anthropomorphism using a different sample and a different product category. Participants were asked to describe a pack of cereal as either human or product, a method adapted from Aggarwal and McGill (2012). Next, all participants were presented with information of two options of packaged cereal involving the trade-off between the physical attribute and the functional attribute. Specifically, cereal A, the physically superior option, was rated as five-star for the package design and four-star for nutrition, whereas cereal B, the functionally superior option, was rated as four-star for the package design and five-star for nutrition. Then participants indicated their choice between the two options. Results of experiment 2 suggest that anthropomorphizing the cereal increased participants' choice share for the physically superior product option.

The purpose of experiment 4 was to reveal the mechanism using a moderation approach. If consumers indeed apply the same way of person perception to their understanding of a product, priming the belief that physical appearance is an unreliable criterion for judging a person would eliminate the effect. In the belief priming condition, we showed participants a research report and claimed that it was drafted by distinguished scholars. The key message of the report was that physical appearance is not a reliable criterion for judging people. The participants in the baseline condition did not perform this task. Then participants went through a procedure that was identical to experiment 3, and indicated their preference for physically (vs. functionally) superior laptop computers. Result in the baseline condition replicated that of experiment 2-3, but the effect was eliminated in the belief priming condition.

The present research contributes to the literature of anthropomorphism by documenting novel effects and mechanism for product anthropomorphism, and advances the understanding of consumer decision-making involving the assessment of a combination of physical and functional attributes.

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Double Mental Discounting: How a Single Promotional Rebate Feels Twice as Nice

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Our research identifies the tendency for consumers to feel as if they spend less money than in reality when they use promotional rebates. We define promotional rebate as a promotion where Purchase 1 (at Time 1) comes with credit to apply towards Purchase 2 (at Time 2). We find that when consumers receive a promotional rebate, they erroneously mentally apply the rebate amount to reduce costs of both Purchase 1 and Purchase 2. We name this phenomenon “double discounting”. We believe double discounting occurs because Purchase 1 and Purchase 2 both feel coupled with the rebate gains.

We hypothesize that a promotional rebate may feel coupled with Purchase 1 because a consumer incurs the cost of Purchase 1 and receives the rebate tender at the same time. As a result, consumers may believe that Purchase 1 subjectively feels cheaper to purchase than its listed, objective price. Purchase 2 might also feel coupled with the rebate because the value of the rebate is actually applied to deduct the cost of Purchase 2. Purchase 2 therefore also can feel cheaper than its listed, objective price.

We explore the double discounting effect in a series of four studies. S1 establishes the basic effect. S2 demonstrates that the effect is exacerbated when consumers treat rebates like windfall gains. S3 shows that double discounting can be mitigated upon deliberation of which account the rebate belongs to. S4 demonstrates one consequence of double discounting on choice.

Study 1. We demonstrate the basic effect of double discounting in S1. Undergraduate participants from a large northeastern university were randomly assigned to either the “rebate condition” or “discount condition”. We informed the rebate (discount) condition at Purchase 1 that they will receive a \$150 gift card to spend on Purchase 2 (they will get a \$150 discount off Purchase 1) upon buying Purchase 1. The listed price of Purchase 1 was \$500 and the listed price of Purchase 2 was \$300. There was a main effect of promotion type on subjective costs where the rebate condition thought the sum of Purchase 1 and Purchase 2 costs felt lower ($M=\$584.53$) than the discount condition ($M=\$655.02$; $F(1,98)=20.54$, $p<.001$). In other words, the rebate (vs. discount) condition reduced the total cost of the two purchases by \$215.47 (vs. \$144.98), an amount statistically higher than the rebate’s \$150 objective worth; $t(50)=4.97$, $p<.001$. Study 1 shows that a promotional rebate reduces the subjective cost across two purchases to a greater extent than a direct discount of the same value applied to one of the two purchases.

Study 2. Upon showing the basic effect of double discounting, we hypothesize that framing rebate gains as windfalls would exacerbate double discounting effects because windfall gains are unlabeled and flexible to assign to any account (Thaler 1980; 1985). Mechanical Turk participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. The discount condition received \$150 off Purchase 1. The rebate condition received a \$150 voucher for a future purchase upon buying Purchase 1. The windfall condition received a \$150 voucher for a future purchase as an unrelated event that occurs simultaneously with Purchase 1. While each condition should have rationally deducted a total of \$150 from the costs of Purchase 1 and Purchase 2, we found that the discount condition deducted a mean of \$147.28, the rebate condition deducted a mean of \$198.41, and the windfall condition deducted a mean of \$238.30; $F(2, 112)=11.14$, $p<.001$. Further contrast effects showed that the rebate condition deducted more than the discount condition ($t(112)=2.60$, $p=.01$) but less than

the windfall condition ($t(112)=2.05$, $p<.05$). Participants in the rebate condition deducted more value ($M=\$198.41$) across the two purchases than the rebate amount was objectively worth (\$150); $t(36)=2.99$, $p<.01$. This over-discounting effect was exacerbated in the windfall condition ($M=\$238.30$).

Study 3. In S2, we showed that rebates framed as windfalls exacerbated double discounting effects. In S3, we aimed to mitigate double discounting effects through decoupling rebate gains from Purchase 1. We predict that decoupling will occur when consumers are prompted to deliberate what they will spend their rebates rewards on. Mturk participants were assigned to a discount vs rebate vs think condition. The think condition received a promotional rebate at Purchase 1 but were prompted to think about what they would buy with the rebate before assessing Purchase 1’s subjective cost. There was a main effect of promotion type how much money participants subjectively deducted from the cost of Purchase 1 ($F(2, 116)=8.50$, $p<.001$). Participants in the think condition deducted less off Purchase 1 ($M=\$0.68$) than participants in the rebate condition ($M=\$11.94$; $F(1, 118)=6.81$, $p=.01$) and discount condition ($M=\$19.87$; $F(1, 118) = 9.09$, $p=.001$). The results suggest that thinking about using the promotional rebate on Purchase 2 helps decouple the rebate from Purchase 1, thus also reducing the double discounting error.

Study 4. S4 aims to demonstrate whether offering a promotional rebate with Purchase 1 can encourage consumers to choose a more expensive product at Purchase 2 when participants are given a continuum of choices for Purchase 2 (low price/low quality to high price/high quality). We find that participants who received a promotional rebate with Purchase 1 chose to spend more money on Purchase 2 ($M=\$24.94$) than participants who received the same value discount off Purchase 1 ($M=20.09$; $F(1, 328)=34.69$, $p<.001$). We find that as participants double discount subjective costs, they also tempt themselves into spending more money.

Discussion. We identify a mental accounting phenomenon that occurs when consumers use promotional rebates. In four studies, we demonstrate the basic phenomenon, how it can be strengthened and weakened, and how it impacts choice. Framing a rebate as a windfall allows the rebate to feel more easily coupled with both Purchase 1 and Purchase 2. Reminding consumers to think about how the rebate will be spent in the future decouples the rebate from the present purchase. Finally, because double discounting decreases subjective cost of purchases, the phenomenon also encourages upgrades to pricier options.

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Do Touch Screen Users Feel More Engaged? The Impact of Touch Interfaces on Online Shopping

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

During recent years, one of the fundamental changes in online user environments is the input device which has moved from a mouse to a touch interface. However, little research has examined users' computer device types as part of online retail environments, and it is important to understand how using a touch interface influences or a mouse differs in online shopping experiences.

In offline retail environments, touch has been an important cue for purchase intentions and attitudes (Peck and Childers 2003). In online user environments, touch (i.e. touching computer interfaces) has a positive impact on perceived ownership (Brasel and Gips 2014) and students' engagement and performance (Enriquez 2010). Engagement leads to higher recall of commercials (Moorman, Neijens, and Smit 2007) and enhances satisfaction, trust, and commitment in a virtual brand community (Brodie et al. 2011). Product involvement level also affects consumer evaluations of products or services (Solomon 2013), however, little is known about how these device types and PIL influence online shopping experiences.

This study proposes a positive association between a touch interface and 1) shopper engagement among low involvement product shoppers and 2) purchase decision measures (product information recall, purchase intentions, product evaluations and satisfaction). The hypotheses also include a mediation effect of engagement between a touch interface and purchase decision measures.

Prior to the main experiment, a pilot study was conducted. The purpose of the pilot study was to determine 1) the appropriate product categories for online browsing and 2) the appropriate design and styles of test websites for the experiment to test in the main experiment. Sixty-two undergraduate students participated in a survey to receive course credit. Based on the results, clothing, computers and electronics were among the top five popular product categories that students reported shopping for online. For the website design and styles, students found the e-commerce websites using large visuals and simpler layout relatively pleasing and easy to use in terms of design and usability.

Study 1 had a 2 × 2 between-group design (touch interface and mouse × camera and sweatshirt). 127 college students were recruited through e-mail to participate in experiment sessions at a research lab, where each partitioned desk had a 22-inch touch screen monitor, mouse, and keyboard. All participants were randomly assigned to four conditions of 30–35 subjects. Two conditions browsed a camera website, and each condition used either a touch interface or a mouse. The other two conditions browsed a sweatshirt website, using either a touch interface or a mouse. Product types and website details were decided based on the results of a pilot study and on the findings of previous studies of touch interfaces (Brasel and Gips 2014). Sweatshirts were low involvement products (LOW), whereas cameras were high involvement products (HIGH). After browsing the site, participants completed a questionnaire on engagement, purchase decision measures and a few manipulation checks.

Study 2 also used a 2 × 2 between-group design (touch interface and mouse × high and low product involvement). Experimental sessions were held in the same lab with the same equipment and experimental conditions except for a few minor changes in the questionnaire and procedure. Unlike Study 1, this new study tested a single product category (camera) instead of two while manipulating the product involvement level separately to ensure the role of product involvement and device types is replicated. Two different scenarios were used to manipulate the product involvement level, and each scenario was designed to induce either high (HIGH) or low involvement (LOW) toward the test product category.

Study 1 found a negative effect instead of the positive impact of using a touch interface as proposed. Touch interface users recalled brand names worse than mouse users, and this effect was significant among camera shoppers (HIGH) only ($p < .02$). Touch interface users were more engaged with their shopping than mouse users. As proposed, this effect was significant among sweatshirt (LOW) shoppers only ($p < .02$). Higher shopper engagement led to higher satisfaction with shopping, higher purchase intentions, and more positive product evaluations of product design and product availability ($p < .05$). However, engagement level was not significantly associated with product information recall or product evaluation of prices, resulting in no significant mediation effect of engagement ($p > .05$).

The significant findings from Study 1 were all consistent in Study 2 as well. Using a touch interface resulted in less accurate brand name recall than mouse users, and it was significant in the HIGH condition only as in Study 1. The positive association between touch interface users and engagement was also consistent in the LOW condition, and engagement level predicted product evaluation, purchase intentions, and satisfaction except for information recall.

In addition to the findings replicating the previous outcomes, Study 2 found several new effects as well. Along with brand name recall, touch interface users also did not recall price information as accurately as mouse users ($p < .05$), and this effect was significant in the HIGH condition only as in brand name recall. There was an additional main effect of touch interface, which resulted in higher purchase intentions than mouse users ($p < .002$). Finally, according to the Hayes' PROCESS macros (Hayes 2013), the mediation effect of engagement between touch interfaces and purchase intentions was significant. The mediation effect of engagement was not significant in other associations. In both Study 1 and 2, the product involvement manipulation was performed successfully according to the manipulation check.

The findings of this study highlight the need to view a touch interface as part of online retail cues in addition to the traditional cues such as website design. The study also suggests that online retailers need to be aware of the device type that customers use to ensure the optimized shopping experience for different product categories as the device type matters to product information recall and purchase intentions.

Service Recovery Observer Paradox: Using Negative Facebook Comments to Signal Trust and Honesty

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Brands are often confronted with negative or inappropriate comments made on their Facebook pages. Judgments on whether or not the comment should be removed are often subjective. The temptation for social media managers is to remove all negative comments in an effort to protect the brand from public scrutiny. Common sense would suggest that deleting trolling-type comments intended to shock or embarrass is appropriate. But what are the implications of deleting comments from customers expressing genuine disgruntlement with the brand's product or service? If not deleted, could these kinds of negative comments somehow help the brand?

Although there has been much research done in the Marketing literature to understand customer disgruntlement and service recovery (Aggarwal 2004; Davidow 2003; MacKinnon and Boon 2012), there has been little research done to understand how observer's perceived satisfaction and trust are affected by a brand's attempt to fix other peoples' disgruntlement. Prior research has identified an opportunity for brands who engage in a service recovery incident to mitigate the negative effects of a transgression. Known as the "Service Recovery Paradox", a disgruntled customer who experiences an effective service recovery may develop greater satisfaction with the brand than if the transgression never happened (Gilly 1987; Maxham and Netemeyer 2002; McCollough, Berry, and Yadav 2000; McCollough and Bharadwaj 1992; Smith, Bolton, and Wagner 1999). This is in contrast to the absence of an attempt at service recovery which may ultimately result in spiraling dissatisfaction. (Bitner 1990; Hart, Heskett, and Sasser 1990). One way consumers make judgments about the integrity of a brand is by observing the brands actions. (Kelley and Davis 1994; Ruyter and Wetzels 2000). Consumers may form opinions about a brand based on judgments and expectations of a brand's equity and fairness. (Blodgett, Granbois, and Walters 1993; Oliver 1980). One byproduct of an effective service recovery is an increase in trusting intentions towards the brand (Tax, Brown, and Chandrashekar 1998). Trust is thought to be a key mechanism affecting brand loyalty (Morgan and Hunt 1994). As a result of observing a brand's potential for meeting expectations, consumers may form trusting relationships with a brand (Sirdeshmukh, Singh, and Sabol 2002), perceiving the brand to be honest and having integrity (Morgan and Hunt 1994; Sirdeshmukh et al. 2002). In light of these studies, we propose that observers of a brand's successful service recovery effort may also form more positive judgments and expectations towards the brand, than if no transgression was perceived.

To test our prediction, we conducted two experiments using fictitious Facebook pages. Our results find that perceived satisfaction with the brand is greater for a service recovery perceived as sufficient, than a service recovery perceived as insufficient, and that perceived satisfaction with a brand is greater when a sufficient service recovery is observed, than when no transgression is observed ("Service Recovery Observer Paradox"). Our results also find that trust is greater for a sufficiently perceived service recovery than an insufficient service recovery, and that trust in the brand is greater when a sufficient service recovery is observed, than when no transgression is observed. Finally, we find that intentions to purchase are greater for a sufficiently perceived service recovery than an insufficient service recovery, and intentions to purchase are greater when a sufficient service recovery is observed, than when no transgression is observed.

When evidence of a service recovery was signaled by the brand, our research finds that respondents perceived the brand to be more honest, more genuine, and more trustworthy than when no service recovery was signaled. Our findings suggest that as a result of increased perceptions of brand integrity, respondents indicated they would be more likely to purchase the brand, and estimated they would be more satisfied with their purchase, than when no service recovery signal was given. Of interest, our results also showed that participants thought the brand with a service recovery signal was more honest, genuine, and trustworthy than when all comments were positive.

The implication of our findings for social media managers is clear. It is suggested that brands should not systematically delete all negative Facebook comments, but rather make a careful distinction between inappropriate comments, and comments motivated by genuine product or brand related disgruntlement. A negative comment from a customer who has a genuine product or brand related grievance could be viewed as an opportunity to signal to others an ability to recognize justice and offer a satisfactory recovery. Paradoxically, negative comments could translate it into increased brand loyalty and profitability.

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The Undercover Altruist: When Doing Good Is Socially Awkward

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People try to be at their best when observed by others. We smile when our pictures are taken and dress up to go to social events. In a typical friendly interaction, we monitor and regulate our behavior to assure a smooth and pleasant social situation. We are even willing to tell white lies about how much we like the, in fact, horrible new hairstyle of the people we are conversing with. In this paper, we propose the counter-intuitive notion that *avoiding* sending signals of one's moral inclinations may be part of this arsenal of techniques to smoothen social interactions.

This suggestion runs contrary to previous findings on the effect of social presence on moral behavior. People have various reasons to put their moral selves on display, such as reputation building (Roberts, 1998), or the avoidance of punishment (Fehr & Fischbacher). As a result, (even minimal) social presence typically assumed to promote pro-social behavior, such as making a contribution to an honesty box when getting coffee (Bateson, Nettle, & Roberts, 2006).

We argue that the opposite may occur in certain situations. Individuals like to think of themselves as good and decent people, and cultivating one's moral self is an importance source of self-worth (Aquino & Reed, 2002). Consequently, individuals get upset by signals that suggest that they are not as moral as they would like to believe, such as being confronted to others who are more virtuous than us ('moral do-gooders'; Monin, Sawyer, & Marquez, 2008). The confrontation with a moral do-gooder may make an observer look bad by comparison and thus produce an awkward situation that feels uncomfortable for both. We argue that prospective do-gooders anticipate this. What's more, they may take regulatory action: in order to avoid awkward situations, individuals may shy away from virtuous actions that they may privately endorse, but that carry the risk of making others look bad by comparison. Thus, we predict that the presence of others may discourage virtuous behaviors: people might hide their true moral inclinations in order to avoid socially awkward situations.

In Studies 1a-1c, we observed the likelihood to make a donation across three real-life settings. In Study 1a we observed consumers' donations to a food drive, in the context of a grocery shopping trip, and in Study 1b and 1c, we observed donations to a beggar and a street musician, respectively. Across the three studies the findings suggest that, unless there is a clear social norm favoring donating, the presence of others *discourages* donating. In Study 2, participants showed *less* interest in campaign material of a human rights organization when their actions were visible (versus invisible) to a confederate. Participants in Study 3 were intercepted on a busy street, and

prompted to verbally report on their moral behavior in comparison with others. Despite the fact that, privately, most people reported to think about themselves as more generous than average, the large majority of our participants did not admit this publicly.

Together, these studies run counter to the common wisdom that public situations promote instances of virtuous behavior. Instead, it seems people sometimes want to appear *less* virtuous than they actually *are*: they may reduce their observable levels of virtuousness as to avoid socially awkward situations. Thus, at times we may privately feel motivated to contribute to a greater good, but relinquish that possibility in order not to jeopardize social harmony. Importantly, our work adds to an increasing body of evidence suggesting that the current view of human nature may be overly pessimistic: low levels of observable moral behavior (e.g. the small market share of conspicuous but as yet uncommon green products) may not reflect consumers' true preferences. Instead they may be the result of individuals' choice not to exceed existing moral norms, in order to avoid causing a socially awkward situation.

Currently, we are setting up studies to provide more evidence for our claim that prospective do-gooders anticipate that going "beyond the norm" may produce socially awkward situations, when those actions are observed by others. Additionally, we are testing whether individuals who "get caught" being too nice search for alternative ways to reduce the awkwardness of the social setting, for example by coming up with non-moral justifications for their behavior.

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Pleasure as an Ally of Healthy Eating? Contrasting Visceral and Epicurean Eating Pleasure and their Association with Portion Size Preferences and Wellbeing

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research on food and eating has overwhelmingly associated pleasure with impulsive visceral drives (Dube and Le Bel 2003). Visceral eating occurs because external cues, such as the mere sight, smell or taste of a pleasant food, activate the pleasure centers of the brain (Berridge 2009; Plassmann, O'Doherty, and Rangel 2010). Emotions can also trigger visceral eating urges, as people seek pleasurable foods as a way of regulating negative emotions (for a review, Macht 2008). This view highlights the negative characteristics of eating pleasure, leading to immoderation (van Strien et al. 1986) and food anxiety (Coveney 2000). It also echoes a long tradition in philosophy of considering gustatory pleasure as animal and uncontrolled (i.e., visceral), pursued by "brutes" (Korsmeyer 1999).

We contrast this view of pleasure with an "Epicurean" perspective, which recognizes that the sense of taste in particular, and the pleasure of eating in general, can be controlled by volition, educated and refined (Kass 1994). We define Epicurean eating pleasure as the pleasure derived from the multisensory, aesthetic and symbolic aspects of food. These facets of eating pleasure have received little attention in consumer behavior research, partly because of the difficulty of capturing them via traditional experimental paradigms (Alba and Williams 2013). Yet, recent studies have started to show how these Epicurean facets contribute to pleasure, for instance, by improving food presentation (Hoyer and Stokburger-Sauer 2012), providing rich multisensory information (Elder and Krishna 2010), giving meaning to food (Wansink, Payne, and North 2007), "ritualizing" the experience of eating (Vohs et al. 2013), or simply, paying more attention to senses while eating (Quoidbach and Dunn 2013).

In the current research, we aim to develop and test a scale measuring Epicurean eating pleasure tendencies, show how it differs from visceral eating pleasure tendencies (measured with External eating and Emotion eating tendencies), and more importantly, that Epicurean pleasure can be associated with moderation (e.g. preference for smaller portions) and a sense of higher well-being. Indeed, psychological wellbeing depends on our ability to "savor" pleasurable experiences, rather than accumulating pleasurable experiences (Quoidbach et al. 2010). In line with this argument, cross-cultural studies point at the fact that portion sizes and obesity rates are both lower in cultures with a strong focus on aesthetic and experiential food pleasures, like France and Japan (e.g. Rozin 2005).

First, we developed two new instruments: one designed to assess Epicurean eating pleasure tendencies, and the other to assess Preferences for larger food portions. The 29 original Epicurean items reflected the multisensory, aesthetic and symbolic facets of eating pleasure (e.g. "I value the look, the smell, the taste, the texture in mouth of foods", "There is a lot of beauty in food"), and the 25 original Portion size items measured preferences for larger food portions (e.g. "One regular serving of food never seems to be enough to satisfy me"). We presented the pool of items to seven judges to assess face validity and then examined the item reliability in a pre-study involving 265 adult Americans on an online marketplace (Amazon Mechanical Turk). We analyzed the results using exploratory factor analyses and finally obtained a seven-item Epicurean tendencies scale and a 6-item Preference for larger portions scale.

For the main study, we recruited 250 adult Americans on Amazon Mechanical Turk. We started the study with the two new scales

measuring Epicurean eating and Preferences for larger portions. We then administered the complete Dutch Eating Behavior Questionnaire (DEBQ, van Strien et al. 1986), which contains the 10-item External Eating scale (measuring visceral responsiveness to external food cues), the 13-item Emotional Eating scale (measuring visceral eating in response to negative emotions), and the 10-item Restrained Eating scale (measuring dieting tendencies). We also measured health worries with a 3-item scale developed by Rozin et al. (1999), and psychological wellbeing with the 8-item short version of the Oxford Happiness Questionnaire (Hills and Argyle 2002). Finally, we asked the participants to indicate their age, gender, income, highest diploma, and weight and height (to compute their body mass index).

The Epicurean Eating scale and the Preference for larger portions scale had satisfactory Cronbach's alphas (respectively .86 and .75). Confirmatory factor analysis with the Epicurean Eating scale, the External Eating Scale, and the Emotional Eating scale showed that Epicurean eating tendencies were clearly distinct from visceral eating tendencies. Gender was the only demographic variable significantly associated with Epicurean eating tendencies scale, with women scoring higher than men ($p < .04$). Epicurean eating tendencies were equally distributed across age, income, education, and BMI levels. In contrast, external and emotional eating increased with BMI and were strongly influenced by income.

We then estimated a structural equation model with seven latent variables using AMOS 19.0 (Arbuckle 2010) in order to compare the associations between the different scales. As expected, Preferences for larger portions were negatively correlated with Epicurean eating tendencies ($c = -.14$, $p = .03$) and positively correlated with external eating and emotional eating (resp. $c = .21$, $p < .001$, $c = .15$, $p = .02$). The expected contrast between Epicurean and visceral eating tendencies was also found when looking at wellbeing, which was positively correlated with Epicurean eating tendencies ($c = .19$, $p < .01$) but negatively correlated with both external and emotional eating (resp. $c = -.18$, $p < .01$; $c = -.35$, $p < .001$). Importantly, Epicurean eating tendencies were clearly distinct from dieting tendencies ($c = .06$, $p = .31$), which were associated with lower well-being ($c = -.14$, $p = .02$).

In conclusion, our research underlines the pitfalls of the moralization of food pleasure in research, which has tended to perceive eating pleasure as a "vice", a "sin of gluttony" that needs to be tamed (Askegaard et al. 2014). We believe that this dominant visceral perspective on eating pleasure, which highlights its uncontrolled and negative characteristics, should be complemented by an Epicurean perspective. The Epicurean perspective invites us to challenge the morality of food pleasure, suggesting that pleasure may in fact facilitate moderation and well-being, and calls for research to give a more holistic and positive role to taking pleasure in food (Block et al. 2011).

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Creating Hybridity: The Case of American Yoga

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In today's global consumption landscape, cultural practices are characterized and constituted by multi-directional flows of people, technology, financial capital, mediated images and ideas (Appadurai 1990). In line with this disjunctive order of global cultural economy, research on globalization outcomes has increasingly diverted attention away from the perspective that globalization produces homogeneity and cultural uniformity, to one that emphasizes cultural heterogenization (Robertson 1992; Wilk 1998). Starting with Ger and Belk's (1996) work on alternatives to global uniformity, consumer researchers examined complex outcomes of global flows in a variety of contexts including consumer resistance to Coca-Cola in India (Varman and Belk 2009), re-appropriation of yoga in India (Askegaard and Eckhardt 2012), reterritorialization of rock music in Turkey (Yazicioglu 2010), and appropriation and creolization of youth culture in Denmark and Greenland (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006). These studies point to what globalization scholars conceptualize as hybridity, "a continuous two-way borrowing and lending between cultures, a form of transculturation or sociocultural process in which discrete structures and practices that existed separately, are combined to create new structures, objects, and practices" (Garcia Canclini 2005, 8).

In this paper, we build on this stream of research by exploring the processes through which hybrid practices are created in the marketplace. Specifically, we conceptualize the global flow of yoga practices and the emergence of American Yoga in the U.S. in terms of institutionalization of hybridity through market practices. Although there is no official description of what American Yoga is, institutional actors such as the *Yoga Journal* often allude to its hybrid form (Cushman 2000; Isaacs 2008). American Yoga has appropriated some of the ancient Indian yoga poses (i.e., asanas) and spiritual aspects of the practice (e.g., mantras such as control, self transformation, gratitude), and combined it with the physical exercise culture, English script, and popular music appealing to Western audiences. Its experience is also commoditized and hybridized with classes for beginners, intermediate, and advanced students, new styles such as acroyoga and antigravity yoga, and forms like spinning and yoga, budokon (i.e., combination of yoga and martial arts), yoga and chocolate, yoga and wine, as well as dog yoga (i.e., yoga for dogs) (Brown and Leledaki 2010; Merry 2010).

Globalization Processes and Consequences

The influence of globalization processes on consumer identities, experiences and practices is multifaceted. On one hand, the flow of goods and ideas from the West to the East are suggested to endorse capitalism and Western values leading to a homogenous global consumer culture (Belk 1995; Featherstone 1990). On the other hand, the effects of globalization are posited to be not just unidirectional and the ensuing consequences to be more complex in the form of local interpretations. In line with this latter view, Ger and Belk (1996) identify four types of reactions globalization can bring about in local contexts: return to local roots, consumer resistance, local appropriation, and creolization. Fueled by marketization of global goods by multinational firms and the global media, local effects of globalization in Less Affluent World include increased ethnic and religious movements, and geographic nationalism. While these reactions can lead to fundamentalism and polarization among local communities,

they can also indicate return to roots and revival of local traditions. Globalization can also result in consumer resistance in local contexts such as in the cases of boycotting Coca-Cola in India (Varman and Belk 2009) or foreign and infidel brands in Turkey (Izberk-Bilgin 2012). Another reaction to global consumer culture is appropriation of global consumer goods and reconfiguration of their meaning to better fit local contexts. Consumers can appropriate meanings and functions of global goods as evidenced, for instance, in the use of dishwashers to wash muddy spinach in Turkey (Ger and Belk 1996).

Finally, globalization can lead to creolization or hybridization, that is, "the meeting and mingling of meanings and meaningful forms from disparate sources" (Ger and Belk 1996, 290). Some creolized consumption patterns may be more like a fragmented post-modern pastiche rather than an integrated adaptation; yet, through transformation of meaning and local sense-making, they can be locally experienced in a coherent manner. Yazicioglu's (2010, 240) analysis of Turkish Rock music showcases how hybridization comes to being through the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Deterritorialization refers to "an appropriation process, a cultural pattern that is taken from its social context and applied to a new one in a different physical space, whereas reterritorialization denotes the making of this cultural pattern one's own by producing a local form in this new society and geography." In the process of reterritorialization, multiple variations and hybrid forms rather than merely homogenized and/or singular appropriations of cultural practices may emerge in their new contexts. Yazicioglu (2010) finds that, rather than homogenization of rock music, a new form of Turkish rock emerges in the local context of Turkey through processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization.

In summary, these multiple processes that connect and integrate different aspects of cultural products to the local cultures they travel to go beyond accounts of global homogenization and local appropriation. While the diversity of consumer responses to global cultural flows is well documented, the role of market actors (i.e., brands, service providers, journals) in deterritorialization and reterritorialization of products/practices have gained less attention. Towards this end, we examine the market actors' practices in collectively creating the hybrid practice of American Yoga.

Methodology

Research began with an aim to understand the evolution of yoga in the U.S. We sought to gain insight into the history of yoga in the U.S. with a focus on the actors who introduced as well as shaped the practice over time. We collected articles with the word "yoga" in the headline and the lead paragraph from the *New York Times* (n = 868) and the *Washington Post* (n = 604) published between 1980 and 2012. The collection of this archival data served as a starting point in forming a historical trajectory of the market capturing evolving meaning of yoga, identifying actors and brands that were involved in building of the market. We then conferred to a number of historical sources including books on history of yoga (n = 14), journal and magazine articles (n = 166), and websites of yoga associations to critically evaluate how American Yoga emerged over time. In addition, we engaged in participant observation in yoga classes in the U.S. between 2009 and 2014, taking field notes on the activities and content that made up these classes.

The data were coded iteratively to identify patterns and themes (Corbin and Strauss 2007). In the initial open coding process, we noted specific mentions of ‘American Yoga.’ We then analyzed the data to identify the strategies through which local actors create American Yoga. During this process, we also examined the literature on globalization and hybridity linking our findings to higher level constructs.

Findings

Yoga is a 2500-year-old discipline that is traditionally associated with quieting of the mind, transcending the physical self, and achieving union with the divine in journey to spiritual enlightenment (De Michelis 2004). While its origins lie in Sanskritic culture and the religious traditions of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, the theory and practice of yoga in modern and postmodern times stem broadly from the philosophies, teachings, and practices of Hinduism (De Michelis 2008). Swami Vivekananda’s speech in 1893 at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago marks the official introduction of yoga to the U.S. (De Michelis 2004). Vivekananda focused on contemplative dimensions of yoga, emphasizing metaphysical and devotional (i.e., Raja yoga) rather than physical (i.e., Hatha yoga) forms and articulated yoga as the core component of Hindu spirituality and the “unifying sign of the Indian nation” (Van der Veer 2007, 319). In the 20th century, a distinct American yoga started to emerge that gradually valued Hatha yoga and embraced “the physical as a route to the transcendent” (Albanese 2007, 247). Today 20.4 million Americans practice yoga and spend about \$10.3 billion a year on yoga classes and products (Yoga Journal 2012). The wide variety of yoga styles and brands that have caught on range from Power Yoga to Jivamukti Yoga and constitute products of American appropriation of yoga that is covertly metaphysical and heavily inscribed within medical and fitness domains (Albanese 2005, 2007; Powers 2000). The analysis of our data reveals a series of deterritorializing and reterritorializing practices in creation of American Yoga.

Deterritorializing Practices

Our data indicates that the diverse meanings of yoga were picked and adopted selectively in the U.S. market via decoupling of the practice from its Hindu roots while continuing to emphasize its fitness and health benefits. The American Yoga Association (AYA), for example, is a non-profit organization that was established in 1968 dedicated to provide instructional and educational resources on yoga to students, teachers, and journalists. Its mission is to “convey the essence of Yoga philosophy in a manner that is nonreligious, educational, and sensitive to the particular needs of Americans” (www.americanyogaassociation.org). This conceptualization of the practice stands in contrast to that of Vivekananda’s. Yet, such de-ethnicization of the practice came to define contours of American Yoga and made the practice accessible to wider range of consumers who had different religious beliefs or sought purely physical benefits from the practice (Little 2011).

The resulting cultural product is set apart from traditional yoga practices in several aspects. While the variety of American yoga brands range from meditative to athletic practices, yoga acquired secular meanings over time to accommodate interest in physical exercises and religious diversity of American practitioners (Cushman 2000; Miller 2008; Powers 2000). For example, Tara Guber, the creator of the “Yoga Ed.” program that is now adopted in twenty-six states in the U.S. took the Hindu language out of the program: “I stripped every piece of anything that anyone could vaguely construe as spiritual or religious out of the program.” (Guber quoted in Miller 2008). Such transformations of yoga via its disassociation from Hin-

duism served to mitigate tensions regarding its incompatibility with Christianity.

Other market actors adopted similar decoupling practices as well. For example, the YogaFit brand was created as a “user-friendly” practice that dispensed with the Sanskrit names of postures and eliminated om-ing and chanting to address the challenges of teaching yoga in health clubs that appeal to diverse practitioners (Oldenburg 2004). Tara Stiles, the founder of Strala Yoga, arguing “people need yoga not another religious leader,” dismissed discussions of sacred Hindu texts, chakras. Instead she introduced plain terminology such as “push-ups” and “lower back” instead of “chaturangas” and “sacrum” (Alvarez 2011). Interestingly, while stripping down the Hindu scripts from the practice, new scripts and traditions were created in yoga classes such as those for kids, wherein yogic panting became “bunny breathing” and “meditation” became “time in” (Miller 2008). It also became common for some practitioners to adapt their yoga practice by integrating asanas (i.e., physical poses) with prayers and readings from their religion of choice (Morris 2010).

Reterritorializing Practices

Following deterritorializing practices involving selective decoupling, market actors appropriated yoga to the American context via embedding the practice with culturally relevant narratives and histories. For instance, yoga instructors often brought in their personal stories and experiences such as having a mishap and going through a stressful day, which are closely tied to the American geographic and cultural context, to their sessions. They, then, encouraged consumers to imbue their practices with such personalized meanings and employ yoga to cope with the daily ordeals of their American lives: “The instructor arrived with an enthusiastic spirit greeting everybody. He was dressed in striped swim trunks and a tank top with a sunset image on the front. He looked like he was ready to go to the beach. He started the class with a story to guide the day’s practice: “Let me tell you something that happened this weekend. I was driving up to Santa Barbara to see my best friend. In my excitement I must have been pushing the gas pedal a bit too much and all of a sudden there was a police siren behind me. I got a speeding ticket. So I want this to remind us to control ourselves and let go off the gas pedal. As you engage in your practice today dedicate it to self-control.” Throughout the practice he reminded us to focus on control as we held each pose. Right before the squads he started playing a Janet Jackson song, “Control,” to bring inspiration to our practice” (Field notes at CorePower Yoga).

We observe that the processes of institutional story telling and appropriation of yoga as a healing practice with the potential to overcome the ills of the modern Western society were successfully incorporated into individual consumers’ practices. The resulting individuated and private meanings mark reterritorialization of yoga in the U.S. and come to define the core of American Yoga: “For 65 consecutive classes I had not given up. I can’t give up because six years ago I was a junkie living on the streets of New York, shooting heroin, drinking methadone and feeding my addiction to pills. So what are the odds of me winding up here, at 49, training to be a Bikram yoga teacher? ... Bikram yoga is a challenge for anyone, much less a recovering addict wracked with pain. It is a 90-minute class, practiced in a room heated to 105 degrees, with the same series of 26 postures patented by Bikram Choudhury. The postures are accessible to anyone, in any shape, but challenging for everyone, in any shape. The front mirrors force you to face the truth and the reality of your life. Slowly, I found a sliver of hope that I could change. I learned to allow my sadness, my anger, my discomfort, my fight-or-flight drama to just be.” (Heaton 2011; *The New York Times*, March 11)

Another reterritorialization strategy that emerged from our data pertains to the building of brand communities. First, a variety of yoga festivals were created that brought together like-minded yoga enthusiasts (www.yogafestival.com). The Wanderlust festivals, for example, are multi-day events that combine yoga classes with outdoor expeditions, music performances, wine tasting and organic dining featuring top chefs. Taking place in a variety of different states and cities across the U.S., the festivals are “all-out, ecstatic celebrations” that aim to create community around shared values and mindful living. The founders express their enthusiasm in seeing “a large community grow around the pillars of mindful living – yoga, the arts, personal spirituality, environmentalism, organics and conscious consumerism” and having Wanderlust serve as a central gathering point for this community (www.wanderlust.com).

Second, yoga studios cater to a sense of community. Special appearances of gurus and yoga celebrities, workshops and events in the studios offer experiences of collective flow as well as status to members (Leigh, Peters and Shelton 2006). For example, kirtan chanting sessions are gaining increasing popularity among American consumers. While traditionally kirtan is a form of worship in India’s bhakti devotional traditions, in its American appropriation it has become more of a meditation to escape from the stresses of American culture “relieving it [the mind] from its usual chatter — grocery lists, money worries, petty arguments.” Centers such as the Integral Yoga Studios or the Jivamukti Yoga School in Manhattan, sometimes host donation based kirtan sessions and draw hundreds of practitioners (Eckel 2009, E6).

Discussion

We explored the practice of yoga in the U.S. to illustrate the processes of hybridization evidenced in creation of American Yoga. Our findings that detail deterritorializing and reterritorializing practices of market actors point to an emerging consciousness of kind among American yogis. Some trained by Indian gurus, the American masters have combined different strains of Indian yoga to suit modern American tastes. Increasing number of yoga conferences, often sponsored by key institutional actors like the *Yoga Journal* and regional yoga associations provide an opportunity for prominent yoga teachers and yoga enthusiasts to socialize, become familiarized with and practice various styles of the hybrid cultural practice of American Yoga.

By focusing on how market actors’ practices helped create hybridity, this paper makes two key theoretical contributions to the prior literature. First, while extant conceptualizations of globalization have mainly focused on the outcomes of borrowing and lending between cultures and the diversity of consumer responses to globalization (e.g., Askegaard and Eckhardt 2012, Ger and Belk 1996, Yazicioglu 2010), our study identified strategies by which market actors mobilize flows of meanings to create hybridity in the marketplace. Second, we extend on the consumer culture theory work that explores the role of brands in construction of cultures and identities by showcasing their part in creation and institutionalization of hybridity (Cayla and Eckhardt 2008; Luedicke et al. 2010). Our longitudinal and multi-actor analysis of the U.S. yoga market reveals how brand practices contributed to shaping of the American yoga as a hybrid form of cultural practice.

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Acculturation and Remasculation

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Despite a recent wave of scholarly interest on masculinities and the marketplace (Bettany et al. 2010; Holt and Thompson 2004; Moisisio, Arnould, and Gentry 2013), there has been limited attention on how the marketplace-enabled construction of masculinities intersects with the dynamics of transnational mobility. While consumer acculturation theorists have contributed important insights regarding the intersections between gender and mobility, studies in this area have been predominantly drawn on the perspectives of female migrants (Chytikova 2011; Kjeldgaard and Nielsen 2010; Üstüner and Holt 2007) and second generation migrants (Lindridge, Hogg, and Shah 2004; Takhar et al. 2010). Furthermore, theorists in the broader social sciences have tended to focus on the experiences of low capital migrant men (Datta et al. 2009; George 2005), thereby privileging the narrative of migrant emasculation.

To redress these current asymmetries, this paper seeks to understand masculinities from the perspective of skilled first generation migrant men. In particular, beyond the well-established accounts of migrant emasculation (Kalra 2009), how do skilled migrant men use marketplace resources to perform remasculation? In the context of challenges to masculine gender identities in migration, to what extent do the remasculation practices of skilled migrant men facilitate the re-inscription or revision of pre-migration gender regimes?

Our exploration of these questions is informed by the concepts of gender regimes and remasculation. Gender regimes refer to “an amalgam of practices, values and meanings” which cumulatively produce idealized standards of masculinity and femininity (Hopkins and Noble 2009, 813). Gender regimes are contextualized social performances (Hibbins and Pease 2009), which intersect with other identity constructs and wider sociocultural forces (Collins 1994). While they may produce power asymmetries (Connell 2005), they are also subject to challenge and change (Datta et al. 2009). The gender regime of *pater familias*, in which manhood is strongly associated with having paid work, providing for a family, and being head of the family (Connell 1998; Datta et al. 2009; Elmhirst 2007; Herbert 2008; Lupton 2000; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Thai 2012), is often challenged in migration, leading to experiences of emasculation. In order to cope, migrant men have been theorized to deploy various remasculation strategies which include hypermasculine strategies (McKay 2007; Osella and Osella 2000), protest masculinity (Broude 1990), local hegemonic masculinity (Hibbins and Pease 2009), and flexible masculinity (Chua and Fujino 1999).

To empirically explore how skilled migrant men use marketplace resources to perform remasculation strategies through consumption practices, we conducted a hermeneutic analysis (Thompson 1997) of depth interviews with 14 skilled migrant men who had migrated from Southeast Asia to New Zealand. To enrich and deepen the consumer narratives, visual and reflexive methods were deployed. First, each participant was asked to select objects and photographs which represent their experiences of migration (Zaltman and Coulter 1995) and use drawings to represent their social networks and social identities (Bagnoli 2009). Second, each participant was interviewed twice in line with open narrative reflexivity (Thompson, Stern, and Arnould 1998). In their second interview, participants were presented with the researchers’ emerging interpretations and

provided an opportunity to correct, qualify, or further deepen their initial responses.

Participants conveyed common experiences of emasculation resulting from reductions in occupational status, discourses of gender egalitarianism in New Zealand, and gender role reconfigurations in the household. In order to cope with these changes, participants deployed three remasculation strategies: status-based hypermasculinity, in which participants used marketplace resources to cast themselves in the role of the successful professional migrant and abundant provider; localized hypermasculinity, referring to appropriations of new regimes of masculinity from the local cultural context, and flexible masculinity, involving the reframing of gender regimes in favour of domesticity. Marketplace resources, such as symbolic objects and practical knowledge of key consumption practices, were essential to successful performances of remasculation. These performances further involved a range of audiences spanning both the culture of origin and the culture of residence. While status-based hypermasculinity largely represents a reassertion of pre-migration gender regimes, localized hypermasculinity and flexible masculinity represent an expansion and reframing.

By contributing a transnational dimension to the academic discourse on masculinities and the marketplace, this paper extends previous studies which have largely focused on masculinity within a single consumer culture (Holt and Thompson 2004; Moisisio et al. 2013). This paper also extends emerging research on masculinities and acculturation (Lindridge and Hogg 2006; Takhar et al. 2010) by augmenting existing perspectives of female migrants and second generation immigrants with the perspective of skilled first generation migrant men. In particular, our study uncovers a wide range of remasculation strategies which show how pre-migration regimes of manhood are both reproduced and reworked in acculturation.

However, the extent to which gender regimes shift must not be overstated. Despite the availability of alternative modes of masculinity, the skilled migrant men in this study largely adopted status-based hypermasculinity as a dominant remasculation strategy. This pattern underlines how myopic constructions of masculinity in terms of professional status and wage-earning power (Connell 1998) continue to delimit possibilities for identity reconstruction in the context of transnational mobility. In the end, “while men may move themselves with relative ease across the globe, shifting their own masculinities proves rather more difficult” (Donaldson and Howson 2009, 217).

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Questing for Capital: Tourism as Acculturation Practice

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Within the converging literature streams of consumer acculturation and mobility in consumer culture theory, tourism has been conceptualized as a form of temporary mobility which is distinct from more extended forms of mobility such as long-term migration. While scholars have discussed the role of acculturation practices in the context of tourist journeys (Bardhi, Ostberg, and Bengtsson 2010; Bengtsson, Bardhi, and Venkatraman 2010), there is currently limited understanding of the role of touristic practices in the context of acculturation journeys. An important exception is Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) study, which showed how cosmopolitan consumers use touristic practices to consume authentic alterity and self-transformation. Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) interpretation echoes dominant understandings of tourism in consumer culture theory as the "consumption of [...] local culture, nature, history, or otherness" (Gotham 2007, 305). Moving beyond the context of highly mobile cosmopolitans and beyond theories of tourism which emphasize authentic alterity and self-transformation (Arnould and Price 1993; Belk and Costa 1995; MacCannell 1973; Rodriguez 2001; Sherry 1987; Urry 2002), this paper poses the following question: in the context of long-term migration, how and why might acculturating consumers perform touristic practices?

This paper draws on theories of capital consumption (Arsel and Thompson 2011; Allen 2002; Bourdieu 1984; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Henry 2005; Holt 1998) in which consumers are seen to draw on multiple types of resources – economic, social, and cultural – to accrue symbolic capital and establish their social status vis-à-vis other members of society in a "multidimensional status game" (Holt 1998, 3). The consumption practices associated with the quest for capital have been shown to intersect with multiple, and at times competing, identity myths which are circulated and shaped by wider socio-cultural and marketplace discourses (Dong and Tian 2007; Izberk-Bilgin 2012; Thompson and Tian 2008; Üstüner and Holt 2010). Within consumer acculturation theory, the importance of capital is also widely recognized, with levels of economic, social, and cultural capital understood to structure and delimit acculturation outcomes (Luedicke 2011; Üçok-Hughes 2012; Üstüner and Holt 2007). For acculturating consumers, capital therefore provides an important means of gaining and enhancing inclusion within their new cultural contexts.

This paper is empirically grounded in a hermeneutic analysis (Thompson 1997) of depth interviews with 26 Southeast Asian immigrant consumers in New Zealand. To enrich and deepen the consumer narratives, visual and reflexive methods were deployed. First, each participant was asked to select objects and photographs which represent their experiences of migration (Zaltman and Coulter 1995) and use drawings to represent their social networks and social identities (Bagnoli 2009). Second, each participant was interviewed twice in line with open narrative reflexivity (Thompson, Stern, and Arnould 1998). In their second interview, participants were presented with the researchers' emerging interpretations and provided an opportunity to correct, qualify, or further deepen their initial responses.

Participants conveyed a range of iconic domestic touristic practices in New Zealand as part of their acculturation journey. Given the centrality of the myth of '100% Pure New Zealand' (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002), it was unsurprising that participants'

touristic practices largely centred on the natural landscape, including visits to iconic landscape attractions and iconic outdoor experiences. These touristic practices involved high degrees of ritualization and social display.

In contrast to previous studies which have framed touristic practices as the consumption of otherness (Rodriguez 2001) or a quest for self-transformation (Arnould and Price 1993), the participants in this study enacted touristic practices in a quest for economic, social, and cultural capital. On one level, the performance of touristic practices served as an index of sufficient levels of economic capital, enabling participants to perform the identity of an economically established migrant in New Zealand. On another level, the performance of domestic touristic practices provided participants with linking value (Cova 1997), thereby facilitating the process of building social ties and accruing social capital in New Zealand. On yet another level, domestic touristic practices functioned as an index of local cultural capital in New Zealand, enabling participants to demonstrate their knowledge of and ability to competently enact New Zealand cultural values and practices.

Additionally, because participants were primarily motivated by capital consumption rather than the consumption of cultural authenticity, their practices of domestic tourism tended to emphasize iconic rather than singular experiences. Despite the relative prominence of indigenous Maori myths in the construction of contemporary New Zealand tourism discourses (Amoamo and Thompson 2010), there was a remarkable lack of Maori-related or heritage-based touristic practices. Also notable was the lack of practices relating to adventure-based adrenaline (Ateljevic and Doorne 2002). This is because in order for touristic practices to be translatable into economic, social, and cultural capital, they must be recognizable by the local and transnational family and friendship networks who form the implicit audience for these practices. Therefore, in contrast to Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) cosmopolitan consumers who emphasized local attractions which were 'off the beaten track' and Arnould and Price's (1993) river-rafting participants who emphasized peak experiences, participants' touristic performances largely involved the repetition of highly commodified tourist tropes.

This paper contributes to the converging literature streams of consumer acculturation and mobility in several ways. First, while scholars have largely treated tourism as a specific form of mobility (Bengtsson et al. 2010; Bardhi et al. 2010), this paper reconceptualizes and explores tourism as a key acculturation practice. Second, this paper demonstrates that touristic practices are key acculturation practices not only for expatriates (Thompson and Tambyah 1999), but also for long-term migrants. Third, while previous studies have focused on how capital constrains acculturation outcomes, this paper explores how a consumption practice enables the expression and accumulation of capital. Finally, this paper demonstrates how questing for capital in long-term migration drives touristic practices which are iconic rather than singular.

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Competitive Forces When Choosing from Assortments of Varying Size: How Holistic Thinking Mitigates Choice Overload

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Choice overload has long been a controversial topic in consumer research (Scheibehenne, Greifeneder and Todd 2009), with some researchers believing large assortments benefit consumers and others arguing they decrease satisfaction. The lack of consensus has led to a focus on moderators of the effect (i.e., *when* choice overload occurs; see Chernev, Bockenholt, and Goodman 2015 for a recent review). Yet, greater understanding is needed regarding why choice overload occurs, especially since no single moderator reliably explains choice overload's occurrence (Chernev, Bockenholt, and Goodman 2010). Accordingly, this paper aims to explore the mechanism(s) underlying *how* assortment size impacts decision-making and demonstrates the competing forces (overload effect and variety effect) that help explain the contradictory findings in the literature. Further, by systematically exploring these competing forces, we highlight opportunities to better pinpoint exactly how (i.e., by which path) moderators impact decision-making. As an example, we identify and test a new moderator of choice overload effects – holistic thinking. Since holistic thinkers utilize less cognitive resources to come to a decision compared to analytic thinkers (McElroy and Seta 2003; Nisbett et al. 2001), we propose they will be less negatively affected by the overload feelings accompanied by depleted cognitive resources. Specifically, we test the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: Large assortments will lead to (a) greater overload feeling and (b) greater perceived variety than small assortments.*
- Hypothesis 2: Preference satisfaction will be (a) negatively impacted by overload feeling and (b) positively impacted by perceived variety.*
- Hypothesis 3: Assortment size has both (a) a negative indirect effect on preference satisfaction through overload feeling (overload effect), and (b) a positive indirect effect on preference satisfaction through perceived variety (variety effect).*
- Hypothesis 4: Thinking style will moderate the overload effect such that the negative effect of large assortment size on preference satisfaction will be lower for holistic thinkers.*

Across 6 studies, we support our competing forces model for how assortment size influences satisfaction and demonstrate that holistic thinking moderates the impact of assortment size on satisfaction by mitigating the impact of overload feelings. Further, we show that the overall effect of assortment size on preference satisfaction depends on the dominant indirect effect.

In Study 1, we empirically support the competitive effects of perceived variety and overload feeling (H1-H3). Respondents ($n=100$) chose chocolates from a large (20) or small (5) assortment. As expected, assortment size significantly increased both overload feeling and perceived variety ($M_L=4.7, M_S=3.5, F(1, 98)=37.98, p<.05$)

(Wilks' Lambda $<.001$). In addition, overload feeling negatively impacted preference satisfaction ($\beta = -.28, p <.001$), while perceived variety positively impacted satisfaction ($\beta = .56, p <.001$). Using bootstrapping (5,000 samples, 95% CI), we found a negative indirect effect of assortment size on satisfaction through overload feeling ($\beta = -.20, CI [-.41, -.08]$) and a positive indirect effect of assortment size on satisfaction through perceived variety ($\beta = .64, CI [.33, 1.07]$). Further, consistent with our argument, since the perceived variety effect is larger than the overload effect, the total effect of assortment size on satisfaction is significantly positive ($\beta = .49, p <.05$). These results support H1-H3.

In Study 2 ($n=277$), we replicate the findings from Study 1 using different assortment sizes (6, 24, 48) and include a measure of holistic processing style (Choi, Koo, and Choi 2007) to test H4. Hypotheses 1-3 were again supported. Assortment size significantly increased both overload feeling ($F(2, 274) = 23.10, p <.001$) and perceived variety ($F(2, 273) = 52.98, p <.001$) (Wilks' Lambda $<.001$). Overload feeling negatively impacted preference satisfaction ($\beta = -.17, p <.001$), while perceived variety positively impacted satisfaction ($\beta = .28, p <.001$). The indirect effects were also significant. Due to the dominance of perceived variety over overload feeling, the total effect of assortment size on preference satisfaction was significant and positive ($p <.01$). A moderated mediation analysis was used to test H4 and revealed that, as expected, the more holistic thinking a person engages in, the less the indirect negative effect of assortment size (through overload feeling) on preference satisfaction.

In study 3 ($n=97$), we replicated the parallel mediation of overload and variety effects (H1-H3). Since the variety effect was slightly stronger than the overload effect, the total effect of assortment size on preference satisfaction was marginally positive ($\beta = .36, p = .06$). We found support for moderated mediation using both the chronic holistic thinking measure and a measure of holistic thinking based on decision strategies used during the choice task; thus, H4 was supported.

Studies 4, 5, and 6 provide additional support for our hypotheses showing the mitigating effect of holistic thinking through positive mood (Study 4) and hedonic choice goal (vs. utilitarian; Study 6). These studies also generalize our findings to a new category (carry-on luggage) with a utilitarian decision goal (Studies 5 and 6).

Together, our findings contribute to the literature on choice overload by better articulating and explicitly testing the underlying mechanisms of the phenomenon. Assortments can increase satisfaction by increasing perceived variety, but also decrease satisfaction due to feelings of overload. By systematically investigating these two underlying drivers of the effects of assortment size on satisfaction, we highlight why inconsistencies might exist in the current literature. When the variety effect is dominant, large assortments increase preference satisfaction (Studies 1, 2, 3), while if the overload effect is dominant, large assortments decrease preference satisfaction (Study 5, Study 6 utilitarian condition). On the other hand, if these two drivers have similar strengths, large assortments do not have a significant effect on satisfaction (Study 4, Study 6). Further, by examining this underlying process, we were able to identify a new moderator – holistic thinking – which helps mitigate the negative impact of overload feeling on satisfaction. We show that this mitigation happens for both chronic and decision-specific holistic thinkers

(Studies 2, 3, 5), as well as those who adopt more holistic thinking style due to situational aspects, such as mood (Study 4) or decision goal (Study 6). Future research may want to investigate different parts of the decision making process, and discover new moderators; e.g. see how variety effect can be enhanced.

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A Framework For Exploring Consumer Motivation Across The Spectrum of Consumer-Brand Connections Using Utopian Theory

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Existing brand management frameworks are misleading and incomplete without fully accounting for the spectrum of bonding types consumers may have with brands (Fournier & Alvarez, 2013). This research offers a framework for understanding consumer motivation to create connections to brands, using contemporary utopian theory.

Colloquially, utopia is generally understood as an unrealistic fantasy world. However, the contemporary definition of utopia is an expressive desire for a better way of living and an articulation of dissatisfaction with present reality (Levitas, 1990) that is believed as realizable (Žižek & Thompson, 2013). Utopia can be whole imagined worlds or an idealized life, such as a cozy nuclear family, dream homes, work / life balance, or obtaining the ideal body. The fundamental essence of utopia is desire for a more positive state – a primary motivating factor in contemporary consumption.

Utopian theory is applied as theoretically distinct from self-related constructs in brand connection studies such as possible and ideal selves and self-expansion (Escalas & Bettman, 2003; Malär, Krohmer, Hoyer, & Nyffenegger, 2011; Park, Eisingerich, & Park, 2013; Sprott, Czellar, & Spangenberg, 2009; Thomson, MacInnis, & Park, 2005). Utopia is characterized as a mechanism of coping with life's incompleteness (Mayser, Scheibe, & Riediger, 2008; Scheibe, Freund, & Baltes, 2007).

Approaching utopianism as a consumer process rather than a 'place', utopian function theory is used to explore utopianism as motivating brand connection, with a specific focus to understanding the full spectrum of brand connections (described as Attached (strongly positive, love type connection), Averse (strongly negative, adversarial connection), Ambivalent (weaker, conflicted love-hate connection) or Indifferent (weak not connected) (Park, Eisingerich, & Park, 2013).

Utopian function is conceptualized as a process that reveals how individuals respond to utopian thoughts. Utopian functions are Catalyst, Criticize and Compensate (Goodwin & Taylor, 1983; Levitas, 1990). *Catalyst* is holding a utopian vision to bring about positive change to the current reality. *Criticize* is holding a utopian vision to criticize current reality, that can be directed to the world or to the self. *Compensate* is holding a vision to escape from current reality. It seems likely that each utopian function could have a differing effect on why a consumer forms connections with a brand. For example, purposes of 'running away' from reality versus criticizing reality are fundamentally different objectives, presumably expressed in uniquely identifiable thoughts, feelings and behaviors.

To assess the conceptual association of brand connection and utopian theory, exploratory qualitative research was undertaken. Twenty-two structured in-depth interviews were conducted, including a projective sorting task (Keller, 2008) to associate the spectrum of brand connections to utopian visions. The data and accompanying notations made during interview were audio recorded, transcribed, and coded into themes using narrative analysis.

This research found that utopian thoughts are frequent, emotionally intense experiences for individuals. Utopian visions are used to orientate daily life tasks, goals and projects towards a desired utopian future. Motivation to achieve a utopian future influenced consumers to assess brands in relation to their utopian vision. Averse

brand connections, where brands were interpreted as contra or 'in the way' of utopia, are identified in direct relation to utopian content.

Attached, Ambivalent and Indifferent connections were influenced not only in relation to utopian content, but also by utopian function identified and associated feeling that is either positive or mixed. This influenced brand connection in the following ways:

Catalyst with Positive Feeling is associated with weaker Ambivalent and Indifferent connection(s). Participants exhibited greater self-regulation than individuals in other functions, which appeared to weaken brand connection.

Catalyst with Mixed Feeling is associated with stronger Attached connection. Participants felt 'overwhelmed' and 'scared', and indicated an underlying fear of their ability to achieve utopia. Following recent literature exploring fear and brand connection (Dunn & Hoegg, 2014; Rindfleisch, Burroughs, & Wong, 2009), this research also found that consumers fearful about their ability to achieve a desired utopia show stronger Attached brand connection.

Compensate with Mixed Feeling is associated with Ambivalent connection. Participants actively attempt to escape from thinking about their utopia by engaging in activities that are inconsequential to tomorrow, such as shopping and watching television. Participants engage with brands that made them feel 'Happy', 'Positive' and 'Healthy'. However, acknowledgement that actions associated with this function were inconsequential to achievement tomorrow appeared to weaken brand connection.

Criticize with Mixed Feeling is associated with Ambivalent connection. Participants focused on creating 'Peace' and 'Harmony'. An explicit acknowledgement that wider political and social change beyond the influence of brands needed to occur appeared to weaken connection.

This research presents a novel approach to understanding the spectrum of brand connections using utopian theory. It discusses an initial exploration of the nature of utopian thought; how consumers respond to utopian thoughts; and the influence of utopian function to brand connection.

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Adult Food Insecurity and the Hunger-Obesity Paradox: Are these distinct consumer segments?

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Dietz (1995) noted a positive correlation between food insecurity and obesity, and labeled this counter intuitive relationship the hunger – obesity paradox. The paradox continues to be a relevant topic of research as both food insecurity and obesity maintain a troubling presence in the US. In 2012, 14.5 percent of households were food insecure, meaning that these households had difficulty at some time during the year providing enough food for all their members due to a lack of resources (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2013). Meanwhile, national estimates in the US indicate that more than two-thirds (68.5%) of adults were either overweight or obese in 2011 – 2012 (Ogden et al. 2014).

Researchers at the Yale Rudd Centre claim that it may be feasible to address both problems simultaneously since the goal is to see that individuals have access to sufficient and nutritious food (The Economist 2014). However, while these conditions co-exist and, in some cases, within the same person, there are also separate segments exhibiting these conditions; some individuals suffer from hunger and malnutrition while others suffer from obesity and diet-related disease (Ashe and Sonnino 2012).

Past empirical investigations into the hunger-obesity paradox largely cover 1) segmentation, and 2) diet and consumption behaviors. The first and largest stream of research attempts to describe the segment of adults where these conditions co-exist using demographic variables. Here, research consistently shows that women who were food insecure were more likely to be obese than women who were food secure, while men who were food insecure were less likely to be overweight than men who were food secure (Burn 2004; Dinour et al. 2007; Franklin et al. 2012; Larson and Story 2011, Lariai 2010).

The second area, which is the focus of this study, pertains to diet and consumption behaviors. The findings in this area show that as food insecurity increases, many adults alter their food intake as food resources run low (Grutzmacher and Gross (2011); individuals consume fewer fruits and vegetables (Burns 2004); food insecure individuals were less likely to engage in fat lowering behaviors (Mello et al 2010); diet quality and health change through an overabundance of less healthful foods in the home (Nackers & Appelhans 2013).

Using the 2009 – 10 NHANES data, the objective of this research is to investigate whether these food insecurity conditions are also representative of individuals who are overweight. If not, then addressing them may not, by default, help lessen the prevalence of overweight and obesity. The NHANES program examines a nationally representative sample of about 5,000 persons each year (CDC 2013), and the 2009 – 10 dataset contains information from 10,253 individuals of all ages. The data collection process has two components, a questionnaire, followed by an examination at a mobile medical center. The questionnaire includes the Current Population Survey (CPS) Food Security Supplement Module to determine the level of food insecurity in the household. Each respondent also provides information about the food in the house, diet quality, consequences of food insecurity, and self-assessments of physical and mental health statuses. The examination component provides the actual Body Mass Index (BMI) for each respondent.

In this analysis, the definitions of weight status are defined by the CDC (2008). If the individual has a BMI less than 18.5, he or she is considered underweight, and is of a healthy or normal weight

when the BMI is between 18.5 and 24.9. However, if the BMI is between 25 and 29.9 he or she is considered overweight and an adult who has a BMI of 30 or higher is considered obese. Household food security is based on the CPS, which is a series of 10 questions (with 8 additional questions for households with children) that gauge a variety of specific conditions, experiences, and behaviors that serve as indicators of the varying degrees of severity of food security (Bickel et al. 2000).

For purposes of this study, individuals for whom no BMI data are available, who were under age 20, who did not respond to the food security questions, or women who were pregnant are deleted from the data, leaving a sample of 5,500 individuals.

Analyses were prepared by regression, where the dependent variable is one of the many food related behaviors prevalent in food insecure households. The independent variables indicate the weight and the food security statuses of the respondent. The sign and significance of the coefficients indicate whether these behaviors can be predicted from the presence of one, or both of these conditions.

The results show, as expected, that as food insecurity increases all foods (except soft drinks) become less available. However, across all weight statuses, there is no significant difference in the availability of nutritious food. This may imply that access to, and availability of nutritious food is not as much of a problem in the fight against obesity.

Relatedly, while both food insecure households and obese individuals recognize the unhealthiness of their diets, these results show food insecure households are concerned about quantity as well as quality, while quantity does not appear to be a concern as weight status increases.

Finally, both food insecurity and obesity take a toll on overall perceived health and activity levels. First, while perceived general health status declines as both conditions worsen, obesity does not create the same levels of anxiety that are created by food insecurity. Also, while eating home prepared meals together becomes less frequently as food insecurity increases, the same is not true as weight status increases. Therefore, interventions that focus on activities surrounding meal behaviors need to recognize the changes in these activities inherent with the specific condition.

In summary, while there is an intuitive connection between food insecurity and obesity, the behaviors associate with these conditions differ sufficiently and, consequently, should be addressed as separate issues in the world of public health.

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So Many Selves: The Effect of Self-Complexity on Attitudes toward Identity Goods

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

While previous literature has acknowledged that consumers hold a multitude of identities (Reed et al. 2012), the typical approach to understanding the effect of identity on consumer behavior has examined single identities in isolation. The present research attempts to bridge this gap by introducing self-complexity to the consumer behavior literature. Self-complexity captures the structure of self-representations by assessing both the number of identities and the degree to which distinctions are made among identities (Linville 1985, 1987). Greater self-complexity involves having more identities and maintaining fewer redundancies between them.

We propose that greater self-complexity is associated with a more malleable self for two reasons. First, when an individual holds only a couple identities, the potential variation in the working self-concept is reduced compared to an individual with multiple identities. Second, when there is greater overlap among identities, the ability for the self to vary in a particular context is further limited. Consistent with this theorizing, in their “boundary theory” of roles, Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate (2000) argue that boundaries enable one to concentrate on whatever role is currently accessible. Given that boundaries make it easier to focus on a particular identity and individuals with high self-complexity have both numerous identities and boundaries between identities, these individuals should have a more malleable self.

A malleable self means that there is more variation in the identities that are accessible at any moment (Markus and Kunda 1986). Consumers prefer and have more positive attitudes toward products and brands that are consistent with an accessible identity (Aaker 1999; Reed 2004; Reed et al. 2012). Individuals who have a more malleable self due to higher self-complexity should find it easier to activate and focus solely on the product-relevant identity whereas those with lower self-complexity and thus less malleability may lack the fluidity to focus on this particular identity. In sum, we predict that greater self-complexity will be associated with more positive attitudes toward identity-linked goods and that the malleability of the self will mediate this effect.

Undergraduate business majors ($n = 119$) began study 1 by completing the measure of self-complexity (Linville 1987). Following a filler task, participants saw a series of goods, two of which contained the logo of the students’ business school and were of primary interest to us, and evaluated them on three nine-point bipolar scales (unfavorable/favorable, dislike/like, and bad/good). We found that self-complexity was significantly and positively associated with attitudes toward the identity goods ($b = .51, t(117) = 2.36, p < .02$).

Undergraduate students ($n = 212$) participated in study 2. Following the same self-complexity measure from study 1, respondents completed a response latency task that served as our measure of self-malleability (Markus and Kunda 1986). Participants judged whether 50 different words (e.g., woman, musician, poet) did or did not describe themselves by pressing designated keys on the keyboard as quickly as possible. We averaged their response time over all of the words. Following the response latency task, participants saw a series of goods, three of which (a highlighter set, a travel coffee mug, and a t-shirt) contained the logo of the students’ university and were of primary interest to us, and evaluated each of the items using the same measures from study 1. Self-complexity was significantly associated

with both attitudes toward the identity goods ($b = .59, t(209) = 3.30, p < .02$) and response latencies ($b = -.47.03, t(209) = -2.25, p < .03$). The latter result supports our theorizing that people with greater self-complexity have more malleable selves and thus their identities are more accessible to them. Furthermore, response latencies significantly mediated the effect of self-complexity on attitude toward identity goods (95% CI = .0017 to .1775).

In study 3, we examined the moderating effect of an identity threat. Because individuals with low self-complexity have less malleable selves, they should be more likely to fight back against an identity threat. In contrast, individuals with high self-complexity have more malleable selves so they may buffer against a threat by disassociating with the identity. Therefore, we expect attitudes toward identity goods to be lower (higher) in the identity threat condition than in the control condition among individuals with high (low) self-complexity.

Participants ($n = 236$) began study 3 by completing the measure of self-complexity. Those in the identity threat condition then read either the gender identity threat or a control passage (White and Argo 2009). Next, participants saw items, two of which (a coffee mug and a notebook) were related to the participant’s gender, and evaluated the items using the same measures from the previous studies.

The interaction of self-complexity with identity threat significantly predicted product attitudes ($F(1, 230) = 5.80, p < .02$). Greater self-complexity was associated with more positive attitudes toward identity goods in the control condition ($b = .71, t(230) = 2.46, p < .02$), but had no effect in the identity threat condition ($b = -.25, t(230) = -.88, p > .37$).

To better understand the nature of the interaction we employed the Johnson-Neyman Technique (Spiller et al. 2013). We found that at high levels of self-complexity participants reported higher product attitudes in the control condition than in the identity threat condition (Johnson-Neyman point = 3.6830, $\alpha = .05$). At low levels of self-complexity product attitudes in the control condition were lower than in the identity threat condition (Johnson-Neyman point = 1.6316, $\alpha = .05$).

Across three studies we find that individuals high in self-complexity have more positive evaluations of identity-linked goods than individuals low in self-complexity and that the malleability of the self mediates this relationship. We also show this effect can be reversed under an identity threat, as individuals with low (high) self-complexity react to an identity threat by associating (disassociating) with the identity. In sum, self-complexity presents a novel way to capture the dynamic structure of individuals’ self-concepts. By examining the effect of self-complexity on identity-linked product attitudes, we offer a more comprehensive understanding of how one’s self influences consumer behavior.

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Follow Your Curiosity, You Won't Regret It: How Disconfirmed Expectations Will Not Always Result in Dissatisfaction

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EXTEND ABSTRACT

Satisfaction with a product or service is of utter importance for marketing-practices (Han & Hyun, 2015; Ranaweera & Prahu, 2003). The most widely used framework to predict a customer's satisfaction, is the 'expectancy disconfirmation paradigm' (Oliver, 1980), which argues that consumer satisfaction depends on pre-purchase expectations one has about the performance of the product or service. The extent to which these expectations are met determines the perceived disconfirmation experience. If the outcome matches or exceeds one's expectations, one is expected to be satisfied. However, when the product underperforms and thus negative disconfirmation occurs, a decrease in satisfaction is to be expected. This paper poses the question if dissatisfaction after negative disconfirmation occurs when curiosity about the product is evoked prior to product experience. The current paper argues that negative disconfirmation does not result into dissatisfaction when curiosity about the product is evoked prior to product experience. In particular, we suggest that satisfying curiosity is rewarding and evokes pleasure, which can override the negative feelings one might experience when being confronted with negative disconfirmation.

Marketers often spark consumer's curiosity over a product to capture and hold consumer's attention and to evoke interest in a product. As such, multiple studies on curiosity evoking ads demonstrate their effectiveness (Smith & Swinyard, 1988; Gibson & Zillman, 1993; Menon & Soman, 2002).

Although academic research thus proves the effectiveness of using curiosity to make customers interested in your product (Menon & Soman, 2002; Van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2007, very little research has looked at what happens once one's curiosity is satisfied, namely when people buy the product which they were made curious about. Loewenstein (1994) suggested that often people can be disappointed with an outcome when satisfying their curiosity since their expectations are often not met. This implies that people create high expectations when being made curious over something. When expectations are (too) high, they are often difficult to meet resulting in a higher probability to be disconfirmed (Turorila, Andersson, Maritkaeni & Salovaara (1998). Following the expectancy disconfirmation theory, one would predict that the raised expectations caused by curiosity will readily lead to dissatisfaction with the product or service, since there is a negative disconfirmation between these inflated expectations and the actual performances. However, we suggest that this does not result in dissatisfaction. We argue that the pleasure accompanying satisfying curiosity, can override this feeling of disappointment associated with negative disconfirmation of expectations.

Previous research supports this hypothesis. Loewenstein (1994) states that satisfying curiosity is itself pleasurable. Research in education literature also finds that students derive more pleasure in learning activities when they feel that the subject matter has satisfied their curiosity (Csikszentmihalyi et al, 1993). Recently, Kang and colleagues (2009) supported this idea and found correlations between reported curiosity and activity in the caudate nucleus, a brain region that is involved in reward anticipation and is driven by feedback.

In the following paragraphs, we present three studies. The first study is set up to explore if curiosity indeed causes expectations to be higher which in turn leads to a negative disconfirmation between ex-

pectations and performance. A second study illustrates that satisfying curiosity evokes pleasure, while a curious state leads to displeasure when it is not satisfied. This shows that it is not being in a curious state that is pleasurable, but the pleasure stems from satisfying curiosity. Finally, a third study looks further at the interaction between disconfirmation and curiosity on satisfaction and regret with the aim to explore if disconfirmation only leads to dissatisfaction when there was no curiosity evoked prior to product-trial.

In the first study (n=120) respondents were randomly exposed to one out of two fictitious film announcements in a newspaper. The film-announcements were created to evoke different degrees of curiosity. We found that respondents who were made curious about the short-film had higher expectations and that respondents indicated that their expectations had not been met, while respondents who were not made curious had lower expectations but reported that their expectations were met.

In a second study (n=132) respondents participated in a 2 (curiosity, control)x2(open box, closed box) design. Participants were presented with a little non-transparent white box which had either a question mark on top of it (curiosity-condition) or a picture of the candy that was inside (control-condition). Participants were either told to open the box (satisfying their curiosity) or to leave the box closed. We found that there was a significant difference in pleasure between the curiosity and the control condition, when respondents were in the 'not able to open box' condition, that is respondents in the curiosity-condition experienced more displeasure than respondents in the control condition. This effect disappears in the 'able to open box condition', where there is no difference in pleasure between curiosity-condition and control-condition. This shows that there may be two mechanisms at play: people are happy when they get what they expect (control-condition) and people are happy because they are able to satisfy their curiosity (curiosity-condition) even though the product that evoked their curiosity was not as good as expected.

In a third study (n=120) respondents were asked to participate in a chocolate- tasting test. They were randomly assigned to one out of two taste conditions (either 'tasteful' chocolate condition' (confirmation) or 'distasteful' chocolate condition'(disconfirmation)) and curiosity was measured prior to tasting the chocolate. Our results show that people are still satisfied when experiencing curiosity prior to tasting, even though the chocolate tasted not good at all. Moreover, they regretted their choice to taste the chocolate less when the chocolate tasted not good (and their expectations were thus even more negatively disconfirmed) compared to when they were less curious.

The primary contribution of this work is the demonstration that unmet expectations do not always result in dissatisfaction or regret with one's choice. Our findings suggest that evoking curiosity is beneficial for product satisfaction regardless of how a product performs.

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Exploring the Effectiveness of the Label “NEW” in Product Packaging and Advertising

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Every day consumers are exposed to novel products. The label “new” is often used on product packages and in advertising of innovations, but how effective is it? In which circumstances is it good to make use of the label? Intuitively, it could be argued that the word “new” is not very informative and may not, in itself, trigger any consumer responses. In contrast, people are afraid of the unknown, and as such the label could invoke responses of avoidance within consumers. Too much novelty can give rise to feelings of anxiety (Berlyne 1960) and can sometimes lead to lower trial probability (Steenkamp and Gielens 2003). However it is also suggested that people have a drive to seek out information about novel products (Hirschman, 1980). Because the future is uncertain, exploring product innovations might be beneficial sometime later. In this research we empirically demonstrate that the presence of a simple verbal “new” label on product packages and in advertising is effective. Moreover, we show that its effect is driven by a boost in curiosity that instigates positive consumer responses.

In a first online experiment we found that a washing detergent of a familiar national brand was evaluated more positively with a “new” sticker on the bottle than without the sticker (between-subjects design, $N = 65$). The new label led to a more positive product attitude, and to a greater purchase and word of mouth intention. As literature suggests, positive effects of novelty might be driven by exploration (Hirschman, 1980). This was tested explicitly in the follow-up studies.

In Study 2, we tested the label in the field. For one week, we organized a taste booth in a supermarket where consumers could walk by and try out a cup of a known chocolate drink. The bottles at the booth were presented without label, a label “whole milk” (i.e., a control label, the drink was made of whole milk), or a label “new”. Hours of the day of label presentation were counterbalanced. We found that significantly more people visited the stand when the bottles were presented with the new label than with the control label or without label. Visitors who had tasted the product were requested to fill in a questionnaire to evaluate the product (purchase intention, product attitude, taste, quality, price/quality perception). At the end of the questionnaire, they were invited to tell how they felt in the supermarket at that moment (including curiosity items, and filler items such as cold/warm). Overall we found that all dependent measures were significantly more positive when consumers had tasted the “new” product than in the other two conditions. Moreover, consumers in the “new” condition felt more curious, and all positive evaluations were contingent on that feeling.

Direct evidence for the impact of the new label on exploration is provided by Study 3 in which eye movements of participants ($N = 132$) were tracked while they scrolled through an online magazine containing several advertisements. The lab experiment had a 2 (label: no label vs. new label) \times 2 (advertising clutter: absent vs present) between-subjects design. We measured attention for the brand elements (Pieters, Warlop and Wedel 2002) in the target advertisements. For half of all participants the target advertisements were presented among four other advertisements that created advertising clutter. In line with earlier findings, advertising clutter reduced attention for the advertisements. However when the new label was present, attention

was boosted to the level of participants who watched the advertisements without experiencing clutter. Hence, as in Study 2, it was demonstrated that the “new” label boosts exploration. Interestingly, the study points to real-life circumstances in which exploration or interest for marketing is low (i.e., advertising clutter) that make the label more effective.

In Study 3 we predicted that if the “new” label triggers exploration, the impact of the label on consumer responses should be similar to that of an exploration mindset. Therefore we manipulated the mindset of consumers, and had them focus on what was usual or unusual. We know from prior research that unusual circumstances instigate exploration (Berlyne 1950; Verplanken and Wood 2006), whereas habitual circumstances lower the chance of detecting changes in the environment (Fazio, Ledbetter and Towles-Schwen 2000). The experiment had a 2 (mindset: habitual vs. exploration, between-subjects) \times 2 (label: no label vs. new label, between-subjects) \times 2 (product: tea, vitamin drink, within-subjects) mixed design. Participants ($N = 154$) were recruited online through a market research agency and were requested to give their opinion about several products after describing what was usual (or unusual) about the day. Overall, the products were liked more (i.e., product attitude, brand attitude or purchase intention) in the exploration mindset condition than in the habitual mindset condition; and more with the new label than without. Most importantly, individuals with a habitual mindset who saw the products with a new label liked the products more than those with a habitual mindset who saw the products without label. As expected, the new label boosted product liking to the level of those in the exploration mindset, indicating it had a similar effect.

In sum, we find that a “new” label on product packages and in advertising gives rise to positive feelings towards the observed product. We show that the new label triggers an explorative or curious mindset in consumers, both by measuring and manipulating exploration. This is in line with theories (Berlyne 1960; Hirschman 1980) and empirical research (Steenkamp and Gielens 2003) about novelty seeking suggesting that moderate product novelty gives rise to positive consumer responses. In further research it could be investigated explicitly whether the label is more effective for incremental changes in products (e.g., line extensions) rather than radically new products. It is remarkable that the “new” cue did not lose its influence on decision making when intrinsic cues, such as taste, were made available. The “new” cue even biased taste perception, like price does (Plassmann, O’Doherty, Shiv and Rangel 2008). It could be investigated how the cue can be turned off to make judgments more “rational”.

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The “Lock-in” Effect of Multiple Payments on Defection Decisions over Time

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many service providers offer their customers supplementary-products that are related to their core services (e.g. an Internet service provider (ISP) that offers a router). In many of these cases, customers choose to pay for supplementary product in multiple-payments. In this study, we show that the payment method for the supplementary product has a substantial effect on customers’ likelihood of defecting from the service provider. Specifically, we show that when customers pay for a supplementary product (e.g., a handset) in multiple-payments rather than in a single payment, defection rates from the core service provider (e.g., cellular provider) increase over time.

From a pure economic perspective, once the decision to purchase a product has been made, consumers should consider its cost as a sunk-cost, regardless of the payment mechanism chosen. Thus, the payment method for the product should not influence consumers’ decision to leave the service provider. We propose that multiple-payments create a psychological lock-in experience, which dissolves over time, as the payments are made. Thus, the magnitude of these switching costs diminishes over time. Hence, we refer to these costs as *temporal switching costs*. This decrease in perceived switching costs results in an increase in the customer’s tendency to defect from the core service provider over time.

We find that the counter-intuitive effect of multiple-payments on customers’ defection decisions holds even when the supplementary-product is universal and can be used under a new service provider, thus ruling out the alternative explanation that customers refrain from switching to a new provider due to their concern of incurring additional expenses. Finally, we show that customers’ increasing likelihood of defection over time in the presence of multiple-payments occurs above and beyond customers’ fundamental satisfaction with the incumbent provider.

In **Study 1** we compare defection intentions over time between customers paying for a service-related supplementary product in multiple-payments versus customers who pay for the same product in a single lump sum. Student participants ($n=202$, $M_{\text{age}}=30.9$) read a scenario in which they had joined a cellular provider’s service program and purchased a handset. Participants were each randomly assigned to one of five time-duration manipulations, indicating the assumed number of months that have passed. Half the participants were told that the handset was to be paid for in equal monthly payments, while the remaining participants were told that the handset was paid for in a single payment. Participants were asked to report their intentions to defect from the service.

Slopes analysis (Spiller et al. 2013) to test the slope of defection intentions for each payment method condition (single-payment versus multiple-payments) reveals that the slope of defection intentions for the multiple-payment condition was positive and significant ($\beta=0.178$; $t_{(198)}=3.980$, $p<.001$), and the slope of defection intentions for the single-payment condition was not significant ($\beta=0.038$; $t_{(198)}=1.050$, n.s.).

Study 2 examines whether the defection pattern observed among customers engaged in multiple-payments resembles that of customers faced with a classic switching cost, namely an exit penalty. Participants ($n=292$, $M_{\text{age}}=33.8$) read a scenario in which they had joined a fitness center, and purchased a “shape meter” (a personal device that records the user’s exercise parameters) for an additional sum of \$500. Participants were each randomly assigned to one of six time-duration manipulations, which indicated the assumed number

of months since their purchase. Half the participants were told that they had paid for the “shape meter” in a single payment, and should they leave the center before a certain period they will be charged a penalty fee, which decreases with their tenure with the center. The other half were told the “shape meter” is paid in equal monthly payments, and that if they decide to leave they will need to make the remaining payments. Participants were asked to report their intentions to defect from the service.

Slopes analysis (Spiller et al. 2013) results show a significant effect in both cases of contract terms (for the multiple payments contract: $\beta=0.727$; $t_{(292)}=2.479$, $p<.02$, and for the classic switching costs contract: $\beta=0.935$; $t_{(292)}=3.461$, $p<.001$), Suggesting that customers’ perceptions of multiple payments are similar to their perceptions of a classic decreasing switching cost.

In **Study 3**, M-Turk participants ($n=240$, $M_{\text{age}}=34.4$) read a scenario in which they had purchased a coffee-machine for their office from a company that also provided ongoing-coffee-supply-services. Participants were each randomly assigned to one of six time duration manipulations, which indicated the time that have passed. Participants were told that switching to the new coffee-supply-service-provider would not require purchase of new equipment. Participants reported their defection intentions and the extent to which they felt tied and bound to their current provider.

Regression results show that duration was a significant positive predictor of defection intentions. Importantly, mediation analysis was conducted (Model 4), using bootstrapping mediation tests (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007) with 5,000 replications. We find that the effect of time duration on participants’ defection intentions was positively mediated by participants’ lock-in perceptions (95% CI: .0007 to .0229).

Finally, in **Study 4**, we surveyed 290 M-Turk participants currently engaged in various multiple-payment programs for handsets supplied by their cellular providers. Participants reported the number of payments already paid, intention to defect from their current service provider and satisfaction from their provider. Regression results show that the percentage-of-payments-paid predicted defection intentions above and beyond customer satisfaction ($F_{(2,285)}=65.47$, $p<.001$).

This research links customers’ chosen payment method to their decision to defect from a service provider. We demonstrate how multiple payments for a supplementary, service-related-product affect customers’ decisions to defect from the core service provider, resulting in an increase in customers’ defection rates over time. This underexplored phenomenon provides a more complex perspective on the findings of past studies, according to which a customer’s likelihood of defection typically *decreases* over time (e.g. Gupta and Lehmann 2005; Schweidel, Bradlow and Fader 2011). These studies generally took place in settings that did not involve switching-costs, assuming that customers were free to defect from their providers at any time. Our results have important implications for service providers’ managers as well as for regulators, who aim to reduce switching costs in markets.

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How the Disclosure of Nutrition Information with Different 'Per-Serving Basis' Affects Sales Volume

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers pay ever more attention to nutrition content when choosing food products. Thus, voluntary front-of-pack nutrition labels have become popular communication tools for food marketers. While such nutrition information should help consumers to decrease calorie intake, food manufacturers and retailers can manipulate the presentation of relevant information to increase healthiness perceptions. A widespread strategy is health framing, the adoption of a smaller serving size on nutrition labels which decreases the reported amounts of calories and nutrients. The health-framing effect implies that consumers neglect the 'per-serving basis' and evaluate the healthiness of food products solely by the nutrition values disclosed on the label (Mohr, Lichtenstein, and Janiszewski 2012). As a result of lower serving-size specifications, consumers may have reduced anticipated guilt of consumption and, thereby, increase their consumption volume (Belei et al. 2012; Mohr, Lichtenstein, and Janiszewski 2012; Wansink and Chandon 2006). Mohr, Lichtenstein, and Janiszewski (2012) even found that respondents who were most focused on avoiding calories were more susceptible to health framing. This means that nutrition information-induced health framing can create health halos, where consumers will overestimate the healthiness of food products and underestimate the food's energy content (Chandon and Wansink 2007). As a consequence, lower serving-size specifications can lead to overeating because consumers do not tend to consume the 'per-serving basis' (Ueland et al. 2009), but rather consume a single entity (Geier, Rozin, and Doros 2006) or a fixed share of the package size (Chandon 2013; Scott et al. 2008).

We hypothesize that the introduction of a front-of-pack nutrition label will increase sales volume of products with lower serving-size specifications. We further posit that this effect occurs in healthier categories, but not for less healthy categories. This prediction derives from previous research demonstrating that consumers tend to ignore nutrition information when buying indulging products, but use such information in healthier categories (Balasubramanian and Cole 2002; Nikolova and Inman 2015).

To test our contention, we analyze real purchases collected as supermarket scanner data. We compare purchase behavior of store brands before and after a voluntary front-of-pack nutrition label introduction, where the retailer had no restrictions in setting the 'per-serving basis' for the amount of nutrition content. Our study analyzes two food categories, yogurt and cookies. We have chosen these two categories based on data availability and to test our hypothesis that predicts effects in healthier categories (i.e., yogurt compared to cookies). We estimate two-way fixed effects models for each food category to account for unobserved heterogeneity of products and time periods. We supplement our models with price, time-dependence and the objective healthiness as control variables which can also affect sales volume next to the serving-size specification. In our models, we check for omitted variable bias and, furthermore, use a robust estimation procedure to account for heteroskedasticity and serial auto-correlation (Stock and Watson 2008).

Our results show that a lower serving-size specification on front-of-pack nutrition labels affects sales volume in the yogurt category. We observe that sales volume of yogurt products increased after label introduction when lower serving-size specifications were

chosen as basis for the disclosed nutrition amounts. Notably, the effect held after controlling for price, time-dependence and the objective healthiness as well as unobserved heterogeneity across products and weeks. Our findings reveal that consumers may be misled by the nutrition label information.

In line with our expectation, we show this effect prevails in the healthy product category. Specifically, sales volume was not changed significantly in the cookies category. This finding is in line with previous research indicating that consumers pay less attention to nutrition labels when they choose indulgent food products (Balasubramanian and Cole 2002), which would make consumers less susceptible to reduced serving-size specifications. As found by Mohr, Lichtenstein, and Janiszewski (2012), consumers who are most focused on avoiding calories are more susceptible to health framing. Accordingly, when consumers seek healthier options (as we expect consumers with yogurt) a lower serving-size specification will become more effective. By contrast, cookies predominantly are consumed for indulgence, where consumers seek taste rather than healthiness (Raghunathan, Naylor, and Hoyer 2006). In this situation, the nutrition information will be less useful in general. As a side effect, this will also impair the health-framing effect. Our results corroborate the results by Mohr, Lichtenstein, and Janiszewski (2012) in a 'real world' setting and additionally indicate that consumers purchased more when the serving-size specification was particularly small.

We conclude that lower serving-size specifications are a major threat to consumers who seek to choose healthier options by using nutrition labels but are, in fact, deceived by lower serving-size specifications. As a result, we emphasize the importance of public policy efforts towards higher regulation standards for (voluntary) nutrition labels regarding the 'per-serving basis.' Binding rules for the recommended serving size as basis for nutrition values are deemed necessary to prevent overeating induced by the health-framing effect. This should result in standardization for the serving-size specification on nutrition labels to increase comparability of food products regarding their healthiness. As long as food manufacturers and retailers have the possibility to apply health framing, more consumers have to be informed about such strategies to decrease susceptibility. Consumers should be strongly advised to double-check nutrition labels regarding the serving-size specification when choosing food products, and especially when comparing different food items.

Our research also suggests that future research should distinguish between nutrition labels as public policy tools or as part of firms' food marketing. Particularly voluntary nutrition labels are introduced as a marketing strategy that can easily be used as a tool to manipulate perceived healthiness. The objectives and the according design of the labels differ substantially across the two implementations. As long as the design of nutrition fact labels does not fully aim to inform consumers about nutrition content in an easy-to-process way without room for manipulation, they will fall short of reaching their intended goal of promoting healthier purchase behavior.

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Trust and Reputation in the Sharing Economy: The Role of Personal Photos in Airbnb

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Airbnb is one of the most successful “sharing-economy” businesses. It is an online marketplace through which individuals become ‘hosts’ by renting residences to other individuals (‘guests’) for a short-term accommodation (Zervas et al. 2014). The direct face-to-face interactions implied by Airbnb entail more risks than regular e-commerce (e.g., asset abuse, physical violence). Therefore a necessary condition for Airbnb transactions is trust. To increase trust Airbnb presents the online review-score that hosts receive from their guests. Hosts are also encouraged to post their personal photos together with their listings. We assert that reputation, as communicated by the online review-score (Zhu and Zhang 2010), and trustworthiness as perceived from the hosts’ personal photo (Eckel and Petrie 2011) will both affect the demand for listings in Airbnb. Specifically we test the effects of review score and hosts photos on the listing’s price (Study1) and its likelihood to be booked (Studies 2 and 3).

Study1 evaluates the impact of the hosts’ review scores and their personal photos on their listing’s market price. We focus on market price since change in the listing’s attributes affects its price more than its sales volume in fix capacity markets like Airbnb. In such markets hosts, realizing an excess demand for their listing, respond by increasing prices. To test the effects of online reviews and hosts photos on their listing’s price we downloaded all available data on 395 listings in Stockholm (e.g., apartment size and features, review-score, price). We then combined this data with trustworthiness score for each host’s photo collected from 260 Mturk respondents. In addition we estimated the attractiveness of each apartment photo using another 640 Mturk respondents.

The results revealed that surprisingly online review scores have no effect on Airbnb listings’ price. However, trustworthy photos do result with a price premium: hosts whose pictures are perceived as more trustworthy charge higher prices than their less trustworthy counterparts. Specifically, an increase in one unit of trustworthiness score is reflected by a 7% increase in the listing’s price. The other control variables (e.g., apartment size, apartment photo) were also significant as expected.

A further investigation of why review scores had no effect on price, revealed that they reviews were associated with very low variance; 97% of the scores were astonishingly high between 4.5-5 stars. To assess the robustness of this finding we compared Airbnb listings with hotels review scores in five large European cities. In all cities the Airbnb listings’ review scores were significantly higher, by 20% on average, than the hotels’ scores. Furthermore, over 90% of Airbnb hosts received a review-score of 4.5-5 stars making them practically indistinguishable (Reznick and Zeckhauser (2002) report similar phenomenon in ebay).

Our next two studies are controlled experiments that assess the effect of hosts’ photos on guests choice to stay at the listed unit when review scores are all high (Study 2), and when the review scores are varied (Study3). One hypothesis suggest that the effect of hosts photos in Airbnb results from the fact that the review scores are in effect meaningless, so consumers seek other trust signals and rely on the hosts photos. This hypothesis predicts a significant effect of the hosts photos in absence of meaningful reviews (Study2), but that this

effect should disappear when review scores are meaningful (Study3). Alternatively, consumers might respond to the hosts photos regardless of whether reviews are meaningful, in which case the hosts photos will impact significantly guests on choice in both studies.

In each experiment participants had to choose a listing from a menu of four options for accommodations in Stockholm. A pre-test preceded each experiment in which individuals rated the trustworthiness and attractiveness of 70 photos of unfamiliar people (see Lundqvist, Flykt, and Öhman 1998). The photos with the most extreme average rating scores of trustworthiness and attractiveness were selected for the experiments.

The experiments simulated listing choice on Airbnb when attractiveness and trustworthiness of hosts’ photos vary and review scores are kept constant (Study2) or also vary (study3). The choice set was presented on computer screen. Three options represented Airbnb apartments and the fourth option featured a hotel room. Each apartment option included the host photo and her name, price, apartment photo, a short description of the apartment, and guests’ average review score. The hotel option featured the logo of the Best-Western hotel in place of the host photograph.

The experimental design used the full factorial principle for combining photos and price levels. The prices varied systematically and were based on actual prices of Airbnb listings in Stockholm. The hotel option was fixed throughout all of the choice sets, and offered a price equivalent to that of a three stars hotel in Stockholm. Participants (N=566 in each study) were drawn from a custom online panel. We first screened participants who have used the Internet in the past to book or seek information on accommodation for their travel. Participants were asked to choose their preferred option of accommodation for one night in Stockholm.

The results of the mixed-logit analysis revealed that both trustworthiness and attractiveness of the hosts photos affected guests choice: the higher they were ranked, the higher the likelihood of the listing to be chosen, holding all other attributes constant. In Study3 the review scores also had significant impact on guests. Yet even in this study the effect of the trustworthiness as perceived by the host photo remained significant.

In summary, the choice of listings, as reflected by their price (Study1) and their likelihood to be booked (Study2), is affected by the perceived trustworthiness of the host’s photo. This effect holds even when review scores vary (Study3). Interestingly, guests were not conscious of this personal photo effect on their judgment: only a minority (8%) mentioned the hosts’ photo as a factor that influenced their choice in a post-study questionnaire. The results show that in platforms like Airbnb, the review scores of the product/asset are less influential (and are actually neutralized by guests tendency to give maximal scores) than the guests’ impression of the hosts personal photo.

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Considering the Role of Identity Cultivation Stage in Symbolic Self-Completion and Self-Retention

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Identities affecting consumer behavior most directly often stem from social positions that a person inhabits and to which he or she is committed. These identities change over time in a process characterized by transition and unfolding. Identities can be actively cultivated “projects,” remnants of the individual’s past, or an aspired-to future. New identities are explored, constructed, and/or dismissed. Established identities undergo active development and maintenance. Many of these issues are recognized by consumer research, but the field has yet to consider the theoretical implications of identities evidencing discernible cultivation stages (rookie vs. veteran). This is problematic because identity cultivation stages differ not in degree, but in kind. “Rookie” vs “veteran” represent distinct experiences in how an identity is experienced and enacted. The cultivation process manifests through accumulation and deployment of identity resources such as possessions, social connections, and relevant expertise.

This investigation examines how identity cultivation stage impacts symbolic self-completion and self-retention. Employing a survey methodology in a well-established identity context, respondents reported on identity resources and stated importance for six concurrent identities. Via recruitment, individuals indicative of rookie and veteran cultivation stages were incorporated into the study sample. All respondents provided information about such factors as possessions owned, description of favorites, and extensiveness of social network. Respondents were also queried about their views on appropriateness of using various identity-related items in differing social contexts.

Patterns in collected data were examined to test basic predictions of differences between rookies and veterans. We generally predicted that veterans in an identity domain possess more identity supporting resources than rookies. Individuals early in identity disposition will also have more identity related resources available than further along individuals. Rookies were predicted to self-symbolize a new identity more often than veterans due to a symbolic self-completion effect. Rookies were also predicted to self-symbolize a past identity more often than veterans, reflecting a symbolic self-retention effect.

Evidence indicated that identity cultivation stage is an important moderator of self-symbolization. Rookies and veterans had different self-structures with multiple identities differing according to cultivation stage. Consequently, identity resources were variable based on identity cultivation stage. Veterans had larger and higher quality social networks suggesting more well-developed identity supporting infrastructures. A similar pattern was evident with possessions. Veterans had more possessions with which to self-symbolize than rookies, even though identity importance did not differ significantly between the two groups. These findings are the first to provide evidence of this variation in the context of multiple identities; others have observed support only for a single identity.

In addition to identity resource variability, symbolic self-completion and symbolic self-retention were evident in the data. While veterans owned more identity related items, rookies deployed such items more often. This was the case even after controlling for importance and size of possession inventory. The result pattern is consistent with rookies engaging in symbolic self-completion. Rookies also reported more frequent use of possessions related to a past identity,

reflecting a symbolic self-retention effect. This evidence suggests that generalizations should not be made lightly from rookies to veterans within an identity domain, or vice versa.

The study briefly described in this abstract provides evidence of identity cultivation stage predicting usage for favorite identity-related possessions across contexts. Results were consistent with the observation that favorites are not always used instrumentally, but are retained for contemplative and/or emotional purposes. Rookies and veterans did not differ in their perceived appropriateness of favorite current identity related possessions across contexts. However, rookies did perceive that their favorite item related to a current identity as more appropriate for public display than veterans, suggesting a symbolic self-completion effect. Rookies also viewed their favorite possession related to a past identity as appropriate to use in more contexts than veterans, consistent with symbolic self-retention.

Results overall indicate identity related social ties, ownership of related possessions, self-symbolizing with relevant possessions (including self-completion and self-retention uses), and perceived appropriateness of favorite identity possessions varied according to identity cultivation stage. These results support the assertion that individuals deploy identity resources differently as they move through cultivation stages. A general implication is that identity cultivation stage is fundamental to understanding the person-possession linkage in future research.

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Extending the Sociocultural Perspective on Value Creation: the Role of Object Circulation in Consumer Collectives

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

According to the sociocultural perspective on value creation (Arnould 2014; Holbrook 1999; Holt 1995; Karababa and Kjeldgaard 2013; Schau, Muniz, and Arnould 2009, value is not independently situated in an individual or object, but “resides in the actions and interactions, which resources make possible or support” (Arnould 2014, 22). Thus seen, value creation is the outcome of consumer social practices (Arnould 2014; Arsel and Bean 2013; Schau et al. 2009). Even though the focus on practices has improved our understanding of value creation in consumer collectives (Holt 1995; Schau et al. 2009), there is still need for a more systemic perspective on value creation that accounts for interactions among practices (Arnould 2014; Arsel and Bean 2013) and their sociocultural embeddedness (Boulaire and Cova 2013). Our study shows that a focus on practices of object circulation can help illuminate this issue.

Drawing from current anthropological debates, we develop a value-in-action perspective that helps to further elaborate on *how value is created in consumer collectives*. The anthropological perspective of value-in-action explicitly focuses on social actions, that is, on acts “falling under a particular and culturally standardized description—and iterated” (Lambek 2013, 145). We adopt three of its primary tenets:

Circulation

Munn (1986) explains that circulation is value-creating because it promotes spatiotemporal expansions and transformations. Similarly, Appadurai (1986) argues that by looking at circulation, we can understand how objects become valuable (i.e., how value is created) and are valued (i.e., how value outcomes are assessed); Graeber (2001) notes that circulation has value-creating capacities; and Lambek (2013) considers the value creating capacity of ritual and performativity acts, including those involved in object-transferring. These understandings support our examination of circulation as central to the creation of value in consumer collectives.

Transvaluation

The value-in-action perspective also reasons that “there is a transvaluation from the activity to the object (Eiss and Pedersen 2002) and an objectification of value itself” (Lambek 2013, 142). That is, the value of actions is transferred and attached to objects, turning into objectified value. The process of transvaluation was discussed early by Marx (1909) and Malinowski (1922). Recent approaches note that “value is embodied in the commodities that are exchanged” (Appadurai 1986, 3) and that objects are not “fully or purely valuable in and of themselves,” but rather, store the value of actions and become signs of valuable actions (Lambek 2013, 155).

Co-constitution of Value and Value Systems

By focusing on the actions that create value, the value-in-action perspective recognizes the embeddedness of value creation in a value system that influences value assessments within a collective and which is, in turn, shaped by value-creating actions. This is consistent with the idea that value and values are interrelated and inseparable—they are essentially the same (Graeber 2001, 15).

Inspired by these tenets, our study mobilizes qualitative data collected through ethnography and netnography of the geocaching

collective, in which trackable items known as Travel Bugs circulate, with no predetermined itinerary, among geographically spread members of a large group of hobbyists. Any Geocaching player who creates a TB may set explicit goals for it (e.g., to travel from Canada to Alaska or to visit all 50 states in the United States), to be accomplished as the TB is carried and transferred from person to person within the Geocaching collective. An estimated two million TBs are in circulation among geocachers (Groundspeak 2013), and their traceable movement provides important insights regarding how value creation unfolds when consumers enact practices of object circulation.

From our ethnographic data we developed a conceptual framework that demonstrates how value is created in consumer collectives where objects circulate. We use the term *systemic value creation* to describe the process through which value is created by practices of object circulation, transvalued into circulating objects and supporting elements, assessed by members of the consumer collective and integrated back into a micro-cultural value system (Thompson and Troester 2002). Systemic value creation comprises: (1) Enactment (of various practices of object circulation); (2) Transvaluation (indexation of value potential to objects); (3) Assessment (identification and assessment of value); (4) Integration (alignment of value creation processes and existing value system). In addition to unveiling the process of value creation in consumer collectives, our findings explain how the ongoing integration between value systems and the stages of value creation infuses value creation with a dynamic character.

Our findings expand practice-based understanding of value creation in consumer collectives by specifying how enactments of practices by individual consumers ultimately lead to value creation at the collective level. While the process of value creation is initiated by some members who enact practices of object circulation, it requires the support of other members to generate value outcomes. Indeed, any individual consumer can enact value-creating practices in the system, but during the other stages (transvaluation, assessment, and integration) the potential outcomes of these practices are registered and assessed by other consumers. As these outcomes are integrated into the value system to inform future action, the whole collective is mobilized, and the value creation process is completed, generating value for the entire collective.

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Dishonest Conspicuous Consumption Leads to Social Costs Imposed by Social Equals

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Conspicuous consumption yields social benefits because people perceive it as a signal of status (Nelissen & Meijers, 2011). Visible products may, however, not always reliably communicate status because consumers may signal more status than they truly have. People could, for example, use borrowed money to buy conspicuous products. We call this behavior – signalling more status than one truly has – *dishonest* conspicuous consumption. In this paper, we investigate whether people will assign more or less status to conspicuous consumers when they know the conspicuous consumption is dishonest. Research has shown that people working in groups dislike members who overestimate their status within the group (Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, & Chatman, 2006). Because dishonest conspicuous consumption can be interpreted as an overestimation of status, people may assign less status to individuals who conspicuously consume dishonestly than to those who do not (H1).

We also investigate why people assign a low status to individuals who conspicuously consume dishonestly. Our hypothesis results from the following reasoning. Status is a zero-sum game (Anderson et al., 2006): Whenever one person gains status, at least one other person loses status. When people risk losing status because someone dishonestly signals a status that is higher than theirs, they could defend their status by bringing down the dishonest signaller. People who are at a similar level on the social ladder as the dishonest conspicuous consumer run a higher risk of being surpassed on the social ladder than people at a higher level than the dishonest conspicuous consumer. People who are lower on the social ladder than the dishonest conspicuous consumer run no risk of being surpassed. Therefore, we predict that negative reactions to dishonest conspicuous consumption are stronger for people at a similar level on the social ladder as the dishonest conspicuous consumer than for people higher or lower on the ladder (H2).

We report three experiments that test these hypotheses. All three experiments show experimentally that that dishonest conspicuous consumption is indeed socially costly (H1). Experiment 1 and Experiment 2 find correlational evidence for the hypothesis that participants at a similar social level as the dishonest conspicuous consumer assign the lowest status to the dishonest conspicuous consumer (H2). Experiment 3 manipulates participants' status to test H2, finds the same results, and rules out an alternative explanation (discussed below).

Experiment 1a & 1b

Participants ($N_{1a} = 286$, $N_{1b} = 313$; all participants in this and the following experiments are U.S. citizens from Amazon Mechanical Turk) read a scenario about a man named Mark. Mark's true status was manipulated by varying his income. Participants were told that Mark earned either \$85,000 per year (the *rich* condition) or minimum wage (*poor*), or they were not told anything about Mark's income (*control*). The status that Mark signalled was manipulated by varying his favorite clothing style. In the *high status* condition, participants read that Mark "spends a good deal of money on clothes. In the weekend, Mark likes to go out. When he goes out, Mark usually wears a suit and a tie. His clothing style can best be described as business". In the *low status* condition, participants read that Mark "does not spend a lot of money on clothes. In the weekend, Mark likes to go out. When he goes out, Mark usually wears jeans and a t-shirt. His clothing style can best be described as casual". Participants then indicated how highly they regarded Mark on a scale from 1, "I

do not hold Mark in high regard at all" to 7, "I hold Mark in very high regard". Because Experiments 1a and 1b were exact replications with identical patterns of results, their results were analysed together (there were no (interaction) effects of experiment on regard).

The interaction between income and style was significant ($F(2,593) = 8.03$, $p < .001$). In the control condition business clothes led to higher regard than casual clothes (4.84 vs 4.38, $t(194) = 2.8$, $p = .005$, $d = .40$), but in the poor condition business clothes led to lower regard than casual clothes (3.91 vs 4.15, $t(202) = 1.5$, $p = .13$, $d = .21$), although this latter contrast was not statistically significant. When Mark dressed casually, regard did not significantly decrease when participants knew he was poor (vs. control, $t(211) = 1.42$, $p = .16$, $d = .20$), but when Mark dressed in business attire, it did ($t(185) = 5.51$, $p < .001$, $d = .81$). These results are in line with our prediction that dressing in business attire when earning minimum wage is socially costly (H1).

Lower regard for dishonest conspicuous consumption was not merely due to disapproval of incorrect status signals per se, because in the rich condition regard was lower for business clothes (correct signal), than for casual clothes (incorrect signal; 4.74 vs 5.16, $t(197) = 2.55$, $p = .01$, $d = .36$). However, this was due to increased regard for casual Mark when participants knew he was rich (vs. control, $t(181) = 4.56$, $p < .001$, $d = .68$). Regard for business Mark did not decrease when participants knew he was rich ($t(210) = 0.65$, $p = .52$, $d = .009$). This suggests that high earners are socially rewarded for "dressing down" (Bellezza, Gino, & Keinan, 2014).

After responding to the regard measure, participants (in Experiment 1b only) situated themselves on a social ladder (Adler & Ostrovtseva, 1999). Self-reported status interacted with income and style ($F(2,301) = 3.64$, $p = .02$). The business-casual difference did not depend on status in the control ($t(104) = .52$, $p = .61$), but it did in the poor condition ($t(100) = 3.12$, $p = .002$; and in the rich condition: $t(103) = 1.79$, $p = .07$) where regard was lower for business than for casual for low status participants (at mean - 1 sd = 2.89 on a 1-9 scale; 3.22 vs 4.31, $t(100) = 3.1$, $p = .002$, $d = .64$), but not for high status participants (at mean + 1 sd = 6.14; 4.47 vs 4.07). When wearing business clothes, minimum wage Mark was looked down upon more by participants at the same (low) social level as him than by participants at a different level than him (higher). These results are in line with H2.

Experiment 2

To rule out that participants looked down upon poor people for overspending on expensive products, in Experiment 2, we held the price of the product constant but manipulated whether it was used for signalling status. Participants ($N = 760$) read about Mark who had bought \$270 headphones. In the *public* condition, Mark had bought the headphones "because of their markedly trendy design. He wears them mostly when he is out and about". In the *private* condition, Mark had bought the headphones "because of their markedly superior sound quality. He only wears them when he is at home, listening to music by himself". Income was manipulated, and regard and participants' status were measured in the same way as in Experiment 1.

Results show a (marginally significant) income x status-signalling x self-reported status interaction ($F(2,748) = 2.26$, $p = .10$). The effect of status-signalling depended on participants' status only in the poor condition (poor: $t(267) = 2.31$, $p = .02$; control: $t(248) = 0.07$, $p = .95$; rich: $t(239) = 0.54$, $p = .59$). When publicly (vs. privately)

wearing expensive headphones, minimum-wage earning Mark was regarded lower by low status participants (at mean - 1sd = 2.79; 2.42 vs 3.41, $t(267) = 4.65$, $p < .001$, $d = .57$), but not by high status participants (at mean + 1sd = 5.95; 2.72 vs 2.99, $t(267) = 1.21$, $p = .23$, $d = .15$). Buying expensive products to signal a high status (control and rich condition) lead to low regard, regardless of participants' own status. However, buying expensive products to signal an *exaggeratedly* high status (poor condition), lead to lower regard for participants who were at the same (low) social level as the dishonest signaller than for participants at a different level on the ladder (high). These results show that dishonest conspicuous consumption leads to lower regard by social equals when the conspicuous products are used to signal an exaggeratedly high status, not when they are merely too expensive for the signaller.

Experiment 3

Low status people could simply be harsher in their social judgments than high status people (Pitesa & Thau, 2014), which could also explain the three-way interaction in Experiments 1 and 2. In this experiment, the dishonest conspicuous consumer's status was average (instead of low as in Experiments 1 and 2). According to the alternative explanation, negative reactions should still be stronger for low status participants than for average or high status participants. According to H2, however, negative reactions against dishonest conspicuous consumption are stronger for participants at a similar level as the dishonest conspicuous consumer than for participants at a higher or lower level. Hence, according to H2, negative reactions should now be stronger for average status participants than for low or high status participants.

Participants ($N = 316$) were told that people's monthly incomes could be divided into seven tiers: <\$1000, \$1000-\$1499, ..., >\$3500 (Ordabayeva & Chandon, 2011) and they were shown the favorite car brand for each tier, e.g., Lexus for tier seven. Participants were told that their neighbor had an income from *tier three* (average status) and drove a *tier three Chevrolet* (honest signal) or a *tier five BMW* (dishonest signal). A pre-test confirmed that, when there is no mention of whether the cars are honest or dishonest signals, people have higher regard for people who drive a BMW than for those who drive a Chevrolet ($M_{BMW} = 4.5$ vs $M_{Chevrolet} = 4.04$, $t(85) = 1.846$, $p = .06$, $d = .42$). Participants' status was manipulated by asking them to imagine having an income from *tier two*, *four*, or *six*. Participants then indicated how highly they regarded their neighbor.

In short, this experiment had a 2 (neighbor's signal: honest (Chevrolet) vs dishonest (BMW)) \times 3 (participant's social position: two vs four vs six) design. We expected lower regard for BMW, a dishonest signal, than for Chevrolet, an honest signal (H1). According to H2, the dishonesty effect should be strongest for participants at a similar level as the dishonest conspicuous consumer, i.e., participants at position four; according to the alternative hypothesis, the dishonesty effect should be strongest for low status participants, i.e., participants at position two. As predicted by H1 and H2, there was a negative effect of dishonest signalling (BMW vs. Chevrolet) at each social position and it was greater ($t(310) = 2.363$, $p = .01$) for position four (4.75 vs 3.36, $t(78) = 4.67$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.04$) than for position two (4.07 vs 3.41, $t(123) = 2.79$, $p = .005$, $d = .49$) and six (4.62 vs 4.13, $t(109) = 1.945$, $p = .052$, $d = .36$). This shows experimentally that participants with a similar status as the dishonest conspicuous consumer react most negatively to him/her (H2).

Discussion

Three experiments showed that people have less regard for individuals who conspicuously consume dishonestly, especially when

it threatens their own position in the social hierarchy. These findings provide insight into the unanswered question of why people dislike others who overestimate their status (Anderson et al., 2006). In addition, this research questions the common comparison of human conspicuous consumption to a peacock showing off its tail (Griskevicius et al., 2007). This metaphor may be ill chosen. The size of a peacock's tail is a reliable indicator of the quality of its genes because only healthy peacocks can afford the costs of a large tail, such as having to invest energy in growing and maintaining the tail. The high cost of having a large tail precludes the existence of low quality peacocks with large tails, which makes tail size an honest signal of gene quality. The price of most conspicuous products, however, is not high enough to prevent low status people from acquiring these products. Therefore, unlike the peacock's tail, conspicuous consumption will not always be an honest signal of status.

Conspicuous consumption produces social benefits (Nelissen & Meijers, 2012), which may entice low status individuals to send out dishonest signals. Research has indeed shown that lower status people are attracted to high status consumption (Charles, Hurst, & Roussanov, 2009; Han, Nunes, & Drèze, 2010). This research shows, however, that in addition to the monetary cost of visibly expensive products, conspicuous consumption may not lead to social benefits but to substantive social costs, if the audience finds out that the conspicuous consumption is dishonest.

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Perceived Employee's Authenticity - What Is It? How Can It Be Measured? Does It Affect Customer Behavior?

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The concept of customer's perceived authenticity is intensively discussed in the marketing literature and is termed as "one cornerstone of contemporary marketing" (Brown, Kozinets, and Sherry 2003, p. 21). Past research focuses on authenticity within the brand arena (e.g., Napoli et al. 2014), employee's self-reported authenticity (e.g., Ashforth and Tomiuk 2000), and employee's authentic emotional display (e.g., Grandey et al. 2005). Only a few studies have investigated the customer perspective of employee authenticity so far (Sirianni et al. 2013; Yagil 2014), whereby the exact nature and dimensional structure of the construct have been largely ignored. To the best of the authors' knowledge, no holistic conceptualization and operationalization of customer's perceived employee's authenticity exists. Due to the rising need for authenticity in consumption processes, a comprehensive examination of customer's perceived employee's authenticity (PEA) is a research topic that demands further attention. This is emphasized by the subjectivity of service evaluations due to the *uno actu* principle and the immaterial nature of services, since no objective quality criteria (e.g., durability, workmanship) can be drawn on. Therefore, customer employee interactions serve as a surrogate measure for quality constituting a crucial success factor. The fact that individuals' perceptions of each other are the basis of social interactions (Fiske et al. 1987), and thus of positive service experiences, highlights the importance of investigating the underlying mechanisms that affect customers' perceptions of employees. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of how customers perceive authentic employees would provide relevant insights into customers' perceptual processes and help to explain behavioral outcomes of service interactions for the purpose of improving service encounters.

To fill this research gap, the present study aims to conceptualize the customer's perception of authentic employees as well as to develop a PEA scale and analyze it. Therefore, the following steps are implemented: First, by building on relevant findings drawn from the social cognition literature, a theoretical framework is developed. Second, to integrate the customer's conceptions of authentic employees, two qualitative studies (Study 1, N=66; Study 2, N=34) are conducted along with a literature review. Third, building on these findings, items covering the identified dimensions are generated. In Study 3 (N=216), an exploratory factor analysis is implemented to determine the dimensionality of the scale. In Study 4 (N=303), using a shorter scale and a new sample of individuals, exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses are used to further determine the dimensionality of the scale. Additionally, the scale's distinctiveness from relevant service constructs is shown, whereby discriminant validity is examined. Moreover, multigroup confirmatory factor analyses test measurement invariance of the PEA scale across samples and gender (Study 5, N=385). Fourth, using a role-playing experimental design, it is analyzed when and how PEA predicts customer outcomes (Study 6, N=435). This method allows us to investigate the direct and indirect impacts of PEA on customer outcomes, as well as the moderating effects of customer-specific characteristics.

Employee perceptions arise in a variety of settings and forms when customers interact with service employees. Accordingly, PEA is conceptualized as a subjective concept that involves variant and invariant aspects of an employee's behavior, appearance, and per-

sonality, which characterize his or her role identity as an employee as well as his or her personal identity. The present investigation demonstrates that PEA can be broken down into four dimensions (i.e., working passion, naturalness, advisory skills, and need orientation). The constructed PEA scale consists of 16 items and is therefore acceptable with regard to its length and ease of implementation. The identified items and dimensions capture the concept of perceived employee's authenticity in a reliable and valid way. The scale's invariance across different samples and demographics (i.e., gender) further supports the construct's generalizability. Internal consistency as well as the scale's conceptual distinctiveness from other relevant and related marketing concepts is confirmed. Moreover, the appropriateness of a second-order structure is supported by the data. Furthermore, the findings indicate that the four identified PEA dimensions successfully capture the phenomena of employee authenticity. The superior impact of employee authenticity on customer's in-role and extra-role behaviors compared to inauthentic employees is demonstrated and can be explained by a mediation effect through psychological safety. In addition, the findings show that the analyzed effects vary depending on customer-specific characteristics (i.e., aspiration level). Overall, our results not only highlight the crucial role of perceived authenticity in service interactions, but also uncover when and why employee authenticity is most influential in reinforcing customer outcomes.

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How Cultural Capital Shapes Green Product Preferences Among Materialists

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In 2010, Burroughs raised the provocative question whether green products might have taken over from “classic prestige goods” (extravagant, expensive, large) as the new status goods. Besides purely selfless motives that foster this growing market, the idea of competitive altruism can serve to explain the notion of green status consumption (Griskevicius, Tybur, & van den Bergh 2010). Following this idea and considering that status consumption and materialism are highly correlated (Eastman, Goldsmith, & Flynn 1999; Goldsmith & Clark 2007) one could argue that green might be ‘the new black’ in a materialistic world. However, this assumption challenges much of the existing literature on materialism that shows large agreement with regard to the incompatibility of materialistic and environmentally-friendly consumer behavior (Banerjee & McKeage 1994; Brown & Kasser 2001; Kasser 2002; Kilbourne & Pickett 2008; Muncy & Eastman 1998).

We offer an alternative account that allows co-existence of materialistic values and green consumption. In our theorizing we draw on Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital. Traditionally, materialists are seen as people who like to signal their economic capital and possess only limited cultural capital (Holt 1998). Recent theorizing about the nature of materialism (Shrum et al. 2013), however, suggests that even materialists might consider signaling of cultural capital as an important means to achieve their status goals. Two studies, one qualitative and one experimental study address the relevance of green consumption choices as ways of signaling cultural capital for achieving materialistic goals. We propose and demonstrate that materialists appreciate the associations of desirable rare personality traits that can be attributed to buyers of green products. This can lead them to favoring green products even when these products are not more costly than non-green alternatives.

We conducted four semi-structured phenomenological interviews. The interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and were conducted with two customers, the manager as well as one salesman of a farm shop in a well-situated neighborhood. We were particularly interested in different perspectives, customer self-perception as well as observations by the staff. We were especially interested in where we assumed materialistic tendencies and found several indications both in responses from farm shop employees as well as responses from the customers. The conspicuous display of wealth by owning status-relevant goods or enjoying activities such as playing golf or by sending their servants shows parallels to Veblen (1899) and is a strong indicator for materialistic behavior. Our interviews also confirm green conspicuous consumption practices for example by owning pro-environmental products that are both scarce and/or more expensive than alternative products. Additionally, even the acquisition of rather inconspicuous goods such as food can be transferred into an act of conspicuous consumption by using branded canvas bags as signs of their “good” shopping habits.

More importantly, products consumed at the farm shop might be appropriate for gaining social stratification by the demonstration of cultural capital. They are “ideationally difficult and so can only be consumed by those few who have acquired the ability to do so” (Holt 1998, p. 4). Especially buying and consuming food is an area that allows for the development of connoisseurship (Potter 2010). Having unique knowledge (e.g., about the origins of products such as meat, cheese or specific production techniques) enables a person

to differentiate. This view offers an interesting extension to the ongoing materialism discussion that focuses on economic capital and, hence, economic scarcity. By contrast, the notion of subtle signals such as cultivated knowledge that is invisible to outside groups but at the same time signals belonging to a certain group (Berger & Ward 2010; McCracken 1999) points to an additional avenue for materialists to gain social status. However, usage of cultural capital is not limited to other-signaling processes but can also be part of unconscious processes that serve self-verification purposes (Elliot 2013; see also Bourdieu’s (1984) notion of habitus). Combined, they make for a compelling case regarding the desirable features of signaling cultural capital.

In the empirical study (n=171), we employed a two-factorial (green personality traits: scarce, abundant) between-subject design. We measured materialism using Richins’ (2004) 9-item Material Value Short Scale. Participants viewed two different ads and were asked to evaluate them. Depending on the experimental condition, participants either saw ads indicating that only 21% (67%) of the population are willing to help others without expecting anything in return. Participants then were asked to make a hypothetical product choice for coffee set, each presented with two alternatives (green, non-green). Results of the experimental study support our contention that materialists prefer green products when consumption of these products entails scarce personality features of the consumer. While rare personality traits increase the desirability of the green coffee option for materialists, individuals with a medium or low materialistic disposition did not show any differences in product preference. Conversely, the information that personality traits are widely distributed increased the desirability of the non-green coffee option among materialists.

Concluding, results of both studies have several interesting implications. We demonstrate the relevance of green consumption choices as ways of signaling cultural capital for achieving materialistic goals and show that materialists appreciate the associations of desirable rare personality traits that can be attributed to buyers of green products. Future research should explore how much this green identity can be stretched with materialistic behavior without having a detrimental effect on the green identity and hence, on perceptions of cultural capital in that domain. An interesting avenue in this respect would be that cultural capital is socially constructed. Therefore, one could argue that a materialist that is surrounded by like-minded peers with similar (materialistic) consumption habits might not feel unease about this inconsistent behavior. Rather it is likely, that feelings of being morally superior to other people (i.e. who do not care about environment at all) helps to secure the own cultural capital. Following this idea, another interesting question that arises regards possible demythologization strategies materialists would apply when genuinely green consumers threaten their “green” identity.

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The Effect of Power Distance Belief and Status Demotion in Hierarchical Loyalty Programs

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In the era of relationship marketing, loyalty program has become one of the most important marketing tools for companies and an important part of consumer behavior (Henderson, Beck, and Palmatier 2011; Kumar and Shah 2004). According to The 2015 Colloquy Loyalty Census, American consumers own over 3.32 billion memberships in total and 29 memberships per household, increasing at an annual rate of 26%. Among those loyalty programs, most are hierarchical in nature, or hierarchical loyalty programs (HLPs), which award consumers with higher customer status and exclusive benefits if they have exceeded certain spending level (Wagner, Hennig-Thurau, and Rudolph 2009). Although HLPs are widely used, their effect on consumer loyalty intention remains largely unclear and requires more attention (Drèze and Nunes 2009; Henderson et al. 2011). On one hand, it is unclear whether consumers with different cultural backgrounds would show different responses to HLPs (Henderson et al. 2011). On the other hand, whereas most of the previous research has focused on the positive effect of status elevation in HLPs, relatively little research attention has been paid on the possible negative effect of status demotion (Wagner et al. 2009).

Building on the recent development of consumer social identity, the current research intends to explore how consumers with different cultural orientations might be different in their responses to status demotion in HLPs. Most HLPs set up a spending criterion for the members (Kumar and Shah 2004). If consumers' spending level is lower (vs. higher) than the criterion, their status will be demoted (vs. elevated) to a lower (vs. higher) tier.

Most of the previous research in this area has focused exclusively on examining the positive effect of status elevation (Henderson et al. 2011). More recently, in their seminal work, Wagner et al. (2009) directly examined the effect of status demotion by identifying its asymmetric negative effect. That is the negative effect of status demotion is much stronger than the corresponding positive effect of status elevation, indicating HLPs can drive otherwise loyal consumers away from a firm. Based on this, the current research extends Wagner et al.'s (2009) work by proposing identity threat as a new underlying mechanism for the effect and identifying PDB as a boundary condition.

According to the social identity theory, status has significant influence on how consumers define themselves in comparison with others (Tajfel and Turner 1986). As a result, losing status or getting demoted to a lower tier would pose a threat to one's social identity. Similarly, given the importance of HLPs status in consumers' social identity (Bhattacharya and Sen 2003; Drèze and Nunes 2009), we expect that status demotion in HLPs is likely to cause social identity threat for the consumers.

More important, we propose the social identity threat created by status demotion would further jeopardize consumers' loyalty intention towards the firm. This is because after experiencing social identity threat, consumers tend to protect themselves from the threat by avoiding direct link with the source of the threat (White et al. 2012). In our case, the source of the threat is the HLPs or the firm. As a result, status demotion might threaten consumers' social identity, which in turn decreases their loyalty intention.

According to the identity threat literature, to what extent consumers are threatened depends on the centrality of the domain (i.e., status) to their social identity (Sherman and Cohen 2006). One such variable describing the centrality of status to one's social identity is power distance belief (PDB), which is a cultural construct referring to the degree of power disparity an individual expects and accepts (Hofstede 2001; Oyserman 2006). More specifically, previous research suggests status is more central to high (vs. low) PDB consumers' social identity (Kim and Zhang 2014; Torelli et al. 2012). Thus, we propose that status demotion would cause more (vs. less) identity threat to high (vs. low) PDB consumers, which in turn causes much lower loyalty intention.

Four studies were conducted to test our theorizing. More specifically, study 1A was a 2 (PDB: high vs. low) x 3 (status change: stable vs. elevated vs. demoted) between-subjects experiment, in which we manipulated both PDB (Zhang, Winterich, and Mittal 2010) and status change (Wagner et al. 2009). The results indicate that status demotion results in much lower loyalty intention among high (vs. low) PDB consumers, supporting our theorizing. Then, study 1B replicated the findings by using real airline consumers and real airline programs.

Study 2 was a 2 (PDB: high vs. low) x 3 (status change: stable vs. elevated vs. demoted) between-subjects experiment. We measured social identity threat (White et al. 2012) to test its mediating role. The results first supported the interaction effect of PDB and status change on loyalty intention. Then, the mediation analysis based on the bootstrapping methods supported identity threat as the mediator.

Study 3 was designed to further test the mediating role of social identity threat by ruling out other possible alternative explanations such as perceived benefits and negative emotion. It was a 2 (PDB: high vs. low) x 3 (status change: stable vs. elevated vs. demoted) between-subjects designed experiment, in which we measured social identity threat (White et al. 2012), perceived benefits, and negative emotion (Wagner et al. 2009). The results supported social identity threat as the mediator, whereas failed to support wither perceived benefits or negative emotion.

Through this research, we contribute to the literature in several significant ways. First, whereas previous research on HLPs has largely focused on how consumers achieve higher status or how consumers respond to status elevation (Henderson et al. 2011), we shed lights on the understudied phenomenon of status demotion (Wagner et al. 2009). Second, this research advances our understanding for the effect of status demotion by identifying social identity threat as a new underlying mechanism. Third, this research further examines status change in HLPs from a cross-cultural perspective and finds status demotion as a cultural sensitive phenomenon. Fourth, we also advances the PDB research by introducing it into a new marketing area, HLPs, and examining its effect on consumer social identity.

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Wanting Ever More: Accumulation Procedure Motivates Continued Possession Acquisition

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People incessantly gather and store material possessions. However, the possessions that people accumulate are not always essential to their survival or life quality. Moreover, material possessions beyond people's basic needs seldom improve long-term happiness or life satisfaction (Burroughs and Rindfleisch 2002; Diener 1984; Easterlin 1995; Van Boven 2005). If excessive possessions cannot bring additional consumption utility or substantially increased happiness, then why are people so obsessed with accumulating them? In this research, we suggest that aside from the status of owning possessions, the process of acquiring possessions may itself be a driver of continued material pursuits. That is, an individual may gather material possessions not only for the purpose of eventual ownership but also for the opportunity to engage in the accumulation process per se.

In real life, the accumulation of possessions almost always happens gradually. We posit that this piece-by-piece increase not only characterizes the accumulation process but also gives rise to the motivating power of that process. We test this prediction by holding constant both the total quantity of acquired possessions and the effort-to-possession exchange rate while comparing two different procedures to acquire possessions: piecemeal and lump-sum. A piecemeal procedure mimics the accumulation process in real life, whereby people gradually acquire possessions through repeated small efforts. A lump-sum procedure does not involve gradual increases, whereby people acquire more possessions at a time through efforts over a longer interval. We show that, compared with lump-sum procedure, piecemeal procedure is more likely to stimulate continued acquiring of possessions because a piecemeal procedure generates a stronger sense of achievement than does lump-sum procedure.

Our proposition is based on the basic need of humans to identify patterns in their behavior (Clary and Tesser 1983; Hastie 1984; Pyszczynski and Greenberg 1981). People exhibit a strong preference for coherence and consistency, and they are predisposed to identify patterns and meaningful interrelationships within a set of stimuli (Whitson and Galinsky 2008). We suggest that piecemeal procedure, whereby individuals engage in a series of similar actions to earn rewards, allows people to identify a pattern in their past and current efforts. Because every action in the piecemeal procedure generates a positive outcome and because the outcome of such effort consistently contributes to an increase in possessions of a certain type (e.g., book collections), people will attribute this increasing trend in the amount of their possessions (Ariely and Zauberman 2003; Loewenstein and Prelec 1993) to their own effort and so derive a greater sense of achievement. Holding all else constant, piecemeal procedure creates an increasing trend in possession accumulation whereas lump-sum creates a sudden increase. This sudden increase does not enable identification of a consistent pattern in one's behavior and outcomes. Therefore, we suggest that, compared with those who work a long time for a relatively larger lump-sum reward, those who earn rewards piece by piece will view their actions more as achievements. In turn, this sense of achievement motivates people to continue their course of action (i.e., acquiring more possessions).

We conducted three experiments to test our hypothesis. Experiment 1 was designed to demonstrate the core effect and test feelings of achievement as the underlying mechanism. Specifically, participants in Experiment 1 worked on five small repetitive tasks to earn product rewards. They either received the products one by one after

finishing each task or received them altogether after all five tasks were finished. Then participants were presented with a chance to earn an extra similar reward. We showed that people who received the products one by one ($M = 4.11$, $SD = 1.96$) were more likely than those who received the products altogether to continue working for the extra reward ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 2.06$), $t(77) = 1.80$, $p = .07$, $d = .41$. In addition, those in the piecemeal condition persisted significantly longer on the extra task to earn an additional reward ($M = 303.8$, $SD = 49.0$) than those in the lumpsum condition ($M = 246.0$, $SD = 112.1$), $t(54) = 2.64$, $p = .008$, $d = .67$. Finally, a bootstrapping analysis indicates that the effect of acquisition procedure on willingness to work is mediated by perceived achievement.

Experiment 2 continued to test the underlying mechanism. We tested whether piecemeal procedure's advantage over lump-sum procedure would diminish if participants no longer believed that the acquired items resulted from their own effort. Based on the proposition, we predict that accumulating possessions must be achieved through one's own effort. That is, the sense of achievement should arise from feeling that one's behavior has led to preferred outcomes or goals (McClelland 1985; Murray 1938), and it is associated with one's effort and competence rather than with luck or other random factors (Weiner 1986). Thus, if the growth in one's possessions does not reflect applied effort, then the increasing pattern alone will not lead to a sense of achievement. In Experiment 2, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2(acquisition procedure: piecemeal vs. lumpsum) \times 2(effort-possession association: yes vs. no) between-participants design. Our analysis returned a significant interaction between acquisition procedure and effort-possession association, $F(1,139) = 4.02$, $p = .046$. That is, if the rewards are directly endowed and not earned through efforts, then acquisition procedure will have no effect on people's motivation to acquire still more possessions.

Experiment 3 tested the boundary condition. We posit that an increasing trend is a necessary condition for people to feel achieved and motivated. If the trend is disrupted, such as when possessions acquired later are perceived to be much different from those acquired earlier, then piecemeal procedure would be no more motivating than lump-sum procedure. Experiment 3 participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2(acquisition procedure: piecemeal vs. lump-sum) \times 2(additional reward: similar vs. different) between-participants design. The analysis returned a significant interaction between reward similarity and acquisition method, $F(1, 121) = 4.85$, $p = .03$, thus providing further support to our hypothesis.

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Waiting to Give: The Effects of Waiting on Future Behavior

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Waiting is a common and generally unpleasant occurrence that costs consumers both time and money so it is not surprising that it has received significant attention in the literature. The wait time literature generally finds that longer waits incite customer frustration and annoyance and lead to lower service evaluations (Dube-Rioux et al. 1989, Hui and Tse 1996, Taylor 1994). However, previous wait time research has had to rely on service evaluation and future intentions as proximal outcome measures since return behavior at the individual level has been unavailable. Our results offer the first demonstration that longer waits not only negatively affect attitudes and intentions but also future behavior such as delayed returns or not returning at all.

We examine the effects of wait time in the context of blood donations in cooperation with the Australian Red Cross Blood Service (the Blood Service). Using the Blood Service's database, we unobtrusively track the effects a specific waiting experience on the subsequent behavior using unique donor identification numbers. The Blood Service data is supplemented by survey data exploring the traditional outcomes of satisfaction and intention to donate. We hypothesize that wait times negatively affect all three outcomes. Since a number of studies find that women's behavior in pro-social contexts is less responsive to changes in the environment than men's, we will also explore whether this gender moderation is evidenced across our three wait time responses (Andreoni and Vesterlund 2001; Andreoni et al. 2003, Conlin et al. 2003).

The survey, completed in the recovery room at four urban centers, took 5-10 minutes and 98% of donors completed the survey. The administrative data includes the complete donation histories from the time of the survey in July 2009 through 2013 so that it is possible to identify when, if ever, survey respondents returned. Our measure of wait time is taken from the administrative data and is recorded as the difference, in minutes, between the registration time (i.e., arrival time) and the start of donation (i.e., "needle in" time). 848 surveys could be matched with donors in the administrative data.

To examine the effects on satisfaction and intentions we use ordered probits. To study return behavior of whole blood donors we estimate a hazard model. Additionally, the hazard model accounts for the non-normality of the duration distribution and the right censoring of the data. The hazard model allows us to estimate the expected number of days a donor delays his/her return donation.

All three outcome measures show a strong negative effect of waiting. An increase in wait time of one standard deviation (20 minutes) above average reduces the likelihood of a donor reporting the highest level of satisfaction by 8 percentage points ($p < .01$) and the likelihood of a donor reporting that he is "completely certain" to donate again by 6 percentage points ($p < .01$). This negative effect wait time carries through to actual return behavior ($p < .01$); an increase in wait time of one standard deviation (20 minutes) above average reduces the likelihood that a donor returns on any given day by 12%. Our results show that while the effects of past donation history and age on satisfaction, intentions and actual return behavior are similar

across measures, there is a notable difference in the effect of gender; women stated being both more satisfied and having a greater intention to return (Satisfaction=0.18, $p < .05$; Intention=0.20, $p < .10$), but have a lower propensity to actually return (Return=-0.12, $p < .10$). Thus, the survey response data masks a potentially important heterogeneity.

To clarify the nature of the results, we include separate interactions for wait time by females and by males. Both men and women are dissatisfied with longer waits and they negatively affect intentions (Satisfaction: wait * men = -0.0009, $p < .01$; wait * women = -0.02, $p < .01$; Intention: wait * men = -0.01, $p < .01$; wait * women = -0.009, $p < .01$). However, the negative reactions to waiting only carry over into a negative return rate for men, with women showing no significant decline in return rate (Return: wait * men = -0.01, $p < .01$; wait * women = -0.002, $p > .10$). An examination of the X^2 statistics show this difference is marginally significant ($p < .06$).

This paper estimates the effect of wait time on the satisfaction, intention to donate and actual return behavior of blood donors. Longer waits negatively affect future behavior, along with satisfaction and behavioral intentions. While we find similar overall conclusions from the survey responses to satisfaction and future intentions as with the actual return behavior, however the survey-based responses do not reflect the heterogeneity we capture in the actual return behavior. In particular, men and women respond to increased time costs in different ways. Male whole blood donors have an elastic response: longer waits cause male whole blood donors, but not female, to delay their return to give whole blood. This finding corroborates existing laboratory and field evidence that demand for altruism is more elastic for males than females (Andreoni and Vesterlund 2001; Andreoni et al. 2003, Conlin et al. 2003).

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“Thank Me for Hosting:” The Role of Reciprocity in Sharing

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

According to the sharing literature (Belk 2010; Price 1975), sharing does not include reciprocity in the classical sense, as occurs in gift giving or commodity exchange. On the other hand, reciprocity seems to be ubiquitous in the sharing economy, where we find plenty of business models comprising sharing, swapping, bartering, commercial renting, leasing as well as buying (Botsman and Rogers 2010; Gansky 2010). We decided to investigate this contradiction in the context of Couchsurfing, a prime example of real sharing (Belk 2014). Couchsurfing is a platform on which members offer free accommodation to other members. Since Couchsurfing (2015) prohibits to charge for hosting, the type and amount of compensation is regulated implicitly. Except for small gifts, reciprocal acts usually involve intangible, interpersonal compensation (Belk 2014; Bialski 2011; Chen 2011; Hellwig et al. 2014).

The role of reciprocity has so far been only sparsely observed in sharing theory and we know little about the reciprocity perceptions of consumers who engage actively in sharing programs. Though prior studies have pointed out that reciprocity is involved in Couchsurfing (Bialski 2011; Chen 2011; Hellwig et al. 2014; Lauterbach et al. 2009), it remains unclear how different types of reciprocity are perceived and how they can affect the sharing experience. In order to close this gap, our research is guided by the question of how important reciprocity is for sharing and whether differences in balance of reciprocity perception may lead to different outcomes.

We address this question with a mixed method approach of the quan-QUAL type. To obtain some initial insights into the interrelation between giving, receiving, and the perceived balance between these two in a sharing context, we conducted an empirical pilot study. In this pilot study with 298 Couchsurfing hosts (48% female, aged 18-70, $M = 31$), we investigated perceptions of how much the hosts give to and receive from their surfers, as well as the perceived balance in their exchanges. The perceived level of what the host gives and what he takes (receives) from his surfers was measured with a slider from zero to 100. Four items from Pervan, Bove, and Johnson (2009) were used to measure the perceived balance of reciprocity (seven-point rating scale with 1 = totally disagree, and 7 = totally agree; Cronbach's alpha = .91). The results of the pilot study indicate that the perceived reciprocity balance depends on how much hosts receive ($\beta = .36, p < .05$ and not how much they give: $\beta = -.03, p = .65$) and therefore, it is not the result of an economic trade-off between giving and receiving.

In order to generate a better understanding of these complex interrelations between receiving and the perceived balance of reciprocity in sharing, we conducted 21 semi-structured interviews (48% female, aged 18-47, $M = 28$) and asked Couchsurfing hosts to keep an event-based diary ($N = 35$, 34% female, aged 19-58, $M = 32$). We analyzed both interviews and diaries using an interpretive, exploratory approach (Spiggle 1994).

The findings of both studies show that hosts generally welcome and accept reciprocal behavior, but that there is a different understanding of what kind and how much reciprocity is appropriate. What is considered to be a sufficient, appropriate, and valuable compensation further depends on the nature of the relationship between host and surfer.

At first, and during short-term stays with little opportunity for social interaction, the relationship is distant and superficial. The

host is indeed sharing his home with the surfer, but more in terms of *sharing out*, which is, according to Belk “dividing a resource among discrete economic interests” (2010, 726). Here, the host either gladly accepts any kind of compensation offered by the surfer, or even expects the surfer to reciprocate directly in order to achieve a balanced reciprocity (Sahlins 1972). It is common to bring a small gift (Belk 2014a; Bialski 2011) or invite hosts for coffee or drinks. Both material and monetary compensations often serve as icebreakers and endorsements for immaterial compensation (Bialski 2011; Chen 2011; Hellwig et al. 2014) like cooking a traditional meal, knowledge transfer or an art or musical performance. This type of reciprocity contributes to the joint experience (Hellwig et al. 2014) and is often regarded as more valuable and special than material or monetary compensation.

A balance of exchanges can also be accomplished indirectly through the community. It is considered a general principle that one should alternate between surfing and hosting (Bialski 2011; Lauterbach et al. 2009), which functions as stabilization (Gouldner 1960; Pervan et al. 2009) within the Couchsurfing community.

According to Sahlins (1972), balanced reciprocity between friends can develop into more generalized reciprocity over time. In Couchsurfing, friendship, intimacy, and trust often evolve quickly, despite the short time frame (Bialski 2011). A close relationship is usually what Couchsurfers seek (Bialski 2011), but it does not evolve during every stay. Outcomes of such a close relationship may occur in terms of experiential capital (Hellwig et al. 2014), personal growth, and mutual inspiration. Arriving at this stage, which is characterized by generalized reciprocity (Sahlins 1972), trying to reciprocate with material or monetary compensation is not considered necessary and could even jeopardize the relationship between host and surfer. In return for accommodation and invested efforts, hosts rather wish to spend time with their guest—getting to know the surfer, hear the stories, and learn more about his/her life, way of thinking, profession, or culture (Bialski 2011; Hellwig et al. 2014). When surfers do not meet the hosts' expectations, hosts feel disappointed or even exploited, which is an example for negative reciprocity (Sahlins 1972).

Our research contributes to the discussion on the relationship between sharing and reciprocity (Belk 2010; Hellwig et al. 2014; Price 1975), by generating a better understanding of the interplay between giving, receiving, and reciprocity for sharing behavior. By linking different forms of reciprocity (Sahlins 1972) to the sharing concept, we further provide a clearer distinction of why and where sharing ends and other forms of exchange begin.

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Understanding the Mechanisms Behind Consumers' Appreciation of Editorial Support

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Editorial support, i.e. the combination of advertisements with corresponding favorable news stories within one medium, is widely believed to increase advertising effectiveness (Kim et al. 2010). We wish to extend the findings in this stream of research by analyzing conditions and limitations of the reported positive coupling effect with specific respect to low-involvement situations. Given the importance of media qualities as contextual cues for the evaluation of messages, we expect 1) that perceived objectivity of the editorial content ad gauged from the medium will have an impact on consumers' reactions towards coupling. 2) We hypothesize that accessibility of persuasion knowledge and defense goals may influence the mechanism by which editorial support as persuasion attempt influences consumers' approach behavior toward the brand, e.g. in terms of purchase intention. We argue that less attentive processes might be equally important for the effect of editorial support on approach behavior. Consequently, we suggest investigating the effect under more incidental conditions, less prone to raising consumers' task involvement than standard forced exposure. By "incidental," we mean contacts with media and advertising stimuli that are modeled after natural contact situations: In such situations, advertising processing is generally not guided by external instructions, and thus consumers typically process the ads less actively than under forced exposure conditions.

A key feature of the effectiveness of publicity is its higher credibility compared to ads (Kim et al. 2010; Eisend and Küster 2011). Consumers often use their perception of media formats as a contextual cue for the validity of the information contained in the medium, particularly when their motivation to process is low (Hallahan, 1999). We expect that this contextual cue moderates the effect of editorial support. When consumers doubt the journalistic quality of a medium in terms of its objectivity, the repetition of the positive brand information may then trigger a defensive processing bias (Darke and Ritchie 2007), that works against the validity and the truth effect caused by the repetition (Arkes, Boehm, and Xu 1991; Roggeveen and Johar 2002), leading to reduced purchase intentions.

Hypothesis 1: Under incidental exposure conditions, the effect of editorial support on purchase intentions for a brand is more negative than if the ad appears alone, if consumers perceive the journalistic quality of the medium as low.

Editorial content is supposed to be more credible than ads since it stems from a "third party" that lacks ulterior motives and manipulative intent (Hallahan 1999). However, Friestad and Wright (1994; 1995) posit that consumers have heuristics about the persuasion strategies used in marketing communication. The heuristic "If a positive editorial report about a brand appears in the same medium as an advertisement for that brand, then beware!" could alert consumers to the manipulation that is presumably intended by coupling, without elaboration on the specific instance of this persuasive attempt at hand. The mere presence of the coupling might activate (unconsciously) defense goals (Liberman and Chaiken 1992; Darke and Ritchie 2007). Chartrand, Dalton, and Fitzsimons (2007) found strong evidence of automatic reactance that can arise without cognitive elaboration, and without conscious intention to behave reactant. We argue that with editorial support, i.e. the intentional coupling

of an ad and editorial coverage, being heuristically identified as an overly strong and "authoritative" persuasion attempt, the coupling could spur an unconscious reactance reaction, which would lead to avoiding the brand altogether.

Hypothesis 2: Under incidental exposure conditions, editorial support will lead consumers to react to the brand with lower purchase intentions than if the advertisement were to stand alone.

We tested H1 and H2 in an experimental study ($N = 68$ non-Marketing undergrads) under incidental exposure conditions (radio as background medium, "living room" setting, cover story and distraction tasks). Using PROCESS model 1 (Hayes 2013) we found a significant and negative main effect of editorial support on purchase intentions for the advertised financial service ($t = -2.79, p = .007$) and a significant interaction of editorial support and perceived media quality ($t = 2.39, p = .020$, corroborating H1 and H2).

We propose that the activation or accessibility of persuasion knowledge as a contingency variable can further explain the undesirable effect found in **study 1**. As Skard and Thorbjørnsen (2014) found, consumers possess knowledge about why ads are purposefully placed next to news stories about a brand. Such specific knowledge could quickly be activated as heuristic even without intense elaboration on the material. Then coupling will be less effective because consumers might feel—consciously or unconsciously—skeptical toward the claims about the brand in the news story and the ad (Johar, Maheswaran und Peracchio 2006), and defense motivations might be activated, which lead to avoidance behavior. We test this mechanism by priming persuasion knowledge

Hypothesis 3: When persuasion knowledge is activated under incidental exposure, consumers show lower purchase intentions for a brand that uses editorial support compared to a situation in which they are only confronted with an ad for the brand.

In **study 2**, again under the same incidental exposure conditions as in study 1, a 2 (commercial only vs. commercial plus radio feature) x 2 (priming: neutral vs. persuasion knowledge activated) ANCOVA with the perceived medium format objectivity measure as covariate for the dependent measure "purchase intention" ($N = 125$) revealed a significant interaction between editorial support and persuasion knowledge activation ($F(1, 120) = 6.86, p = .010$). Qualified by the significant interaction, a simple effect analysis showed that, consistent with hypothesis 3, the reduction in purchase intention between both levels of the prime was significant ($F(1, 123) = 4.77, p = .028$).

Contributing to the extant literature, our findings seem to suggest that the success of editorial support as an integrated marketing tool is contingent upon the perceived quality of the medium, and the accessibility of persuasion knowledge. Our two experiments consistently hint to mechanisms that are distinct from the process that produced the robust positive results in previous research. If consumers have reason to doubt the objectivity of the medium, they evaluate editorial support unfavorably. Thus, although some elaboration might be necessary to uncover the persuasion attempt, our findings suggest that "editorial support is an unduly persuasion attempt" kicks in as a

heuristic even when consumers are only incidentally confronted with the stimulus. From a methodological perspective, this finding sounds a note of caution against the use of forced exposure in experiments on editorial support.

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Activating Multiple Facets of the Self: How Identity Facets and Brand Personality Can Influence Self-Brand Connections

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Nowadays, it is crucial for companies to connect more with consumers and to create emotional brand connections (Malär et al. 2011). Brand managers need to understand how people can express themselves and reflect their identities through their product consumption. Previous research has demonstrated that individuals can use brands to identify with a specific reference group (Escalas and Bettman 2005), to differentiate themselves from undesired groups (Berger and Heath 2007) and to boost their self-esteem (Sirgy 1982).

In this perspective, it is important to understand how brand personality can relate to the different facets of the individuals to increase the self-brand connections. For example, does the rugged brand personality of Harley-Davidson reach more the dissociative part of our identities, while the exciting aspect of Apple trigger more the in-group identification of consumers? Drawing on the literature on identity literature, this paper investigates the effects of the desired facet of identity on the self-brand connections for different brand personalities to determine how brands can focalize on the bonding between the brand and the self-concept.

Consumers can relate and create connections with brands through its brand personality (Aaker et al. 2004; Fournier 1998). Choice of a brand with a particular personality can be a tool for consumers to express their actual self, aspirational self or other distinct components of the self (Belk 1988; Swaminathan et al. 2007). These aspects allow individuals to create connections and maintain relationships with brands. Self-brand connection is the degree to which an individual has incorporated a brand into his or her self-concept (Escalas and Bettman 2003). When consumers associate themselves with a brand to construct or communicate the self to others, they form a connection with the brand (Escalas and Bettman 2005).

Based on the reasoning above, we propose that the influence of identity aspect on brand-self connection is moderated by the brand personality. Consequently, the influence of the individual actual self on self-brand connections is stronger for sincere brands (H1) compared to other brand personalities. The influence of the individual ideal self on self-brand connections is stronger for sophisticated brands (H2). The influence of the desired groups on self-brand connections is stronger for exciting brands (H3), while the effect of out-group dissociations is stronger for rugged brands (H4). Finally, the effect of role identity on connections with brands is stronger for competent brands (H5).

In the first study, a survey (N=823) was conducted with 20 real brands identified as representing strongly one dimension of the brand personality in two pretests. Participants were randomly assigned to one brand that represents a particular brand personality. In this survey, the results confirm a strong positive relationship between the identity facets and self-brand connections. Indeed, actual self (B=0.292, $p<.001$), ideal self (B=0.135, $p<.001$), identified groups (B=0.212, $p<.001$), and role identity (B=0.249, $p<.001$) positively influence connections with brands. However, in the general model, out-group differentiation (B=0.029, $p=0.12$) doesn't have a significant influence on self-brand connections.

In terms of the moderating effect of brand personality, the results supported a positive moderating effect of brand personality on the relationship between the different facets and self-brand connections. First, actual self-congruence has a positive effect for all the

brand personalities. Even if this effect is positive for exciting brands (B=0.295, $p<.001$), sophisticated brands (B=0.240, $p<.01$), rugged brands (B=0.333, $p<.001$) and competent brands (B=0.154, $p<.01$), this effect becomes even stronger for brands that are associated with sincere brands (0.672, $p<.001$). To statistically test the significance of this moderating effect, the authors used the chi-square difference test ($X^2_{SiA}=24.11$, Δ d.f. 4, $p<.01$, supporting H1). Ideal self-congruence, however, has a significant positive effect only for brands that are sophisticated (B=0.307, $p<.001$) and has no significant effect on other brand personalities, in support of H2. Here, the chi-square difference is significant ($X^2_{Sol}=25.94$, Δ d.f. =4 $p<.05$).

In-group association has positive effect on exciting brands (B=0.433, $p<.001$), and rugged brands (B=0.164, $p<.001$), but has no significant effect on other brand personalities. However, our results indicate a stronger impact of in-group association on self-brand connections for exciting brands compared to the other brand personalities ($X^2_{ExG}=15.29$, Δ d.f. =4 $p<.05$). In terms of out-groups dissociation, this factor, however, has a significant positive effect only for brands that are rugged (B=0.334, $p<.001$). In support of H4, the chi-square difference test with Δ d.f. = 1 is highly significant at a 0.01 level ($X^2_{RuOA}=48.18$, Δ d.f. 4). Finally, role identity has a positive and significant effect only on sincere brands (B=0.154, $p<.01$), sophisticated brands (B=0.236, $p<.01$) and competent brands (B=0.662, $p<.001$), but has no effect on exciting brands and rugged brands. In support of H5, the chi-square difference test demonstrate that this effect of role identity is stronger for competent brands ($X^2_{CR}=31.99$, Δ d.f. =4, $p<.01$). All these differences demonstrate that brand personality can relatively increase the impact of the different facets of identity as a driver of self-brand connections.

In the second study, the authors manipulated brand personality by asking people to think about a brand that has traits related to a specific brand personality (N=164). Similar to Study 1, all the identity facets have strong positive relationship with self-brand connections, except out-group differentiation (B=0.044, $p=0.367$). Specifically, actual self-congruence (B=0.308, $p<.01$), ideal self (B=0.250, $p<.01$), in-group associations (B=0.242, $p<.01$), and role identity (B=0.163, $p<.01$) positively influence consumers connections with brands. The results also demonstrate that the brand personality moderates the impact of identity facets on self-brand connections. Comparable to study 1, the impact of actual self-congruence on self-brand connections was stronger for sincere brands, while ideal self-congruence has a positive effect on sophisticated brands, in-group on exciting brands, out-group differentiation on rugged brands and role identity on competent brands. This second study also suggests that the match-up between the right brand personality and the identity facet will result in deeper and richer self-brand connections.

In conclusion, the present research expands our knowledge about the role of self-expression motivations and motives by demonstrating that its effects on self-brand connections for different brand personalities. The present results demonstrate that managers should consider the congruence between consumers' identity and their brand personality to create stronger connections with the consumers.

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Sharing My Way or Your Way? Institutional Alignment of Ideological Tensions and Justice Narratives Within a Sharing Community

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Gift-exchanges, sharing and alternative markets as they can be observed within the “new sharing economy” (Botsman and Rogers 2011) flourish all over the world. Recent research has pointed out nuances of sharing and proposed a differentiation between concepts such as sharing, gift-giving and pseudosharing (Belk 2010). However, such distinction is oftentimes blurry as different ideological tensions exist within multi-stakeholder sharing systems. In popular media but also in academic accounts, “sharing” is displayed as a panaceum in a hyper consumerist world: It is not only seen as pro-social (Belk 2010), but moreover associated with an environmentally friendly lifestyle (Botsman and Rogers 2011) that fosters an efficient use of existing resources. From this perspective on sharing, the ideals of pro-sociality and sustainability go hand in hand. In addition to ideals of sustainability and pro-sociality, sharing also accommodates capitalist ideals. Indeed, the “new sharing economy” has brought forward numerous new business models (e.g., car-sharing, peer-to-peer rental) that outperform traditional businesses through their efficiency and profit margins.

Ideologies have been found to underlie and underpin most structures, exchanges, interactions, institutions and consumer behavior (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Üstüner and Holt 2007). Recent research has focused on how ideological struggles are enacted on the marketplace (Giesler 2008; Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler 2010), and how they might hinder the pursuit of an identity project (McAlexander, Dufault, Martin, and Schouten 2014) or firms to adapt innovative strategic orientations (Press, Arnould, Murray, and Strand 2014). However, only a few studies suggested how these ideologies might be aligned or form a hybrid structure (Holt and Thompson, 2004; Kozinets 2008; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007).

Against this background, this paper aims to answer the following research questions:

What different ideological tensions and different perceptions of ideology exist within a non-monetary sharing system? How are those tensions negotiated and aligned?

By means of an analysis of ethnographic data collected in the German sharing community foodsharing.de, we analyze justice narratives regarding the redistribution of surplus food items and uncover underlying ideological struggles, tensions and their final alignment through the adoption of an institutional structure.

Foodsharing.de is a German online platform aimed at reducing food waste. The organization connects retailers who have surplus food to give away with individuals (named foodsavers) volunteering to collect and distribute the food for further use. The role of the retailers in foodsharing.de is particularly noteworthy as they give away food for free although this could potentially cannibalize their source of revenue. No monetary flows are involved at any moment in time and the foodsharing platform positions itself as “ethical sharing”.

Our results show how the negotiation of ideologies and underlying principles of justice in the foodsharing community follows the classic dramaturgical structure of thesis, antithesis and synthesis (Marx 1956). Threatened by conflicting ideologies of fair sharing, the original ecological ideology of foodsharing is being re-negotiated through different narratives: The retailers’ capitalist ideology chal-

lenged the ecological foodsaver ideology (thesis) through suspicion of personal gain from free food (antithesis). In response, foodsavers created the “service provider” narrative (synthesis) to embrace the capitalist equity principle (tit-for-tat). Then, the pro-social camp within the community challenged an overly capitalistic framing of foodsharing as service provider through a heroic Robin Hood narrative promoting the needs principle of justice (thesis). This narrative in turn was at odds and endangered the ecological ideology of foodsharing (antithesis), namely the reduction of food waste. In response, proponents of the original idea created an equally heroic counter-narrative of the “Knights of the Round Table” (synthesis). An institutional structure sustains and emphasizes this heroic counter-narrative while still leaving space for other ideological orientations.

This way we yield several theoretical contributions. First, prior research came up with blurry classifications of sharing in opposition to other forms of exchange such as gift-giving or traditional market exchange (Belk 2010). We show that sharing communities are a nexus of pro-social, environmental and capitalist ideologies that are similar to communities of purpose (Schouten and Martin, 2011) and that the actions happening therein are hence difficult to classify. Second, in contrast to recent research claiming that divergent ideologies always strive for dominance (Giesler 2008; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007), we show that ideologies might as well co-exist in a peaceful manner through the balancing of fluent narratives. Furthermore, we add to research on legitimation and social structure (Giesler 2012; Thompson 2004) by emphasizing how institutionalization helps in aligning partly opposing and divergent ideologies.

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Taste the Waste – Constructing New Moralities through Taboo Consumption

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Morality underlies our decision-making and consumption behavior at all time: Is it right or wrong to buy / use a certain product? Is it sustainable to dispose of a certain product in certain ways? Do we feel compelled to conform to certain social norms?

Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler (2010) account for consumption as a form of morality play. Other studies show how morality influences consumption decisions (Crockett and Wallendorf 2004) or challenges social or economic structures (Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007). However, moralities are subject to change. In the beginning of the 20th century it was almost a crime to waste any food or material that could be reused, whereas wasting was considered as an acceptable behavior during the economic boom (Evans, Campbell, and Murcott 2012). The same holds true for slavery or child labor that, in former times, has been considered as morally acceptable, at least by members of non-en-slaved races or societies (Bloom 2010). Morality has been presented as a mainly socially constructed concept. However, recent studies suggest that materiality as well as practices play a significant role in shaping morality: morality changes through embodied consumption practices and reflexive experimentation (Sandikci and Ger 2010; McAlexander et al. 2014). Foregrounding materiality and embodied consumption practices allows us to question the role of consumption and understand how consumption changes. Following the claim of McAlexander et al. (2014), this paper examines the interplay between morality and consumption and the underlying mechanisms to change the moral code. We propose morality as an assemblage of material and non-material actors where new actors outside the established structure (for instance, taboo consumption behaviors) have the capacity to de-territorialize (de-stabilize) and re-territorialize (re-stabilize) the morality assemblage. Explicitly, we argue that taboo consumption behavior can act as a change catalyst (DeLanda 2006), as according to anthropological and sociological concepts, taboo consumption behavior is prone to destabilize prevailing social structures and codes (Durkheim 1963; Douglas 2013)

The paper aims at answering the following research questions: Can consumers construct new moralities through taboo consumption? If so, what are the processes involved? What tensions evolve? How are those tensions overcome or negotiated? What is the role of materiality in it?

In order to tease out the nuances of these research questions we rely on ethnographic data gained in the context of dumpster diving. The practice of dumpster diving, in this case, consists of taking discarded supermarket waste and reclaim the food waste for consumption. Dumpster diving is often related to the margins of society such as poor or homeless people (Hill and Stamey 1990). It is a practice which is regarded as highly disgusting, as non-dignified and highly stigmatized for humans by the majority of Western population and even by homeless people themselves (Duneier 1999; Eikenberry and Smith 2005). However, as we shall show, some affluent people also engage in this behavior. Instead of (or in addition to) doing their grocery shopping the conventional way, they prefer to scavenge through dumpsters for usable food items. As such they voluntarily engage in taboo consumption behavior. This way they challenge the established moral system in our contemporary consumer society.

Our findings show how consumers create new moralities by engaging voluntarily in taboo consumption behavior. The meaning of every actor in the network (retailer, product, consumer) has been de-stabilized and re-stabilized through reflexive taboo consumption

resulting in a new assemblage of morality. Similar to the struggles of assembling nature (Canniford and Shankar 2013) our assemblage of morality is first betrayed through the activity of dumpster diving. Then it is purified again by assigning use value to products finally resulting in a new emergent value coined by re-enchantment. The new moral practice challenges prevailing morality and demonstrates its contradictions and limitations.

This way we add to theory on morality by emphasizing the role of materiality in contrast to the former social-constructivist concept of morality. Through the material violation of an established order a new morality is created coined by an enlightened, value-creating and re-enchanted moral code of consumption. Explicitly, this shows us the role of embodied consumption practices in the overarching system of consumption.

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You are What (and How, and with Whom) You Eat: Effects of Food Identity on Preferences, Choice and Consumption

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A look at the way food is incorporated into consumers' lives suggests that our relationship with food may go far beyond the decision to eat more or less, indulgently or virtuously, as has been the focus of most prior research (e.g., Christakis and Fowler, 2007; Fedoroff, Polivy, & Herman, 2003; McFerran et al. 2010). Rather, food is a way for people to organize, signify, and legitimize a sense of self that is in tandem and distinguished from others (Xu, 2007). Accordingly, in this research, we propose that individuals have, "food identities": a systematic tendency to think about and interact with food in ways that shapes their perceptions, preferences, and consumption.

We have run studies for scale creation and validation, social categorization, and predictive validity. Our first measurement study was designed to capture a wide range of attitudes toward food to see if distinct constructs emerged. We collected 23 items to tap into different aspects of food identities. EFA suggested that 18 of these items loaded into four indices. These indices suggest that food identities may have two major elements: one's attitude toward food for the social experience it facilitates, and one's interest in the inherent hedonic nature of food. The four identities we found were "Value Seekers" (low social, low hedonic), "Community Focused" (high social, low hedonic), "Independent Gourmets" (low social, high hedonic), and "Social Connoisseurs" (high social, high hedonic).

Study two was designed to refine and further validate these measures through a confirmatory factor analysis. Trying new items in addition to the 18 from the EFA, only 31 items with loadings of above $\alpha=.5$ were used. We observed that the items loaded into the same four distinct factors with $\alpha>.75$. A k-means cluster analysis suggests that all four distinct clusters of consumers can be identified with substantial numbers (i.e. 60-90).

Measurement study three looked at construct validity. Here we used the top 16 items from the CFA and compared the four indices to items that should theoretically be similar to some but not to others. Across the different food identity indices, we found consistent evidence for items that were theoretically similar were positively correlated to indices while measures that should not have been correlated were not (i.e. frugality correlated with value seekers, but not with independent gourmets). None of the identities correlated with self-control. Looking at the test-retest results of the scale taken two weeks apart, the correlations between time 1 and time 2 were always greater than $\alpha=.82$.

We then explored if individuals could accurately categorize these identities for themselves and others, following Aquino and Reed's (2002) procedure for establishing identity. When given descriptions of all four identities, people were more likely to self-identify with the label that corresponded to their highest index score ($p<.002$). Food identity also impacted how many individuals from each identity they said defined their social groups. For example, those with higher scores on the community-focused index knew significantly more community focused individuals compared to the other three identities, suggesting that individuals may also cluster together with others of similar food identity – making it an important element in their relationships and experiences. Our last categorization task was for social others. This study tested whether individuals could reliably recognize the identities that matched other individu-

als. Here, we asked individuals to read definitions of our four food identities based on the indexed items. They then read vignettes about different people and categorized them according to these four food identities. In the case of all four case studies, people significantly identified the correct identity for the case study ($p<.001$).

As a preliminary face validity test, we showed individuals four food related vacations – one designed to capture each of the four food identities. Regression analysis using individuals' scores on each index showed that these four identities reliably predicted individuals' likelihood to prefer the matching vacation. For example, as scores on the "social connoisseur" identity rose, so did the likelihood to go and WTP more for, a food vacation that was described as a high hedonic, high social vacation ($\beta= 28.28, t(287)=3.59, p<.001$). Self-control was not a significant predictor.

We next looked at the role of food identities in predicting intentions to eat at a number of different chain restaurants throughout the country. Participants saw slogans for four restaurants and then answered their likelihood of eating there. We predicted that food identities would more significantly predict likelihood of going to restaurants that fit into similar quadrants of hedonic/social food categories. We found some significant effect of food identity, for example, value seekers were significantly more likely to go to a matching restaurant, $\beta=.384, t(62)=2.25, p=.028$. Self-control was not a significant predictor. This suggests that food identities have predictive power regarding food decisions above and beyond self-control.

Our last study looked at the role of food identities in predicting choice of restaurants (i.e. healthy versus unhealthy identity matched equivalent). We asked participants to choose the food identity that most accurately represented them. After choosing their food identity, participants saw a Yelp review for a restaurant that either matched or mismatched their food-identity. After, we showed everyone a Yelp review for an equally priced healthy restaurant. We asked which restaurant participants would choose to eat at if we gave them a gift card for dinner. People who saw an identity-matched Yelp review were significantly less likely to choose the healthy restaurant, $\beta=-.515, \chi^2(1)=6.16, p=.013$. Self-control was not a significant predictor. This study indicates that the decision to choose health or indulgence may be more related to how identity-relevant the food is described rather than based solely in individual's self-control.

These studies showcase the predictive power of food identities. We predict that food identity profoundly impacts our food decision making in a real world context, changes our responses to differently-constructed ads, and alters the way we think about and approach self-control and social dilemmas. Future work will be conducted to explore further the predictive power of these food identities for how people use food as social currency, as mood regulators, and more.

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“Self-fulfilling Prophecies” – The Impact of Age Stereotypes and Patronizing Speech on Consumers’ Cognitive Performance

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

“Age stereotypes” refer to people’s ideas (conscious or unconscious), judgments and images of aging and especially the elderly. As personalized or generalized (i.e. stereotypical) expectations, these images can exert an influence on both how elderly people perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others. In particular, expectations can be influenced by the physical changes or limitations associated with the process of aging. “External stereotypes” of aging can be individual or collective in nature, manifesting themselves in personal interactions with older people, institutional regulations concerning the elderly, and the way older consumers are treated with regard to advertising, product policy or services. “Self-stereotypes” of aging can also influence how the elderly themselves perceive these offers.

Stereotypes have significant power, particularly if they are self-relevant, and they can operate (without people being aware of them) and influence physical and cognitive outcomes. The literature discusses different hypotheses on the relationship between self-perception and external perception that are independently of each other, but each found empirical support (Rothermund and Brandtstädter 2003): The “externalization hypothesis” argues that one’s own experiences with growing older influence both self-perception and external perception. If these experiences are positive in nature the external age stereotypes also improve as a result, which in turn can reinforce consumers’ skills, thus again having an impact on self-perception. In contrast, the “contamination hypothesis” argues that people who develop a strongly negative external perception of aging run the risk of precisely this fate befalling them later in life. Driving this self-fulfilling prophecy is the individual’s belief that life is not really worth living after a certain age. This fatalism leads to low self-esteem or prevents the individual from taking appropriate preventive action early on. Contamination also means that negative external stereotypes significantly influence the cognitive and functional well-being of older people, as people affected by this fatalistic idea have no confidence in their performance or feel discomfort with their decisions. Prior research by Levy and colleagues demonstrates that priming with positive (vs. negative) age stereotypes improves (reduces) cognitive performance with respect to handwriting, walking, memory and numeracy.

The first experiment deals with the questions whether positive stereotypes lead older adults to activate their capacities, and whether these processes occur also in typical consumer decision-making situations.

A group of elderly subjects ($n = 122$, $M_{age} = 67.82$) evaluated the value for money of different rental apartments as described in offers. All the apartments were priced the same, but from their descriptions they could be clearly ranked in terms of quality. We controlled for prior experience considering offers for rental apartments (as covariate). Before conducting the task, one group of participants was primed with a positive age stereotype, the other with a negative age stereotype. We found support for the hypothesis that the effect of a positive (vs. negative) age stereotype on cognitive performance (quality of consumers’ decision-making) is mediated by self-efficacy. Self-efficacy triggered by a positive age stereotype also has an impact on self-perception of age. In summary, our research reveals

that positive age stereotypes (compared to negatives ones) enhance self-efficacy, self-perceptions of age and in turn the performance of elderly people.

Prior research in gerontology revealed that older adults are more impaired by time pressure than younger consumers, indicating that time pressure is an important factor to explain performance of elderly. In experiment 1, we extended this research, used perceived time pressure (yes or no) as moderator and found that when older consumers do not perceive any time pressure the impact of a positive age stereotype on self-efficacy and in turn on cognitive performance is intensified (significant interaction, $p < .05$).

In study 2 ($n=168$), we were interested in contamination effects of negative age stereotypes. Negative age stereotypes can play an important role in sales conversations. Sales staff may consciously and/or unconsciously effect elderly people’s self-assessment and abilities, as well as their attitudes toward companies and brands, by speaking to them in a patronizing manner. Patronizing communication usually involves an unconscious talking down to the other person, reflected in the vocabulary, grammar and topics of conversation chosen as well as the verbal and non-verbal characteristics of the communication. In experiment 2, we analyzed the impact of patronizing communication on consumers’ cognitive performance. We used vignettes to simulate sales conversations in the context of buying a vehicle. By altering the text of the vignette, the independent variable (type of communication employed by the salesperson) was systematically varied as patronizing (Vignette A) vs. non-patronizing communication (Vignette B). However, this “talking down” may not only affect older but also younger consumers who may feel they are not respected at all in sales talks. In our study, we thus analyze the reaction of old and young consumers to patronizing speech but hypothesize that cognitive performance of older consumers is more impaired.

The results show that the communication style does indeed have contamination effects. Consumers, irrespective of whether they were old or young, needed around ten seconds ($p < .01$) more to solve the task correctly when they had been confronted with patronizing communication beforehand. We also found that consumers in the patronizing condition were significantly less able to remember the correct price of the vehicle and the name of the customer. Negative stereotypes, here embedded in a sales conversation, can worsen cognitive performance. We found no significant interaction effect between age group and conversation type on cognitive performance. However, we also analyzed some additional variables (consumer’s satisfaction with the sales conversation, the perceived competence of the salesperson, and intention to buy the product). Here, we found significant interaction effects, indicating that the negative impact of patronizing communication on the evaluation of the conversation was significantly stronger for older adults.

Our experiments extend the work done in former studies on the effects of age stereotypes. The results demonstrate the relevance of the externalization and the contamination hypothesis in the consumer behavior context. Companies should be aware of unintended but powerful implicit discrimination of elderly.

Chroma Looms Large: The Influence of Color Saturation on Attention and Size Perceptions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This research demonstrates that consumers perceive objects with highly saturated color to be larger than otherwise identical objects with less saturated color of the same hue. We further propose and empirically support that this effect arises because highly saturated color captures consumers' attention. We argue that the tendency for larger objects to capture more attention provides a mental link between attention and size, but the direction of this relationship is reversed in the consumers' minds such that objects that capture more attention appear larger. From a theoretical perspective, this research provides new insights into fundamental effects of color on human perception. From a practical perspective, it elucidates a broadly applicable device to influence consumer responses to products, environments, and marketing materials.

Recent literature has emphasized the need for more investigation into perceptual phenomena such as size assessments (Ordabayeva and Chandon 2013; Van Ittersum and Wansink 2012) and color-related effects (De Bock, Pandelaere, and Van Kenhove 2013; Kareklas, Brunel, and Coulter 2014; Labrecque and Milne 2012, Lee et al. 2014), and recent research has specifically called for research on how color may influence size perceptions (Labrecque, Patrick, and Milne 2013). While limited prior work has established that color value can influence weight perceptions (Walker, Francis, and Walker 2010), comparatively little research has focused on the role of color in size perceptions. Most of what does exist suggests that darker and more highly saturated colors might *decrease* size perceptions as compared to their lighter and less saturated counterparts (Mahnke 1996). For instance, Gundlach and Macoubrey (1931) demonstrate that light objects appear comparatively larger than dark objects. Nakatani (1989) similarly shows that lighter circles are perceived to be larger than darker circles. In research explicitly pertinent to the current undertaking, Tedford, Bergquist, and Flynn (1977) find that squares with less (vs. more) saturated color are perceived to be larger. In a set of four experiments, we demonstrate the opposite effect, and we implicate attention as the underlying mechanism. We further suggest that the prior findings are limited to a forced-choice procedure in which the influence of saturation on perceived size is reversed when the expectations set by saturation are disconfirmed by a side-by-side comparison; this echoes similar reversals, such as with color darkness and weight (Walker, Francis, and Walker 2010).

Study 1 was a between-subjects experiment with 132 undergraduate participants. Saturation (high vs. low) was the independent variable, and there were two replicates (blue and red), resulting in four conditions. Participants first viewed an image of an interior, featuring a blue or red couch, depending on randomly assigned replicate. The saturation of the couch's color was high (100%) or low (50%), depending on the randomly assigned condition. A TV set in the image served as a benchmark on which to base size estimates. Participants were asked: "If the TV is 45 inches wide, how many inches wide would you estimate that the couch is?" Next, participants reported how attention-getting the stimuli were. For both red and blue replicates, results revealed that the highly saturated couches were perceived to be significantly wider than the less saturated ones. Mediation analysis confirmed that attention mediated the influence of saturation on perceived width of the couch.

In Study 2, 48 undergraduates participated in a between-subjects and repeated measures eyetracking experiment. Participants were exposed to series of alternating images, featuring 6cm objects (cubes or spheres) that were red or blue and high or low in saturation. Results revealed that high (vs. low) saturation had a significant favorable influence on initial fixations as well as overall fixation duration. Participants also reported perceived size of the objects, and results repeated the pattern of results from Study 1, with high (vs. low) saturation leading to larger size perceptions. (However, the effect was eliminated in forced-choice comparisons.) Mediation analysis confirmed that attention (time fixated on object) mediated the influence of saturation on perceived size.

Study 3 tested whether the effect carried over to product evaluations, depending on usage goals. Ninety-six undergraduates viewed a red gym bag with high (100%) or low (50%) saturation. They were given one of two goals: that it should be large enough to accommodate their belongings or small enough to fit into a locker. Results revealed the expected goal x saturation interaction, with the high-saturation (low-saturation) bag evaluated more favorably when the goal was a large (small) bag.

In Study 4, 161 adults (sourced via Amazon's Mechanical Turk) participated in a between-subjects online experiment. The purpose of the study was to investigate whether the influence of saturation on the perceived size of objects would also affect perceptions of the environment. Specifically, if a target object appears large, then the surrounding environment should appear proportionally small in comparison. Participants first viewed an image of an interior, featuring a blue or red table, depending on randomly assigned replicate, with either high or low saturation. Participants were asked: "If the blue [red] table is 20 inches tall, how high would you estimate that the ceiling is?" They responded with a sliding scale, ranging from zero to 200 inches. Results revealed the expected influence on perceived ceiling height for both red and blue table. In either case, the table with high (vs. low) saturation caused the ceiling height to appear lower.

Taken together, these findings diverge from the very limited prior research on this topic, and they contribute to fundamental insights on consumer responses to color, as well as highlighting some practical implications for color use in marketing. Not only do products with saturated color appear larger, but they cause the environment to appear comparatively smaller. In other words, the current research suggests ways in which marketers may employ color to influence consumer perceptions of products as well as environments such as retail interiors.

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Lots to Do or Lots of Ways to Do It? The Role of Mood and Mindset on Goal Motivation

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This research is an exploration of the relationship between mood and mindset on motivation to pursue goals. Mood is omnipresent, and thus, it may affect consumers as they adopt, plan, execute, and evaluate progress toward goals. Recent work has shown that one's mindset, whether one is focused on the process or the outcome of a goal, can influence motivation. This work has found that the effects of mindset depend on factors that include performance feedback, goal stages, and the number of goals being simultaneously pursued (Dalton and Spiller 2012; Townsend and Liu 2012). However, little attention has been given to the role of mood as a moderator of mindset on motivation. As consumers are always affected by moods, it is important to understand how mood and mindset influence motivation, in order to help consumers stay motivated to work toward goals.

Three studies provided evidence that when individuals are in a positive (vs. neutral) mood, an outcome mindset increases motivation to work toward a goal. Conversely, in a positive (vs. neutral) mood, a process mindset decreases motivation in goal striving. The research makes a unique contribution to the literature by examining the mood effect on creativity, or cognitive fluency, as the process for this interaction. According to mood-creativity research, a positive (vs. neutral) mood enhances creativity by promoting cognitive fluency, which refers to one's ability to generate a large number of non-redundant problem solutions (Baas, De Dreu, and Nijstad 2008; Fredrickson 2008). Building on this, we found that those in a positive (vs. neutral) mood generated more potential solutions to serve as means to attaining a goal. The larger number of available goal attainment means led to increased motivation for those in an outcome mindset because the greater number of means was perceived as offering more opportunities for goal accomplishment. However having a larger number of means led to decreased motivation for those in a process mindset because the greater number of means was perceived as requiring more effort.

Study 1 (N=151) provided initial evidence for our hypotheses. This study was a 2 (Mood: Positive vs. Neutral) X 2 (Mindset: Outcome vs. Process) between-subjects design. All participants were told about a credit card offer and promotion based on an actual college student credit card. The promotion offered 10,000 points if one used the card for \$650 in purchases in the first 3 months. Next, mood was manipulated by having participants watch an unrelated advertisement. Participants were then asked to generate a list of activities that they could do in order to earn 10,000 reward points. Subsequently, goal-oriented mindset was manipulated; half of the participants were asked to describe the outcome of executing the self-generated activities. The other half was asked to make implemental plans of execution. Lastly, participants indicated their willingness to sign up for this new credit card. An ANOVA revealed a significant mood by mindset interaction on motivation. Also, people in a positive (vs. neutral) mood listed more activities to achieve the reward earning goal ($M = 9.17$ vs. 8.05). When we regressed participants' motivation on the number of activities, mindset, and an interaction term, there was a significant effect of the interaction between mindset and the number of activities on motivation, $F(1, 146) = 10.39, p < .01$.

Study 2 (N=160) aimed to extend the findings of Study 1 by exploring the underlying mechanisms that involve the two mediators. This study was a 2 (Mood) X 2 (Mindset) between-subjects design.

The procedure was similar to Study 1, but participants created their own goal in the fitness goal domain. At the end of the procedure, we measured how participants construed the self-generated activities (i.e., mere tasks vs. opportunities). We replicated the findings of Study 1. Also, the mediation analyses revealed that the number of goal attainment activities, $[\beta, .41]$, and activity construal, $[\beta, .14]$, mediated the proposed relationship.

Study 3 (N=313) aimed to corroborate the argument that the proposed relationship between mood and mindset on motivation is initially driven by creativity, or cognitive fluency. To this end, we allowed half of our participants to freely generate activities as in Studies 1 and 2, while enforcing 10 activities to be generated by the other half. This study was a 2 (Mood) X 2 (Activity generation: Free generation vs. 10 activity items) X 2 (Mindset) between-subjects design. We activated a goal of learning Korean language and followed the procedure similar to Studies 1 and 2. At the end of procedure, participants were presented with a chance to actually learn 8 Korean words. As a behavioral measure of motivation, the amount of time that participants spent learning was captured as an indicator of motivation. Prior to analyses, 23 participants were eliminated because they failed to generate the 10 activity items as instructed. A 2 (Mood) X 2 (Activity generation) X 2 (Mindset) ANOVA with participants' learning time as the dependent variable yielded a significant three-way interaction, $F(1, 282) = 3.67, p = .05$. Of note, when participants were free to generate as many or as few activities to their goal attainment activity lists, the results replicated those of Studies 1 and 2. Examining participants who were required to generate exactly 10 activity items, the analysis revealed a main effect of mindset only.

This research addresses the role of mood in goal striving and motivation. Our findings show that the effects of mood on motivation vary depending on mindset. By investigating the mood-creativity link as the process for the interaction, our discussion can be expanded into the motivational effects of creativity. Intuitively, one may expect that creativity always enhances motivation. However, we demonstrate that this intuition may not be correct. Creative performance is a multifaceted concept. When it leads to cognitive fluency and the generation of a large number of goal attainment means, the enhanced creativity may decrease motivation when the mindset leads to a focus on detailed steps that must be taken to accomplish tasks.

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Identity Integration Predicts Indecisiveness in Identity-Relevant Decision-Making Tasks: Management of Multiple Identities Matters

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Identity is an important motivator of our choices (Levy, 1959; Oyserman, 2009; Reed, Forehand, Puntoni, & Warlop, 2012; Shavitt & Nelson, 1999; Sirgy, 1982). Not only are people motivated to express themselves through their choices, but to the extent that we all have multiple social identities—or social groups (such as our gender, occupation, ethnicity, etc.) to which we belong (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986)—making one identity salient has been shown to drive identity-consistent choice. For instance, after increasing the importance of people's family identity, participants reported greater intention to purchase a personal communication device advertised as a way to stay in touch with family (Reed, 2004).

Beyond choice, the question of whether multiple social identities can affect *how* people make decisions has been relatively unexplored. Yet these decision processes capture important outcomes such as decision difficulty or post-choice regret. We approach this question in a novel way to examine the role multiple social identities can play in decision processes. Specifically, we focus on individual differences in the management of multiple social identities—a heretofore underexplored variable in the context of decision-making—as a moderator in the relationship between multiple social identities and indecisiveness—a broad concept of conflict in decision-making, which taps into processes like decision difficulty, time to make a decision, and post-choice regret.

We propose that people with low identity integration (II; Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002)—or those who perceive greater conflict between their various social identities—will be more decisive than people with high II—or those who perceive less conflict between their various social identities (Hypothesis 1). To the extent indecisiveness is driven by how people manage the relationship between their various social identities, the relationship between II and indecisiveness should be confined to tasks that are relevant to those specific identities. We hypothesize that the relationship between II and indecisiveness will be apparent only in decision-making tasks that are identity-relevant (Hypothesis 2). Furthermore, if identity management strategies drive indecisiveness, II should have a direct effect on indecisiveness (Hypothesis 3).

Using self-report, behavioral, and affective measures of indecisiveness, Study 1 tested Hypothesis 1 across two decision-making tasks. After generating a list of either creative modes of transportation (Hirt, Devers, & McCrae, 2008) or creative uses for a brick (Chermahini, Hickendorff, & Hommel, 2012), participants were asked to rank order their top five ideas. Adapted from choice justification paradigms where participants have to choose between two similarly preferred alternatives (e.g., Kitayama, Snibbe, Markus, & Suzuki, 2004), participants were asked to make a choice between their third- and fourth-ranked idea. Indecisiveness was assessed via Frost and Shows' (1993) 15-item Indecisiveness Scale, the time it took for participants to make a choice (decision latency), and self-reported feelings of post-choice regret. Supporting Hypothesis 1, low IIs, compared to high IIs, scored significantly higher on the Indecisiveness Scale, took longer to make a decision, and reported higher post-choice regret regardless of task.

Study 2 tested Hypothesis 2 in a sample of self-identified working professionals with families. Focusing on the perceived relationship between two specific identities—work and family—we expected an association between low II and indecisiveness only in an identity-relevant decision task. Participants were randomly assigned to either a work-family (identity-relevant) or non-work-family (identity-irrelevant) decision-making task. In the former, they were asked to list creative things to do on vacation (a time spent with family and connected to the office); in the latter, they listed creative uses for a brick. As in Study 1, participants ranked their top five ideas and were asked to pick either their third- or fourth-ranked ideas as their best idea. As a measure of indecisiveness, they indicated their post-choice regret using the same measure as in Study 1. Results indicated that low IIs reported significantly greater regret than high IIs, but only in the work-family task, supporting Hypothesis 2.

To examine the proposition that low II would lead to indecisiveness in identity-relevant domains (Hypothesis 3), Study 3 experimentally manipulated II. Focusing on work-family identities as in Study 2, we predicted that those who recalled negative experiences about their work-family identities would exhibit higher levels of indecisiveness only in work-family decision-making tasks than those who recalled positive experiences about their work-family identities. The procedure was similar to Study 2 except that II was manipulated before the decision-making task. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three identity recall conditions. In the negative and positive recall conditions, participants were asked to “recall 10 negative [positive] experiences you've had managing being both a working professional and family person”. In the control condition, participants were not asked to recall any personal experiences. Next, participants were randomly assigned to complete the vacation (work-family/identity-relevant) or the brick (non-work-family/identity-irrelevant) decision-making task. Following the decision, all participants rated their post-choice regret using the same measure. As predicted, post-choice regret was highest in the negative recall condition, suggesting that lowering Work-Family II led to higher levels of indecisiveness in work-family decision-making tasks. The same effect was not evident in the non-work-family decision-making task. In the work-family task, participants in the negative recall condition were more likely to experience regret compared to the positive recall and control conditions. In the non-work-family task, regret in the negative recall condition was not significantly different from the positive recall or control conditions. This pattern of results supported Hypothesis 3.

This paper takes a novel approach to studying the role of multiple social identities in decision-making. By focusing on individual differences in identity management strategies and the decision-making process—specifically, indecisiveness—we show that how people manage their multiple selves matters for how they make decisions, particularly those relevant to the identities. The current findings thus may shed light on why some people are more or less indecisive than others and offer identity-based implications for reducing indecisiveness and improving decision experiences.

Knowing Your Role: The Effect of Reputation Signals on Participation Intentions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many brands maintain an online community where consumers discuss the brand's products, share tips, provide solutions, and connect with peers. A key component of these communities is user reputation (Lampel and Bhalla 2007). Brands go to great lengths to emphasize reputation in the community to motivate users to contribute (Bolton et al. 2004). However, the ways that brands signal user reputation vary greatly. While one community might use points to display a user's reputation, another may use more descriptive, hierarchical labels. Can the type of reputation signal impact users' participation in an online community? If so, why?

We suggest that label-based reputation signals differentiate from points-based reputation signals because labels can communicate the user's role in the community (Hogg and Abrams 1993). When clear roles are designated in a community, it increases the likelihood that individuals will have stable, positive relationships with others (Callero 1985; Mead 1934), creates group cohesion, and fosters community attachment (Hewstone 1996; van Knippenberg 1984). By contrast, when role clarity is low, individuals feel less connected to the group and are less likely to participate (Rashid et al. 2006). Therefore, when reputation signals have high role clarity, users will feel more connected to the community and will be more motivated to participate.

The next two hypotheses test the moderating role of membership length and community interactivity. According to Kozinets' (1999) model of developmental progression of participation in online communities, it takes time for new users to become connected to the community and high role clarity reputation signals can facilitate connection. Long-term users are already bonded to the community and connectedness is satiated (Brodie et al. 2013), thus mitigating the benefits of high role clarity signals. The advantage of high role clarity reputation signals can also be mitigated when the online community users also meet face-to-face, where strong social ties and connections can be built more effortlessly (Arrow and McGrath 1994) and high role clarity reputation signals are needed less.

Two lab experiments, a field study, and a field experiment have been conducted. Study 1 analyzes a large dataset of actual participation behaviors from a real support community. In Studies 2a, 2b, and 4, we created scenarios in which participants read about the reputation signals adopted in a community and were asked to rate their participation intentions and feelings of connectedness to the community. Participants were told that the community chose either points or labels, which were used to operationalize low and high role clarity reputation signals, to represent user reputation. In Study 3, we adopt a similar design, but survey users of a real online sports community.

The data for Study 1 consisted of the online community participation behaviors of 5,841 users in the T-Mobile Support Community. On July 19, 2013, T-Mobile changed their method of signaling user reputation from points to labels for all users of their online community. This study analyzed the differences in user participation behaviors before and after the reputation signal change. A paired samples t-test revealed that users started more discussions when the community used label-based reputation signals versus than points-based reputation signals ($M_{Labels} = .42$ vs. $M_{Points} = .27$, $t(5840) = -10.83$, $p < .001$). Additionally, users posted more comments

when labels were used to represent user reputation as opposed to points ($M_{Labels} = 3.29$ vs. $M_{Points} = 2.23$, $t(5840) = -3.23$, $p = .001$). We also analyzed the data for each 30-day period before and after the change and found a flat or decreasing pattern of participation before the change and an increasing pattern of participation after the change. Via an analysis of shared language using the Text::Similarity module (Pederson et al. 2008), which can be used as a proxy for connectedness, we also found greater word overlap when the community used labels ($M = 32.14$, maximum = 1,110) for the user reputation scheme when compared to the content when points were used ($M = 30.28$, maximum = 432). Additionally, the cosine similarity was greater when labels indicated user reputation (22.75%) as opposed to points (22.68%), and the Lesk measure also indicated greater shared language after the reputation signal change (.05% = points, .058% = labels).

Study 2a adopted a between-subjects design to compare Points vs. High Role Clarity Labels (Newbie/Expert/Master) vs. Low Role Clarity Labels (Blue/Green/Red). Participants were more likely to intend to participate in the community when high role clarity signals were used versus either type of low role clarity signal ($M_{Points} = 4.62$ vs. $M_{Blue} = 4.53$ vs. $M_{Newbie} = 5.49$, $F(2,77) = 5.29$, $p = .007$). Patterns for connectedness follow participation intentions. We found a significant indirect effect of reputation signals on participation intentions through connectedness ($a \times b = .56$, 95% CI: .13, 1.22). Study 2b compares Points vs. Low Role Clarity Labels (Blue/Green/Red) vs. Low Role Clarity Labels with role information. We found that low role clarity labels with additional role information increased participation to the same degree as high role clarity labels.

In Study 3, we created a field experiment with a real online sports community that does not have an existing reputation signal scheme. In a user satisfaction survey, we randomly assigned users to each type of reputation signal (points or labels) and asked about their participation intentions and feelings of connectedness if the reputation signal procedure were implemented. We also measured each user's membership length. A significant interaction (Reputation Signal Type \times Membership Length) emerged for participation intentions ($\beta = -.175$, $t = -2.15$, $p = .033$). We found that high role clarity signals are preferred by new users (-1 SD; $\beta = .43$, $t = 2.15$, $p = .030$), but not for long-term members (+1 SD; $\beta = -.02$, $t = -.09$, $p > .05$). The interaction on feelings of connectedness mirrored the results for participation intentions. The indirect effect of reputation signals on participation intentions was significant through connectedness for new users ($a \times b = .39$, 95% CI: .1318, .6205), but not long-term users.

In Study 4, a 2 (Reputation Signal Type) \times 2 (Community Interactivity) ANOVA on participation intentions revealed a significant interaction ($F(1,152) = 5.10$, $p = .025$). When the community interacted online, participants were more likely to intend to participate in the community when reputation was presented in high role clarity labels ($M_{Labels} = 5.19$ vs. $M_{Points} = 4.46$, $F(1,152) = 7.74$, $p = .006$). However, when the community included face-to-face interaction, the positive effect of titles diminished ($F < 1$). The interaction on connectedness mirrored the results for participation intentions. Feelings of connectedness underlie the relationship between reputation signal type and participation intentions, but only when the community met strictly online ($a \times b = .64$, 95% CI: .26, 1.07).

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Tie Signaling

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Although much of the literature on self-presentation and impression management (for a review, see Baym 2010) has focused on individuals signaling self-relevant information, less work has been done on signaling information related to one's ties. Ties are more than just the connections between people. Beyond their characteristics, such as strength (Granovetter 1973), symmetry (Gouldner 1960), multiplexity (Mitchell 1969), and homophily (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001), ties represent relationships, and these relationships are more than the characteristics of the individuals or the interactions and exchanges between these nodes.

We propose that consumers not only signal information about themselves, but that they also signal information about their ties on social media. We focus on a potentially socially costly behavior – bantering and teasing – to identify instances when the content is more revealing of information about a tie than about the individuals' characteristics.

Although there are many ways people can signal information about their ties, we investigate a particular type of behavior, namely friendly teasing amongst friends, on social media. Unlike signaling self-relevant information, in which the type of content tends to be self-enhancing (Fiske 2001), teasing often entails the exchange of content that are negative-valenced in appearance (Keltner et al. 2001). If the commentary were taken literally, it can lower others' impression of oneself. Thus, teasing provides a means to disambiguate signaling information about one's ties from signaling information about the self because if the abrasiveness of the content were misconstrued as signaling information about the self, it could be damaging to one's reputation. In support of tie signaling, we report three studies showing that (1) close friends are more likely to signal their ties when their interaction is publicly observable than when they are private; (2) people are able to disambiguate between signals of the self and signals of one's ties; and (3) the phenomenon is partly driven by people's desire to maintain their strong ties with close friends.

The purpose of study 1 was to document the basic phenomenon and test if people are more likely to signal information about their ties depending on whether the exchanges are publicly observable or private on social media. Participants were first asked to think of either a close friend or an average friend whom they frequently interact with on Facebook. After identifying a friend, participants were then asked to review all of their Facebook interactions over the past 12 months using Facebook's "See Friendship" function, a feature which grants users access to all of their previous activities. In one condition, participants reviewed and content analyzed each of their public interactions with their friend on each others' walls. In the other condition, participants retrieved and analyzed all of their private interactions with their friend over Facebook's private message. A 2 x 2 ANOVA of the percentage of teasing-related content exchanged reveals a significant interaction between tie strength and the channel of communication ($F(1, 204) = 4.44, p < .04$). Specifically, strong ties signaled their relationship more by bantering and teasing one another more frequently when their interactions were publicly observable ($M = 11.4\%$) than when they were in private ($M = 6.3\%$), while weak ties teased more in private ($M = 8.5\%$) than in public ($M = 5.7\%$).

Study 2 builds on the previous study by determining whether people can disambiguate tie signaling from signaling information about the self. That is, if signals of one's relationship is broadcasted

into the network, can the friends of one's network discern content where the sender is signaling information about himself as opposed to information about his relationship. Thus, whereas participants in study 1 content analyzed their own previous Facebook interaction for instances of tie signaling, participants in Study 2 were asked to review Facebook exchanges between two of their friends. The results revealed that participants who evaluated the interactions of a pair of friends with strong ties rated more instances of tie signaling through teasing ($M = 14.3\%$) than participants who evaluated the interactions of a pair of friends with weak ties ($M = 7.1\%$; $F(1, 117) = 4.03, p < .05$). Together, the findings of studies 1 and 2 reveal that tie signaling is more prevalent between close friends in public channels of social media. Although consumers have an alternative, more private channel through which they transmit more sensitive content, those with strong ties still signal their ties more in public. Moreover, tie signaling is not only identifiable by the individuals sharing the tie, but also by mutual friends in the network.

Lastly, to investigate the motivation behind tie signaling, study 3 examines what types of content participants choose to share across different channels when their need to belong is either satiated or deprived. We find that when participants were asked to select content to share publicly with a strong tie, they chose marginally more provocative content to transmit than when they were asked to share privately with a strong tie through private messages ($F(1, 284) = 3.17, p = .07$). This effect is moderated by the need to belong. When the feeling of belongingness is satiated by asking participants to make easier retrievals of their past interactions with the strong tie on Facebook, the difference in choosing provocative content between public and private channels is attenuated ($F(1, 284) = 1.03, NS$). However, when the feeling of belongingness is deprived by asking participants to make more difficult retrievals of past Facebook interactions with the friend, participants choose even more provocative content in the public-other condition than the private-other condition ($F(1, 284) = 3.82, p = .05$). These results suggest a motive behind tie signaling is to cultivate and groom one's ties with close others.

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The Facebook Mindset Effect: Incidental Exposure to Facebook Increases Consumers' Other-Focus and Promotes Conservative Product Choices

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This research extends the scope of prior work on consumers' path-to-purchase and demonstrates how incidental exposure to one channel *prior* to a choice task affects both consumer self-perceptions and choice in a subsequent channel. Specifically, based on a large-scale field study and subsequent experiments examining the underlying psychological process (in both field and lab settings), this research shows that exposure to the online social network Facebook prior to a choice task draws consumers' attention toward others and away from oneself. We show that this shift in consumer self-focus carries over to a subsequent choice task and attenuates consumer preference for unique product configurations and causes more conservative product choices, which has important implications for both consumers (e.g., larger choice regret) and companies (e.g., lower revenue streams).

The conceptual background of the current research is built around recent work on pre-shopping factors in consumers' path-to-purchase (Shankar et al. 2011; Verhoef et al. 2007), and the consequences of social network use on consumer preference and choice (Wilcox and Stephen 2013). A prominent finding in the latter research is that the online social network Facebook has a strong influence on (and to some extent amplifies pre-existing) self-presentation motives and induces a strong other-focus (Back et al. 2010). This shift in consumers' perspective toward others rather than oneself may have subsequent consequences on consumer preference formation and choice. The key proposition of the current research is that exposure to Facebook induces a perspective shift from the self toward others that may carry over toward subsequent choice tasks, causing a decrease of consumer preference for unique product options and ultimately more conservative product choices.

In Study 1, we examined the differential role of incidental Facebook exposure on customers' actual purchase in a subsequent car configuration context. We collected data over a time-span of 16 months from a large European car manufacturer and merged actual car configurations of the manufacturers' ordering system with on-site tracking data of the same manufacturer's online configuration interface. Predicting the number of configured car features (per hour) based on the percentage of Facebook referrers (per hour), we find that as the percentage of Facebook referrers increases, the number of configured car features decreases significantly ($\beta = -1030.27$, $t(4227) = 2.01$, $p < .05$), in line with our proposition. This finding is robust even when testing nested models with a variety of control variables such as hour, weekday, and their interactions.

To mitigate the self-selection issues of Study 1, Study 2 randomly assigned prospective car buyers either to a control or Facebook condition (browsing their Facebook profile for five minutes). Both groups were measured on their current state of self-focus and their preference for unique product options, before both groups configured a car for themselves. Providing converging evidence for Study 1, Facebook exposure led to a significant decrease in the number of chosen add-on features ($M_{\text{Facebook}} = 9.7$, $M_{\text{Control}} = 12.5$, $t(71) = 2.01$, $p < .05$), and a serial mediation model with boot-strapped estimates revealed that this effect is fully mediated by a decrease in consumer self-focus, which in turn decreased consumers' subsequent prefer-

ence for unique product options, negatively affecting consumers' ultimate choice of feature-rich product configurations.

The key question of Study 3 was whether increasing consumers' self-focus (rather than other focus) can attenuate the negative effect of a Facebook mindset. A 2 (Facebook vs. control) \times 2 (self- vs. other-focus) between subjects design mirroring the experimental setup of study 2 tested this hypothesis ($N = 230$). In line with our theorizing, we found that inducing self-focus experimentally (by using an essay-writing procedure) attenuates the negative effect of Facebook exposure on both consumer preference for unique product options and the number of selected add-on features, revealing the predicted Facebook \times self-focus interaction ($F(1, 226) = 5.04$, $p < .05$).

Study 4 aimed at inducing self-focus unobtrusively by the choice architecture itself. Participants ($N = 180$) were randomly assigned to a control, Facebook, or Facebook with preference learning condition. The latter was manipulated by answering a series of questions related to participants' favorite alpine sport (rock climbing, ski touring, etc.) prior to a choice task. All participants chose between a feature-rich and a feature-rich alpine backpack (counter balanced). In line with our prediction, the preference learning task effectively attenuated the negative effect of Facebook exposure on consumer self-focus, preference for unique product options, and the choice of a more feature-rich alpine backpack.

Study 5 was designed as a field demonstration in cooperation with a Swiss men's dress shirt manufacturer ($N = 164$). Mirroring the previous experiments, participants either browsed their Facebook profile for five minutes or conducted a filler task before configuring their preferred shirt on the manufacturers' website. Choices were consequential as three randomly chosen participants received their configured shirt as part of a company lottery. The results in this natural field setting revealed that exposure to Facebook led to a significant decrease in the number of chosen shirt features ($M_{\text{Facebook}} = 10.85$, $M_{\text{Control}} = 11.46$, $t(162) = 2.06$, $p < .05$), and a serial mediation model with boot-strapped estimates revealed that this effect is fully mediated by a decrease in consumers' self-focus, and a decrease of consumers' preference for unique shirt options ($\beta_{\text{IndirectEffect}} = -.046$, $LL_{95\%} = -.105$, $UL_{95\%} = -.007$). A comparison to a random sample of actual customers of the company ordering dress shirts in the same month ($N = 161$) revealed that this effect was also robust relative to this natural comparison group ($M_{\text{Facebook}} = 10.85$, $M_{\text{PreviousCustomers}} = 12.48$, $t(244) = 4.465$, $p < .001$).

In summary, the current research extends three previously distinct streams of research: first, this work contributes to the recent call for a more holistic understanding of consumers' path-to-purchase in shopper marketing research, and demonstrates how incidental exposure to a preceding channel alters consumer perceptions and choice in a subsequent channel. Second, the current work contributes to the emerging research on social network use and its implications for consumer motives and behavior. However, the perspective of this research examined how social network use may carry over toward seemingly unrelated decisions and the products consumers choose in response. Finally, we contribute to recent work on product customization by demonstrating the psychological mechanism that drives

more conservative, less feature-rich product configurations which have not, to the best of our knowledge, investigated previously.

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Antiservice and Healthcare Consumers: A Tale of Two Environments

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumer researchers have expended considerable energy measuring, evaluating, and determining what we mean by quality service provision. An underlying precept is that service providers are concerned about consumer well-being in the form of satisfaction and subsequent perceptions of product offerings and companies' images. Understanding differences between expected outcomes and actual quality and delivery are paramount so firms can gauge what they provide relative to what their consumers initially desired. One way of expressing this distinction is through some form of gap analysis that articulates differences between consumer expectations and performance. Such concerns demonstrate the importance of need fulfillment to organizations that seek long-term, positive relationships with their consumers.

Of course, even the best of intentions and implementations may not result in predicted outcomes, leaving consumers dissatisfied and marketers scrambling to rectify negative situations. Outcomes vary, but such service failures may cause consumers to experience several levels of frustration and anger that lead to vengeful feelings, thoughts, and actions. One possible way of adjudicating this situation is to offer consumers an opportunity to state their concerns, requiring service providers to listen to "recovery voices" and react accordingly. While recent research has questioned the extent of the service recovery paradox, or ability of service providers to improve on relevant metrics if they impress consumers with resolutions, it remains an important and recommended strategy. Once again, the underlying assumption is that service providers are dedicated to meeting their consumers' needs as perceived by them.

Yet the literature shows that service providers also do things that by their nature create consumer dissatisfaction. One example is the use of various penalties and sanctions that include monetary fines and denial or removal of services. Clearly, such punitive actions lead to the same negative outcomes, but they are justified as costs associated with running profitable businesses. While such penalties are on the rise and significantly improve revenues especially in industries such as banking and airlines, usage is confined to certain service providers where these actions have become standard procedures. A more extreme case involves service sabotage by actors within firms designed explicitly to inhibit or destroy service experiences. An apt moniker for such dysfunctional behavior is "antiservice."

How widespread antiservice is across providers and how deeply it penetrates within particular firms is mostly unknown. One study found that 90% of organizational informants believed that service sabotage was an everyday event. Thus, any form of remediation that follows is an unnecessary consequence of improper employee performance. This organizational climate begs the question: Is it possible for service providers to be perceived as going to the service sabotage extreme and using antiservice beliefs and actions to guide their service delivery strategies? If so, what is the result? To this end, we addressed these research questions by an ethnographic investigation of service provision and delivery across healthcare services in two different environments: the radiology department of a large, rural teaching hospital and the health complex in a maximum security prison. While these situations differ in their levels of restriction of choice, together they provide a unique continuum of possible anti-service actions.

Both investigations involved participant observation, interviews, and extensive *in-situ* relationship-building over an eighteen-month period. In one case, the researcher is a radiology resident and, in the other case, the researcher is a professor in a degree-granting prison program. While these contexts are quite different, they involve what scholars describe as "captured" consumers who believe that they have little choice once embedded in the delivery systems. For example, "patients" in a teaching hospital who are referred to the radiology unit are given little choice but to navigate the various stations and procedures placed before them as obstacles to compliance to frontline healthcare providers. Inmates, on the other hand, are devoid of healthcare choices and alternatives as they seek to understand and utilize the limited options available to them. Together, they offer a novel representation of levels of captivity that may be ripe for antiservice.

The few investigations that have looked at the "dark side" of service delivery have had little to say about why antiservice or consumer sabotage happens. Our results suggest that, to varying degrees, an oppositional culture may develop that dehumanizes patients and inmates, treating them as either an assembly line (hospital) or unworthy of quality services (prison). Of course, no one would seek such treatment, but they have little choice because of their captive situation and resulting power imbalance in favor of hospital/prison employees. This causes counterfactual thinking that culminates in an "us versus them" mentality. Consequences include negative affective states that place the blame on service providers for an absence of concern for the well-being of the consumers under their charge. They experience a lack of certainty and self-efficacy about important services that impact essential aspects of their lives, which conclude in a dearth of agency. An outcome for the hospital may be a lack of compliance with recommended health protocols, and for the prison the inmates may turn to the illicit healthcare market to meet their needs and desires.

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Compensatory Contagion: Social Identity Threat and Celebrity Contagion

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Drawing on fluid compensation theory (Tesser 2000), we show that people prefer objects previously owned by celebrities who are unrelated to a threatened social identity and that this preference is driven by contagion – the belief that a person’s essence can be transferred through physical contact (Rozin et al. 1994). These findings build on recent research identifying the role of contagion in consumer behavior (Newman and Bloom 2014; Newman and Bloom 2012; Kramer and Block 2014) and provide the first experimental evidence of the relationship between beliefs about contagion and social identity threat. Specifically, we contribute to the social identity literature by demonstrating that people attempt to resolve threat by seeking the essence of a celebrity in an alternate, unthreatened, social identity domain. Furthermore, we contribute to the contagion literature by demonstrating that preference for objects previously owned by celebrities can be positively impacted when that celebrity is unrelated to a consumer’s threatened social identity. Critical to the proposed role of contagion, all celebrity objects across studies were identity neutral and only made relevant to a particular social identity by the person who had previously had contact with them.

Social identity theory argues that a component of one’s self-concept is derived from actual or perceived membership in different social groups (Tajfel and Turner 1986). When social identities are threatened, people tend to avoid products related to the threatened identity (White and Argo, 2009) and are motivated to forget identity-linked promotions (Dalton and Huang, 2013). In order to maintain a positive view of the self (Steele, 1988), compensatory responses to threat often take place in an unrelated domain (Sobol and Darke 2013). According to fluid compensation theory, self-goals are organized in a hierarchical structure, allowing for various lower-level goals to be substituted to serve an overarching higher-level goal (Tesser 2000). Given that the purchase of celebrity objects is driven by the desire to acquire the essence of positive figures (Newman et al. 2011; Newman and Bloom 2014), we suggest that this preference will be augmented when the celebrity is associated with a domain unrelated to the source of threat.

In study 1 (N = 61) participants were randomly assigned to one of two manipulations: volunteer identity threat or athlete identity threat (adapted from Coleman and Williams 2013). Participants were asked to recall and write about a time when they failed or underperformed as an athlete or volunteer. Then in an ostensibly unrelated study, participants viewed a product from an online auction. Similar to prior work (Newman et al. 2011), participants viewed a picture of a black cotton jacket and were told that “this jacket was previously owned and worn by Mike Tyson.” A jacket was chosen because it is irrelevant to both the athlete and volunteer identity. Results showed that participants in the volunteer threat condition were willing to pay significantly more for Mike Tyson’s jacket compared to those in the athlete threat condition. This study offered initial support for our basic prediction that social identity threat impacts the valuation of celebrity objects.

Study 2 tested whether two distinct social identity threats would interact with two distinct sources of celebrity contagion. Participants (N = 160) were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2(identity threat: athlete/businessperson) × 2(celebrity: Bill Gates/LeBron James) between-subjects design. Procedures were identical to study 1. Results showed a significant interaction. Simple effects revealed that when the sweater was previously owned by LeBron

James, participants in the businessperson threat condition were willing to pay significantly more compared to participants in the athlete threat condition. Conversely, when the sweater was previously owned by Bill Gates, participants in the athlete threat condition were willing to pay significantly more compared to participants in the businessperson threat condition.

Study 3 provided a conceptual replication and investigated the role of contagion by manipulating contact. Given that contagion is a heuristic that operates below conscious awareness (Rozin and Nemeroff 2002), we predicted contagion to impact valuations during the presence of cognitive load. Participants (N = 137) were randomly assigned to one of eight conditions in a 2(threat: athlete/business) × 2 (contagion: low contact/high contact) × 2(load/control) between-subjects design. After the identity threat manipulation, participants completed an ostensibly unrelated study where they provided their valuations of a jacket either owned but never worn (low contact) or owned and worn (high contact) by Sidney Crosby. Results showed a significant 3-way interaction. Simple effects revealed that when participants viewed a sweater that Sidney Crosby had high contact with, only those exposed to the businessperson threat reported significantly higher valuations when they were under cognitive load.

The current research demonstrates one motivational force behind consumers’ preference for products previously owned by celebrities. Specifically, identity threat leads people to value the possessions of a celebrity associated with an unrelated social identity because of the desire for that celebrity’s essence – an effect we refer to as compensatory contagion.

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The Influence of a Maximizing versus Satisficing Orientation on the Evaluation of Desirability and Feasibility Attributes

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Maximizer categorizes those who expand and extend their search to identify the best choice, whereas satisficers settle for a “good enough” choice. When there is no option superior on all attributes, consumers must accept trade-offs. Do maximizers and satisficers differ in their trade-off preferences? When evaluating products, individuals can focus on the benefits provided, the acquisition and use costs, or some combination. For example, some consumers might covet a new advanced smartphone because of its innovative, high tech features and capabilities. Others might be concerned about the higher price and complexity of learning how to use these features and opt for a basic smartphone. The advanced features of the first option relate to the product’s desirability, whereas the ease of use of the second relates to its feasibility (Liu 2008). The issue explored in this paper is whether there is a difference in the relative focus on desirability and feasibility among consumers who vary in their maximizing versus satisficing tendencies.

Research has identified significant differences between maximizers and satisficers. For example, maximizers achieve objectively better decision outcomes than satisficers because of their greater search effort. However, they feel more regret and less happiness with their choices (Iyengar et al. 2006; Schwartz et al. 2002). In addition, if maximizers are given an opportunity to make a choice again, they are more likely to change their initial choice (Chowdhury, Ratneshwar, and Mohanty 2009). Consumers tend to use a maximizing strategy when selecting material purchases but a satisficing approach when selecting between experiences because they tend to engage in more comparison for the former than the latter (Carter and Gilovich 2010). However, research has not examined how maximizers and satisficers evaluate attributes that vary in desirability and feasibility.

Feasibility relates to the ease or difficulty of obtaining an outcome, while desirability is the benefit derived from an outcome (Liberman and Trope 1998). A trip to a nearby park may be highly feasible but not much fun (Liu 2008). Choices involving feasibility and desirability have been studied in construal level research looking at how abstract and concrete thinking may be affected by distance (Liberman and Trope 1998) but have not been studied in terms of how one’s maximizing or satisficing orientations might affect the relative importance of each dimension.

In our research, we propose that those with a maximizing orientation favor desirability over feasibility. Consequently, they are more likely to prefer higher-desirability, lower-feasibility options to lower-desirability, higher-feasibility options and are persuaded more by advertising highlighting desirability attributes than advertising highlighting feasibility attributes. In two studies, participants are presented with several scenarios involving alternatives with varying levels of desirability and feasibility. In the first study, the choice is between a more desirable but less feasible hike and a less desirable but more feasible hike. In the second study, participants are exposed to advertising highlighting either the desirable or feasible attributes of a laptop computer before evaluating the product.

In study 1, we used a hiking trip scenario, in which desirability refers to the beauty of park scenery and feasibility refers to the distance from home and the amount of parking available (Liu

2008). Participants responded to the maximizing–satisficing scale (Schwartz et al. 2002). The analysis revealed that participants with a greater maximizing orientation had an increased preference for the higher-desirability, lower-feasibility option.

In study 2, we extend study 1’s finding by testing the prediction that advertising that claims superiority in desirability attributes rather than feasibility attributes will appeal more to those with a maximizing orientation than similar advertising promoting the opposite. The prediction is based on maximizers wanting the best benefits and therefore being attracted to advertising that claims benefit superiority for a product. On the other hand, satisficers are more balanced in their concerns and are not expected to evidence a preference for products using superiority claims for desirability-oriented attributes relative to feasibility-oriented claims.

Participants read an advertisement for a new laptop computer that highlight desirability or feasibility attributes. They then responded to the maximizing–satisficing scale (Schwartz et al. 2002). The results show that maximizers were more likely to purchase the brand when they saw the desirability- rather than the feasibility-oriented superiority claim. However, satisficers were equally likely to purchase the brand regardless of the claims’ orientation.

Taken together, this research provides insights into how maximizers and satisficers evaluate feasibility and desirability information differently. Results indicates that maximizers tend to focus more on desirability attributes relative to feasibility ones and they are persuaded more by advertising highlighting desirability attributes than advertising highlighting feasibility attributes. In contrast, satisficers do not exhibit such differences across message attribute orientation.

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To Share or Not to Share: The Ironic Effects of Sharing on Consumer Memory

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers often share their experiences with friends and strangers through social interactions but whether sharing enhances or attenuates memory is little understood. Our research addresses this gap and explores the effect of social sharing on consumer memory. We propose that while social sharing can enhance memories through rehearsal, it may also facilitate forgetting by reliance on a “group mind”, i.e. believing conversational partner(s) will remember it, thereby reducing the motivation to personally remember the experience (Wegner 1985). We further suggest that this effect is moderated by identity-relevance such that memories high (low) in identity-relevance are more (less) prone to the transactive effect because people have higher motivation to protect identity-enacting memory and therefore are more likely to transfer these precious memories to the safe repository.

Study 1 was a 2 (identity-relevant vs. irrelevant) x 2 (shared with close friend vs. acquaintance) between-subjects study. 51 students read a shopping scenario, which was either relevant or irrelevant to a student identity (Coleman and Williams 2013), and wrote down a conversational script for how they would recount their experience to their best friend/new classmate. We recorded sharing content to ensure the same amount of encoding and sharing. They then participated in several unrelated studies for 60 minutes prior to recalling their shopping experience. This corrected recall constituted our dependent measure.

An ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between social sharing and identity-relevance on recall ($F(1,47) = 17.5, p < .001$). For identity-relevant experiences, consumers forgot more after sharing their experience with best friends as compared to classmates ($M_{\text{best friend}} = 1.83, M_{\text{newclassmate}} = 5.00; F(1,47) = 9.86, p < .01$); results reversed for identity-irrelevant experiences ($M_{\text{best friend}} = 4.11, M_{\text{newclassmate}} = 1.13; F(1,47) = 7.78, p < .01$). Thus, study 1 supported our contention that sharing identity-relevant experiences would result in memory decay when shared with close others.

Study 2 used 48-hours delay measure to provide a more conservative test and added another sharing condition- best friend with poor memory - to test whether TMS truly underlies our effects. Since we posit that the forgetting effect is due to belief in a safe collective memory system, forgetting ought to be mitigated if the sharing partner is perceived to have poor memory, rendering them an insecure repository. 93 students participated in a 2 (identity-relevant vs. irrelevant experience) x 3 (sharing with new classmate vs. best friend vs. best friend with poor memory) between-subjects study. The procedures were similar to study 1.

ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between identity-relevance and sharing partner on recall ($F(2,87) = 9.07, p < .001$). For identity-relevant experiences, consumers remembered more of the experience when it was shared with a classmate than the other two conditions ($M_{\text{best friend}} = 1.08, M_{\text{newclassmate}} = 4.40, M_{\text{friendwithpoormemory}} = 2.95; F(2, 87) = 4.67, p < .02$); for identity-irrelevant experiences, consumers forgot more in the new classmate and best friend with poor memory conditions than the best friend condition ($M_{\text{best friend}} = 3.18, M_{\text{newclassmate}} = 1.06, M_{\text{friendwithpoormemory}} = 1.50; F(2,87) = 2.63, P < .08$). These results provide evidence for reliance on a transactive memory system as the underlying mechanism.

Study 3 used gender rather than student identity prime (Berger and Heath 2007) and adult consumer samples to generalize our re-

sults. We added a condition wherein we informed respondents in advance that they would share their experience with a best friend. If we found no differences between the being informed and non-informed sharing conditions, it suggests a retrieval rather than encoding disadvantage. Furthermore, if sharing activates TMS, eliminating sharing should revive the identity advantages in recall. 157 MTurk workers participated in a 2 (identity relevant vs. control) x 3 (knowing about sharing with best friend before encoding vs. not knowing before encoding vs. no sharing) between-subjects study.

We found a significant interaction of the two independent variables on corrected recall ($F(2,152) = 9.09, p < .001$). In the identity relevance condition, informed sharing with best friend and no informed sharing with best friend had no significant differences ($M_{\text{knowing best friend}} = 2.03, M_{\text{not knowing best friend}} = 2.21, p > .75$) but they were marginally significantly different from the no sharing condition ($M_{\text{knowing best friend}} = 2.03, M_{\text{not knowing best friend}} = 2.21, M_{\text{no sharing}} = 3.22; F(2,152) = 2.39, p < .10$), confirming the forgetting effects after sharing with close others. In control, the “informed sharing” and “no informed sharing” with best friend conditions did not differ, but they both reported better memory than the no-sharing condition ($p < .001, p < .02$).

Study 3 replicates and extends study 2 by documenting memory decay for identity-relevant information after sharing with close others. Further, the results support retrieval-based forgetting rather than encoding-based forgetting as the mechanism for our results and also suggest that the act of sharing is critical to initiating TMS.

Study 4 further investigated the relationship quality of different transactive partners as a moderator. Past research in TMS has shown that people regard the Internet and digital cameras as transactive partners, resulting in poor encoding. We tested whether these seemingly secure transactive partners interfered with memory retrieval to the same degree as human partners. For further generalization, we used a different identity (nationality) along with a new experience (travel).

Two hundred and fourteen American MTurk workers participated in a 2 (nationality primed, versus no prime) x 3 (transactive partner: close friend, Facebook, digital camera) between subjects study. Respondents were primed (vs. no prime) with American identity and imagined traveling to Hong Kong. During travel, participants received a visitor guidebook containing 15% discount coupons for 12 brands (6 American and 6 international brands). Recognition of these twelve brands as another dependent variable. After the scenario, participants were provided photographs about their experience (e.g. Hong Kong tourist spots) and shared their experience verbally with their best friend or on Facebook or imagining having taken these photographs with their digital camera. 48-hours later, we measured memories of the experience and brand coupon.

An ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between sharing partner and identity relevance ($F(2, 209) = 3.37, p < .04$). The simple effect of social sharing was significant ($M_{\text{best friend}} = 4.27, M_{\text{Facebook}} = 5.75, M_{\text{digital camera}} = 6.66; F(2,209) = 4.62, p < .02$) in identity relevance but not in control condition ($p > .78$). For identity-relevant experience, sharing on Facebook and taking photos with a digital camera did not differ significantly ($p > .2$). However, sharing the experience with a best friend showed poorer memory than when sharing on Facebook ($p < .04$) or compared to taking photos with digital camera ($p < .01$). When the experience was identity irrelevant, there

are no differences (NS). Similar results were obtained for recognition of identity-relevant brand promotions.

Study 4 results suggest that although technologies such as digital cameras and Facebook can act as transactive partners, they may not be viewed as comparable to human transactive partners.

Our research contributes to an understanding of when and why forgetting may occur after social sharing. Theoretically, our research examines TMS as the underlying mechanism and social identity preservation as the driving motivation for memory distortions; two phenomena not yet accounted for in the marketing and consumer psychology literatures. To our knowledge, our results are among the first in consumer research to investigate the motivated forgetting in pursuit of identity preservation.

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Regain Attention with Brightness: Effects of Jealousy on Preferences for Brightly Colored Products

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Jealousy arises when either a real or imagined rival is perceived to threaten an important social relationship (Salovey 1991; White and Mullen 1989). The most typical jealousy-evoking scenario involves a romantic triad – that is, people suspect that their partner is interested in a rival and this rival poses a threat to their relationship (Parrott and Smith 1993; Salovey 1991; White and Mullen 1989). Yet, jealousy can emerge in other types of triadic relationship as well. For instance, children can be jealous of a sibling's relationship with their parents (Masciuch and Kienapple 1993); a consumer might be jealous of another's relationship with a salesperson (Chan and Sengupta 2013).

The key ingredient of jealousy is the perception that the attention that one has come to expect from someone as a result of one's a priori relationship with the person has been usurped. To this extent, it is distinguishable from envy, which results from the perception that others already possess something that one personally lacks. Thus, a man might be envious of a colleague whose spouse is attractive, intelligent and wealthy. However, he would be jealous if he finds that his own attractive, intelligent and wealthy relationship partner is spending time with another man.

Jealousy is likely to be accompanied by other negative emotions such as anger or sadness. Consequently, the behavior it elicits might often be attributable to these other, more general emotions. However, feelings of jealousy are likely to elicit reactions that are specific to the type of conditions that give rise to them. For example, if people feel jealous because the attention their relationship partner pays to them is being usurped by another (Bruunk et al. 2008; DeSteno and Salovey 1996), they may attempt to restore this lost attention.

However, although the motivation to regain attention is activated by a particular set of circumstances, it may generalize to other situations, increasing attempts to receive attention in these situations as well. To this extent, it could have implications for consumer behavior. That is, individuals who have recently experienced jealousy might be motivated not only to regain the attention of their partner but also to get attention more generally. Thus, they might be inclined to prefer products that are likely to attract attention of others (e.g., brightly colored clothing; see Duncan 1984; Harris and Jenkin 2001). Moreover, this might occur in situations that are unrelated to those that gave rise to the jealousy.

Three studies confirmed this possibility. In Study 1, participants were first asked to recall a past experience that gave rise to feelings of jealousy/envy/angry or a typical day experience (as the baseline control condition). Afterwards, participants proceeded to an ostensibly unrelated task, in which they were asked to imagine they were shopping online and were presented with a pair of coats taken from Nike's online store, one was brightly colored and the other was dull in color. Participants indicated their choice for one of the products in each pair. As expected, participants who recalled a jealousy situation were significantly more likely to choose the brightly-colored coat ($M = 57.1\%$) than those who recalled an envious ($M = 34.8\%$, $\chi^2(1) = 4.43$, $p < .05$) or a neutral event ($M = 23.4\%$, $\chi^2(1) = 9.69$, $p < .01$). Interestingly, participants who recalled an angry situation ($M = 57.9\%$) were equally likely to pick the brightly-colored coat as those who recalled a jealousy situation ($p > .94$).

Study 2 aimed to distinguish between the different underlying mechanisms of jealousy and anger and to test the mediating role of the motivation to seek attention from others. Participants first recalled a past event in which they felt jealousy, anger, or neutral. They were then asked to imagine evaluating bright versus dull paintings either in a painting shop (thus could potentially buy or own the paintings) or in a museum (thus not able to purchase and own the paintings). Afterwards, we empirically measured participants' motivation to seek attention from others. Results suggested that motivation to seek attention from others mediated the effect of jealousy on greater desire for bright products (95% CI from .0651 to .7364). This effect for jealousy only occurs when participants can personally own the product (i.e., in the painting shop evaluation condition), whereas the effect for anger condition occurs regardless of potential ownership, suggesting that although both jealousy and anger could increase consumers' tendency to seek bright products, they do so via very different mechanisms.

Study 3 tested a boundary condition (i.e., when brightness loses the attention-grabbing function) of the main effect of jealousy on greater preference for bright-colored, eye-catching products demonstrated in studies 1 and 2. Firstly, participants were asked to recall either a jealousy or a neutral event. Afterwards, participants were asked to imagine a welcome party for international students organized by the university. In the bright context condition, the supposed party attendees shown in the picture all wear bright-colored clothes, while in the dull context condition; the party attendees all wear dull-colored clothes. They were further instructed that although they have mostly decided what to wear and bring to the party (dress code: casual), they were indecisive about which pair of shoes they should wear to the party and they want to buy a new pair of sneakers for this casual party. As predicted, when the context is dull and thus a pair of bright-colored sneaker could gain attention from others, participants feeling jealous were more likely to choose a pair of brightly-colored shoes than those who feeling neutral ($M_{\text{jealousy}} = 66.7\%$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 33.3\%$, $\chi^2(1) = 6.00$, $p < .05$). However, when the context is bright, this difference disappears ($M_{\text{jealousy}} = 50\%$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 53.8\%$, $\chi^2(1) = .08$, $p > .78$).

Taken together, to our best knowledge, this research provides the first evidence that incidental jealousy can affect consumers' choices in situations that are *unrelated* to those in which the jealousy is induced. Our research also contributes to a growing body of research showing that incidental emotions can affect people's sensory perceptions and preferences.

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Going Green, Going Feminine: How Green Appeal Influences Products Targeting Consumers of Different Genders

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Green products are usually viewed as highly ethical and humanistic (Kinnear, Taylor, and Ahmed 1974). Moreover, being ethical and humanistic is seen as facilitating consumers' communal goals (Mazar and Zhong 2010). Communal goals, which involve a concern for the care, welfare, and nurturing of other people (Bakan 1966), fit the people schema towards female (Bem 1981). Bridging the research on green consumption and the literature on gender schema, the current research proposes that people associate green products with femininity.

Study 1 adopted the Implicit Association Test, a latency-based word classification task (Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz 1998), and demonstrated that it was easier for participants to associate the green product (vs. non-green product) with a female name than a male name. In details, participants performed the task in the block where "the female name matches the green product; the male name matches the non-green product" significantly faster ($M = 900.45$ ms) than the block where "the male name matches the green product; the female name matches the non-green product" ($M = 992.60$ ms, $t(34) = 3.51$, $p = .001$ using log-transformed data).

Study 2 demonstrated individuals judge a consumer involving green purchase as more feminine, but not more masculinity. In detail, adopting the Chinese version of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI; (Bem 1981), Customer X was rated as more feminine when X was described as making green purchases ($M = 4.91$) than when X was described as purchasing non-green products ($M = 4.38$, $F(1, 49) = 9.11$, $p = .004$). However, participants did not differ in their ratings of the masculinity of X ($M_{green} = 4.48$ vs. $M_{non-green} = 4.39$, $F < 1$).

Study 3 showed individuals were more likely to choose green over non-green products for a feminine (vs. masculine) friend. In detail, more participants chose the less luxurious green backpack when purchasing it for a friend with traits associated with the feminine identity (48.20%) than for a friend with traits associated with the masculine identity (19.70%), $\chi^2 = 7.822$, $p = .005$.

Moreover, we suggest this association would influence consumer preference for products designed for males versus females. Consumers can infer the product's characteristics from the characteristics of its consumers (McShane, Bradlow, and Berger 2012). Hence, consumers can transfer the gender schema to female/male products. Thus, we expect that green promotions or green add-ons are congruent/incongruent with consumers' schema about female/male products.

Congruity might improve evaluations of the target product because it creates processing fluency which would be misattributed to the product (Lee and Labroo 2004). However, Spence and Brucks (1997) suggest that experts/novices are more likely to use top-down/bottom-up strategies in information processing. As such, consumers with high-level product knowledge are more likely to favor female products with (vs. without) green add-ons because it brings congruity.

On the other hand, empirical evidence shows that moderate incongruity (e.g., spicy cakes) can lead to more positive product evaluation than congruity (e.g., high-calorie cakes) because resolving the incongruity is rewarding and thus increases consumers' positive product evaluation (Meyers-Levy and Tybout 1989). And consumers with limited knowledge about the product category are more likely to notice the schema-inconsistent information and to expend cognitive efforts necessary to reconcile the incongruity (Peracchio and

Tybout 1996). Thus we expect that consumers with low-level, but not high-level, product knowledge would favor male products with (vs. without) green add-ons.

Study 4 examines how a green add-on will influence consumers' attitudes toward female and male products. Results suggested high-knowledge, but not low-knowledge, participants evaluated green female body lotions more favorably ($M_{green} = 6.94$ vs. $M_{non-green} = 5.93$, $t(164) = 2.26$, $p < .03$). Low-knowledge, but not high-knowledge, participants evaluated green male body lotions more favorably ($M_{green} = 6.65$ vs. $M_{non-green} = 6.08$, $t(164) = 1.32$, $p = .19$).

Study 5 confirmed the robustness of Study 4 using real products in a different product category: real female and male vitamin products from a real brand. High-knowledge, but not low-knowledge, participants evaluated green female vitamin more favorably ($M_{green} = 7.57$ vs. $M_{non-green} = 6.71$, $t(225) = 2.66$, $p < .01$); low-knowledge, but not high-knowledge, participants evaluated the green male vitamin more favorably ($M_{green} = 7.15$ vs. $M_{non-green} = 6.35$, $t(225) = 2.66$, $p < .05$).

Our research reveals consumers associate green consumption with femininity. We discover new conditions under which green claims help to improve product evaluation. That is, the congruity between green appeal and product schema and consumers' product knowledge interact to affect product evaluation. Moreover, while previous research mainly treats congruity as opposite to incongruity, we suggests that congruity and incongruity could also be independent.

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The Dynamic Interplay between Structure, Anastructure and Antistructure in Extraordinary Experiences

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This study advances a current academic discourse in consumer research about the prevalence of antistructural versus structural tenets in extraordinary experiences (Arnould and Price 1993; O'Guinn and Belk 1989; Tumbat and Belk 2011; Weinberger and Wallendorf 2012). An extraordinary experience refers to a special class of hedonic consumption experience that entails high levels of emotional intensity, that is meaningful and unique, and that has the power to foster participants' self-transformations (Arnould and Price 1993; Carù and Cova 2003).

When consumer researchers started to study extraordinary experiences, they found it useful to draw on Turner's (1969; 1973) notion of antistructure (Arnould and Price 1993; Celsi, Rose, and Leigh's 1993). In this view extraordinary experiences are powerful events in which "communitas emerges as a characteristic of a social antistructure that frees consumers from their normal roles and statuses through shared ritual experiences and common goals" (Tumbat and Belk 2011, p. 45; Turner 1969). Recent consumer research has shown, however, that an antistructural perspective can fall short in understanding extraordinary consumer experience in today's marketplace (Tumbat and Belk 2011; Weinberger and Wallendorf 2012; Canniford and Shankar 2013). Rather than experiencing idealistic and communal benefits, as suggested by Turner's (1969) antistructure, Tumbat and Belk (2011) show that Mount Everest climbers engage in an individual, competitive and restrictive experience that is better described through Turner's (1969) notion of structure, which is marked by profanity rather than sacredness (Eliade 1959).

How do structure and antistructure relate to each other in extraordinary consumer experiences? In an effort to map out how consumers resolve the tensions inherent in the coexistence of structure and antistructure, if they can indeed coexist, we pursue three goals. First, we seek to systematically explore if and how structural and antistructural tenets coexist in an extraordinary consumption experience. Second, we strive to understand potential tensions that result from coexisting structural as well as antistructural tenets in extraordinary experience. And third, we seek to investigate if and how consumers negotiate these tensions when constructing their extraordinary experience.

We investigated these issues in the context of a religious pilgrimage in Medjugorje, Bosnia and Herzegovina. We engaged in ethnographic fieldwork via three data collection methods. First, we draw on participant observation (cf. Arnould & Wallendorf 1994). One of the authors immersed herself as a pilgrim for four days, where she lived through the pilgrimage experience by herself, observed fellow pilgrims' behaviours, listened to their stories, asked questions, and took field notes as well as photographs. Second, we conducted narrative semi-structured interviews with seven female and two male pilgrims. Pilgrims were asked to elaborate on the pilgrimage experience (Flick, 2009). Lastly, we draw on introspective data from two diaries of female participants and from one author diary. Both participating pilgrims as well as the author wrote down regular records of their daily activities.

Our results demonstrate structure and antistructure coexist in two different ways: complementary and conflicting. Whereas the complementary form of coexistence is unproblematic, the conflicting form of coexistence gives rise to a field of tensions. We identify this field of tensions as anastructure, which is a transient category that lies between the poles of antistructure and structure. This allows us to unpack a set of four tensions and four resolution strategies that consumers deploy to negotiate anastructure. Tensions result either from the undesired excess of structural or antistructural elements, or a lack thereof. Resolution strategies arise in the form of emphasising structure, transforming structure, reorganizing antistructure and structure, and increasing structure. Finally, we show that structure can lead to, and foster, benefits that are usually associated with an antistructural experience, both directly in complementary coexistence, and indirectly in the conflicting coexistence of antistructure and structure via the four resolution strategies.

Together, in this study, we explore the dynamic processes at play when consumers navigate the continuum between structure and antistructure in extraordinary experiences. We propose three contributions that advance our understanding of consumer experiences as well as advance theorizing about how antistructure and structure work. First, we demonstrate that structure and antistructure can coexist non-problematically within a consumer experience. Second, we systematically identify the nature of the tensions and strategies that are used to ameliorate them. Third, we demonstrate that consumers can achieve the results that Turner describes as coming from antistructure from structure as well.

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How Squeeze Tubes Affect Consumption Volume

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction

Nowadays, food products come in various types of packaging differing in level of convenience. For example, squeeze tubes were launched to increase convenience in terms of ease of handling the package. We investigate whether consumers use more or less of a product when it comes in a more versus less convenient packaging.

The relevance of this research question is particularly clear when we consider the alarming obesity rates worldwide. As packaging is often the first product attribute to which consumers are exposed, the effect of packaging on consumer responses has already received extensive research attention. Up till now, research has examined the impact of different packaging features such as imagery [11] and size ([5]; [10]) on consumer behavior. These previous studies note differences on consumer responses related to the visual attributes of the packaging. However, to the best of our knowledge, no research to date has investigated the effect of convenient packaging on consumer behavior. This is surprising as it seems likely that the convenience of packaging does affect consumption behavior. We argue that squeeze tubes will affect consumption behavior and propose two rival hypotheses.

Theoretical background

Motor fluency

Previous research illustrates that motor fluency - the fluency arising from the motor system - can impact judgments ([1]; [7]). For example, holding a pencil in the mouth in a way that facilitates or inhibits smiling musculature influences the affective responses ([9]). More specifically, motor fluency means that easily performed actions give rise to positive feelings that spill over to the object of attention as the feeling of ease results from bodily feedback.

The motor fluency effect thus explains why products that are easy to interact with are liked better by consumers. In this paper, we focus on easy to handle, convenient packagings like squeeze tubes. As there is no need to use cutlery, squeeze tubes are very easy to interact with and consumers can simply squeeze the package to obtain the product. We predict that consumers will use more of the product when it comes in a convenient packaging like squeeze tubes (H1).

Ease of consumption monitoring

Previous research has already shown that consumption monitoring is a key determinant of how much one eats ([2]; [3]). We believe that also easy packagings like squeeze tubes may affect the ease of consumption monitoring. As the volume of the product one is going to consume is steadily increasing, consumers might find it easier to monitor their behavior and define the portion they want to consume. As it may enable consumers to monitor their consumption more easily and accurately it may reduce their consumption volume (H2).

Restrained eating

Will a convenient packaging effect always occur? Probably not. Previous research has already shown that consumption is influenced by how concerned consumers are about their weight (e.g., [4]). As restrained eaters restrict their food intake to avoid gaining weight and thus already pay a lot of attention to how much they consume, we do not expect a big difference between how much they consume

from a convenient versus less convenient packaging. However, for unrestrained eaters who are less concerned with their weight, we expect that the convenient packaging will have a larger effect on their consumption (H3).

Study 1

We created a between-subjects design with two conditions to which they were randomly assigned (baking butter squeeze tube vs. baking butter pack). A one-way ANOVA shows that participants using the squeeze tube used less of the baking butter than participants using the standard butter pack providing preliminary evidence for H₂.

Although Study 1 provides preliminary evidence for H₂, it has three shortcomings. Firstly, the convenient packaging contained fluid butter, whereas the less convenient package contained solid butter. Secondly, respondents' healthiness perception of solid versus fluid butter may differ which also could have induced a bias. Thirdly, although both products contained the same amount of baking butter, the fact that the squeeze tube has a vertical shape while the butter pack has a horizontal shape, could have led to a bias as previous research has shown that people only use the vertical dimension to estimate portions ([6]; [8]).

Study 2

In Study 2, we use mayonnaise as the product substance is exactly the same in the convenient as in the less convenient condition and both packagings have a vertical shape.

A manipulation check shows that participants perceived the squeeze tube as more convenient than the jar. A one-way ANOVA shows that participants used less mayonnaise with the squeeze tube than with the jar, providing additional evidence for H₂. Also, participants' healthiness perception of the mayonnaise did not differ between the two conditions.

Study 3

The objective of Study 3 is to provide experimental evidence that the ease of monitoring mediates the relationship between packaging and consumption while ruling out the motor fluency explanation. In addition, we demonstrate that the effect of packaging on consumption through the ease of consumption monitoring is stronger for unrestrained than restrained eaters. We created a between-subjects design with three conditions to which participants were randomly assigned: (1) the convenient condition (i.e., mayonnaise in a regular squeeze tube), (2) the less convenient condition (i.e., mayonnaise in a jar) and (3) a third condition in which we adapted the convenient packaging and made the opening bigger. In that way, we hold the motor fluency experience constant across condition 1 and 3 but impede the ease of consumption monitoring.

A one-way ANOVA shows that participants using the regular squeeze tube used less mayonnaise than participants using the jar and the adapted squeeze tube. A moderated mediation analysis shows that the ease of monitoring mediates the effect of packaging on consumption volume and this effect is more pronounced for unrestrained eaters:

Our three experiments provide consistent evidence that convenient packagings like squeeze tubes reduce consumption volume. Our studies underscore that the ease of consumption monitoring is

a key driver of this effect and that restrained eating is a boundary condition.

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Cognitive Dissonance Drives Politically Motivated Consumption as Evidenced Through Asymmetric Willingness to Sacrifice Utility

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In recent decades, there has been an increasing level of concern surrounding the impact brands have on society. Corporate influence has traditionally been realized through business practices and philanthropic initiatives, such as the use of fair trade labor, the adoption of environmentally friendly packaging or products, or donating to charitable causes. More recently, brands have been actively contributing to American political discourse by expressing their stance on divisive political issues. Despite this growing trend, there is little research specifically examining consumers' reactions to brands' political statements.

This research examines Politically Motivated Consumption (PMC), defined as the decision to base one's consumption on the political ideologies of a brand with the intent of supporting or opposing the brand. Consumer responses to political and social issues have previously been studied as political consumerism. PMC is a sub-set of political consumerism; it is specifically a consumer response to a political stance. Political stances are unique because they induce a dichotomous response, unlike cause-related marketing, corporate social responsibility, or unethical business practices, which engender univalent support or opposition.

Cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957) is proposed as the driving mechanism behind PMC. That is, consumption decisions are guided by consumers' desire to "preserve a consistent, stable, predictable sense of self" (Aronson 1968) and avoidance of conflict. When a brand's political stance is inconsistent with a consumer's ideology, there is a potential for conflict between the consumer's beliefs and their behavior of "consuming the brand". This dissonance is evidenced in two ways: consumers avoid consuming from a brand with incongruent beliefs or they reduce their favorable attitude toward the brand.

Dissonance theory further predicts that consumers will react asymmetrically depending on their agreement with a brand's stance. Consumers whose ideology is incongruent with a brand's stance will react more strongly than those whose ideology is congruent with a brand's stance. This unequal response occurs because failing to consume from a brand with a congruent stance does not induce the same direct conflict as consuming from a brand with an incongruent belief.

In experiment 1, consumers considered a hypothetical scenario in which a real restaurant they reported being loyal to made a political statement. Consumers who disagreed with the political stance of the brand reported a decrease in attitude toward the brand while those who agreed with the political position of the brand did not have more positive attitudes than consumers in the control condition. The results suggest that when consumers learn that a brand they like takes a political stance with which they disagree, consumers experience conflict and attempt to reduce dissonance by adjusting their attitude toward the brand.

In experiment 2, consumers made a choice between two unknown brands. Each decision set included one option that offered a

higher utility vs. another lower utility option that enabled consumers to engage in PMC (by consuming a congruent brand, or not consuming an incongruent brand). Consumers exhibited a willingness take the lower utility option in order to engage in PMC. The likelihood of engaging in PMC was moderated by the difference in utility between the two options. As predicted, consumers were more likely to engage in PMC when a brand made a stance incongruent with their own beliefs than when a brand made a stance congruent with their own beliefs. These findings indicate that consumers anticipate conflict between beliefs and behaviors and make consumption decisions with the aim to avoid dissonance.

Experiment 3 replicated the results of experiment 2 in a natural choice context. The experiment also demonstrated that consumers' likelihood of making a dissonant-avoidant choice by engaging in PMC was moderated by the extent to which they felt the political issue at hand was important to their self-identity. Additionally, self-reported anticipated conflict of failing to engage in PMC fully mediated the relationship between agreement with a political stance and choice.

In experiment 4, chose between two products, then later learned that they either chose a product from a brand with an incongruent political beliefs to their own, or that they failed to select a product from a brand with congruent beliefs. Consumers who chose a product from a brand with incongruent political ideologies to their own reported more conflict and greater discomfort than those who failed to choose a product from a brand with congruent ideologies. Further, consumers who selected a product from an incongruent brand exhibited greater compensatory behavior than those who failed to select a product from a congruent brand. The results indicate that experienced cognitive dissonance demonstrated by compensatory behavior parallels anticipated dissonance shown through conflict-avoiding choices (experiment 2 and experiment 3).

Taken together, the results of the four experiments point to cognitive dissonance as a driver of PMC. Consumers are more likely to avoid a product made by a brand with incongruent political beliefs than to purchase a product made by a brand with congruent beliefs. This asymmetrical reaction occurs because purchasing from an incongruent brand induces more conflict between one's self concept and behavior than failing to purchase from a congruent brand. Future research should examine this mechanism as a possible explanation for other consumption behaviors, particularly in the realm of political and ethical consumerism.

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Beyond Skepticism: Can Accessing Persuasion Knowledge Bolster Credibility?

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As defined by Friestad and Wright (1994), persuasion knowledge is personal knowledge that consumers develop about persuasion attempts, and which consumers use whenever they believe they are targets of persuasion. Friestad and Wright's (1994) foundational article on persuasion knowledge has influenced an exceptionally wide range of research projects, as demonstrated in part by a citation count exceeding 1,500 on Google Scholar. To date, researchers have tended to emphasize that persuasion knowledge is primarily associated with consumer skepticism, and that the main role of persuasion knowledge is to help consumers defend themselves against persuasion attempts. For example, Friestad and Wright's (1994) Persuasion Knowledge Model has been used to support claims that consumers "are generally skeptical of marketer's efforts to persuade them" (Buell and Norton 2011, 1578), and that consumers "are automatically somewhat skeptical of advertising" (Dahlen 2005, 90). Authors have similarly argued that accessing persuasion knowledge "usually entails ... skepticism toward advertising claims" (Kirmani and Zhu 2007, 689), raises consumers' "cognitive defenses" (Russell 2002), and leads consumers "to question the credibility" of advertising claims (Xu and Wyer 2010).

Previous research establishing this link between persuasion knowledge and skepticism has produced useful insights about how, when, and why consumers respond to persuasion attempts. Yet, past work has also tended to downplay or overlook an important aspect of the Persuasion Knowledge Model: According to Friestad and Wright (1994), the main function of persuasion knowledge is not primarily to foster skepticism when consumers realize they are the target of a persuasion attempt, but more generally to help consumers glean useful, goal-relevant information from persuasion attempts. If a consumer can cope with a persuasion attempt by trusting the marketer and believing the message, this is the opposite of skepticism, which, as noted above, has been defined and operationalized as mistrust in the marketer and/or disbelief in the marketing message. We refer to the opposite of skepticism as *credibility* (e.g., Soman and Cheema 2002; Tsfati 2010; Tsfati and Cappella 2003), which has been conceptualized and operationalized in terms of trust and belief (Agrawal and Maheswaran 2005; Giffin 1967). Thus, skepticism and credibility are two poles on a continuum, with disbelief / mistrust on one side and belief / trust on the other.

In this paper, we extend persuasion knowledge research by demonstrating that while increased access to persuasion knowledge can lead to greater skepticism, it can sometimes bolster credibility instead. Specifically, we show that persuasion attempts can sometimes meet the consumer's expectations for trustworthy and believable information and that, as a result, persuasion knowledge access can increase the positive effects of this information on subsequent evaluations. To our knowledge, this work is the first to empirically and explicitly demonstrate that, instead of leading to greater skepticism and lower evaluations, increased persuasion knowledge access can lead to higher credibility and therefore higher evaluations.

We argue that the frequent empirical association reported between persuasion knowledge access and skepticism has been encouraged by two methodological issues. One is the selection of tactics for consumer experiments that have encouraged skeptical responses. Many of the tactics selected for study in persuasion

knowledge research have tended to have a natural association with deception, manipulation, or distortion (e.g., price gouging, flattery, etc.), and that these stimuli therefore naturally encourage skepticism. In our studies, we explicitly compare the effects of tactics associated with skepticism versus the effects of tactics associated with credibility (based on a pre-test of various tactics). The second methodological issue is the use of persuasion knowledge manipulations in experiments that may have fostered skepticism among participants (e.g., encouraging participants to consider profit motives, reading news articles that increase suspicion etc.). In contrast to these "narrow" manipulations, we designed and pre-tested a new "broad" manipulation that encourages persuasion knowledge access, but which places equal weight on the alternative poles of skepticism and credibility: "Please think about why the [persuasion agent] took this particular approach in developing and implementing this [persuasion attempt]. Think about the considerations that might have led the [persuasion agent] to create this kind of [persuasion attempt]. Keep in mind that some [persuasion agents] use [persuasion attempts] to truthfully communicate information. Other [persuasion agents] use [persuasion attempts] to trick or mislead customers."

In three experiments, we demonstrate that when a persuasive agent uses a credible tactic, high (vs. low) persuasion knowledge access can lead the agent and its offering to be evaluated more favorably. Studies 1 and 2 shared a similar purpose. We wanted to replicate prior research showing that when tactics are generally associated with skepticism, the high (vs. low) likelihood of persuasion knowledge access may lead consumers to view a persuasive message and/or the source of a persuasion attempt less favorably, thus lowering evaluations. However, we aimed to also show that when tactics are generally associated with credibility, high (vs. low) persuasion knowledge may sometimes lead consumers to view a persuasive message and/or the source of a persuasion attempt as being more credible, thus boosting evaluations. Whereas we manipulated tactic credibility in Study 1 by using different tactics (that our pre-test suggested were associated with either skepticism or credibility), we manipulated tactic credibility in study 2 by using an identical credible tactic but varying source credibility. Past research has shown that perceptions of source credibility affect perceptions of tactic credibility (e.g., Goldberg and Hartwick 1990; Srivastava and Chakravarti 2009); thus, we viewed our study 2 manipulation as an indirect tactic credibility manipulation. In study 3, we aimed to show that whereas our new "broad" persuasion knowledge manipulation was capable of boosting evaluations (relative to a control group that was less likely to have accessed persuasion knowledge), "narrow" persuasion knowledge access manipulations commonly used in prior research might decrease evaluations (relative to the control) because the manipulation itself induces skepticism.

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Abstract Goal and External Reference-Point Interaction in Food Decision Making

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine Jill and Jane shop cereals. Jill is looking after her figure, Jane has a sweet tooth. Further imagine they find two products, one of which contains 100 calories per serving, while the other contains 150 calories per serving. Goal related theories suggest that their food choices will be different (Fishbach and Dhar 2005): Jill shall choose the product with rather low calorie content as that product helps her best pursuing her dieting goal, while Jane might choose a higher-caloric (but more tasty) product (Raghunathan, Naylor, and Hoyer 2006) that helps pursuing her indulgence goal. Now imagine they learn that the average cereal product contains 120 calories. Reference point related research suggests that the disclosure of that nutrition reference information stimulates healthier choices (Barone et al. 1996) as consumers tend to choose options that are easier to justify (Okada 2005). Thus, the reference information makes the 100-calorie option look like a relative virtue which makes it easier to justify (Werthenbroch 1998). Thus, Jill but also Jane should go for that product. As the hypothetical scenarios show, goal theories and reference-dependent preference theory (Tversky and Kahneman 1991) do not always align. A question arising is whether the disclosure of the reference information has the same consequence for indulgence-seeking Jane as it has for weight-watching Jill.

Consumers' preferences are represented by their individual value functions (van Ittersum and Pennings 2012) and, according to the reference-dependent model (Tversky and Kahneman 1991), value functions may be shifted by reference points. The effect depends on the provision of a comparison framework and the subsequent framing as loss or gain (Krishnamurthy and Prokopec 2010; Tversky and Kahneman 1991). In addition, there is an emerging stream of literature pointing to the role goals play in preference construction (Fishbach and Dhar 2005; van Osselaer and Janiszewski 2012). In their review of food decision making, Bublitz, Peracchio, and Block (2010) list three types of abstract eating goals: functional, symbolic, and hedonic. Functional goal pursuit means balancing one's diet, symbolic goal pursuit stands for the goal of being part of a group by fulfilling norms like being skinny, while hedonic goal pursuit means aiming for indulgence (Bublitz, Peracchio, and Block 2010). These types of goals have been shown to affect preferences for healthy, nutritious or tasty food (Belei et al. 2012; Dhar and Simonson 1999; Fishbach, Friedman, and Kruglanski 2003).

In spite of the relevance of both reference points and goals for preference construction, research is only beginning to explore their relationship. For example, it has been shown that goals can serve as reference points when they are specific (Heath, Larrick, and Wu 1999). That is, the same outcome (e.g., doing 35 sit-ups) can be experienced differently by two persons who had the goal to do 31 versus 39 sit-ups (Heath, Larrick, and Wu 1999). Likewise, a person with the specific health goal of eating only food that contains less than 10% sugar would set 10g sugar per 100g as a reference point to assist choosing among food options. It has to be noted, though, that people typically rather have abstract eating goals (Bublitz, Peracchio, and Block 2010). Such abstract goals only refer to eating healthy, low-caloric, or tasty food in general. A consequence of pursuing abstract goals is they cannot serve as reference points anymore. At the same time, abstract goals still animate general goal-directed behavior (van Osselaer and Janiszewski 2012). This implies that there may be a

different relationship between reference points and goal pursuit than has been subject to existing research.

We propose that for consumers with a symbolic goal reference point provision increases preferences for products with low nutrient levels, but does not affect preferences for products with high nutrient levels. In addition, we propose that for consumers with a hedonic goal reference point provision decreases preferences for products with high nutrient levels, but does not affect preferences for products with low nutrient levels. We further propose that for consumers with a functional goal reference point disclosure increases preferences for products with low nutrient levels but does not affect preferences for products with high nutrient levels. We conducted a choice-based conjoint experiment to examine whether provision of a relatively low or high reference point decreases or increases the average amount of sugar chosen when a number of breakfast cereals is presented. In addition to sugar content, we included price, packaging, and organic labeling as relevant product attributes. In this experiment, each respondent was presented a sequence of 12 choice sets. Each choice set consisted of four hypothetical cereals, comprised of one level of each of the four attributes as well as a "no choice" option. In addition to the choice task, respondents answered survey questions regarding their symbolic weight goal, functional nutrition goal and hedonic taste goal. The final data set consists of 659 participants who completed all tasks. Sixty-one percent of the participants were female, and most were between 20 and 30 years of age.

The most important finding of the present research is that depending on goal pursuit reference points exert differential effects. Notably, reference point disclosure affected consumers' evaluations of cereal alternatives at different sugar regions. Specifically, reference point disclosure increased preferences for low-sugar options among those consumers with a functional goal. These consumers' preferences for high-sugar products remained unchanged, though. Conversely, reference point disclosure affected taste-seeking consumers' preferences towards high-sugar options, but not low-sugar ones. Another striking finding is that reference point disclosure did not affect consumers with a symbolic goal at all. One explanation might be that consumers with an abstract symbolic goal are likely to avoid bad nutrients even when a reference point is not present (Shine, O'Reilly, and O'Sullivan 1997). The analyses further showed that it is worthwhile distinguishing between symbolic and functional eating goals. Though similar regarding their general preference for low-caloric food and aversion towards high-caloric food, only consumers with a functional goal seemed to change their preferences upon reference point disclosure.

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Should Luxury Brands Shout or Whisper?

The Effects of Brand Prominence on Consumer Perceptions of Responsible Luxury

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Increasingly, luxury brands engage in corporate social responsibility (CSR). However, research suggests that consumers do not necessarily perceive luxury and CSR as compatible concepts (Torelli, Monga, and Kaikati 2012). Gaining a clearer understanding of factors that affect the perceived compatibility between luxury and CSR is thus of critical importance for luxury brands managers. This research addresses this issue by investigating the effect of brand prominence—or “the extent to which a product has visible markings that help ensure observers recognize the brand” (Han, Nunes, and Drèze 2010, 15)—on consumers’ attitudes toward responsible luxury brands, and evidences its underlying processes.

Considering luxury’s idiosyncratic nature, whether a brand is perceived as a luxury brand likely depends on the abstract brand concepts (Park, Milberg, and Lawson 1991) that consumers associate with it; and the same reasoning applies to the notion of responsible luxury (Torelli et al. 2012). Previous literature indicates that brand concepts affect brand evaluations through the motivations they activate automatically (Chartrand et al. 2008). Schwartz (1992) proposes four types of motivational values: self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness, and conservation. Some of them conflict (e.g., self-enhancement vs self-transcendence), but others are more compatible. Drawing on Schwartz (1992), Torelli et al. (2012) highlight that luxury brands are primarily associated with concepts that emphasize self-enhancement values (e.g., conspicuousness, success), and are thus conflicting with the self-transcendence values of caring for society associated with CSR. As a result, consumers may perceive that something is “not right” when they confront responsible luxury, which in turn results in unfavorable brand evaluations. We argue, however, that this effect varies depending on the prominence of the brand’s mark on products.

Luxury brands can mark their products by choosing either a *loud*/conspicuous branding strategy or a more *quiet*/discreet one (Han et al. 2010). When a luxury brand communicates about CSR, this relative brand prominence may affect the extent to which consumers will perceive the brand to be socially responsible (i.e., CSR beliefs). Specifically, the conspicuous display of the brand likely increases the salience of the notions of conspicuousness and status associated with luxury more than a quiet branding strategy, thereby triggering a more pronounced sense of contradiction between CSR-associated self-transcendence values and luxury-associated self-enhancement values. Consumers’ CSR beliefs should therefore be less favorable for loud luxury brands than for quiet ones. In line with previous literature on consumer responses to CSR, we in turn expect a positive relationship between consumers’ CSR beliefs and brand attitudes.

However, CSR rarely is the most important criterion considered by consumers when purchasing luxury items (Davies, Lee, and Ahonkhai 2012). Thus, it is unlikely that CSR beliefs would be the sole mediator of that effect. Previous research on luxury outlines that consumers may use luxury brands to support and develop their identity (Dittmar 1994; Wiedmann, Hennigs, and Siebels 2007). As consumers tend to prefer brands which are associated with personality traits congruent with their own (Sirgy 1982), consumer attitudes toward loud and quiet luxury brands may therefore also partly depend on how consumers view themselves (i.e., self-identity) and on the

congruity they perceive between their identity and that of the brand. Consumers with a more extravagant [modest] self-identity should perceive higher self-congruity with loud [quiet] responsible luxury brands. In turn, higher perceived self-congruity should lead to more favorable brand attitudes (Aaker 1999). Perceived self-congruity is therefore a second mediator in our model.

To test our hypotheses, we employed a between-subjects design with a sample of 124 consumers who read a description of the hypothetical luxury brand Sarine. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions. Those in the *loud* [quiet] branding condition were asked to read a brand description that emphasized the prominent [discreet] display of the brand name on [inside] the products it offers. Both scenarios also included information about Sarine’s CSR activities. Participants then completed several items that measured, on 7-point scales, their brand attitudes, CSR beliefs, self-identity, and perceived self-congruity with the brand (all Cronbach alphas > .7). In addition, we included measures for two potential covariates (environmental consciousness and luxury consumption habits).

As expected, participants in the loud branding condition have significantly less favorable CSR beliefs ($M=4.65$) than participants in the quiet branding condition ($M=5.44$; $t(122)=4.261$, $p < .001$) and the effect of CSR beliefs on brand attitudes is significant and positive ($\beta=.401$; $t(116)=5.624$, $p < .001$). Results further show that brand prominence and consumers’ self-identity have a multiplicative effect on consumers’ perceived self-congruity with the brand ($\beta=.738$; $t(118)=3.627$, $p < .001$). According to our spotlight analysis, participants with a more modest self-identity perceive lower self-congruity with a loud brand ($M=2.66$) than with a quiet brand ($M=4.22$; $\beta=-1.565$; $t(118)=-5.375$, $p < .001$) but there are no significant differences between loud and quiet brands for participants with a more extravagant self-identity (3.44 vs. 3.48, $p > .05$). In turn, perceived self-congruity has a significant, positive effect on brand attitudes ($\beta=.314$; $t(116)=5.077$, $p < .001$). We tested the prediction that both CSR beliefs and self-congruity mediate the effect of brand prominence on brand attitudes using the PROCESS bootstrapping method (Hayes 2013; “model 8”; 10000 bootstrap samples). Results confirmed the dual mediation process: self-congruity mediates the joint effect of brand prominence and consumer self-identity on brand attitudes (index of moderated mediation: $B=.232$, $SE=.078$, $CI95: .101$ to $.408$) and the indirect effect of brand prominence on brand attitudes through CSR beliefs is significant for all levels of consumers’ self-identity (B ranges from $-.189$ to $-.363$, none of the $CI95$ include 0).

This research contributes to literature on consumer responses to CSR, and to responsible luxury in particular (Janssen et al. 2014; Torelli et al. 2012), and demonstrates how brand prominence affects consumers’ evaluations of luxury brands. In so doing, this research also extends previous work on brand prominence (Han et al. 2010). Our research highlights that responsible luxury brands should carefully evaluate how their branding strategy affects brand evaluations and provides guidelines for managing CSR and branding strategies more effectively (whispering seems more effective!).

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Who is the Person in Need?

Combining Message Framing and Social Distance to Promote Pro-social Health Behaviors

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Message framing, a technique well-known by both marketing researchers and practitioners, consists of evoking either the positive consequences (or gains) associated with engaging in a particular behavior (e.g., *Use of sunscreen reduces the risk of having skin cancer*) or the negative consequences (or losses) associated with failing to engage in the same behavior (e.g., *Not using sunscreen increases the risk of skin cancer*). Indeed, some works conclude that messages evoking gains are more efficient (e.g., Lee and Aaker 2004), while other works show that messages stressing losses are more influential (e.g., Keller et al. 2003).

Based on construal level theory (Liberman and Trope 1998), we propose that the influence of message framing differs according to the social distance perceived by consumers between themselves and the individuals used in the message to which they are exposed (e.g., the testimony of a person in a specific health domain). In particular, we show that a loss-framed message is more persuasive when paired with a socially proximal person. Indeed, a loss-framed message incites consumers to implement concrete actions to avoid the undesirable consequences presented in the message. These actions would fit the lower construal level induced by a proximal social distance (Liviatan et al. 2008). Conversely, a gain-framed message encourages the adoption of a higher construal level (i.e., the benefits of a specific behavior) which matches the construal induced by a distal social distance (Liviatan et al. 2008). Importantly, we examine a boundary condition of this match-based effect and we propose that comparative optimism (CO), the tendency to believe that negative events are more likely to occur to others than oneself (Smits and Hoorens 2005), moderates the interplay between message framing and social distance.

Experiment 1

99 undergraduate students participated in a 2 (message framing: gains vs. losses) \times 2 (social distance: proximal vs. distal) between-subjects experiment ($M_{age} = 20.60$; $SD_{age} = 2.38$; 43,4 % male). All messages were equal in the length and contained the same arguments. In the gain-framed condition, the message stated the positive consequences of giving blood (e.g., *Giving blood does save lives*), while in the loss-framed condition, the message mentioned the negatives consequences of not giving blood (e.g., *Not giving blood does not save lives*). The social distance was manipulated by presenting a testimonial from someone who had received blood; this testimonial came from either someone who fit the age range of the participant (proximal source) or someone who did not (distal source). The stimuli were declined across gender (male vs. female).

The message framing and social distance did not have a significant main effect but the predicted interaction between message framing and social distance was significant ($F(1,95) = 18.33$, $p < .001$). Follow-up tests indicated that in the proximal condition, message framing had a significant effect on intention to give blood ($t(48) = 2.82$, $p < 0.005$). Participants who read the loss-framed message reported greater intention to give their blood than participants who read the gain-framed message ($M_{losses} = 4.36$; $M_{gains} = 3.61$). In the distal condition, message framing had a significant effect on intention to give blood ($t(49) = -3.26$, $p < .005$). Participants who read the

gain-framed message reported greater intention to give their blood than participants who read the loss-framed message ($M_{gains} = 4.26$; $M_{losses} = 3.25$).

Experiment 2

177 participants ($M_{age} = 29.40$; $SD_{age} = 10.57$; 43.5% male) took part in this online experiment designed as a 2 (message framing: gains vs. losses) \times 2 (social distance: proximal vs. distal) between-subjects design with two levels of CO (high vs. low) used as a measured independent variable. The participants first answered some questions measuring their CO. Similar to those in Experiment 1, the manipulation of message framing either highlighted a gained-framed ("*We all gain by donating organs*") or a loss-framed ("*We all lose by not donating organs*") message. Social distance was manipulated by changing the tagline in the message. In the proximal condition, the message read, "*You may need an organ donation someday*", while in the distal condition, it read, "*Someone may need an organ donation someday*".

We calculated participants' CO score by subtracting their ratings of another person's probability of being affected by five health situations from their ratings of their own probability. A 2 (message framing: gains vs. losses) \times 2 (social distance: proximal vs. distal) \times 2 (CO: low vs. high) ANOVA demonstrated a significant three-way interaction ($F(1,176) = 3.79$; $p = .053$). **For participants with a low CO**, a 2 \times 2 ANOVA revealed no significant main effect, but the predicted two-way interaction between message framing and social distance was found ($F(1,89) = 3.98$; $p < .05$). In the proximal condition, participants exposed to the loss-framed message reported significantly greater intentions to donate their organs than those exposed to the gain-framed message ($F(1,33) = 4.66$; $p < .05$; $M_{losses} = 4.13$; $M_{gains} = 3.50$). Message framing had no effect in the distal condition ($F(1,55) = 0.85$; $p = NS$; $M_{losses} = 3.71$; $M_{gains} = 4.00$). **For participants with a high CO**, a 2 \times 2 ANOVA revealed a significant main effect of message framing ($F(1,86) = 4.48$; $p < .05$; $M_{gains} = 4.05$; $M_{losses} = 3.49$) and the significant predicted two-way interaction ($F(1,86) = 18.34$; $p = .000$). In the distal condition, intention to donate organs was significantly higher when the participants read a gain-framed message than when they read a loss-framed message ($F(1,27) = 16.31$; $p = .000$; $M_{gains} = 4.40$; $M_{losses} = 2.69$). Message framing had no effect on intention to donate organs in the proximal condition ($F(1,58) = 3.46$; $p = NS$; $M_{losses} = 4.29$; $M_{gains} = 3.71$).

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Continue or Give Up? How Publicity and Self-Monitoring Influence Goal Persistence

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We examine whether the public or private nature of consumer goals affects goal persistence following initial goal failure. In particular, we explore the moderating role of self-monitoring. Across three experiments, we demonstrate that high self-monitors are more likely to persist following a public failure than a private failure. However, the public versus private nature of the goal does not affect low self-monitors' persistence. We also explore two boundary conditions for this effect by manipulating the timing of feedback and by testing the role of the perceived value of the incentive for achieving the goal. The article concludes with a discussion of theoretical and managerial insights from this work.

Every day, consumers engage in a variety of goal pursuit decisions (Bagozzi & Dholakia, 1999; Fishbach & Dhar, 2005; Koo & Fishbach, 2008; Zhang, Fishbach, & Dhar, 2007). On their way to goal attainment, consumers sometimes encounter failure, and are then left to decide – should they persist with goal efforts or abandon the goal altogether (Fishbach & Dhar, 2005; Fishbach & Finkelstein, 2011; Soman & Cheema, 2004)? We address questions about when and why consumers persist following failures by studying the interplay between goal publicity, self-monitoring and goal persistence.

Doing so allows us to make several contributions. First, while it is well established that public goals lead to greater goal persistence, little research explores whether this persistence holds even after a failure. We argue that publicity of goals can be a double edged sword, leading to either greater commitment towards or greater divesting away from goals (Gollwitzer & Sheeran, 2009; Parrott, Monahan, Ainsworth, & Steiner, 1998). Therefore, the impact of goal publicity on post-failure persistence is unclear. Second, while research explores the impact of a variety of individual differences that impact post-failure persistence, no research (to our knowledge) has explored the role of self-monitoring in this context.

Private versus public goals and motivation. Making goals public, which is defined as making significant others aware of one's goals, has a positive effect on goal persistence because it is easy to abandon a goal known only to oneself, but it is hard to abandon a goal that is known to others (Jones, et al., 1972; Pallak & Cummings, 1976; Salancik, 1977). One's motivation to avoid anticipated personal and social disapproval for failing to follow through with promised actions is one explanation for these effects (Parrott, et al., 1998). Furthermore, Bem's (1967) self-perception theory suggests that individuals who make a public commitment to an action may interpret the act of making a public commitment as a signal of their high motivation to engage in the promised action (Bem, 1967). Prior research has shown that public commitment leads to high levels of weight loss motivation (Nyer & Dellande, 2010), increased recycling behaviors and reduced gas and electricity consumption (Pallak & Cummings, 1976; Salancik, 1977).

The role of self-monitoring. We posit that goal publicity will not affect all consumers in the same way because not all individuals are equally influenced by social approval or disapproval. Specifically, we propose individual differences in self-monitoring will moderate the effect of goal publicity on goal persistence. Self-monitoring assesses the extent to which people regulate their own behavior in order to look good in the eyes of others (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986; Snyder & Simpson, 1984). High self-monitors attend to their envi-

ronment and adapt to new situations, so that their behavior varies across different settings. In contrast, low self-monitors are (relatively speaking) more consistent across different social situations and are generally oblivious to how others see them. Thus we expect that the motivating effect of publicity will be stronger for high self-monitors than low self-monitors, because the former will be especially concerned with the construction of their public selves (Gangestad & Snyder, 2000; Nyer & Dellande, 2010). Formally,

H1: After a goal failure, the effects of goal publicity on goal persistence will be moderated by self-monitoring such that for high self-monitors public (as compared to private) goals will increase goal persistence, but for low self-monitors, goal publicity should have no effect on post-failure persistence.

Boundary conditions: feedback timing and incentive value. Previous research indicates the importance of feedback in influencing subsequent goal (e.g., Finkelstein & Fishbach 2011). Previous research also examined whether people seek feedback strategically to motivate themselves (Finkelstein & Fishbach, 2012). In the current research, as this effect of failure is presumed to be driven by public failure, we predict that if failure feedback is not provided until after the decision about whether to continue or quit, the effect of goal publicity and self-monitoring on goal persistence will be attenuated. *Feedback* towards the goal leads to better performance toward a goal by informing the individual about the discrepancy between the goal and the performance (Fishbach & Finkelstein, 2011; Neubert, 1998). Therefore, we predict,

H2: When consumers receive immediate failure feedback, we expect to observe the self-monitoring by goal publicity interaction specified in H1, but when consumers do not receive feedback, we expect that all consumer goal persistence will be attenuated.

Incentive programs which offer consumers awards for achieving goals are effective in a variety of situations (Lee, Locke, & Phan, 1997; Schmidt & DeShon, 2007). For example, Schmidt and DeShon (2007) find that incentives offered for goal attainment determine how people resolve goal-performance discrepancies. As a result, we predict that if the perceived value of the incentive awarded for achieving the goal is low, the goal publicity by self-monitoring interaction will be attenuated because the social consequences of goal failure are lower for small than large incentives (Huang, Zhang, & Broniarczyk, 2012; Seta, Donaldson, & Seta, 1999). Therefore, when incentives for achieving goals are not perceived as valuable, even high self-monitors should care little about appearances, and persist less, even after failure. Therefore,

H3: When the incentive for achieving the goal is perceived to be high, we expect to observe the self-monitoring by goal publicity interaction specified in H1, but when the incentive for achieving the goal is perceived to be low, the interaction of goal publicity and self-monitoring will be attenuated.

We tested our predictions in three studies. Across the three studies, our results show converging evidence that self-monitoring moderates the relationship between publicity and goal persistence such that high self-monitors, but not low self-monitors, are more likely to persist at goals following failure in public than in private conditions. In addition, high self-monitors are especially sensitive to goal publicity effects, especially when they perceive the incentive for achieving the goal is valuable and when they have feedback about initial goal failure.

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The Politics of Target Marketing

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As cultural diversity grows, marketers increasingly adapt their strategies by taking into account groups of consumers which were not traditionally targeted. However, although targeting on the basis of cultural identity seems “normal” in numerous countries, it engenders important debates in many others which consider the practice as a threat to national unity. In such contexts, culturally-based targeting can be considered as a “taboo marketing practice” and has the potential to undermine brand equity if not handled correctly, i.e. in compliance with the national norms (Hetzl 2003). The present research offers a preliminary understanding of the role of sociopolitical ideologies in the effectiveness of identity-based marketing practices.

In the political debate of many countries, two contradictory ideological perspectives on the integration of “immigrants” can be distinguished. The first one, multiculturalism, advocates a truly multicultural society wherein all cultural groups can live in harmony while preserving their own identities. The second, assimilation, encourages the absorption of immigrant cultures into the existing dominant culture (Guimond et al. 2013). Government diversity policies have historically been influenced by either the first model (e.g. Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom) or by the second one (e.g. France, South Africa, United States). Nevertheless, many countries have navigated from one model to another. For instance, despite its historical “Melting Pot” rhetoric, it had become accepted that the US has failed to melt the new immigrants and rather adopted a multicultural approach (Glazer 1997). In essence most countries have moved from an ideal/philosophical assimilationist model to a more applicable/practical multicultural approach. However, Brubaker (2001) argues that the apogee of the multicultural perspective has been reached at the end of the twentieth century. Since then he discerns signs of a “return of assimilation” which focuses on civic integration over the valuation of cultural differences.

Extant consumer research examining the effectiveness of identity-based segmentation and targeting strategies (see Reed et al. 2012 for a review) has not taken into consideration either sociopolitical difference across countries or these recent shifts. Most of this literature, rooted within the North American context, implicitly assumes that international generalization of findings is possible without specific reference to (changing) political contexts. However, because targeting on the basis of cultural identity highlights cultural differences within the marketplace, it becomes problematic as nations (re-)endorse an assimilationist perspective. In particular, an emerging body of research in social psychology demonstrates how the actual diversity policies implemented by countries influence identity-based attitudes and intergroup relations (see Guimond et al. 2013). Accordingly, the present research examines whether the preference for one or the other ideological model of integration (multiculturalism versus assimilation) predicts non-targeted consumers’ responses to identity-based marketing strategies. Next, we present two experiments that evaluate the influence of sociopolitical ideologies on target marketing at the individual-level (Study 1) and at the national-level (Study 2).

Study 1 used a 2 (Targeting Strategy: Non-culturally Targeted vs. Culturally Targeted) \times (Individual-Level Sociopolitical Ideology) between-subjects experimental design. We conducted this web-based experiment in March-April 2013 with 68 non-Muslim French students. We selected France as an appropriate context of research since

its specific diversity policies have historically had an assimilationist goal which has led to one of the strongest denunciations of multicultural segmentation in the world (see Hetzel 2003). We specifically focused on non-targeted consumers’ reactions to strategies targeting Muslim consumers. In the cover story, participants were told that the study assessed their opinion about a project for new restaurants. In the first condition, respondents read a project description for new restaurants that will only sell organic foods. In the second condition, the restaurants will only sell foods which are simultaneously organic and halal. After the project was presented, purchase intention was measured as well as the personal attitudes towards assimilation and multiculturalism (see Guimond et al. 2013). The variable sociopolitical ideology was computed as the difference between the assimilation and the multiculturalism scales. A high value for sociopolitical ideology corresponded to a high preference for assimilation and a low preference of multiculturalism.

Results showed that purchase intention was significantly higher for the organic restaurants compared to the organic halal restaurants. However, we also found that this main effect was moderated by respondents’ sociopolitical ideology such as the purchase intention for the organic halal restaurants was significantly lower for consumers that exhibited preference for assimilation (vs. those who displayed preference for multiculturalism). Consequently and as expected, individuals’ sociopolitical ideologies determine their reaction to culturally targeted strategies.

To further generalize our findings, we examined the reactions to target marketing using a different proxy for sociopolitical ideologies, one based on cross-national differences. France was used to represent a preference for assimilation whereas the US was used for multiculturalism. Study 2 used a 2 (Targeting Strategy: Non-culturally Targeted vs. Culturally Targeted) \times 2 (National-Level Sociopolitical Ideology: USA [Multiculturalism] vs. France [Assimilation]) quasi-experimental between-subjects design. We conducted a web-based experiment in April 2013 with 54 non-Muslim French students recruited from a Parisian university and 70 non-Muslim American students recruited from a university in Washington, D.C. The scenario described a new online and mobile food ordering company. In the first condition, the company specialized in organic foods whereas in the second condition it specialized in organic halal foods. We used the same measurements as in study 1.

Confirming our operationalization, American students were higher on multiculturalism while French students were higher on assimilation. Second, we found a significant interaction between country group and targeting strategy such as in France the purchase intention for the organic halal foods company was significantly lower than for the organic foods company, whereas there was no significant difference in the US.

This paper provides preliminary insights into the role of sociopolitical ideologies in the effectiveness of target marketing and extends our understanding of consumer responses to multicultural marketing. By comparing contexts and illuminating sociopolitical differences, this research reveals the challenges that (international) businesses may face as their increasing recognition of cultural diversity is paralleled by a (re-)endorsement of assimilationist visions. As such, understanding sociopolitical dynamics emerges as a key step in “advancing (cross-cultural) connections” successfully.

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Nonfunctional Self-Customization Enhances Product Performance

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Self-customization occurs when consumers self-design products that are subsequently manufactured by a firm. Self-design can be used to improve functional product attributes, and enhance performance, or nonfunctional product attributes, and enable self-expression (Dellaert and Stremersch 2005; Franke and Schreier 2008; Moreau, Bonney, and Herd 2011; Moreau and Herd 2010). This research provides evidence that nonfunctional mass customization also enhances performance.

The value of mass customization is exemplified by the premium consumers will pay for these products – mass customized products can sell for up to twice as much as off-the-shelf products (Franke, Schreier, and Kaiser 2010; Norton, Mochon, and Ariely 2011). Prior research has focused primarily on how mass customization imbues design utility into the product. For example, researchers have investigated how the fit between product attributes and consumer needs enhances product valuations (e.g., Dellaert and Stremersch 2005; Randall et al. 2007). Less studied is the utility that comes from the usage of the product itself (i.e., performance utility). Although one might expect that some types of design utility (e.g., shaft length or head weighting of a customized golf club) would influence performance utility, the same does not hold for other types of design utility (e.g., grip color of a customized golf club). Yet, challenging this expectation, there is anecdotal evidence that people believe the customization of nonfunctional product attributes will enhance their performance. For example, many professional athletes believe they will perform better when wearing a jersey with their preferred number.

In this research we propose that the customization of nonfunctional product attributes allows a person to imbue a product with personal qualities which, in turn, increases the efficacy of the product. The belief that a product expresses one's individuality (i.e., "this product is uniquely me") increases a person's affinity with the product. Affinity with a product should facilitate goal pursuit on any task where the product is a viable tool given the goal. The implication is that products expressing an owner's individuality (e.g., a customized putter that is "me") should motivate performance independent of the owner's belief that the product can achieve the goal (e.g., "my customized putter is more effective at making putts"). This claim is novel, as the amount of motivation to pursue a goal has been shown to depend on goal activation, goal desirability, and expectations of goal attainability, but not on the expression of individuality afforded by a means (van Osselaer and Janiszewski 2012).

We use four studies to provide evidence that the customization of nonfunctional product attributes increases a user's motivation to pursue goals for which the product is instrumental. Study 1 shows that customization of a pen's nonfunctional attributes increases performance on an anagram task completed with the pen. The increased performance is a result of increased persistence at the task, a motivational effect. Yet, the increased performance cannot be attributed to beliefs about how the customized pen might improve performance, suggesting it is the individuality expressed by the customized pen (i.e., "this pen suits me") that is motivating. Study 2 shows that it is the use of the customized pen, not the act of customization that enhances performance. Study 3 shows that a product must be customized for oneself in order for it to be motivating. Finally, Study 4 (darts) shows that the motivational consequences of customizing

nonfunctional attributes depend on goal desirability. When a customized product expresses individuality, and the goal that is pursued with the product is desirable, there is more motivation to pursue the goal. No competing explanations (e.g., determination, satisfaction, feelings of accomplishment, mood) could be found to account for the pattern of results.

The studies contribute to the emerging literature on mass customization. Extant research has mostly tried to identify and quantify the design utility derived from customization. An exploration of the other sources of utility has been mostly neglected. Little is known, for example, about how consumers use their customized products once they are delivered. The empirical work presented here advances our understanding of customization in a major way; customization is not only an effective strategy for delivering incremental design utility, but it also boosts performance utility. On a more general note, the research contributes to the literature on goal pursuit. In the goal pursuit literature, there are three sources of motivation to pursue a goal, namely goal activation, goal desirability and expectations of goal attainability. We add the expression of individuality afforded by the means as a fourth, additional source of the motivation to pursue a goal.

Our findings are also of managerial interest. Brands offering mass customization typically promote design utility to potential customers (e.g. Adidas Eyewear: "Millions of combinations", Salvatore Ferragamo: "Your own shoe to reflect your personal style"). Our results suggest that performance utility might be another way to market mass customization. For example, why not say, "compete better with custom Nike sneakers", "score lower with Callaway customized clubs," or "drive better with your custom Mini"? Interestingly, these ideas are not far-fetched. Nike recently advertised its customization site with slogans like "customize for fit, style, and performance" and "put your personal goal on your shoe and stay motivated." It would be interesting to determine how the "customization as a source of motivation" framing affects consumers' purchasing, usage, and performance.

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Shared Brand Consumption and Relational Brand Connections

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Marketing campaigns often encourage consumers to share their consumption with close others. For example, Nutella recently promoted its “rise and shine” campaign that encourages families to have breakfast together, and to consume Nutella as a part of that familial breakfast experience. The idea that brands may benefit from shared consumption is intuitively appealing because brands are part of consumers’ identity narratives (Escalas 2004; Fournier 1998) and identities are shaped by the relationships forged with others (Andersen and Chen 2002; Aron et al. 1992). Thus, it is plausible consumers may form particularly strong relationships with brands that they consume together with people they love and care for.

This research examines how married individuals form connections with brands that they consume together with their spouses. Previous research has shown that the social context is central to the development of brand connections (Bearden and Etzel 1982; Berger and Heath 2007; Escalas and Bettman 2003). However, brand consumption has mostly been considered in relation to a given social context, without consideration of how brands become part of a social entity. Extant work supports that when an individual establishes a romantic relationship, he or she expands the self-concept to include the relational partner (Aron and Aron 1986) and marriage, in particular, involves the construction of a relational identity (Brewer and Gardner 1996; Fincham et al. 1997). Importantly, engaging in shared experiences, such as recreational activities, has been shown to improve marital satisfaction (Orthner and Mancini 1990), in part because when couples engage in such activities, they are “reinforcing a sense of interdependence and closeness” (Aron et al. 2000, 274). Thus, shared brand consumption is likely to facilitate relational interconnectedness.

In line with extant research on marriage and self-expansion, we hypothesize that a married individual who consumes a brand with his/her spouse forms a brand connection that is anchored in the relational identity (H1). Such a relational brand connection increases the perceived importance of the brand to the marital relationship (H3) which, in turn, influences the consumer’s attitudes, purchase intentions, affect, and estimated separation distress experienced if the brand is discontinued (H5a-d). Moreover, as shared experiences has been shown to facilitate relational identity construction (Fincham et al. 1997) and improve marital satisfaction (Hill 1988; Orthner and Mancini 1990), we expect the effect of shared brand consumption on formation of relational brand connections to be stronger for those with high marital satisfaction (H2) and the effect of the relational brand connection on the perceived importance of the brand to be stronger for individuals with high marital satisfaction (H4). Finally, as the marital “utility” derived from shared experiences may differ depending on the nature of shared experiences that spouses engage in (Freeman and Zabriskie 2003), we hypothesize that shared brand consumption defined as “special” should be more important for formation of relational brand connections than shared “mundane” brand consumption (H6).

The purpose of Study 1 was to test hypothesis 1 to 5. Data was collected on MTurk using survey method. The final sample included 582 respondents who confirmed that were married (51% female, 51% married less than 5 years). Each respondent rated their marital satisfaction and then listed a brand that they consume with their spouse. All brand related measures (i.e., shared use, relational impor-

tance, attitudes, purchase intentions, affect, and separation distress) pertained to the selected brand. Confirmatory factor analysis was utilized to estimate the measurement model in AMOS. The measurement model had an acceptable fit. All factor loadings were positive and significant ($p < .01$) and all construct reliabilities ranged from .80 to .98. The structural model had acceptable fit and all paths were significant in support of the main-effect hypotheses (1, 3 and 5). We ran multi-group analysis to explore the moderating effect of marital satisfaction. In support of H2 and H4 higher levels of marital satisfaction led to stronger influence of shared use on relational brand connection and stronger influence of relational brand connection on the perceived importance of the brand to the marital relationship.

Study 2 built on study 1 to examine how the nature of shared brand consumption influences the formation of a relational brand connection (H6). Hence, we ran a 2 condition (Type of shared brand consumption: Special vs. Mundane) between subjects experiment. Data was collected using MTurk and each participant was randomly assigned to one of the two conditions. We found no interaction between the conditions and marital satisfaction ($F(1, 576) = .02, p > .8$) and thus we included marital satisfaction in the structural model to examine the effect of “special” use after controlling for the effect of marital satisfaction on relational brand connections. This structural model had an acceptable fit and all paths were significant. In support of H6, after controlling for the effect of marital satisfaction, the differential effect of experiential vs. mundane shared consumption on relational brand connections was significant. Specifically, shared special, compared to mundane, brand consumption had higher levels of relational brand connections, after controlling for marital satisfaction.

Our research makes several important contributions to the literature on brands and interpersonal consumption. First, we showcase how relational aspects of identities influence the formation of brand connections. Second, we show how the nature of the consumption context (i.e., mundane vs. special shared brand consumption) influences relational brand connections. Finally, we contribute to interpersonal consumption research by examining how marriage satisfaction influences the formation of relational brand connections; thus showcasing how interpersonal relationships may influence brand relationships.

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Consumer Ambivalence in Intergenerational Settings

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumer studies have largely neglected the role of ambivalence (Otnes et al., 1997) in family sharing and intergenerational relationships (e.g., Belk, 2007/2010; Belk & Llamas, 2012). Consumer research presented either a more positive view (e.g., Cappellini et al., 2014; Hamilton, 2009; Kochuyt, 2004; Götze et al., 2009; Hogg et al., 2004) or a bleak view of the family (e.g., Hill, 1991; Hill & Gaines, 2007) coping with financial adversities. These somewhat polarized views of the family potentially minimize the diversity of family experience, neglect that sharing can be difficult (Belk 2007/2010; Belk & Llamas, 2012) and overlook ambivalent feelings in family sharing. The sociological concept of intergenerational ambivalence (that often accompanies adult intergenerational support and sharing) offers a more nuanced view of family life that moves beyond the two traditional oppositional standpoints of love, solidarity, and consensus, versus conflict, abuse, and neglect, when exploring consumers' experiences (e.g., Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998).

Consumer research has tended to concentrate on the nuclear family (e.g., Epp & Price, 2008/2010; Thompson, 1996) and has overlooked the experience of adult intergenerational support and sharing. Nevertheless, intergenerational sharing is widespread. Globally, a significant number of adult children move back into or remain in their parental homes or receive parental financial support; grandparents become alloparents of their grandchildren; adults live with or provide financial or practical aid to aging parents (e.g., Bengtson, 2001; Choroszewicz & Wolff, 2010; ONS, 2014). Adult intergenerational sharing may be experienced differently from the taken-for-granted, obligatory sharing within families with underage children where demand sharing takes place as a matter of entitlement and on which consumer research has largely concentrated. Intergenerational support and intergenerational sharing can be breeding grounds for ambivalence in family relationships and in consumption. This is because intergenerational support and sharing can be associated not only with affection, compassion for others and mutual aid, but also with failed expectations and ideals for adult children achieving financial independence, the sacrifice of autonomy, conformity pressures, and the desire to dominate and exercise control (e.g., Lüscher 2011; Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Willson et al., 2003).

This paper uses the experiences of downwardly mobile consumers faced with financial difficulties in order to explore ambivalence, intergenerational support and family sharing. A phenomenological study was conducted with Greek downwardly mobile consumers coping with financial difficulties and consumption restrictions and being involved in familial intergenerational support and sharing. Phenomenological interviewing (Kvale, 1983; Thompson et al., 1989/1990) was used to elicit full descriptions of experiences and a phenomenological-hermeneutical analysis (Thompson et al., 1989/1990) was followed using a back-and-forth, part-to-whole interpretation mode.

Intergenerational ambivalence accompanied intergenerational support and was the lens through which these downwardly mobile consumers experienced consumption. The findings reveal three types of consumer ambivalence (e.g., Otnes et al., 1997) in family sharing. The first type of consumption ambivalence was experienced for goods that prioritized individual over relational and collective identity. In this case, participants were involved in guilt-evoking or shame-evoking consumption of goods considered as 'reflectors of

egoism'. This type of consumer ambivalence was accompanied by doubts about the purchase and the continuation of the consumption that were often addressed by reducing the use of or sharing the possession in an effort to pursue voluntary simplicity. Participants tried to avoid the market for 'reflector of egoism' goods in order to avoid 'temptations', but they also often engaged in extensive market search regarding these goods.

The second type of consumer ambivalence was experienced for goods that partly supported but mainly burdened individual, relational and collective identity. In this case, participants were involved in regretful consumption and experienced some goods as 'burdens'. This type of consumer ambivalence was accompanied by remorse for the purchase that was often addressed also by reducing the use of or sharing the possession or by researching the market and trying to sell the possession in an effort to pursue voluntary simplicity.

The third type of ambivalence was experienced for consumption that prioritized relational or collective over individual identity. Here participants engaged in involuntary simplicity by accepting 'compromises' and giving up possessions which represented 'self-extensions'. This type of consumer ambivalence was not accompanied by doubts about the continuation of the behavior and the consumption but rather it was accompanied by efforts to accept consumption simplicity. To this end, participants avoided the market for 'lost self-extensions' goods and engaged in extensive market search to find the best 'compromise' goods possible. An internal locus of control facilitated the acceptance of both 'compromises' and losses.

This paper brings together three major consumer research concepts i.e., ambivalence (Otnes et al., 1997), sharing (Belk, 2007/2010) and family identity (Epp & Price, 2008/2010), considered within the neglected context of familial adult intergenerational support. In doing so, the paper extends previous work in the following ways.

It identifies three types of consumer ambivalence which reflected different types of conflicts between consumption choices and different levels of family identity (collective, relational and individual; Epp & Price, 2008). The study problematizes previously somewhat polarized (i.e., positive versus bleak) views of the family in consumer research. The paper also adds to previous work that had explored different antecedents of consumer ambivalence (Otnes et al., 1997) by highlighting family sharing -and particularly adult intergenerational support in situations of economic adversity- as a major antecedent of consumer ambivalence. Finally, the paper proposes a typology of coping strategies aligned along a practical/emotional continuum.

Future research can explore ambivalence and family sharing in different family structures and during different family transitions. Also, future research can investigate how the findings resonate in societies with stronger welfare states and societies less affected by austerity measures (e.g., the UK) that nevertheless experience a significant rise in intergenerational support (Choroszewicz & Wolff, 2010; ONS, 2014).

Finally, the study can be of value to marketing managers and policy makers who need to understand the feelings of ambivalence that accompany intergenerational support and how these color consumption experiences, and use this understanding in product and communication strategies or in interventions at societal, family and individual levels.

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Self-Compassion, Social Comparison and Coping Strategies: The Case of Downwardly Mobile Consumers

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Most consumer research on coping is based on the notion of protecting, restoring or bolstering self-esteem (e.g., Adkins & Ozanne, 2005; Elliott, 1995; Hamilton, 2012; Hamilton & Catterall, 2008; Henry & Caldwell, 2006; Hill & Stamey, 1990; Sivanathan & Pettit, 2010). However, recent psychological research emphasizes the pursuit of self-compassion as a healthier alternative to the pursuit of self-esteem (e.g., Leary et al., 2007; Neff et al., 2007). While self-esteem refers to a self-attitude in which self-worth is conditional on (perceived) own competence, performance and attainment of desired outcomes and ideals, self-compassion refers to a self-attitude that is non-judgmental toward one's inadequacies and failures and in which self-worth is unconditional (e.g., Crocker & Wolfe, 2001; Leary et al., 2007; Neff et al., 2007). Self-compassion is associated with greater emotional balance than self-esteem. Nevertheless, consumer research on coping has largely neglected the notion of self-compassion. Only a minority of consumer research studies have recently discussed self-compassion and self-acceptance (i.e. Bahl & Milne, 2010; Kim & Gal, 2014 respectively) but did not explore firstly different coping strategies of self-compassion and secondly the role of social comparisons in self-compassionate coping.

More specifically, consumer research has not explored different self-compassionate coping strategies even though psychological research suggests that self-compassion involves different (though interrelated) components which are: 1) *self-kindness* rather than harsh *self-criticism* when encountering pain and personal shortcomings, 2) *common humanity* i.e. acknowledging suffering and personal failure as part of the shared human experience rather than *isolating* oneself, 3) *mindfulness* i.e. taking a balanced approach to one's negative emotions so that feelings are neither exaggerated nor suppressed/denied (e.g., Leary et al., 2007; Neff, 2003).

Moreover, psychological research relates social comparisons (Festinger, 1954; Wood, 1989; Collin, 1996; Suls, Martin, & Wheeler 2002; Buunk, & Gibbons, 2007) to the notion of self-esteem (e.g., Aspinwall & Taylor, 1993; Collin, 1996; Crocker et al., 1987; Taylor & Lobel, 1989) and more recently to the notion of self-compassion (e.g., Breines & Chen, 2012). However, consumer research studies on social comparisons have focused only on the role of self-esteem (e.g., Ackerman, MacInnis, & Folkes, 2000; Gulas & McKeage, 2000; Smeesters, Mussweiler, & Mandel, 2010; Richins, 1991) and did not explore the role of self-compassion within social comparison.

Therefore, this phenomenological study on Greek downwardly mobile consumers coping with financial difficulties and consumption restrictions considered social comparisons and self-compassionate coping strategies in order to add to our understanding of consumer coping. Phenomenological interviewing (Kvale 1983; Thompson et al., 1989) was used and a phenomenological-hermeneutical analysis (Thompson et al., 1989) was followed using a back-and-forth, part-to-whole interpretation mode.

Our informants experienced significant income reductions, job loss or job insecurity and uncertainty regarding delayed salary payments. Informants often had difficulty making ends meet and several undertook low-paid jobs to avoid complete unemployment. They adopted the following coping strategies that were colored by a self-attitude of self-compassion and were highly related to social comparisons:

(1) Common humanity; social emotional support and console the self by engaging in similar or downward comparisons

Previous research had examined poor consumers' feelings of alienation within an affluent consumer culture (e.g., Crockett, Grier, & Williams, 2003; Elliott, 1995; Hill & Stamey, 1990; Hill & Stephens, 1997). However, our informants did not feel different, alienated or discriminated against within their recessionary environment. Reflecting the concept of 'common humanity', informants acknowledged suffering and personal failure as part of a shared experience. They engaged in emotional support with similar others and in comparisons with similar or 'worse-off' others or with their own past 'disadvantaged' self in order to console themselves (and one another) for their lifestyle and consumption changes.

(2) Balancing external locus of control (downward and similar comparisons) and internal locus of control (upward comparisons):

In line with the concept of 'mindfulness', participants often engaged in both an external and an internal locus of control, which helped in taking a balanced approach to their feelings, so that their feelings were neither exaggerated nor denied. Over-identifying with either an external or an internal locus of control can involve ruminating and can magnify a sense of failure while avoiding thoughts and feelings (relevant to either an internal or an external locus of control) can intensify them in the long-term. Engaging in both an external locus of control (and similar or downward comparisons) and an internal locus of control (and upward comparisons), participants often tried to balance perceptions of responsibility for their financial circumstances and to regulate their feelings.

(3) Market avoidance (avoiding upward comparisons) and extensive market search (engaging in similar comparisons):

By avoiding the market of desired goods, participants tried to avoid negative feelings which involved the risk of their suppressed feelings getting intensified in the long run. By engaging in extensive market search for essential and needed goods participants aimed to find better value-for-money goods but they also run the risk of engaging in rumination and exaggeration on their limitations. Participants' engagement in these two contrastive strategies helped them in taking a middle ground between over-identification with and avoidance of negative feelings, in line with the concept of 'mindfulness'.

(4) Self-kind enjoyment and escapism (mainly upward comparisons)

Reflecting attempts at self-kindness, informants valued possessions, products and activities that enabled leisure-based enjoyment and art-related escapism. In disengaging temporarily from their stresses (e.g., Hamilton & Wagner, 2011; Henry & Caldwell, 2006), participants often valued art that enabled them to identify with or to be inspired by stories of 'superior' others who have the capacity to succeed in difficult conditions.

Therefore, this paper adds to our understanding of consumers' self-compassion by identifying how consumers' self-compassion

(Bahl & Milne, 2010) involves particular combinations of social comparisons (e.g., Festinger, 1954; Wood, 1989; Richins, 1991) and coping strategies (e.g., Folkman et al., 1986) extending work on consumer coping that was largely based on the notion of pursuing self-esteem (e.g., Elliott, 1995; Hamilton & Catterall, 2008; Hill & Stamey, 1990). It identifies different coping strategies of self-compassion and highlights the importance of social comparisons as resources in self-compassionate coping.

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Fertility and Women's Desire for Luxury Products

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Billions of dollars are spent each year on lavish goods such as handbags and jewelry, with women accounting for more than half (55%) of this luxury spending (D'Arpizio 2011; Mintel Report 2011). What factors influence women's desire for luxury goods? Drawing on research showing that fertility influences women's competitive motives (Durante, Griskevicius, Cantú, and Simpson 2014), we examined whether women's desire for luxury products may be linked to fluctuations in the hormones that regulate fertility.

As an initial investigation into our research question, we conducted a correlational study using real-world data. We predicted that, controlling for fluctuations in the economic climate, increases in the proportion of fertile women in the population (women aged 18-35) would be positively related to luxury consumption, leading to growth of luxury brands compared to non-luxury brands. We first calculated operational fertility (proportion of fertile, adult women in the US population) from 2000 to 2013. We obtained measures of brand equity from Interbrand for the top 10 Luxury (e.g., Louis Vuitton, Gucci) and top 10 non-luxury brands (e.g., IBM, Coca Cola) from 2000 to 2013. Because the economic climate has a large impact on brand values, we calculated the pure brand values as the ratio of the original brand values relative to the annual Dow Jones average. There was a positive correlation between luxury brand values and the number of fertile women in the population ($p < .05$). As the number of fertile women increased so too did luxury brand values. In contrast, there was no relation between non-luxury brand values and the number of fertile women in the population ($p > .15$). This specific pattern of findings provides initial support for the prediction that fertility influences women's luxury spending.

Study 2 examined whether fertility amplifies women's desire to achieve status relative to other women. Here we focus on examining whether women's materialism might be amplified at high fertility. While materialism is comprised of three dimensions: success, centrality, and happiness (Richins and Dawson 1992), the competitive tendency amplified by ovulation should be most strongly linked to women's materialism on the *success* dimension, which reflects a desire to own possessions as a measure of one's own status relative to others. Women reported higher scores on the success materialism dimension at high fertility compared to low fertility ($p < .035$), whereas there was no effect of fertility on either centrality materialism or on happiness materialism ($ps > .76$). Moreover, women's success materialism tracked a continuous measure of conception probability across the cycle. As conception probability within the cycle increased, so too did success materialism scores ($p < .036$). There was no relation between conception probability and centrality materialism or happiness materialism ($ps > .26$).

Study 3 tested whether women's desire for status near ovulation boosts preference for luxury brands. To do this, we measured women's attitudes toward luxury versus non-luxury brands as a function of fertility status. As predicted, there was a two-way interaction between fertility (low vs. high) and brand type (luxury vs. non-luxury), $p < .01$. Ovulating women had significantly higher desire luxury brands ($M_{low} = 5.01$ vs. $M_{high} = 5.97$, $p < .004$). In contrast, there was no effect of fertility on non-luxury brands ($M_{low} = 4.58$ vs. $M_{high} = 4.73$, $p > .50$). Again, there was a significant correlation between a continuous measure of conception probability and women's attraction to

luxury brands ($p < .04$), but not to non-luxury brands ($p > .36$). These results provided additional support for the prediction that women have a stronger desire for status consumption near ovulation.

Study 4 sought to test an important boundary condition for how fertility influences women's luxury consumption with a direct behavioral measure in a within-subjects study using hormone tests to detect ovulation. Specifically, we examined whether the fertile phase of the cycle amplifies women's *intra-sexual competition* by testing whether ovulation influences women's luxury choices depending on the target users for the luxury (vs. non-luxury) products. According to the ovulatory competition hypothesis, the fertile phase of the cycle should have different effects on a woman's choices depending on whether those choices improve a woman's standing relative to other women. Hence, ovulation should boost women's desires for more superior products than other women. To measure desire for conspicuous luxury products, we had women draw logos on products (after Wang and Griskevicius 2014), once when they were at a high fertility point in the cycle and again at low fertility. At both test sessions, women were instructed to draw several luxury brand logos on products for themselves and for other women. We calculated the size of the luxury brand logo and measured participants' financial status. There was a two-way interaction between fertility (high vs. low) and targeted users (self vs. other women) after controlling for financial status ($p < .001$). Ovulating women drew significantly larger logos for themselves compared to the logos they drew for other women ($M_{self} = 1.28$, $M_{other} = 1.13$, $p < .04$), whereas non-ovulating women drew significantly smaller logos for themselves compared to the logos they drew for other women ($M_{self} = 1.12$, $M_{other} = 1.35$, $p < .04$). In other words, near ovulation, women drew significantly larger logos for themselves ($M_{low} = 1.12$, $M_{high} = 1.28$, $p < .02$), but drew significantly smaller logos for other women ($M_{low} = 1.35$, $M_{high} = 1.13$, $p < .007$).

Our findings suggest that fertility may motivate women to seek out and purchase luxury goods. If the ovulatory cycle systematically alters women's desire for luxury products, this has important implications for marketers, researchers, and consumers. Female consumers might choose more opulent goods depending on when during the month they are shopping. Researchers might explore how manipulated cues to competition affect women's conspicuous consumption. And, marketers may provoke different responses from the same message at different times of the month.

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Two Different Paths, One Destination: How Money-Views and Self-Views Jointly Influence Saving Behavior

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Recent research argues that how money is perceived (i.e., money-view) would affect individuals' attentional focus (Lea and Webley 2006), which may then influence their strategies to pursue a goal (Chernev 2004; Higgins 1997; Pham and Higgins 2005). However, little research has investigated how different attentional focus of money influences consumer saving behavior.

The current research proposes that individuals' money-views would predict the type of strategies they apply in saving. Prior literature posits that individuals view money as a means (vs. an end in itself) if they focus on the exchange value of money (vs. the money itself) (Lea and Webley 2006). This implies that, when individuals view money as a means (vs. an end in itself), they are likely to attend to how to use money (vs. how to accumulate money), highlighting potential financial losses (vs. gains) when saving is of interest. Hence, we propose that individuals who view money as a means (vs. an end) are likely to prefer a saving strategy that minimizes (vs. maximizes) financial losses (vs. gains).

In addition, the meaning of money has often been discussed together with the meaning of such social constructs as morality (Furnham 1984; Tang 1992) and power (Garbinsky, Klesse, and Aaker 2014; Rucker, Dubois, and Galinsky 2011; Yamauchi and Templer 1982). Therefore, the effects of money perceptions on saving behavior could be better understood when examined together with the effects of social perceptions, such as those of people's self-views. Prior literature demonstrates that interdependent (vs. independent) individuals tend to focus more on losses (vs. gains), trying to minimize losses (vs. maximize gains) when pursuing a goal (Aaker and Lee 2001; Hamilton and Biehal 2005; Lee, Aaker, and Gardner 2000; Zhou and Pham 2004). By extending these findings to the context of saving, we predict that individuals who view themselves as interdependent (vs. independent) are likely to prefer a saving strategy that minimizes (vs. maximizes) financial losses (vs. gains).

More importantly, we further propose an interaction effect of money- and self-views on saving behavior. Past research posits that, when individuals experience a feeling of fit in the course of goal pursuit, they experience increased engagement, thereby being more motivated to pursue the goal (Higgins 2006; Lee, Keller, and Sternthal 2010; Wadhwa and Zhang 2015). Following this argument, we suggest that, when money- and self-views are aligned in predicting preferred saving strategies, such an alignment would increase individuals' engagement in saving and their motivation to save.

In Study 1a (N=70), we test whether one's money-view results in different preferences for saving strategies that emphasize minimizing (maximizing) financial losses (gains). Results showed that participants who wrote the essay supporting the money-as-end (vs. money-as-means) view generated more saving strategies that focused on maximizing financial gains ($M_{End} = .61$, $SD = 1.48$ vs. $M_{Means} = -.76$, $SD = 1.30$; $F(1, 61) = 16.37$, $p < .01$). In Study 1b (N=109), we attempted to minimize demand effects of money-view manipulation used in Study 1a. We used a word scramble task with five words that are similar to the meaning of *means* (e.g., medium, procedure) or the meaning of *end* (e.g., goal, purpose), and a sentence

completion task with three words for each condition. For the control condition, we used neutral words (e.g., computer, sheet) for both tasks. Results show that participants who were in the money-as-end condition generated a larger number of saving strategy that aims to maximize financial gains ($M = .59$, $SD = 1.08$), as compared to those who were in the money-as-means condition ($M = -.52$, $SD = 1.06$) or those in the control condition ($M = -.27$, $SD = 1.54$; $F(2, 100) = 7.68$, $p < .01$). Simple contrasts show an insignificant difference between the money-as-means and control conditions ($p > .10$).

In Study 2 (N=95), we test whether one's self-view would influence her preferred saving strategy. We first manipulated one's self-view (Trafimow et al. 1991). Then, participants were presented with ten popular saving strategies and asked to how much effort they would put into each saving strategy (summed up to 100%). The result shows that interdependent (vs. independent) participants allocated more efforts on saving strategies emphasizing minimizing financial losses (vs. gains) ($M_{Independent} = 53.29\%$, $SD = 17.15\%$ vs. $M_{Interdependent} = 65.42\%$, $SD = 17.45\%$; $F(1, 87) = 9.03$, $p < .01$).

In Study 3a (N=221), we tested the interaction effect of one's money-view and self-view on her saving behaviors. We used the manipulation of money-view from Study 1a, and the manipulation of self-view from Study 2 in a random order. As our key dependent measure, we asked participants to imagine receiving a windfall of \$100 or \$1,000 and make a decision on how much money to save. The repeated measures results show that there was a significant interaction between one's money- and self-views in both \$100 and \$1,000 conditions ($F(1, 214) = 7.47$, $p < .01$). That is, participants allocated more money to savings when their preference for saving strategies induced by their money-view and by their self-view are aligned. By using the money-view manipulation in Study 1b, we found the similar patterns in money allocation decisions with \$3,500 in Study 3b (N=217). A two-way ANOVA shows a significant interaction effect between one's money- and self-views on the percentage of money allocated to savings ($F(2, 205) = 7.66$, $p < .01$).

This research contributes to the prior literature on saving behavior as well as the psychology of money. First, our research shows that one's money-view plays an important role in her saving behavior. Second, we show that money view interacts with self-view in affecting saving behaviors. Practically, this research can guide consumers to choose appropriate saving strategies for their savings success depending on their perceptions of money as well as their self-construal. In our next study, the underlying mediation effect of the alignment of savings strategy on saving-related decisions will be investigated.

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Moral Malleability and Morality Matching: Consumer Deviance in Response to Company Wrongdoing

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The present research explores the impact of a company's wrongdoing on the likelihood and moral nature of deviant consumer behavior on the part of even mainstream consumers, which can be detrimental to companies and the marketplace more generally. Specifically, what conditions lead consumers to act in a deviant (immoral) manner? We examine the relationship between company wrongdoing, consumer deviance, and morality. We propose a model of morality matching in which consumers temporarily alter their own moral compass (moral malleability) in the face of company wrongdoing. We show that the more immoral company actions are perceived to be, the greater the moral anger consumers experience and likely will respond in kind, that is with acts of deviance that appear to match the company wrongdoing in the perceived degree of immorality (morality matching).

In an idealistic marketplace setting, firms and customers engage in relationships and transactions that are equitable to both parties. However, in reality, things happen. Companies do not always act in an appropriate or fair manner towards their customers. And customers do not always act appropriately towards companies. Yet, little is known about the relationship, if any, between a firm's wrongdoing (i.e., treating consumers unfairly/immorally) and consumer responses. For example, will a consumer who perceives to have been treated unfairly retaliate through more typical responses to service failure (e.g., complain, defect, and so on) or use the company's wrongdoing to temporarily alter their own moral standards to respond with wrongdoing of their own? Although, past research suggests that consumers may engage in a host of deviant (i.e., unfair/immoral) behaviors with or without provocation from the firm, little is known about what prompts mainstream consumers to engage in such deviance. The focal objective of this research is to better understand when, how, and why consumers engage in immoral (deviant) behavior particularly following company wrongdoing.

We refer to company wrongdoing as a service situation in which the consumer perceives company actions (or inaction) as immoral to some degree and experiences moral anger. Prior research shows that some consumers outraged by the wrongdoing of a company will sabotage their well-being and punish the firm at a cost to themselves (Bechwati and Morrin 2003). Hence, we consider both company wrongdoing and deviant responses by consumers in an attempt to understand if, when, and how the former may facilitate the latter in the marketplace.

Briefly, we propose that when a company wrongs a consumer (i.e., treats him or her immorally), this consumer's moral balance (sense of equity) is disturbed by company actions. As the result, the consumer not only feels moral anger, but also their own moral standards shift at least temporarily (i.e., moral malleability). Specifically, this moral malleability changes wronged consumer's sense of a "true north" in terms of morality assessments, rendering a relaxing of moral standards (following an immoral action on the part of the firm) and an increased likelihood to engage in more immoral consumer responses. Therefore, firm immorality triggers moral anger and leads consumers to "morality matching" by responding in kind with deviant behaviors that appear to match in immorality.

We test our theoretical framework in a series of four studies encompassing tightly controlled manipulated company wrongdoing at different levels of immorality, actual past company wrongdoing, and real-time company wrongdoing experienced by participants. The studies include a wide range of company acts of wrongdoing and consumer responses, both deviant and not. Study 1 directly manipulates both the level of immorality of the company wrongdoing as well as that of the consumers' response. Here we focus on the consumers' perceived match between the two parties' actions in order to examine the moral malleability and morality matching accounts. Then, in studies 2a and 2b, consumers recalled their own recent examples of service failure that were perceived to be either simply dissatisfying or as immoral wrongdoing. In study 2a, we directly capture moral malleability as expressed by moral evaluations of a deviant behavior. Study 2b adds to our understanding by examining a range of potential consumer responses. Finally, in study 3, participants experienced an actual wrongdoing and we assessed their actual lying/cheating behavior in order to provide real-world evidence of morality matching.

We bring together components from several different research streams and theoretical perspectives within the present research, including moral judgment theory, consumer deviance, service failures and company responses to failures, as well as consumer emotional reactions to the latter. Contributing to theory, this research is the first known attempt to apply and extend moral psychology theory (Haidt 2001, 2007) in the context of consumer behavior, and deviant consumer behavior in particular. Specifically, this work investigates the processes underlying consumer decisions to engage in deviant acts targeting companies. We also add to prior literature on moral malleability by examining how the external factor of firm behavior can activate the moral regulation system and lead consumers to reinterpret the morality of certain marketplace behaviors (Ayal and Gino 2011; Bandura 1991; Mazar et al. 2008; Monin and Jordan 2009). In addition, we introduce the concept of "morality matching" and demonstrate how this process works within the context of company wrongdoing and consumer responses. Importantly, we also provide insights on the boundaries of moral malleability and morality matching in response to company wrongdoing, as we identify when and to what extent moral anger (as opposed to mere dissatisfaction) follows company wrongdoing.

Companies make mistakes. They do not always respond appropriately to these mistakes, thereby raising concerns of immoral treatment by their customers. We identify an increased propensity for consumers to temporarily adjust their own moral standards as part of a morality matching process following firm wrongdoing. When company actions call into question moral standards, consumers appear ready to flex their own in order to engage in deviant behaviors that they would otherwise avoid. As such, immoral deviance has consequences for all.

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Surprise Her But Not Him: Gender Differences in The Valuation And Choice of Positive Surprises

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We contribute to the literature on positive uncertainty and surprise (e.g., Wilson et al. 2005) by studying consumers' preference for and evaluation of surprises. Specifically, we examine whether men and women choose differently between a surprise and a known product. The literature provides diverging predictions. The research on risk taking suggests that women are significantly more risk averse than men (Eckel and Grossman 2008). Since surprise products involve uncertainty and risk, this research stream would predict that women would be less likely to choose the surprise. On the other hand, men are more agentic and like to be in control of their choices (Kurt et al. 2011) while women are more open to experiences, especially in a shopping context (Arnold and Reynolds 2003; Babin et al. 1994). Drawing on these findings, we expect that women would prefer surprise more than men and more than a known option (H1). We predict that the positive attitude towards surprises would spill over into the evaluation of the product itself so that women would find the same product more attractive when it is received as a surprise than a purchase (H2). Finally, we hypothesize that desire for control would mediate the effect (H3). We test these predictions in four studies across 3 categories. Pre-tests ensured that all manipulations were successful; details are available from the authors. All scales have acceptable reliability and were measured on a scale from 1=not at all to 7=extremely.

In Study 1 participants were asked to choose between a surprise healthy snack and a known healthy granola bar and informed that three students in each session will receive their choice. A logistic regression indicated that women were more likely to choose a surprise snack (71%) than men (47%; $\beta=0.52$, Wald's $\chi^2=5.86$, $p=.02$). Overall, participants liked granola bars (grand $M=4.86 > 4$, the scale midpoint, $t(101)=5.99$, $p<.001$) but there were no differences in how much women ($M=5.09$) and men ($M=4.68$) liked granola bars ($F(1,100)=1.96$, $p=.16$). Hence, using consequential choice, we find support that women prefer surprises more than men do and show that this effect does not seem to be driven by a diverging liking of the product category.

In Study 2, participants imagined receiving a pair of headphones as part of a surprise box (surprise condition) or as a purchase from a store (purchase condition) and rated the product's attractiveness. There was a significant condition x gender interaction ($F(1,75)=4.07$, $p=.047$) such that women found the product more attractive in the surprise ($M=5.87$) than the purchase condition ($M=5.01$, $p=.02$) while there was no difference for men. Waiting to receive the product was more enjoyable in the surprise ($M=4.18$) than the purchase condition ($M=3.30$; $F(1,75)=8.21$, $p=.005$) but this effect was not moderated by gender ($p>.1$). Hence, women did not seem to engage in more mental imagery while waiting for their surprise than men. In conclusion, this study provides support for H2 and shows that for women, surprise can shape the subjective attractiveness of a product.

In Study 3, participants imagined ordering a "Juicy Surprise Box" consisting of six samples of juice drinks and were instructed that 1) all flavors will be a surprise (no choice condition), 2) they need to select one of the flavors (one-choice condition), or 3) they need to select three of the flavors (three-choice condition) while the remaining flavors will be a surprise. Next, they saw the contents of the surprise box and rated its attractiveness. There was a gender x

choice condition interaction ($F(2, 334)=3.09$, $p=.05$) such that in the no-choice condition women evaluated the box more favorably ($M=5.53$) than men ($M=4.95$, $p=.02$) while the gender difference was attenuated in the two choice conditions (p 's $>.15$). Further, men's evaluation of the surprise box was higher in the one-choice condition ($M=5.44$) than in the no-choice condition ($M=4.95$, $p=.02$). Thus, this study replicates our main finding that women like surprises more than men and, in support of H3, suggests that allowing consumers to have some say in their surprise offering can increase men's positive evaluation.

Study 4 tested H3 directly. In a hypothetical scenario, participants familiar with Kashi bars chose between a surprise box of healthy snacks and a known box of healthy Kashi granola bars. Next, participants rated the degree to which their choice was driven by a desire for control (e.g., "I chose this option because it allowed me to have more control over my reward") and anticipated enjoyment (e.g., "I chose this option because I expect that it will bring me a lot of joy"). We found that women were more likely to choose the surprise option (64%) compared to men (46%; $\beta=.40$, Wald's $\chi^2=4.23$, $p=.04$) and that liking of Kashi granola bars was negatively associated with choice of the surprise option ($\beta=-.61$, Wald's $\chi^2=18.52$, $p<.001$). The brand was liked equally by men ($M=4.73$) and women ($M=4.49$, $F<1$). Notably, desire to have control was more important for men ($M=4.23$) than for women ($M=3.45$, $F(1, 138)=5.02$, $p=.03$) while there was no difference in anticipated enjoyment between men ($M=4.50$) and women ($M=4.60$, $F<1$). Mediation analysis confirmed that perceived control (but not anticipated enjoyment) mediated the effect of gender on choice. Thus, we find evidence that the more participants desired to have control over the product, the less likely they were to select the surprise option.

To the best of our knowledge, this is the first paper to demonstrate a marketing context in which women are risk seeking. Further, we contribute to the literature on positive uncertainty by examining consumers' preferences for surprise products. We show that women are more likely to prefer surprises than men and this has important spillover effects to the perception of products. We find evidence that this effect is driven by men's and women's differing desire for control.

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I Shared What You Did Last Summer: Indirect Impression Management and Subsequent Prosocial Behaviors

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We all know at least one of *those* people-individuals who post about the positive behaviors of others they are connected to (e.g., sister running a marathon, colleague volunteering at a local charity). What is unclear is the effect that communicating a close other's positive behavior has on the communicator's own subsequent behaviour. Does publically communicating the athletic sister's accomplishment motivate the communicator to behave consistently (e.g., go for a run) or reduce the likelihood to follow through with the behavior (e.g., go for a hamburger)? The current research examines the consumer consequences of publically communicating a close other's positive behavior and highlights the role impression-management plays in this context.

Consumers have multiple avenues available to present themselves positively to others, such as purchasing products that donate profits to charity (Krishna 2011) or engaging in token support for a social cause (e.g., joining a Facebook group; Kristofferson et al. 2014). However, research shows that explicit self-presentation tactics can lead others negatively interpret the target's actions (Berman et al. 2015; Fein 1996). To mitigate this drawback, consumers can resort to less invasive, or indirect impression-management techniques, such as communicating the positive behaviors of others.

The current research proposes that publically communicating the positive behaviors of another other leads to a subsequent decrease in the communicator's own positive behaviors. We propose that when the act of communicating the positive actions of another person is done in a very public (vs. private) manner this allows the consumer to feel positively as a result of presenting a positive image of the self to others. As a result, the consumer is less inclined to engage in subsequent positive behaviors themselves. We offer further support for our impression-management view by varying the communication target (close other vs. acquaintance, study 2) and showing that the effect only holds for high public self-conscious consumers (study 3). Finally, we identify a boundary condition for our consequence: accountability for the consumer's own behaviour (study 4).

A pilot study demonstrated this effect in the domain of a positively-viewed athletic behavior using a dataset taken from a social networking site utilized by a competitive cycling team (76 cyclists, 1,249 communications, 29,516 KM). We recorded and analyzed the communication of fellow cyclists' achievements and subsequent rides using the group's Strava account. Athletes can publically communicate a fellow cyclists' performance by giving 'kudos' for the teammate's performance. As predicted, high communicators cycled significantly shorter distances per ride than low communicators ($F(1,74) = 4.02, p < .05$).

Study 1 tested our predictions in a field study using personal Facebook posts. We recruited individuals ($n=62$) to participate in a short study on Facebook by offering an entry in a draw to win an iPad. Participants were randomly assigned to be asked to write a Facebook post about one of three behaviors: a helpful behavior of a close other, an average, everyday behavior of a close other, or a helpful behavior that they had performed. At the end of the study, participants were offered the opportunity to be helpful by forgoing their entry in the iPad draw in exchange for us making a \$10 to the World Wildlife Fund (0 = No, 1 = Yes). Participants who publically communicated a helpful behavior of a close other were significantly

less likely to be helpful themselves than participants who publically communicated an average, everyday behavior of a close other ($P_{Close Other-Helpful} = 33.3\%$ vs. $P_{Close Other-Control} = 66.7\%$; $b = -1.39, p < .05$), but no different from those who communicated their own helpful behavior publically ($P_{Close Other-Helpful} = 33.3\%$ vs. $P_{Self-Helpful} = 35.0\%$, NS).

Study 2 replicated the field study in a controlled setting using blogging as the public communication medium, and sought to provide support for our impression-management claim. Undergraduates ($n=132$) were assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (Task: Communicate, Introspect) x 2 (Target: Close Other, Acquaintance) design and completed the study in groups of 20-30. Participants in the publically communicate (introspect) conditions wrote a blog post (introspected) about a charitable behavior of either a close other or acquaintance with other participants in the room with them. Shortly after, they indicated how willing they were to volunteer their time. The expected interaction emerged ($F(1,128) = 3.88, p = .05$). Participants who publically communicated the charitable behavior of close other (vs. acquaintance) were less likely to volunteer ($F(1, 128) = 3.82, p = .05$). This group was also less marginally less likely to volunteer than those who introspected about a close other ($F(1, 128) = 3.45, p < .07$).

Study 3 provided further support for our impression-management claim by showing this effect among high public self-conscious consumers. Undergraduates ($n=121$) were randomly assigned to one of two conditions in 2 (Communication: Public, Private) x continuous (Public Self-Consciousness) design. Participants in the public condition wrote a blog post about another person's behaviour as in study 2. Participants in the private condition typed out a description of the others' positive behaviour, but were told this would not be shared with others. Participants then completed the dependent variable as in study 2. At the end of the study, participants completed the seven-item public self-consciousness scale. Regression results revealed the expected interaction ($b = .43, SE = .17, t = 2.50, p = .01$). Results showed that high (low) public self-conscious participants were less likely to volunteer when they publically (privately) communicated a close other's behaviour (HPSC: $+1.99SD, B_{IN} = .68, SE = .34, p = .05$; LPSC: $-.75SD, B_{IN} = -.38, SE = .19, p = .05$).

Study 4 examined an additional moderator to understand when we might not observe this decrease in self-behavior when communicating the positive behaviors of others: accountability. Undergraduates ($n=133$) were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (Communication: Public, Private) x 2 (Accountability: High, Low) design. The procedure and manipulation used in the communication task is identical to that of study 3 with one change. Immediately after communicating the behavior of a close other, participants were told their subsequent responses would be either discussed (high accountability) or be confidential (low accountability). Participants then completed the dependent variable from studies 2 and 3. The 2x2 ANOVA yielded the expected interaction ($F(1,129) = 4.05, p < .05$). When accountability was low, participants publically (vs. privately) communicating the charitable behavior of a close other were less charitable ($F(1, 129) = 3.79, p = .05$), but no differences emerged when accountability was high ($F(1, 129) = 82, p > .35$).

In conclusion, we investigate the consequences that communicating the positive behaviors of others have on our own behavior. We demonstrate that publically communicating the positive behavior of

close others makes consumers less likely to engage in the behavior themselves, and this decrease is driven by the reception of impression-management benefits.

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Does Sparing the Rod Spoil the Child? How Praising, Scolding, and Assertive Tone can Encourage Pro-Social Behavior

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Marketers and policymakers seek ways to encourage consumers to act in a more socially responsible manner. Two ubiquitously used communication approaches are praising (*You are doing great*) and scolding (*You are not doing enough*). Praising drives optimism and positive emotions (Geers, Handley, and McLarney 2003), which lead individuals to wish to continue what they were doing (Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson 2003). Scolding, on the other hand, mobilizes people to act through avoiding or reducing guilt (Kluger and DeNisi 1996). However, the effectiveness of each approach in triggering behavior is not clear: some works demonstrate that praise is an effective way to mobilize for action due to the optimistic feelings it evokes (Turner et al. 2010), other works show that praising does not necessarily affect behavior (Hattie and Timperley 2007). Similarly, there is research suggesting that scolding is an effective in motivating people for action because of guilt feeling (Duhachek, Nidhi, and Dhee 2012), while other research suggests that guilt is ineffective in activation (Gadema and Oglethorpe 2011; Hall 2007).

A possible reason is that it is not only *what* you say that matters, but also *how* you say it (Boster et al. 1999). Specifically, praising and scolding can be performed with a more (“Recycle!”) or a less (“It’s worth recycling”) assertive tone. Pro-social marketing literature suggests that the assertiveness of the tone may have vast effects on the persuasiveness of what is being said (Kronrod, Grinstein, and Wathieu 2012a; Quick and Considine 2008).

The current research introduces assertiveness as a moderator that can explain when praising or scolding are more effective. The authors demonstrate that when communicators praise consumers, an assertive tone may be more effective in encouraging behavior, whereas when scolding, a non-assertive tone is more useful. As noted before, praise is empowering for action due to elevated optimism. Positive mood, such as optimism, in turn, elevates openness for, expectation for, and compliance with assertive language (Forgas 1999; Kronrod, Grinstein, and Wathieu 2012b). This literature leads us to the conclusion that praising would be most effective in mobilizing consumers for action when it is expressed with assertive tone. By contrast, guilt and negative mood induce the use of, and expectations for gentler and less assertive language (Forgas and Cromer 2004). As scolding evokes guilt and negative mood (Jackson 2005; Passyn and Sujana 2006), we suggest that scolding may be more efficient in activating people when expressed in a non-assertive tone, because when people feel guilty a gentler request is more successful in restoring positive mood, which consequently leads to higher mobilization for action (Boster et al. 1999). We therefore hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: Tone assertiveness moderates the effect of type of communication (praising/scolding) on pro-social behavior. Specifically, praising will elicit greater likelihood to engage in pro-social behavior when it is assertive, rather than non-assertive. Conversely, scolding will elicit greater likelihood to engage in pro-social behavior when it is non-assertive, rather than assertive.

Hypothesis 2: This moderation is mediated by optimism (for praising) and guilt (for scolding).

We present four studies that test the moderating effect of assertiveness on the usefulness of praising and scolding in encouraging pro-social behaviors such as signing environmental petitions, hand hygiene and financial planning. **Study 1** in an online study testing participants’ intentions to sign a petition for the clarity of waters in the Great Lakes, following praising/scolding and assertive/non-assertive messages. Results indicate an advantage of assertive-praising (“We are doing a lot to keep our lakes clean. We must do more! Sign the petition for clean waters!”), and non-assertive-scolding (“We are doing too little to keep our lakes clean. We could do more. Please sign the petition for clean waters.”), to influence participants’ intentions to sign the petition ($F(1,417)=10.1, p=.001$), as well as actual click rates on the link to the petition ($\chi^2=13.2, p=.004$). **Study 2**, a field experiment, demonstrates that assertive-praising (“You are doing a lot for your health. You must do more! Wash your hands with soap – always!”) and non-assertive-scolding (“You are not doing enough for your health. You can do more. You can wash your hands with soap – always.”) are the most effective in encouraging people to wash their hands with soap in public restrooms ($F(8,32)=7.6, p=.000$). **Study 3** is also a field experiment in the area of personal financial planning. We emailed one of four versions of an announcement from the university HR unit to a random sample of 400 university employees, encouraging them to click an education video about retirement programs. This study measured success of the different phrasings via an objective behavior measure of click rate. As predicted, the percent of employees who clicked the link after receiving the assertive praising email (“You Care about Your Retirement. Watch this Educational Video!”) was the highest (21%), followed by the non-assertive-scolding (12%) (“You Don’t Care Enough about Your Retirement. We Invite You to Watch the Educational Video Below.”). Only 7% of the employees who received a non-assertive praising email clicked the link, and no one (0%) of the employees who received the assertive scolding email opened the link ($\chi^2=20.84, p<0.0001$). Finally, **Study 4** examines the mediating role of optimism and guilt in an online experiment which tests intentions to devote time to watching a video about hand hygiene. Results once again demonstrate the advantage of assertive-praising and non-assertive-scolding in mobilizing people for pro-social action. Participants who read the assertive-praising message were willing to devote significantly more time to watching the videos ($M=4.8\text{min.}$) compared with participants who read a praising but non-assertive message ($M=3.1\text{min.}$, $F(1,164)=10.5, p=.002$). Conversely, participants who read a scolding message were significantly *less* willing to donate time to watch the video when the tone was assertive ($M=2.7\text{min.}$), compared with when the tone of the message was non-assertive ($M=4.6\text{min.}$, $F(1,164)=7.9, p=.006$).

This work offers an answer to a question based on an ancient proverb (Proverbs 13:24): Does “sparing the rod” necessarily “spoil the child”? We show that “sparing the rod” does not necessarily “spoil the child”, and that effective communication involving praising or scolding depends on assertiveness.

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All for One and One for All: Individual Vicarious Goal Fulfillment in Group Contexts

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Support groups are a popular means to assist in goal achievement because they provide a structure that is designed to help individuals achieve personal goals through the alignment of similar goals. It is estimated that in the US alone there are over 500,000 support groups (Fetto 2000; Katz 1993). Given the immense size of the industry and their prevalence in consumers' lives, it is important to understand how support groups impact individual goal pursuit.

In support groups, members often share similar goals and expect that the support group will function as a means of goal facilitation, resulting in a high degree of identification with the group (Tajfel et al. 1979). The strength of this identification enables individuals to personally experience the successes or failures of the group (Ashforth and Mael 1989), which could lead to vicarious goal progress, and thereby license the individual to decrease individual goal pursuit.

We also hypothesize that the relationship between group identification and vicarious goal fulfillment will be moderated by a member's self-construal (Singelis 1994). We posit that high identification can increase the perceived overlap between a support group and an individual to a greater degree for individuals who are interdependent because these individuals already see themselves as highly connected to others. Therefore, when an interdependent (vs. independent) member highly identifies with their group, they will experience vicarious goal progress to a greater degree.

Study 1 (N = 140 students)

Participants were randomly assigned to a condition in a 2 (group identification: high vs. low) x 2 (individual goal salient: yes vs. no). If individual goals are made salient, individuals may re-focus on the self and be less likely to assimilate the group's progress as their own, thereby attenuating the impact of identification on individual goal pursuit.

In the high (low) group identification condition, participants were told the other group members were similar (dissimilar) to them. Participants then read instructions indicating they had to come up with as many unusual uses for two common objects as possible and asked to indicate a personal goal of 8, 12, or 16 uses identified and informed of their group's goal

After the initial problem set, participants received false feedback regarding their individual and group's progress, and were presented with an opportunity to identify uses for 2 new objects. Participants in the goal salient condition were told they had this opportunity because they did not meet their individual goal, while participants in the non-salient condition proceeded directly to the second word set. The main dependent variable was time spent on the second set of words minus time spent on the first. If individuals are less motivated due to vicarious goal fulfillment, they should spend less time on the second set than the first.

Results:

An ANOVA yielded a significant interaction of identification and goal salience ($F(1,136) = 4.28, p < .05$). Further analysis revealed that in the high identification condition, participants spent significantly less time on the second set of problems when the goal was not salient ($M_{\text{not salient}} = -77.06$) compared to when the goal was salient ($M_{\text{salient}} = -33.41; F(1, 69) = 6.90, p < .05$). When identification was low, no differences emerged ($p > .10$).

Study 2 (N = 159 MTurk respondents)

Participants were randomly assigned to a condition in a 2 (group identification: low vs. high) x 2 (group progress: low vs. high) between-subjects design. Individual goal pursuit efforts should only decrease when the group has made a high level of progress towards its goal because the individual will assimilate this high progress to their own progress, thus resulting in a decrease in individual goal efforts.

The design was similar to that which was used in study 1, but the task for this study was derived from the Remote Associates Test (Mednick 1962). Participants were presented with word sets containing three words, after which they attempted to identify a fourth related word. After the initial problem set, participants received false feedback. Individual feedback was kept consistent, but, depending on group progress condition, participants were informed that their group's progress was either 32% or 82%. Participants were then presented with an opportunity to answer additional problems.

Results

An ANOVA yielded a significant interaction of identification and group progress ($F(1, 158) = 3.88, p = .05$). Further analysis revealed that in the high identification condition, participants spent significantly less time on the second problem set than the first when they perceived their group's combined progress as high ($M = -151.65$) compared to when they perceived their group's progress as low ($M = -20.61$); $F(1, 73) = 5.96, p < .05$. In the low identification condition, no differences emerged ($p > .10$).

Study 3 (N = 136 students)

The study consisted of 1 manipulated factor (group identification: low vs. high) and 1 measured factor (self-construal). The identification manipulation and study design was similar to study one, except that after the first set of objects, and before the second, participants were asked their perceived goal progress (1 = none at all, 7 = a lot) in order to assess vicarious goal fulfillment. Lastly, participants filled out the self-construal scale (Singelis 1994).

Results

An ANOVA yielded a significant interaction of identification and self-construal ($F(1, 132) = 4.04, p < .05$). Further analysis revealed that in the high identification condition, interdependent participants spent significantly less time on the second problem set than the first, ($M_{\text{interdependent}} = -61.07$) compared to independent participants ($M_{\text{independent}} = -29.53$); $F(1, 60) = 4.87, p < .05$. When identification was low, no differences emerged ($p > .10$).

We used PROCESS model 8 (Hayes 2013) to examine the mediating effects of vicarious goal fulfillment. The strength of group identification X self-construal interaction had a significant effect on vicarious goal fulfillment (SE = 3.65, CI [-28.54, -14.08]) and vicarious goal fulfillment influenced continued individual goal pursuit (SE = .39, CI [1.0 2.55]). This finding supports our hypothesized process by which disengagement from continued individual goal pursuit arises by means of vicarious goal fulfillment.

The Last One on Roll Call, the Last One to Leave the Store: The Last Name Effect and Unplanned Shopping

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

One of every two products shoppers buy is not at all planned before entering the store (POPAI 2012, 2014). The extant literature examining the determinants of shoppers' unplanned purchases has predominantly focused on contextual factors such as store knowledge (Park et al. 1989) and exposure to in-store stimuli (Heilman et al. 2002). In the present research, we examine the link between unplanned grocery shopping and a novel, non-situational social factor, namely shoppers' childhood last names.

Individuals' childhood last names can affect their purchase and consumption behavior (Carlson and Conrad 2011). This is because people's childhood and adulthood experiences pertaining to waiting and getting ready for different tasks at school and college are in part determined by their last name initials. Specifically, as a result of the alphabetical ordering system used in various settings, those with last names deeper into the alphabet typically do not need to get prepared immediately for an activity (e.g., Southgate 1966). Their names come towards the end of roll calls at schools, they are the last ones to leave the class as they sit in the back and wait for others to leave, they are asked to report to such events as orientations and team try-outs at a later time than others, and they get up on the stage towards the end of the graduation ceremony. This difference in individuals' getting ready behavior developed at early ages through alphabetical ordering may manifest itself as delayed decision-making in other settings including planning for shopping. We argue that the later the one's childhood last name in the alphabet, the lower the degree of pre-shopping planning (i.e., the higher the rate of in-store decision-making) and thus, the greater the amount of unplanned purchases. Our prediction is rooted in the social learning theory, which posits that people tend to acquire behavioral patterns through direct experience at early ages (Bandura and Walters 1963; Bandura 1977).

We operationalize the information on shoppers' childhood last name initials in two ways. First, we convert last name initials into their numerical equivalents (i.e., A = 1, B = 2... Z = 26) and take the log of the corresponding value. Second, we categorize all the last names starting with the first seven letters of the alphabet (i.e., A-G) as early alphabet last names and those starting with the last seven letters of the alphabet (i.e., T-Z) as late alphabet last names. The remaining last names are classified as middle alphabet last names. We obtain consistent results using both the numerical and categorical last name variables.

The results from two studies using large samples of female grocery shoppers lend support for our thesis. In study 1, we asked online survey participants to list the items they plan on buying during their next grocery shopping trip. We find that after controlling for typical shopping basket size, shoppers with childhood last name initials later in the alphabet report significantly less planned items for the next trip than those with childhood last name initials earlier in the alphabet. That is, the deeper the one's childhood last name in the alphabet, the lower the degree of pre-shopping planning. In study 2, we utilize actual shopping data and find that unmarried, but not married (who are most likely to be last name changers), shoppers with late versus early alphabet last names report greater in-store slack for unplanned purchases, spend longer time in the store, and purchase more unplanned items in the current trip. These results are robust to controlling for a number of shopper characteristics including income, age, education,

and race, as well as several shopping trip characteristics. An ancillary analysis of shopper spending reveals that after controlling for total number of purchases, late alphabet last name shoppers actually spend less money on overall purchases than early alphabet last name shoppers. This suggests that making more purchase decisions at the point of purchase does not hurt but rather benefits the pocketbook of late alphabet last name shoppers. These shoppers presumably defer their shopping decision-making in an opportunistic manner (Bucklin and Lattin 1991), which may enable them to identify better deals.

Alphabetical ordering of individuals, which is a commonly observed practice at US schools and colleges, represents a subtle but apparently influential social force. Our findings contribute mainly to two streams of research. First, we extend prior research on in-store decision-making by documenting a subtle, non-contextual social factor on consumers' unplanned purchase decisions. Given that there is limited research on the impact of out-of-store factors on shoppers' unplanned grocery purchases (Bell et al. 2011), our study offers important theoretical and practical implications. Second, we contribute to the nascent literature on "last name effect" in consumer behavior, which focuses on consumers' response to limited-time offers (Carlson and Conrad 2011). Our research furthers the field's understanding of the last name effect by examining consumers' planning and purchase decisions as well as by utilizing a typical shopping setting.

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Two Different Views on the World Around Us: The World of Uniformity versus Diversity

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Numerous studies across varied domains find that human's statistical inferences are often biased and colored by non-statistical factors that are irrelevant to the sample or the population (e.g. Kahneman and Tversky 1972; Mishra, Mishra, and Nayakankuppam 2009). In this article, we examine whether people have naïve beliefs on the nature of a population and, if so, whether these beliefs affect their statistical inference from a sample to a population.

Dweck, Chiu, and Hong (1995) identify two distinct implicit self-theories—entity vs. incremental theory. People who endorse entity theory (entity theorists) believe that their personal traits are fixed, while people who endorse incremental theory (incremental theorists) view their personal traits as malleable. A line of research finds that compared to incremental, entity theorists *easily* judge other individuals and groups of individuals (e.g. from a small sample of behaviors), because entity theorists expect a high degree of consistency in people's behaviors (e.g. Erdley and Dweck 1993). In this article, we show that people use their implicit self-theories to assume aspects of a population either as homogeneous or as heterogeneous constitutions. Specifically, we found that entity theorists perceived a population as a "uniform" constitution, whereas incremental theorists assumed as a "diverse" composition. Consequently, entity theorists estimated a population statistics from a sample with greater confidence than incremental theorists.

Study 1

One hundred fifty participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (implicit self-theory: entity vs. incremental theory) by 3 (sample size: 2-year vs. 6-year. Vs. 10-year) between-subject condition (male=68.21%, $M_{age}=20.9$). Each participant was given either "scientific" articles (for a review, Chiu, Hong, and Dweck, 1997) presenting views consistent with either entity or incremental theory. Next, participants were told that Mrs. Arter has donated to a charity for 15 years and given one of the three sample datasets on her yearly monetary contribution. Participants were asked to guess a possible minimum and a maximum average annual contribution from her, based on their sample datasets.

A 2X3 ANOVA on the range between the maximum and the minimum yielded a significant interaction effect ($F(2,149)=3.49, p=.033$), along with the main effects of implicit self-theory ($F(1,149)=13.95, p<.001$) and of sample size ($F(2,149)=71.72, p<.001$). Planned comparisons revealed that compared to incremental, entity theorists estimated the averages with equal or greater ranges across all the sample size conditions, especially under 4-year ($F(1,50)=8.39, p=.001$) and 6-year conditions ($F(1,48)=17.90, p<.001$).

A 2 by 3 ANOVA on the *mid-point* of the range, however, did not yield any effects; an interaction effect did not emerge ($F(2,149)=2.08, NS$), nor did the main effects ($F(1,149)=1.00, NS$; $F(2,149)=.28, NS$). These results of the mid-point of the range demonstrated that both theorists were equally accurate at inferring a population mean. The results of the range between the minimum and the maximum, however, suggested that entity theorists inferred the population mean with higher levels of confidence than incremental theorists.

Study 2

One hundred nineteen participants were randomly assigned in a 2 (implicit self-theory) by 2 (population mean: in-range vs. out-

range) between-subject design (male=57.98%, $M_{age}=21.3$). After primed either entity or incremental theory, they were told that a class in a high school has taken an aptitude test (total score of 100) and that five students in the class were randomly selected to reveal their scores (77, 80, 81, 82, and 85; ranging from 77 to 85 with the mean of 81.0 – i.e. sample mean). Participants under in-range condition was told that the average of the whole class (i.e. population mean) was 81.5, and participants under out-range condition were told that the average was 86.5. Participants were asked to guess the total number of students of the class (i.e. population size).

A 2X2 ANOVA yielded the interaction effect ($F(1,118)=5.77, p=.018$), along with the main effects of implicit self-theory ($F(1,118)=4.59, p=.034$) and of population mean given ($F(1,118)=150.48, p<.001$). Planned comparisons revealed that compared to incremental, entity theorists estimated greater number of students at out-range condition ($M_{Ent}=51.97$ vs. $M_{Inc}=43.03$, $F(1,57)=5.56, p=.022$), but *not* at in-range condition ($M_{Ent}=23.13$ vs. $M_{Inc}=23.65$, $F(1,60)=.15, NS$). The results in the in-range condition indicated that both theorists had similar reference points in terms of the number of students in a class of a high school. When the population mean was not in the range of sample data (i.e., out-range condition), however, participants needed to consider either possibilities: 1) the population should be consisted of relatively *great number* of students who did *slightly better* than the five students; or 2) the population would be consisted of relatively *small number* of students who did *much better* than the five. The former possibility assumes that the sample data is still representative of the population and that the population, including the five observations in the sample, should be consisted of more *homogeneous* entities. In contrast, the latter possibility assumes that the sample is not representative and that the population could be consisted of *heterogeneous* entities with varied test scores. Thus, our results under the out-range conditions revealed that compared to incremental, entity theorists assumed the sample being more representative and the population being more homogeneous, which were supported by a smaller population size estimated by entity theorists than by incremental theorists under out-range condition ($M_{Ent}=51.97$ vs. $M_{Inc}=43.03$).

Discussion

We showed that individuals extend their implicit self-theories to infer aspects of the population as either homogeneous or heterogeneous constitution. Specifically, compared to incremental, entity theorists estimated a population mean with greater confidence (Study 1) and expected more representativeness of a sample and more homogeneity of a population (Study 2). These findings suggest that individuals' implicit self-theory orientations have more fundamental impacts on people's inferences of things and groups than what extant literature suggests.

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Does Money Buy Economic Value or Happiness?

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Jennifer was invited to a social baseball event organized by her company. While she was attending this baseball event, she found out that the cost of the event was \$150 per person. To get the worth of the money that was paid for, Jennifer ate too much and did not feel well at the end of the event. Had she not known the price of the event, would she have eaten less and be better off?

Like Jennifer, consumers often engage in activities where the service providers charge a flat fee for their consumptions. For example, consumers have buffet dinner at a fixed price, take rides at an amusement park with a day pass, or pay a monthly fee for mobile phones. Would the salience of money impact how much they consume and how much they enjoy their consumption? This is the central question we investigate in this research. Prior work has demonstrated that the concept of money increases consumers' consideration of what to receive in exchange for what they provide (Fiske 1991) and enhances their tendency to seek value maximization or good deals (Leclerc, Schmitt, and Dube 1995; Lee and Zhao 2014; Liu and Aaker 2008; Mitchell and Mickel 1999; Okada and Hoch 2004; Shampanier, Mazar, and Ariely 2007; Thaler 2004). As such, the salience of money leads consumers to prefer physical training programs with a longer duration over the ones with a shorter duration (Yeung and Soman 2007), or to prefer high-functionality products over high-convenience products (Lee and Zhao 2014) because they associate the longer duration or more features with greater economic value.

When being reminded of money, how would consumers react in their consumption and their consumption enjoyment? Drawing on prior research on money (Leclerc, Schmitt, and Dube 1995; Lee and Zhao 2014; Liu and Aaker 2008; Mitchell and Mickel 1999; Okada and Hoch 2004; Shampanier, Mazar, and Ariely 2007; Vohs, Mead, and Goode 2006), we propose that when consumers are exposed to money, they will increase their tendency to maximize economic value, which leads them to consume more than needed, even if doing so does not enhance (or even decrease) their happiness associated with the consumption.

We test these ideas across five studies. In Study 1A, we examined whether seeing the price of food increases hypothetical food consumption in an All-You-Can-Eat Sushi restaurant. Participants in the price condition saw the price of this restaurant (\$30) and participants in the control condition were not provided with price information. Consistent with our prediction, participants in the price condition ordered significantly more than those in the control condition ($M_{\text{price}} = 26.93$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 19.10$; $F(1, 83) = 4.50$, $p < .05$). In Study 1B, we replicated these findings in another consumption domain—amusement park. We found that participants in the price condition chose significantly more rides than participants in the control condition ($M_{\text{price}} = 10.66$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 9.10$; $F(1, 119) = 3.79$, $p = .05$).

In Study 2, we tested the effect of price on real consumption. After completing an unrelated study, participants took a snack break to consume various snacks provided in the lab. Participants in the price condition needed to pay \$0.15 out of their \$6.50 compensation to consume the snacks. Participants in the control condition were not asked to pay. After ordering the snacks on the menu, participants received the snacks and consumed them. We found that participants

in the price condition ordered more snacks than they actually were able to consume compared with those in the control condition ($M_{\text{price}} = 0.82$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 0.27$; $F(1, 63) = 3.26$, $p = .07$), in order to reach the same level of happiness ($M_{\text{price}} = 5.81$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 5.56$; $F < 1$). A similar pattern was obtained in Study 3 where we merely exposed participants to the price information (without needing to pay). We found that participants who were exposed to the price of gummy bears (vs. those who were not) took more gummy bears during the snack break ($M_{\text{price}} = 9.28$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 7.49$; $F(1, 265) = 8.27$, $p < .01$). However, consistent with previous findings, taking more gummy bears did not increase participants' experienced happiness or enjoyment. It is important to note that in both Studies 2 and 3 many participants in the price conditions did not finish the snacks they took. Had they been required to eat all the snacks they took, they would have felt less well.

In Study 4, we encouraged participants to finish all the snacks they took and replicated the findings by using a different priming method—a sentence-descrambling task (Hansen, Kutzner, and Wanke 2013; Srull and Wyer 1979). In the money condition, sentences included a word associated with money (e.g., coins, cash). In the control condition, we substituted these words with money-unrelated words (e.g., shoes, smartphone). After completing the sentence-descrambling task, participants took a snack break in which they could consume fruit gummies. Consistently with Studies 2 and 3, participants in the money (vs. control) condition took more fruit gummies ($M_{\text{money}} = 7.97$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 6.21$; $F(1, 63) = 4.04$, $p < .05$). Importantly, as we strongly encouraged participants to finish the gummies they took in this study, we found that consuming more gummies (that they took) in the price condition indeed led money participants to feel less well ($M_{\text{money}} = 4.29$ vs. $M_{\text{control}} = 5.10$; $F(1, 63) = 5.95$, $p < .05$) and like the snack break less.

Across five different studies, we consistently demonstrated that priming price/money induces consumers to consume more than needed. However, consuming more does not enhance happiness. Rather, it can reduce the enjoyment of the consumption experiences. These findings contribute to literature on affective experience and the effect of money on consumer decision. While prior research has demonstrated the positive effect of money on enhancing high-level thinking (e.g., desirability, performance; Hansen et al. 2013; Lee and Zhao 2014), our research shows that money can backfire by leading to overconsumption and decreasing happiness.

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Is Your Boss Driving a Mercedes? How Consumers Perceive Higher Status Others' Conspicuous Consumption In The Workplace

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The workplace is a social environment central to consumers' everyday lives, in which they naturally observe, interact, and share consumption experiences with others. Consumers' interpretation of others' conspicuous consumption in the workplace may influence their attitudes toward others, as well as their workplace and consumption decisions. Yet, little is known about how others' conspicuous consumption is interpreted as a function of their status in a workplace setting.

Imagine observing a CEO driving a Mercedes-Benz. How would you perceive this CEO? Prior literature suggests that we may hold more favorable attitudes towards a conspicuous CEO because of our own aspirations (Kasser and Ryan 1993) or a preference for stereotype-consistent information (Bastian and Haslam 2007) or because we infer greater competence of the CEO (Christopher and Schlenker 2000). In contrast, based on role congruity theory (Diekmann and Goodfriend 2006), we propose that conspicuous consumption will imply a lack of warmth and lower attitudes toward higher-status others (Scott, Mende, and Bolton 2013).

Conspicuous consumption generally increases perceptions of competence but undermines inferred warmth (Scott et al. 2013). Status in the workplace is linked to social roles, and expectations for these roles will alter the impact of conspicuous consumption on attitudes via inferences of warmth and competence. Higher-status individuals make decisions that affect lower-status individuals' welfare (e.g., evaluation and promotion, work load, wages and benefits) (Chen, Trevino, and Hambrick 2009). Hence, lower-status individuals will care about the intentions of higher-status others towards themselves (Humphrey 2002) and thus infer reduced warmth when they engage in conspicuous consumption. However, this effect will be only unique to upward evaluations. Conspicuous consumption will not undermine attitudes toward lower-status individuals in downward evaluations, because superiors will be more concerned about the employees' competence and ability to carry out tasks (DeNisi and Stevens 1981).

Study 1 examined the effect of conspicuous consumption on attitudes toward higher-status others using publicly available data (2014 Glassdoor survey) comprised of actual employees' ratings of their CEOs and evidence of conspicuous consumption by these CEOs. Two coders rated the CEOs' conspicuous based on the style of dress in their profile photos on Glassdoor. Regression analysis of conspicuousness of the CEO on employees' rating of their CEOs revealed that conspicuousness negatively predicted the rating of the CEO.

Study 2 extended study 1 in a laboratory setting and examined the underlying process. Because conspicuousness and formality might be correlated in the real world context of study 1 (i.e., formal clothing was also more expensive), we manipulated these factors orthogonally in study 2. Participants imagined that they were employed at a company and ran across a short article featuring the CEO of their company. The article content was held constant; the photo of the CEO was the same individual either dressed formally with a suit and tie (vs. informally with a polo shirt) and the caption to the photo described the clothing as either conspicuous (e.g., Armani) or inconspicuous (generic). Consistent with theorizing, conspicuousness lowered attitudes toward the CEO, with no effects of formal-

ity and the interaction. Mediation analysis revealed that unfavorable attitudes emerged primarily because conspicuousness drives inferences that higher-status others lack warmth.

Study 3 examined both higher and lower-status individuals who engage in in/conspicuous consumption. Participants imagined that they noticed that their boss (or employee) purchased a BMW Z4 (or Hyundai Elantra). The two-way interaction of status and in/conspicuousness was significant on attitudes. As expected, the negative effect of conspicuousness on attitudes emerged only for the upward (vs. downward) evaluations. Mediation analysis indicated that conspicuous consumption undermined attitudes towards a boss by reducing perceived warmth—consistent with studies 1 and 2. In contrast, conspicuous consumption enhanced competence perceptions towards a lower-status individual, with no direct effect on attitudes.

Study 4 explored the justification for conspicuous consumption, a theoretically relevant boundary condition. Participants imagined that their boss (or employee) purchased a Mercedes-Benz E350 with a family-related justification (vs. work-related vs. no-justification). We predicted that justifying conspicuousness via a family-related justification (that implies warmth) or via a work-related justification (that shifts the emphasis from warmth to competence) should both mitigate negative effects on attitude when judging higher-status others. As predicted, a significant two-way interaction between status and justification emerged on attitudes. The boss was perceived more positively for both justifications compared to no justification; this effect was mediated by warmth. The attitudes toward employee did not differ for a work-related or no justification but was marginally less favorable for a family-related justification due to reduced inferred competence.

Finally, study 5 tested effects on real behavior. Participants were put in a work environment in which they assume the role of either an employee (who will work for the boss by completing assigned tasks) or a boss (where they will assign work to the employee who would work for them). After giving instructions about their roles and tasks, we examined two types of real behavior: 1) their choice of who to work with – choice of a boss (or choice of an employee) based on bios of two individuals who differ in conspicuous consumption; and, 2) the subsequent choice of conspicuous (vs. inconspicuous) gift cards (they were entered into a lottery to win gift cards). There was greater preference for the inconspicuous boss when participants' role was an employee, driven by perceptions of warmth. The direct effect of status on gift card choice did not show the pattern we expected but the indirect effect was supported (i.e., status → warmth → attitude → own consumption).

Together, these findings demonstrate that conspicuous consumption will undermine attitudes toward higher-status individuals in the workplace due to inferences of reduced warmth. This effect is moderated by relative status and the justification for conspicuous consumption. Moreover, this effect is consequential: others' conspicuous consumption affects both individual workplace decisions (e.g., choice of who to work with) as well as subsequent conspicuous consumption. This research contributes to the literature on conspicuous consumption, status, workplace behavior, as well as research on warmth and competence as fundamental dimensions of person perception.

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Cause-related Marketing Campaigns: Mutually Beneficial or Risky For Charities?

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

From an organizational point of view, an efficient Cause-related Marketing (CM) program is envisioned to lead to a mutually beneficial relationship for both the charitable and commercial party. The first party ensures additional financial support, while the latter builds a socially responsible reputation. However, most research on CM campaigns mainly focused on the effects for the company, and how these campaigns can benefit them (e.g., Kotler & Lee, 2005). To a much lesser extent the effects for charities have been empirically studied (for exceptions, see Liston-Heyes & Liu, 2013; Runté, Basil, & Deshpande, 2009).

More importantly, based on psychological theory, we argue that the bundling of charitable with commercial activities may in fact hurt the charity while benefiting the company. Specifically, we argue that the strategy of securing additional financial support through collaboration with a commercial party may be perceived as a taboo tradeoff by consumers. Consumers expect charities to adhere to communal sharing norms (Fiske, 1991, 1992), which precludes employing market-pricing practices to increase effectiveness (McGraw, Schwartz & Tetlock, 2012). Charities that do employ such practices (including engaging in CM) may be therefore perceived to engage in a taboo-trade off, which may spur consumer backlash, thus resulting in negative reactions towards charities that engage in CM.

We first tested our assumptions in two studies. In Study 1 we asked how appropriate people perceive market practices (receiving a bonus for good performance, and to get paid for working overtime). We either presented these behaviors within a company or a charity setting. We also included positive (e.g., helping to clean up) and negative (e.g., neglecting to report information in the annual year report) items, to test the scope of the effect. We only found significant effects for having a bonus system

In Study 2 we made the consequences of using market practices much more explicit. That is, participants were asked to make a choice between two options. The options were either presented as being a choice between two charities or as a choice between two companies. Participants received the following information about the two options:

	Percentage spent on salary	Bonus system for individual employees	Donations raised [Revenue per year]
Option A	23	No	\$250.000
Option B	45	Yes	\$600.000

Results showed that participants in the charity condition preferred the low cost-effective option A, whereas participants in the company condition preferred the high cost-effective option B. In other words, in contrast to companies, charities that rely to a lesser extent on market practices resulting in lower donations ironically received more positive evaluation than charities who were more cost-effective.

These studies confirm our idea that communal sharing norms are indeed more salient when judging a charity instead of a com-

mercial party. In Study 3, we tested the implication of our reasoning for CM campaigns: When the company initiates a particular CM program, consumers evaluate this program according to market pricing norms, creating positive evaluations. When the charity initiates program, consumers evaluate a program according to communal sharing norms, and may perceive the program as a taboo-tradeoff. This means that the very same CM campaign may be evaluated as bad, or good, depending on which party initiated the program. Indeed, Study 3 showed that, compared to the company condition, people in the charity condition evaluated the campaign as less positive, and indicated less willingness to buy the CM product. Interestingly, people also indicated to be less willing to make a donation to the charity during a door-to-door collection.

In sum, we found that market practices are not approved of within charities, even when it is clear that it increases the net donations to that charity (i.e., how much “good” a charity can do).

Interestingly, Cause-related Marketing (CM) campaigns were initially setup as another extra way to raise money. However, the current research suggests that this is not necessarily the case. Our data suggest that people use the option to buy a CM product as an alternative for making a donation. As the donation to charity for purchasing a product is often much lower than a donation, our data seem to suggest that CM campaigns can actually backfire.

Acknowledgements

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When Precision Protects: Precise Product Information as a Source of Control.

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People prefer to feel as if they have personal control, defined as the perceived ability to exert force to alter an environment (Thompson and Schlehofer 2008). This motivation seemingly stems from the more fundamental desire to guard against the existential anxiety evoked by perceptions that the world is an unpredictable place (Lerner 1980; Kay, Gaucher, and Napier 2008). Prior research has found that after experiencing a lack of personal control, people are looking for signs of a predictable environment. We propose that this increased need for predictability may guide consumer's decision processes by increasing the focus on aspects that help achieve feelings of predictability. In this manuscript, we highlight how the desire for increased predictability may affect the type of information consumers prefer. Specifically, we propose that precise information may help restoring feelings of predictability and thus lead to a stronger preference for precise product information among people who lack control, compared with those who feel in control.

When evaluating products, consumers try to predict how products will perform and which benefits the products will provide (Hsee et al. 2009; van Osselaer and Janiszewski 2012). As a result, consumers mostly rely on proxies such as product information to predict actual benefits. In other words, consumers attempt to predict fundamentals such as performance and benefits by relying on proxies such as measured product attributes (Hsee et al. 2009). The precision with which product information is communicated has implications for how consumers interpret this information. In general, people typically expect that speakers only say things they know to be accurate (Grice 1975). As such, precisely describing product attribute indicates that one knows the characteristics of that particular object to such an extent that an exact format can be used. One may assume that the precision with which product attributes is described also speaks to the extent to which true product performance is perceived to be predictable.

In study 1, 153 lab participants completed a recall task in which they described either an incident in which they did not have any control or an incident in which they were in complete control. Afterwards, participants were presented with two smartphones. Half of the participants were asked to look closely at the attributes and to indicate their final choice on the next page. The other half followed the same instructions except that when they clicked on an attribute value, a more precise description appeared. We collected the number of times participants clicked on an attribute.

When control was threatened, participants clicked significantly more to see more precise information ($M = 9.17$) than when control was not threatened ($M = 7.61$; $t(75) = 2.78$, $p < .01$). In all conditions time spent was recorded. When participants had no access to precise information, no significant difference between high and low control conditions was found ($F(1,149) = .33$, $p = .57$). However, when par-

ticipants had access to precise information, participants who experienced a control threat ($M = 10.51$) tended to spend more time looking at the attribute information than those who had control ($M = 10.32$; $F(1,149) = 3.41$, $p = .07$).

In study 2, we manipulated the sense of control with the autobiographical recall task from study 1. One coder checked whether the reports were appropriate, and as a result, one participant was excluded; one additional participant was because response on the dependent variable was more than three standard deviations from the group mean, leaving a final sample of 162 participants. After this manipulation, participants completed the brief PANAS scale (Tellegen, Watson, and Clark 1988).

Next, participants were introduced to a seemingly unrelated task that asked about how people evaluate how a particular product attribute is described. One half of the participants was shown a precise description of weight, whereas the other half was presented with a less precise description of weight. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they would like to receive such a description of weight when making product evaluations. When weight was described precisely, a significant difference in preferences emerged: Participants expressed stronger preferences for the precise weight specification if they lacked control rather than when they had control ($M_{\text{low control}} = 5.78$; $M_{\text{high control}} = 5.08$; $F(1,158) = 3.87$, $p = .05$). Somewhat unexpectedly, we found that for the imprecise conditions, lacking personal control led to a lower evaluation of the description compared to having personal control ($M_{\text{low control}} = 3.27$; $M_{\text{high control}} = 4.02$; $F(1,158) = 5.04$, $p < .05$). Results did not change substantially after controlling for mood.

In a final study, we aim to find this effect in a context in which participants were asked to make choices. In total, 279 Mturk participants first completed one of the recall tasks from study 1. Half of the participants made a choice between the two MP3 players; one was superior on two attributes (battery life and weight) that were specified in a precise format, the other was superior on two relatively less precise attributes. The other half were presented with an alternative pair of MP3 players for which both attributes were specified in a range format.

When weight and battery life were specified in point values, preference for the alternative superior on those attributes was marginally higher for those who recalled a loss of control situation ($M = 5.11$) than those who recalled a situation in which they had control ($M = 4.53$; $F(1,274) = 3.28$, $p = .07$). As expected, we find that this effect disappears when information was specified in a range format ($M = 4.29$; $M = 4.45$; $F(1,274) = .22$, $p = .64$).

This study has provided evidence that, relative to those who have control, consumers who lack personal control attend more to attribute descriptions only if they are specified precisely.

Marketer Legitimacy in Participatory Media: Negotiating the Acceptance of Marketing Communication on Reddit

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Theoretical framework

It is generally well known that consumers are cynical about and have low regard towards marketing and unsolicited marketing communication in particular (Sher 2011; Star 1989; e.g. Wible 2011). Consequently, as consumers are tuning out the intrusive messages, marketers have started to seek new ways of engaging their customers through social media marketing and techniques of what is now discussed as “content marketing” (Content Marketing Institute 2014; Lieb 2012; Rowley 2008). In this paper, we explore how consumers react to and make sense of this new type of marketing communication in participatory online media. Our aim is to advance knowledge of the nature and intricacies of social media as a participatory communications environment and a new context of marketer-consumer interaction.

We apply the theory of organizational legitimacy (Suchman 1995; Weber 1978) from the perspective of communicative (Cornelissen et al. 2015; Ocasio, Loewenstein, and Nigam 2015) and interactionist, “inhabited” institutionalism (Barley 2008; Hallett and Ventresca 2006; Powell and Colyvas 2008) into the domain of social media marketing (cf. Hennig-Thurau et al. 2010; Kozinets et al. 2010; Lyon and Montgomery 2013; Palmer, Simmons, and Mason 2013). We thus view participatory online media as a new *institutional environment* for marketing practice. They may be characterized as an emerging organizational field: a collection of interacting and interdependent actors and organizations that participate in a common system of meanings, rules and logics (Scott 2014). We develop the concept of *marketer legitimacy* to shed light on the ways in which consumers and marketers communicatively coproduce dynamic understandings of their relationship and the legitimacy of particular marketing activities.

The focus of our approach is on the “microfoundations” that underlie institutions (cf. e.g. Barley 2008; Powell and Colyvas 2008) and the communicative, socially constructed nature of legitimacy (Cornelissen et al. 2015; Hardy and Maguire 2010; Wooten and Hoffman 2008). Like Hallett and Ventresca (2006), we draw on the literature on symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969; Goffman 1959), particularly the concept “definition of the situation” which involves a negotiation and agreement as to “whose claims concerning what issues will be temporarily honored” during that interaction or set of interactions (Goffman 1959, p. 21). Perceptions are jointly produced in each interaction situation, but a trace also carries over to influence future situations, thus eventually producing more generalized patterns of legitimacy. Our approach differs from earlier applications of institutionalism and legitimacy within consumer research as we focus more on how legitimacy is negotiated on the micro-level and look at the evaluation of marketer legitimacy in specific interactional situations instead of the overarching legitimacy outcomes for brands (Kates 2004) or industries (Humphreys 2010a, b).

Data

The data for this study was collected using netnography (Kozinets 2010) from Reddit, a participatory media site mainly focused on linking to and discussing content from other sites. The data include

field notes from general observation, a contextualized interview and informal discussion with one informant for background information, 17 relevant posts and related discussion threads from various subreddits and sponsored posts, as well as rules and instructions from Reddit wiki, a total of 440 pages.

Analysis

To examine (1) how situations with marketing content are defined, and (2) on what grounds they are legitimized or delegitimized, we conducted micro level discourse analysis (e.g. Alvesson and Kärreman 2000; Putnam and Fairhurst 2001), with a focus on evaluative language use which expresses the writer’s appraisal of something as, broadly speaking, good or bad through *affect*, *judgment*, and *appreciation* (Martin 2000, 2004). In addition, this framework includes analysis of *graduation*, namely how the degree of an evaluation is adjusted (strong/weak).

In an iterative process, we identified first order codes related to evaluations of legitimacy, assembling them into second order themes and finally grouping them into aggregate dimensions. The process was informed by previous theory, corresponding roughly to Martin’s categorization and to Suchman’s (1995) pragmatic, moral and cognitive legitimacy.

Main findings

The findings suggest that the dominant logic of the emerging organizational field discourages marketing efforts. However, the negative affect is not always present. When marketers are found legitimate, the grounds for legitimation include: (1) object-related grounds, i.e. legitimizing aspects of the product or communication (relevance, quality, and convenience), (2) subject-related grounds, namely the acceptability of marketer behavior (honesty, selflessness, and respectfulness), and (3) relational grounds (equal standing, participation, and common ground). A legitimate position may be attained principally on relational grounds, which is more difficult, or on the basis of the two first categories, i.e. substantial grounds. We label three marketer legitimacy outcomes: the roles of “stranger” (illegitimate), “contributor” (legitimate mainly on substantial grounds), and “member” (legitimate mainly on relational grounds). We also discuss the relevance of definitions of situations and earlier experiences and construct a model of the legitimacy negotiation process.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates how the legitimacy of marketing communication is jointly negotiated, situation by situation, in a participatory media context. Our situational and fragmented view of legitimacy emphasizes the possibility to be legitimate in one context and not in another. Based on this study, we argue that as marketers join the institutional field on social media, they should be aware of and adapt to the specific logics which provide guidelines for behavior and thus steer perceptions of legitimacy in those fields. We suggest that greater attention needs to be paid to how differences in communication contexts and situations impact on moral, pragmatic, and cognitive bases of legitimacy in online communication.

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When Dress Does *Not* Impress: The Negative Effects of Using Luxury Goods

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The desire for status is a fundamental human need and a potent source of motivation for many individuals (Winter et al. 1998). Having high status is not only emotionally and psychologically satisfying (e.g., McClelland, 1975), it can also make people more socially attractive (Belk et al. 1982; Henrich and Gil-White 2001). One of the ways people signal their status is by consuming products associated with wealth and exclusivity (Drèze and Nunes 2009; Thompson and Haytko 1997). Research has shown that men are more likely to choose luxury goods when mating motives are activated, presumably because these goods indicate their possession of economic resources (Griskevicius et al. 2007; Sundie et al. 2010). Similarly, women sometimes purchase luxury goods in order to enhance their status among members of the same sex (Dunn and Searle 2010). While the link between luxury goods consumption and positive impressions has been shown in previous research, less work has considered when such goods might make people less socially attractive. The current paper examines the research question of whether an individual who displays multiple (vs. few or no) luxury products will result in negative impressions of that individual.

We also examine whether negative impressions associated with luxury users are due to inferences perceivers make about the underlying motives of these individuals (Frimer et al. 2011). Specifically, we propose a person who possesses multiple luxury products is more likely to be perceived as being motivated by agentic (e.g., social recognition) rather than communion (e.g., helping others) life goals (Abele and Wojciszke 2007; Cislak and Wojciszke 2008). An implication is that negative impressions of the luxury user could be mitigated if he is portrayed as someone who also cares for communion goals.

Finally, we investigate whether activating different life goals among perceivers of a luxury user also influences their impressions of that individual. While activating communion (vs. agentic) goals in the perceiver could make him/her evaluate the luxury user more negatively if such primes accentuated the contrast between themselves and the agentic orientation, perceivers may also evaluate the luxury user less negatively in order to elevate their self-views (Cwir et al. 2011).

Study 1 employed a one-factor (number of luxury items: none vs. one vs. multiple luxury items) between-participants design. Participants were first shown a photo of a casually dressed male, and the number of luxury items was manipulated by the number of luxury (e.g., Gucci) versus mid-range brands (e.g., Gap) in his wardrobe. Participants then rated him on a number of traits, including likability. Results showed that participants in the multiple luxury condition liked him less than the one and no luxury conditions. Likability between the one and no luxury conditions was nonsignificant. Hence, contrary to the common belief that displays of luxury goods improve social attractiveness, it can have the opposite effect. The next studies delve into the underlying mechanisms of this effect.

Study 2a employed a one-factor (number of luxury items: none vs. one vs. multiple) between-participants design. Manipulation was the same as study 1. After viewing the photo, participants indicated the extent to which they believed the person valued goals such as “gaining social recognition,” and “helping others” (Schwartz 1992). Results showed that participants in the multiple luxury condition rated him as valuing agentic-oriented goals more than the no luxury

condition. The person with one luxury was also perceived as valuing agentic goals more than someone without luxury goods. The multiple luxury condition perceived the person as valuing communion goals less than the other two conditions. Study 2b examined the implication of these perceived life goals on people’s impressions of the multiple luxury user.

Study 2b employed a 3 (number of luxury items: none vs. one vs. multiple) x 2 (life goal: communion vs. agentic) between-participants design. Manipulation of the number of luxury items was the same as before. Life goal of the person was manipulated by the description attached to his photo. The agentic condition described this person’s life goal as working for a financial institution on Wall Street so he can be successful. The communion condition described this person as working for the UN so he can help impoverished individuals. Participant then rated him on likability, and a significant interaction effect was found. Among participants in the multiple luxury condition, those in the communion condition liked him more than the agentic condition. Likability was equal among those in the multiple luxury/communion, no luxury/communion, and one luxury conditions. These results suggest that the profligate luxury user who values communion life goals does not receive the same negative evaluation from perceivers.

Study 3 employed a one-factor (prime: communion vs. agentic vs. control) between-participants design. Participants either imagined that their mentor at their new job encouraged them to form social relationships with their colleagues (vs. climb the social ladder and promote their status in the company). Participants in the control condition did not imagine any scenarios. Following the manipulation, participants viewed the photo of a person wearing multiple luxury items, and formed their impressions. Results showed that participants in the communion condition liked the luxury user more than the agentic and control conditions. Hence, study 3 showed that the effect of goal orientation on evaluations of a profligate luxury user occurs not only when the individual is portrayed as valuing different goals, but also when a perceiver is primed to think about pursuing these goals.

While past research showed people’s positive impressions of those who project status through the ownership of luxury goods, little research has considered whether luxury users might also be perceived negatively under certain circumstances. The current research potentially has important theoretical and practical implications because one of the reasons why the luxury brand industry is lucrative because consumers believe that “more is better” when it comes to luxury goods. However, the current work suggests that “less” may in fact be better than “more” if an individual wishes to use the display of luxury goods to form positive impressions of him/herself. Importantly, we demonstrated a number of factors can offset these negative impressions.

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Mood Repair for a Steal: The Effect of Social Exclusion on Shoplifting Intention

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Shoplifting, the theft of merchandise from a retail establishment (Krasnovsky & Lane, 1998), is an extremely common crime with an astounding 60% of consumers admitting to shoplifting at least once in their lives (Kraut 1976; Ray 1987). Interestingly, an estimated 97% of shoplifters can be classified as “non-professionals,” stealing not out of financial need but for reasons related to social and personal pressures (National Learning & Resource Center 2006), which suggests that examining social influences, including social exclusion, has important theoretical and managerial implications. The focus of the current research is on how social exclusion can cause consumers to shoplift.

In this research, we argue and find that social exclusion increases consumers’ intention to shoplift. Our argument is consistent with prior work on social exclusion, which has shown that when re-affiliation is not possible, individuals will find other ways of coping with their feelings of rejection (DeWall and Bushman 2011; Poon, Chen, and Dewall 2013; Wan, Xu, and Ding 2014). We focus on how individuals may rely on shoplifting as a mechanism to cope with social exclusion. Consumers, hurt from social rejection, frequently find themselves in a retail environment where one potential form of aggressive behavior is likely to be shoplifting. We argue that social exclusion causes consumers to react in order to feel better and they may do so by shoplifting products.

In addition, this effect should be strengthened for those individuals who have shoplifted previously, as compared to those who have never shoplifted before. Past research has found that individuals who have shoplifted before differ in their opinions than non-shoplifters such that shoplifters tend to believe that they are unlikely to be caught compared to non-shoplifters (Tonglet 2002), suggesting that they would be relatively more comfortable with using shoplifting as a coping mechanism.

Previous research suggests that consumers do perceive shoplifting as a coping mechanism that will make them feel better. For example, some consumers regard shoplifting as a form of thrill seeking and hedonic consumption, one that they can use to lash out in ways that will make them feel better (Fullerton and Punj 1998; Kallis and Vanier 1985). We believe that this effect will also be moderated by the hedonic versus utilitarian nature of products. Specifically, consumers who are socially excluded should also have more desire for hedonic products which provides more emotional arousal, pleasure, and immediate benefits compared to utilitarian products (Okada 2005; Strahilevitz and Myers 1998).

Study 1 was a one-factor, (Social Acceptance: Inclusion vs. Exclusion) between-subjects design. Social acceptance was manipulated by having participants relive and write about a previous experience from their life (Maner et al. 2007). Next, in an ostensibly unrelated study, all participants were asked to imagine that they were alone in a department store with an opportunity to steal an iPod Touch worth about \$200. Shoplifting intention was then assessed with six 9-point scales ($\alpha = .96$) such as, “Indicate the likelihood that you would shoplift the iPod Touch.”

Results found the hypothesized effect of social exclusion controlling for age (Cox, Cox, and Moschis 1990) on shoplifting intention ($F(1, 59) = 6.33, p < .05$). Excluded participants expressed significantly higher shoplifting intention than included participants ($M_s = 2.63$ vs. 1.51).

Study 2 was a 2 (Social Acceptance: Inclusion vs. Exclusion) X 2 (Shoplifted Before: Yes vs. No) between-subjects design with social acceptance manipulated and with past shoplifting behavior measured. Social acceptance was manipulated using the Cyberball game (Williams and Jarvis 2006). Next in an ostensibly unrelated study, all participants were instructed to imagine that they were alone in a department store with an opportunity to steal a pair of jeans worth about \$150.

A 2 (Social Acceptance: Social Inclusion vs. Social Exclusion) x 2 (Shoplift Before: Yes vs. No) ANCOVA on shoplifting intention, controlling for age, was significant ($F(1,77) = 6.11, p < .05$). Planned contrasts revealed that when participants had shoplifted before, they were marginally more likely to express intention to shoplift after experiencing social exclusion versus inclusion ($M_s = 2.98$ vs. 1.89; $F(1,26) = 2.93; p < .1$).

The objective of study 3 was to test for the moderating role of product type on the effect of social exclusion on shoplifting intentions. Participants first completed the same Cyberball manipulation that was used in study 2. Next, we presented participants with the same shoplifting scenario as studies 1 and 2; however we also manipulated whether the product was framed to be hedonic or utilitarian.

Results found the hypothesized social acceptance X shoplifted before X product type interaction ($F(1, 193) = 4.75, p < .05$). For participants who had shoplifted before, the product type X social acceptance interaction was significant ($F(1, 74) = 4.11, p < .05$), such that socially-excluded participants reported higher shoplifting intention for the hedonic than utilitarian athletic shoe ($M_s = 2.04$ vs. 1.28; $F(1,41) = 3.75, p = .06$).

Study 4 replicated our findings from study 3 manipulating product type by using two different product categories, instead of a framing manipulation. In addition, this study provided process evidence for shoplifting as a perceived mood repair mechanism. Participants first completed the same social acceptance manipulation from study 1. Next, we presented participants with the same shoplifting scenario previously used and we manipulated whether the target option was a hedonic or utilitarian product.

A 2 (Social Acceptance: Social Inclusion vs. Social Exclusion) x 2 (Shoplift Before: Yes vs. No) x 2 (Product Type: Hedonic vs. Utilitarian) ANCOVA on shoplifting intention controlling for age was significant ($F(1,362) = 7.88, p < .01$). Planned contrasts revealed that for the hedonic product, after social exclusion, participants were significantly more likely to express shoplifting intention if they had shoplifted before than if they had never shoplifted before ($M_s = 2.15$ vs. 1.24; $F(1,101) = 11.58, p < .001$).

Next, we tested for moderated mediation with the mediator of shoplifting as perceived mood repair using model 12 from the PRO-CESS macro (Hayes 2013). The index of moderated mediation was significant (95% CI: .17, 2.01) providing evidence of moderated mediation (Hayes 2015).

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I Don't Know You Anymore: The Dark Side of Brand Logo Change and Mitigating the Negative Effects

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Despite following brand management strategy to maintain a contemporary brand logo (Keller 2008), many firms have experienced negative reactions from consumers after a brand logo change. For instance, in January 2009, Tropicana simplified the logo design on its orange juice carton and then watched its revenue decline approximately 20% after six weeks. Due to the rapid drop in sales, Tropicana abandoned the brand logo change (Dailey 2010). Similarly, The Gap, in 2010, unveiled a new brand logo noticeably different from the familiar navy blue square with white text. After approximately one week, The Gap reverted back to its better-known brand logo due to many of its customers feeling betrayed as expressed on social media (Goldwert 2010). Interestingly, many of the reactions on social media were personal such as, “How dare you?” and “You have such little respect for your customers” (Halliday 2010). Clearly, consumer responses to brand logo change go beneath the surface of the design aspects. Given consumers’ strong reactions to brand logo change that may contradict normative brand management, research is needed to understand the underlying theories driving consumers’ responses to brand logo change.

Recent research, yet limited, has explored consumer responses to changes in brand logo design. For example, participants report stronger perceptions of modernity when exposed to an existing (vs. previous) brand logo (Müller, Kocher, and Crettaz 2013). Other brand logo change research has manipulated specific design aspects. In particular, Walsh, Winterich, and Mittal (2010) examine participants’ reactions to the logo shape changing from angular to round in varying degrees (i.e., none, moderate, and high). Although brand logo change research has briefly addressed consumer responses, the existing studies have primarily examined reactions to change in visual traits rather than to change in underlying brand associations tied to brand logos. In other words, previous brand logo change research, to the best of our knowledge, has overlooked consumer responses to the change, in general, and its effect on brand attitude. Importantly, we are able to focus on the change itself by not presenting any particular logo design adjustments in our experimental studies.

The present work addresses the lack of direct attention to change by first examining consumer responses to brand logo change for various brands and the moderating effect of a consumer’s brand identification. Our central premise is consumers should find brand logo change unfavorable since strongly held brand associations and awareness are tied to brand logos and hard to change (Keller 1993, 2008). We also posit consumers with higher brand identification will have stronger unfavorable responses due to their greater degree of incorporating brand meaning in their identities. To further insight into brand identification, we consider the underlying process for consumer responses to brand logo change. Indeed, we expect the context of a brand logo change to impact brand attitude through consumers’ state brand identification. Supporting our expectation is previous re-

search having established a context can activate any of the identities consumers hold (Oyserman 2009).

We also explore a potential moderator that can attenuate consumers’ unfavorable responses to brand logo change. Specifically, we examine whether a reminder of past brand logos buffers negative reactions to brand logo change since previous research has demonstrated past information helps inform the present (Belk 1991; Gilovich 1981). When presented with a reminder of past brand logos, consumers will draw brand associations related to the past (e.g., change is natural) that will enable them to process the reasoning for the change. Lastly, we test for the aforementioned proposed psychological mechanism; namely, conceptual fluency.

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Using Food Reinforcer to Shape Children's Non-Food Behavior Modifies Children's Food Preference

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Conceptualization

Food choice and preference is largely determined by the reinforcing value of food (Lappalainen and Epstein 1990), which is naturally tied to its palatability (Drewnowski 1997; Rozin 1990). Control rules are parental practice that use food as an instrumental reinforcer to encourage children to behave in a normative manner in non-food domains (Puhl and Schwartz 2003). Besides shaping behavior, enforcing control rules may modify the food reinforcing property by adding a whole spectrum of emotional, intellectual and social pleasure (Dubé and Le Bel 2003) on top of the palatability of food. Early experiments showed that repeatedly presenting snacks as a reward or with adult attention increases children's preference for the presented food (Birch 1981). Since food high in fat or sugar is usually chosen as a reinforcer for control rules (Cooke et al. 2011), these rules may lead to children's dietary pattern that is biased to food high in sugar/fat, and this may be moderated by individual differences regarding the efficacy of reinforcing learning.

This field study aims to examine whether control rules are associated with children's increased fat, carbohydrate and total energy intake in everyday eating, and whether this effect is moderated by individual differences in sensitivity to reward, and by gender differences that favor reward seeking and reinforcement learning in boys as a favored learning strategy.

Method

A representative sample (North America) of parents of 207 children (97 boys and 110 girls) aged from 6 to 12 ($M=8.98$, $SD=1.67$) completed the study. A web-based Food Frequency Questionnaire (web-FFQ) was used to assess children's dietary patterns (Labonte et al. 2012). The web-FFQ asked participants to recall their children's food intake over the last month based on a list of 136 individual food items or food clusters. Participants were first asked to indicate how frequently their children consumed each food item and the typical portion size. Participants estimated the portion size with the visual aid of digital photographs presenting food in standardized dinnerware and utensils (Le Moullec et al. 1996). Integrating the reported frequency and portion size (Labonte et al. 2012), we calculated the energy content, the intake of lipids (fats) and carbohydrates (sugar) from the participants' usual diet.

Parental control rules were assessed by using a subscale of food rules scale (Puhl and Schwartz 2003). The food rules scale asks parents to indicate how often they force their children to comply with certain food rules. The control rules subscale included 6 items ($\alpha=0.66$) assessing how often parents used food as a reinforcer to encourage children's behavior, such as "You (the child) received food as a reward for good behavior." Children were divided into two groups by median split (Median=1.33) on their scores of control rules; 95 children (43 boys and 52 girls) were categorized as a *low control rule group*, and the *high control rule group* included the other 112 children (54 boys and 58 girls).

Children's sensitivity to rewards was measured by the behavioral activation system (BAS) scales for young children (Blair, Peters,

and Granger 2004). Participants indicated to what extent they agreed with 13 statements ($\alpha =0.87$) regarding the characteristics of their children's reward responsiveness, drive and fun seeking (e.g., "When my child wants something he/she goes all out to get it"). Based on the median split of the BAS score (Median=6.77), participating children were categorized into two BAS groups; 103 children were categorized as *high BAS group* (45 boys and 58 girls) and 104 children were in the *low BAS group* (52 boys and 52 girls).

Major Findings

We conducted a series of analyses to test the effect of parent control rules on children's total daily energy (calories per day), fat and carbohydrate intake (grams per day). Each dependent variable was analyzed in a three-way ANCOVA including gender (2 levels: boys versus girls), family control rule group (2 levels: high versus low) and BAS group (2 levels: high versus low) as between-subject factors. To control for the effect of energy expenditure on food intake, participants' daily hard physical activity was included in the models as a covariate.

In all analyses, the main effects of control rules were significant ($ps<0.01$). Children who lived in families with a high frequency of using control rules exhibited more daily fat, carbohydrate and energy intake than did children whose parents use control rules less often. The effect of control rules on dietary pattern was particularly strong for children with high reward sensitivity and boys, as indicated by the significant interaction effects of control rules by BAS group ($ps<0.01$) and control rules by gender ($ps<0.01$). Post-hoc mean comparisons (Bonferroni adjusted) showed that, within the high BAS group, children from high control rule families had significantly higher energy, carbohydrate and fat intake than children with low control rules (comparisons: $ps<0.001$), whereas within the low BAS group, the effect of control rules was not significant. As for gender difference, among boys, daily energy, carbohydrate and fat intake was higher for the high control rules group than for the low control rules group ($ps<0.001$). The comparison of high versus low control rules among girls was not significant. In the analyses of energy and fat intake, three-way interaction of control rules by BAS by gender were found significant ($ps<0.05$), which further pinpointed high BAS boys as the group that was particularly vulnerable to the effects of control rules. High BAS boys reported higher daily energy and fat intake if their parents enforced control rules more often compared to those with low control rules ($ps<0.001$); no significant difference between high versus low control groups was found within low BAS boys, high BAS girls or low BAS girls. Boys with high BAS and high control rules reported a higher daily energy and fat intake than all other groups ($ps<0.001$).

Control rules have effect on children's food preference. The moderating effects of sensitivity to reward and gender are consistent to a reinforcement learning process – associating the high fat/sugar food consumption with social-affective pleasure – through which parental control rules contribute to children's maladaptive dietary patterns.

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Unpacking the Effects of Status on Creativity

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Understanding how to foster individual creativity is vital for boosting companies' innovations and their chances of survival in today's highly competitive and turbulent market. Prior research has documented a wide array of factors that impact individuals' creative performance. Yet this stream of research has generally overlooked the influence of status on individuals' creativity.

Status is considered as one of the fundamental dimensions of social hierarchy. Hence it stands to reason that this difference on status is likely to trickle down to influence how individuals make decisions and undertake various tasks. Given the importance and ubiquity of status in society in general and in business organizations in specific, examining how status affects individual creativity provides important insights and foresights to academics and practitioners.

The present research investigates the role of status in boosting or stifling individual creativity. We propose and find that, because middle-status experienced more status anxiety and are concerned about their status (de Button 2008; Mills 1951), thus they have low risk tolerance toward their performance than their high- and low-status counterparts, middle-class individuals' creativity is the lowest one among all three tiers, suggesting a U-shaped relationship between status and creativity.

Meanwhile, given the boundary between status levels may become permeable and it is possible for individuals to move up their status in a social hierarchy or to be relegated from their current status (Harvey and Consalvi 1960). We posit that status mobility may moderate the relationship between status and creativity that is proposed above. Specifically, when status mobility is high, consistent with prospect theory (Kahneman and Tversky 1979), we expect that high-status individuals will become more risk averse as the potential status loss may loom particularly large for them; low-status individuals will be more risk averse as well given conforming to established norms and other's expectations will increase their likelihood to enhance their status (Pech 2001; Tourish and Vatcha 2005); On the contrary, due to the fact that creativity can increase one's competence and visibility, thus increasing his chance to be promoted in the hierarchy (Lau, Li, & Chu 2004), thus, middle status individuals will assume more risks and undertake their tasks in a more unconventional way, which leads to generating more creative solutions than their high- and low-status counterparts. In sum, we propose that although middle-class individuals exhibit least creativity when social mobility is low, they are more creative than high- or low-status individuals when social mobility is high—that is, an inverted U-shape occurs.

Two experiments investigate how individuals' creativity varies as a function of their status and status mobility. Study 1 investigates whether status influences individual's creativity and sheds light on the psychological mechanism responsible for this effect -- individuals' different risk seeking tendency; study 2 focuses on the moderating effect of status mobility. To briefly summarize:

Study 1 was a three-level (status: high, middle, and low) between-subjects design. Status manipulation scenario was adapted from Blader & Chen (2012) and asked participants to imagine they were an employee who works in a company with high-, middle-, or low-status as described. Participants were then asked to complete a shoe scuffing problem (Burroughs and Mick 2004; Mehta, Zhu, and Cheema 2012) as measurement of creativity. ANOVA of creativity

index (Mehta et al. 2012) revealed a significant main effect of social status on creativity. Follow-up contrasts showed that participants were less creative in the middle-status condition than those in either the low-status or the high-status condition. No difference was detected between low- and high-status conditions.

Mediation analysis with coded risk-seeking tendency each participant exhibited in his/her creative solution showed that indirect effects excluded zero for mediation via risk-seeking tendency and creativity performance when high- vs. middle and low- vs. middle-status but not when high- vs. low- status. We also rule out mood and motivation as alternative explanations for our findings.

Study 2 was a 3 (status: low, middle, and high) \times 2 (status mobility: low vs. high) between-subjects design. We primed status mobility with a story and asked participants to read and summarize the theme depicted in that story. Status scenario was a modified version of the status manipulation used in study 1. We also emphasized status mobility toward the end of this scenario. RAT was adopted as measurement of individual creativity (Chen, Peng, and Wu 2011). ANOVA of RAT performance revealed a significant interaction of status and status mobility. Follow-up contrast analyses show that when status mobility was low, there was a simple main effect of status on creativity. Specifically, participants in the middle-status condition were less creative than those in either the low-status or the high-status condition. These results replicate our findings in study 1; when status mobility was high, there was also a simple main effect of status on creativity. However, the pattern of results was reversed such that participants in the middle-status condition were actually more creative than those in either the low-status or the high-status condition.

Across two experiment studies, using different creative tasks, we provide converging evidence that individual creativity varies as a function of status and status mobility, driven by individual's risk-seeking tendency. Our research contributes to the research stream on the effects of contextual characteristics on individual creativity by taking into account the important role of status and thus enriches our understanding of the antecedents of creativity. Further, our research contributes to the nascent but growing research on status. We reveal intriguing findings on the effects of status on creativity—on one hand, middle-status is least creative as compared to either end of a status order (a U-shape) when status mobility is low; on the other hand, our findings show that creativity is maximized at the middle-status than the low or high-status (an inverted-U shape) when status mobility is high. Thus, our research reconciles seemingly contradictory views on how status would influence creativity by investigating the dynamics of status mobility as an important moderator. These findings provide important implications for companies' innovation strategy to harness individual creativity and build up companies' competitive advantage.

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The Exciting Asymmetry Effect: The Interplay of Logo Design and Brand Personality on Brand Equity

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A unique and favorable brand personality (Biel 1993; Sung and Kim 2010), and the good visual design of logos (Cian, Krishna, and Elder 2014; Henderson and Cote 1998) can both contribute to the development of a strong brand. However, research investigating these two brand elements has advanced in parallel, and how they may jointly affect brand equity is not well-understood. We seek to fill this gap in the literature, and address the pressing need to determine whether and how the integration of brand elements contributes to brand equity (Keller and Lehmann 2006).

First, we propose that asymmetrical (vs symmetrical) visual designs may evoke excitement-related notions. We build this proposition on research showing that asymmetrical visual stimuli are more stimulating and arousing because they require additional visual exploration (Krupinski and Locher 1988). Since arousal is not affectively loaded (Barrett and Russell 1998;1999), and since most people feel at least mildly positive most of the time (Diener and Diener 1996), the arousal following the visual exploration of asymmetrical designs is likely to result to feelings of excitement—a high arousal and positively valenced affective state (Russell 1980;2003). Lastly, as specific affective states may cue affect-consistent judgments (Pham 2004), consumers should judge asymmetrical (vs. symmetrical) visual stimuli as more exciting. Second, we propose that if asymmetrical logos are judged as exciting, they should positively influence the equity of brands with exciting personalities. We refer to this effect as the exciting asymmetry effect. Third, we control for an alternative explanation arguing that excitement may be associated with all visually disfluent stimuli, rather than specifically with asymmetrical ones. Three experiments and a large-scale field study support our propositions.

Is logo asymmetry associated with excitement? In study one, participants ($n=306$) were randomly shown four asymmetrical and four corresponding symmetrical logos. For each logo, participants were asked to select from a list of fifteen personality traits (three per personality dimension; Aaker 1997), the three that would best characterize the logo. Indicating that asymmetry (vs. symmetry) is associated with excitement, we found that the number of exciting traits selected for asymmetrical logos was higher than the number selected for symmetrical ones ($M_{\text{asymmetrical}}=83$ vs. $M_{\text{symmetrical}}=71$; $t(305)=10.84$, $p\leq.001$).

Can logo shape and brand personality jointly impact attitudes? Study two was a 2x2 between-participants experiment. Participants ($n=210$) were shown the logo (symmetrical vs. asymmetrical) and tagline (exciting vs. sophisticated) of a brand of women's apparel. Brand attitude was measured on 7-point scales. Analyses revealed a significant logo shape×brand personality interaction ($F(1,206)=4.94$; $p\leq.03$). For the exciting brand, attitude was significantly higher for the asymmetrical than for the symmetrical logo ($M_{\text{asymmetrical}}=4.53$ vs. $M_{\text{symmetrical}}=3.74$; $p\leq.001$). This difference was not significant for the sophisticated brand ($p>.10$).

Is the exciting asymmetry effect caused by asymmetry-excitement associations? If it were the case, the interaction found in study two would reverse for individuals who associate symmetry (vs. asymmetry) with excitement. Study three was a 2x2 between-participants experiment. Participants ($n=155$) were

shown the description (exciting vs. sincere) and logo (symmetrical vs. asymmetrical) of a juice manufacturer. Brand attitude was then measured. Subsequently, in a seemingly unrelated study, we measured participants' propensity to associate asymmetry with excitement (A-E-score). Participants were asked to select from ten personality traits (five per brand personality manipulated), the five that would best characterize each of four asymmetrical and four corresponding symmetrical logos. We calculated A-E-score as the difference between the number of exciting traits selected for asymmetrical logos and for symmetrical ones. Analyses revealed a significant logo shape×brand personality×A-E-score interaction ($\beta=.96$; $t(147)=1.98$; $p\leq.05$). Conditional effects revealed that participants who associated asymmetrical logos with excitement had more favorable attitudes when the exciting brand had an asymmetrical logo ($p\leq.02$). The opposite result was found for participants who associated symmetrical logos with excitement ($p\leq.01$).

Does the asymmetrical logo effect hold in the marketplace? In study four, we merged three field datasets pertaining to the year 2011. The first, obtained from Interbrand, contains our dependent variable, a measure of company-based and financial-based equity called FBV (Financial Brand Valuation), which is the dollar value of the 100 brands listed on the 2011 Interbrand's Best Global Brands Ranking. The second, obtained from Young & Rubicam involves approximately 15,000 US customers, and contains our mediating variable, a measure of customer-based equity called BAV (BrandAsset Valuator™). It also contains brand personality evaluations and numerous control variables (e.g., purchase intentions) for the same 100 brands. Finally, logo asymmetry ratings were obtained via a panel of US customers ($n=202$) who evaluated the asymmetry of these 100 brands' logos. They also evaluated the logos on visual properties known to cause perceptual disfluency (e.g.; complexity).

A moderated mediation analysis revealed that the logo asymmetry×exciting brand personality interaction on BAV was positive and significant ($\beta=.35$; $t(88)=2.36$; $p\leq.05$), and that higher BAV resulted in higher FBV ($\beta=1.20$; $t(87)=3.37$; $p\leq.001$). The index of moderated mediation excluded zero [.02;1.24], and confidence intervals indicated that the combination of an asymmetrical [.29;2.85], but not of a symmetrical logo [-.01;1.29], with an exciting brand personality led to more FBV through BAV. Second, similar moderated mediation analyses ruled out the possibilities that an asymmetrical logo would boost the equity of brands with any other brand personality, or that logos' perceived disfluency interacted with exciting personality ratings in a fashion similar to perceived asymmetry. Third, a regression indicated that logo asymmetry was not predicted by brand excitement ($\beta=-.04$; $t(95)=-1.08$; $p>.10$), suggesting that those involved in logo design have not designed more asymmetrical logos for more exciting brands, as the exciting asymmetry effect would suggest.

These findings have important implications. First, although these two brand elements have been studied in isolation, our results demonstrate that brand personality and logo interact to affect consumers' behavior and brands' financial valuations. Second, they demonstrate that symmetry, a property which typically characterizes "good design", harms the equity of exciting brands. Third, they demonstrate that consumers' reactions to marketing visual stimuli

(e.g., logos) do not exclusively hinge on visual design properties, but depend also on the extent to which the notions with which they are associated diverge from, or converge with, other brand elements such. Finally, they establish that brand aesthetics and sensory marketing have a concrete effect on brands' financial performance.

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The Neglected Ambivalent Emotion of Pity: Conceptualization and Potential (Complex) Effects on Charitable Behavior

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Many ads used by charities to collect money seem to rely on the emotion of pity. However, only a few studies have involved pity (Weiner 1980, 1993), leaving its conceptualization unclear. The lack of a clear conceptualization of pity may find an explanation in that researchers have investigated emotions like compassion – that involves empathy (Bagozzi and Moore 1994) and sympathy (Escalas and Stern 2003) – and sadness (Small and Verrochi 2009) that resemble and partially overlap with pity. This lack of clarity has been costly to the study of pity in theoretical and empirical terms, and only a decade ago have researchers begun to consider differences between pity and related terms (Boelyn-Fitzgerald 2003; Dijker 2001). This confusion impedes researchers from knowing the exact antecedents and outcomes of pity. Thus, this article aims to propose a clear conceptualization of pity and addresses the following questions: “What is pity?”; “How does pity differ from related emotions?”; “To what extent may these differences explain meaningful variations among charitable behavior?”.

Commonly defined as “sympathetic heartfelt sorrow for one that is suffering physically or mentally or that is otherwise distressed or unhappy” (Webster’s Third New International Dictionary, 1961, p. 1726), pity is mostly described as an altruistic emotion (Weiner 1980, 1993). As such, pity may be seen as close to compassionate feelings, namely empathy and sympathy, and sadness. Empathy thus refers to a person’s capacity to feel within another person’s feelings (Eisenberg and Strayer 1987), while sympathy simply involves the awareness – not the experience – of the feelings of another (Stern 1994; Wispe 1986). While seemingly close to pity, the literature suggests that these emotions conceptually differ. First, while empathy is felt when one shares the feelings (Boelyn-Fitzgerald 2003), pity arises when one witnesses the other’s predicament and is sorry for the victim (Ben-Ze’ev 2000). Since pity stems from the fear of sharing the other’s predicament, this emotion creates a safe emotional distance from the sufferer; people who pity someone may feel disconnected from that person, while such an effect may not be observed in response to empathy. Turning to sympathy, pity appears closer to this latter emotion. However, pity might sometimes be appraised as a hypocritical and egoistic emotion whereby people adopt a “cynical superiority position” (Florian et al. 1999/2000). In that case, pity is different from sympathy. Finally, while sadness refers to a negative emotion, the aforementioned altruistic and cynical views of pity make it what Lazarus (1991) calls a problematic emotion.

We thus conceptualize pity as an ambivalent emotion (Otnes, Lowrey and Shrum 1997; Ruth, Brunel and Otnes 2002) composed of ‘altruistic pity’, a selfless and benevolent dimension reflecting understanding of the suffering of others (Corrigan et al. 2003; Dijker 2001; Pace 2013), and ‘cynical pity’, a self-focused hypocritical and egoistic dimension (Florian et al. 1999/2000). Pity might thus lead people to feel somewhat antagonistic emotions, such as love-hate and joy-fear (Saunders and Hall 1900) when both ‘altruistic’ and ‘cynical’ dimensions occur at the same time. This conceptualization appears critical to the understanding of how pity might influence charitable behavior: altruistic pity might lead to charitable behavior while cynical pity might create a distance between the sufferer and the observer that may not result in charitable behavior (Gillath, Shaver and Mikulincer 2004).

Turning to the antecedents and outcomes of pity, research shows that pity first arises as a response to the appraisal of vulnerability (Boelyn-Fitzgerald 2003; Florian et al. 1999/2000) and the need to protect a sufferer against suffering (Dijker 2001). Second, pity also arises as a function of social stereotypes and is elicited by downward assimilative comparisons made to people perceived as warm but not competent (Cuddy, Glick and Beninger 2011). Third, a person is expected to feel pity if the misfortune of the sufferer is perceived as uncontrollable (Corrigan et al. 2003; Dijker, Kok and Koomen, 1996; Weiner 1980). However, previous research argue that pity is not contingent on controllability attributions (Tracy and Robins 2007; Weiner 1985), making the role of controllability attributions unresolved. Fourth, pity may arise as a trait function of neuroticism (Watson and Clarke 1984).

Regarding the effects of pity, the ambivalent nature of this emotion makes their prediction difficult since altruistic emotions and cynicism exert opposite effects on moral judgments (Chowdhury and Fernando 2014). When the altruistic dimension of pity arises, a positive effect on charitable behavior may occur; on the contrary, when the cynical dimension of pity arises, a detachment response may occur.

Turning to the potential moderating variables of the effects of pity, the role of attributions of controllability remains unclear (Gelbrich 2011; Weiner 1980). We argue that this lack of clarity may find an explanation in the ambivalent definition of pity. Specifically, the altruistic dimension of pity might lead to charitable behavior whatever the attribution of controllability, while the effect of the cynical dimension of pity might not hold if the sufferer is perceived responsible for his or her plight. Given this predicted role of attributions of controllability, individual differences in control beliefs might also play a moderating role. This prediction builds on the notion that pity and locus of control are negatively correlated (Stöber 2003). People feel more pity if they believe that events in one’s life are caused by uncontrollable factors. Hence, people experiencing pity might engage more in charitable behavior if they believe that the situation of the person in need is not under his/her control (i.e. people with an external locus of control). Finally, attachment style (Mikulincer 1995) might moderate the effects of pity on charitable behavior. Securely attached people are more likely to approach others in need (Hazan and Shaver 1987) and because pity– activates a need to protect a person in distress (Dijker 2001), securely attached people are more likely to respond to such altruistic pity with more charitable behavior.

To conclude, it is our hope that bringing the various affective states related to pity into sharper relief will be generative, prompting additional scholars to investigate the conceptualization, measure and effects of pity.

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The Moderating Effect of Consumer Skepticism, Group Empowerment, Face Losing and Emotional Contagion on Customers' Aggressive Behaviors

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When a service fails, people tend to engage in blame attribution to assess what caused the poor service. Once customers blame the failure upon the service company, this attribution accounts for negative emotions and thus, these emotions will have consequential impacts on their aggressive behaviors. Moreover, attribution theory is limited to situations in which customers make causal inferences based on the information presented. However, the route of attribution would be altered when customers are skeptical towards the information. Customers' acquired disbelief towards the company claims aggravates blaming the service failure to the company, resulting in higher level of negative emotions. Therefore, this research attempts to propose the moderating effect of customer skepticism on blame attribution and negative emotions.

Furthermore, even if consumers have strong negative emotions after blaming the service company, not all consumers will engage in aggressive behaviors. Thus, this study contributes to the literature by introducing three moderating effects – group empowerment, face losing and emotional contagion. Specifically, people tend to perceive that they have more powers when they are in groups and their behaviors are more legitimized when it is collective actions (Du et al., 2014). Therefore, consumers who believe that they have been empowered with a group will have an increased degree of negative emotions toward aggression. In addition, as losing face is of great significance in Chinese society, when consumers feel that their face has been threatened by the others, e.g. service employees, face-losing will also elevate their negative emotions towards aggressive behaviors. Furthermore, since people are easily to be influenced by the social transmitted emotion, therefore, the level of consumers' negative emotions can be elevated when other consumers also express the similar types of emotions. Thus, emotional contagion could strengthen consumers' negative emotional level, leading to a higher possibilities of aggressive behaviors. To sum up, the third contribution of the current study is to introduce moderating effects: group empowerment, facelosing and emotional contagion in consumers' negative emotions and aggressive behaviors. Thus, we hypothesize as:

Hypothesis 1: (H1a, H1b) Negative emotions mediate the relationship between attribution of blame and customers' aggressive behaviors.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between attribution of blame and customers' negative emotions is stronger when consumers' are more skeptical than less skeptical towards company claims.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between customers' negative emotions and aggressive behaviors is stronger when customers feel empowered within groups than without groups.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between customers' negative emotions and aggressive behaviors is stronger when customers lose their face than not.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between customers' negative emotions and aggressive behaviors is stronger when customers are influenced by the contagious emotion by other consumers.

We distributed online questionnaires via major travel websites, and 200 questionnaires were used for data analysis. All measurements were adopted from previous research using a 7-point Likert scale. We followed Devillis's (2003) scale development process to develop a new construct – group empowerment. Partial Least Squares Path Structural Equation Modelling (PLS-SEM) method was adopted for data analysis. The results suggested no common method bias issues by using Harmon's one-factor test and marker variable technique. We also examined the convergent validity and discriminant validity. We examined the average variance extracted (AVE) and composite reliability (CR) for the convergent validity. All of our constructs meet the criteria—AVE >0.50 and CR >0.70 (Hair et al., 2014). The discriminant validity was assessed through indicators' cross loadings and the comparison of the square root of the constructs' AVE. Our data suggested that when companies should be blamed for the service failure, negative emotion mediates the relationship between blame attribution and customers' aggressive behaviors (H1 accepted). Furthermore, our results suggested the blame attribution and negative emotion relationship, and negative emotion – aggression level could be strengthened by consumer skepticism, group empowerment, face losing and emotional contagion respectively (H2-H5 accepted). Our model indicated 52.28 % explanatory power for the dependent variable.

This research focuses on how customers' attributions of blame affect their emotional and behavioral responses to a company's service failure. Once consumers blame the failure on the service company, this attribution elicits negative emotions and thus, these emotions will have consequential impacts on their aggressive behaviors. The results extend the literature in two ways. First, this research attempts to investigate the moderating effect of customer skepticism in the service context. Our result revealed that customer skepticism strengthened the relationship between customers' blame attribution and negative emotion. Second, this research extends the literature by introducing group empowerment, face-losing and emotional contagion as moderators in strengthening the negative emotion and aggressive behaviors.

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The Visual Minority Effect on Children's Choice and Consumption

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The increasing rate of children obesity (Hedley et al. 2004; Troiano and Flegal 1998) highlights the importance of encouraging children to consume healthy food from young age. Because younger children are guided primarily by perception, it is possible that providing them with simple visual cues may improve their food and other choices. This paper establishes that this is indeed the case: children tend to choose the minority option when items are visually different from one another and this can influence their food choices.

We study the choice behavior of children four and five years old. Children this age rely on visual and other perceptual features more than on abstract thought (Flavel 1963; Ginsburg and Opper 1988; John 1999). We extend this developmental theory to the context of children's decision making and postulate that children tend to choose objects that visually stand out in the choice set even when they prefer another object in the set. We focus on choice sets in which each object appears multiple times. We conjecture that when objects are visually different, the minority object (i.e., appears fewest times) stands out visually relative to other objects. Because children are affected by perception, they will tend to choose the minority object more frequently than dictated by their preferences. On the other hand, when objects are visually similar, the minority object does not stand out visually, so children choose based on their preferences. We call the tendency of children to choose the minority object when objects are visually different the visual minority effect.

We conducted four experiments to test our theory and its policy implications. Experiments 1, 2 and 3 were conducted in a local preschool. These experiments involved individual sessions in which 4 to 5.5 year old children interacted with an experimenter who was blind to the research hypothesis. Experiment 1 and 2 demonstrate the visual minority effect in food and non-food choice tasks. Experiment 3 illustrates that the visual minority effect may lead children to favor fruits over crackers. Experiment 4 illustrates that adults do not demonstrate the visual minority effect.

In experiment 1, children (N=61) chose an apple, a bag of crackers, a magnifying glass and a bag to put all their chosen products. Specifically, about half of the children choose an apple from a bowl with five green apples and two red apples (i.e., red is minority). The rest choose from a bowl with five red apples and two green apples (i.e., green is minority). Children also chose a bag of Wheat-thins or Cheez-it crackers, such that either the Wheat-thins or the Cheez-it was the minority option. Children then chose a yellow or red bag to put their apple and crackers, such that either the yellow or the red bags were the minority option. Finally, children chose a green or blue magnifying-glass, such that either the green or the blue magnifying-glass were the minority option. In all tasks the minority option appears twice in the choice set and the other option appears five times.

In line with our theory, children tend to choose the minority option when options are visually different: The proportion of children choosing a particular apple type increases by 31% percentage points when this apple type becomes the minority option. For the red apple, the proportion increases from 50% to 81% and for the green apple from 19% to 50%. Similarly, when a particular bag becomes the minority option, the likelihood of choosing it increases by 22 percentage points. We observe similar increase for the magnifying glass (35

percentage points). Thus, when options are visually different from one another, children tend to choose the minority option.

In contrast, when options are visually similar, as in the crackers task, becoming the minority option has no effect on children's choices. About 60% of the children choose the cheez-it crackers independently of the experimental manipulation. Note that it is clear that children recognize the different types of crackers when making a choice and make deliberate rather than random choices. Otherwise, the proportion of children choosing the minority option should have been $2/7 \approx 29\%$, which is very different from the results when cheez-it is the minority option (57%).

Experiment 2 further demonstrates the importance of visual differences between the options in driving the visual minority effect. Forty children were offered a choice of a photo featuring a puppy from a set with photos of white puppies and light brown puppies (options are visually similar) and a choice of a finger puppet from a set with zebra and giraffe finger-puppets (options are visually different). As in experiment 1, the minority option appears twice in the choice set and the other option appears five times.

About 62% of the children chose the white puppy photo independently of the experimental manipulation. As in experiment 1, children made deliberate rather than random choices. Otherwise, the proportion of children choosing the minority option should have been $2/7 \approx 29\%$, which is very different from the results when white-puppy is the minority option (61%). The finger-puppet task results replicate experiment 1's results regarding visually different options: When a particular finger puppet became the minority option, the likelihood of choosing it increased by 35 percentage points.

The visual minority effect may be policy-relevant. Experiment 3 provides some evidence in this direction by illustrating that children favor a fruit over crackers when the fruit becomes the minority option.

In Experiment 3 (N=56), children chose between grapes and crackers. About half the children chose from a set with two boxes of grapes and six boxes of crackers, and the rest chose from a set with equal number of boxes of grapes and crackers. When grapes become the minority option, 52% of the children chose grapes compared to 26% in the control condition. This finding may hint at straightforward ways to encourage children to choose fruits.

Experiment 4A (N=70, mean age =20.0) and 4B (N=55, mean age =20.2) show that adults do not show the visual minority effect. In experiment 4A they chose an apple, as in the apple task in experiment 1. In experiment 4B, they chose between yellow and green highlighter, such that either the yellow or the green highlighter were the minority option. In both tasks, adults do not favor the minority option. Thus, it seems that children's sensitivity to visual cues indeed plays a role in driving the effects we observe. Moreover, it seems that general theories of uniqueness-seeking and scarcity cannot explain the discrepancy between adults' and children's behavior.

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The Stability Heuristic: How Round Numbers Increase the Perception of How Long Product Characteristics Last

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Product characteristics that are the basis for consumers' preferences commonly have numerical values. For instance, an energy drink's caffeine may be described as 100 milligrams (mgs) (round number) or 102 mgs (precise number; Dehaene and Mehler (1992)). Which caffeine value is preferred? Although the two values have similar magnitude, recent research suggests that consumers perceive round and precise numbers very differently, with implications on preferences (Xie & Kronrod, 2012; King & Janiszewski, 2011)

In the present work, we propose and find that using a round number to describe a product characteristic enhances consumers' preference when consumers want the characteristic to endure. For example, since consumers buy an energy drink to gain energy over a long time, they prefer an energy drink with 100 (vs. 102) mgs of caffeine, despite the greater magnitude of 102. In this work, we explain this preference based on a stability heuristic; we find that consumers perceive round (vs. precise) numbers as having greater stability and balance, and in turn, this enhances the perceived endurance of a product characteristic.

Examining this aspect is important for many reasons. First, we establish an unexplored domain of product perception in which using round numbers is beneficial to persuade consumers (Cialdini, 1993). This domain, the endurance of a product characteristic, has received relatively scant attention in the literature, but it is an important consideration in consumers' preferences (Faro 2010). In addition, we establish a novel link between round numbers and stability.

We contend that people perceive product characteristics described using round numbers as more enduring. Therefore, when stability of a product characteristic is preferred, round numbers will increase preference. Additionally, we find evidence of a symbolic association between round numbers and stability and balance, and this symbolic association drives the effect on preferences. There are several reasons why this is the case. For instance, round numbers often represent the boundary between categories, and people perceive the distance between a round and precise number (e.g., 200 vs. 199) as bigger than between two precise numbers (e.g., 199 and 198; Isaac & Schindler, 2014). As such, we suggest that because consumers will feel that it is easier to move between precise numbers than from a round number to a precise one, round numbers will be associated with stability whereas precise numbers with movement.

Study 1 involved two scenarios. Participants were asked to imagine buying a phone (scenario 1), and an energy drink (scenario 2). In scenario 1 the dependent variable was perceived length of time (in months) that a promised battery life of 1.9 (vs. 2.0) days will maintain its promised performance. We found that the battery life of 2.0 days was expected to last for a longer time ($M=3.20$; $SD=1.56$) than the battery life of 1.9 days ($M=2.31$; $SD=1.39$); $t(56) = 2.30$, $p < .05$). We replicated the results for scenario 2; $t(56) = 2.09$, $p < .05$).

Study 2 used the energy drink scenario –participants imagined buying an energy drink with 100mgs versus 103mgs of caffeine. This

study rules out a magnitude account (i.e., differences in the actual size of the numbers) and provides evidence of the underlying mechanism. To that aim, we measured the link between round versus precise numbers and stability, and participants' attitudes. As expected, participants expressed better attitudes towards the energy drink that had 100 (vs. 103) mgs of caffeine ($M_{\text{Round}}=2.98$, $SD=1.69$ vs. $M_{\text{Precise}}=2.36$, $SD=1.29$; $t(86) = 1.99$, $p < .05$), and the 100 (vs. 103) mgs of caffeine gave a stronger sense of stability ($M_{\text{Round}}=3.27$, $SD=1.60$ vs. $M_{\text{Precise}} = 2.68$, $SD=1.28$; $t(86)=1.90$, $p=.06$). A mediation analysis found evidence of the underlying mechanism (95% confidence interval excluding zero).

Study 3 tested whether the stability heuristic also affects perceptions of a product that is actually consumed, its influence on product enjoyment, and future consumption. To that end, participants consumed a tablet called 'mberry', which has an enjoyable flavor altering effect, and we measured how long participants thought this effect lasted. The results showed that participants felt like the tablet had a longer lasting effect in the round ($M=4.71$, $SD=1.22$) versus precise ($M=4.08$, $SD=1.33$) condition ($t(65)=2.01$, $p < .05$). The round number condition also had higher enjoyment of the foods ($M_{\text{Round}}=5.59$, $SD=1.18$ vs. $M_{\text{Precise}}=4.74$, $SD=1.61$; $t(65)=2.43$, $p < .05$) and a higher likelihood of consuming the tablet in the future ($M_{\text{Round}}=5.28$, $SD=1.93$ vs. $M_{\text{Precise}}=3.5$, $SD=2.11$; $t(65)=3.49$, $p < .01$).

In sum, this research shows that consumers perceive a product characteristic described using a round number compared to a precise one as lasting for a longer time, which in turn influences their preferences. In addition, this effect is driven by the link between round numbers and stability.

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The Persuasiveness Power of Round Numbers: A Construal Level Theory Perspective

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Numerical information is everywhere in marketing. One recurrent finding in the persuasion literature is that precise numbers are more persuasive than round ones (e.g. Xie and Kronrod 2013). The present research, however, finds that round numbers could be more persuasive than precise ones. In addition, we reconcile our prediction and previous research by specifying circumstances under which each pattern will happen. Our core proposition is that precise (vs. round) numbers are associated with shorter (vs. longer) psychological distance. Then, drawing from construal level theory (CLT; Liberman, and Wakslak 2007), we predict and find that precise (vs. round) numbers are more persuasive when the judgment is psychologically close (vs. distant). Finally, we find that this effect is driven by the enhanced processing fluency that consumers experience as a consequence of the fit between precise (vs. round) numbers and a closer (vs. distant) psychological distance.

Several reasons support the association between round (precise) numbers and distal (closer) psychological distance. Round numbers are associated with broader confidence intervals than precise numbers (Dehaene 2011). For example, whereas “ninety nine” represents only the exact quantity of 99, “one hundred” may mean anything between 91 and 109. Consistent with this idea, (Jerez-Fernandez et al. 2013) showed that people use round (vs. precise) numbers when they have low (vs. high) confidence about their estimations. Now consider psychological distance. Typically, people are less confident about psychologically distant (vs. close) events because they have less information. Thus, people should use round numbers to describe distal targets because the associated broader confidence intervals provide higher flexibility.

The numerical precision - construal level link has an important implication for persuasion purposes. Previous research has shown the importance of a congruency between an external stimulus and the consumer mind-set to obtain the maximum effect (Higgins 2000). The application of this logic lead to propose that precise (vs. round) numbers are more persuasive when the judgment is psychologically close (vs. distant).

Three studies examined our predictions. Study 1 provided initial support for our first hypothesis. We presented participants (n=141) an scenario where they were having a few days of holidays either at their city (near condition) or in another country (distal condition), and we told them that they needed to buy a digital camera for the trip. The description of the camera was made using either round or precise numbers (e.g. weight 10 Oz vs. 10.1 Oz). The dependent variables were their attitudes towards the camera and purchase intentions. As expected, we observed a two-way interaction. A match between distal (vs. close) spatial distance and round (vs. precise) numbers led to higher attitudes and purchase intentions towards the camera ($F(1,137)=4.83, p<.05$).

In study 2 we aimed to replicate the results of study 1, and to reconcile our findings with past literature demonstrating that precise

numbers are more persuasive than round ones. Specifically, we suggest that when psychological distance is not explicitly specified (as in previous research), participants might have perceived the scenario as psychologically close. To empirically test this possibility, in this study we included a control condition where psychological distance is *not* specified. Participants (N=208) imagined planning a vacation (control condition) for either next weekend (close condition) or one year later (distant condition) and they were searching for a hotel, whose description included the type of number manipulation (e.g., room size: 298 or 300 square feet). As expected, we observed a two-way interaction ($F(1, 202)=3.82, p<.05$). In addition, we found support for our goal to reconcile previous findings within our framework. That is, participants' attitudes were more favorable in the precise (vs. round) condition ($M_{Precise}=4.81, SD=1.09$ vs. $M_{Round}=4.30, SD=1.37$; $t(202)=1.76, p<.05$). Moreover, the difference between precise and round conditions didn't significantly differ between the control condition and the psychologically close condition ($t<1, p>.90$).

In study 3 we aimed to obtain support of processing fluency as the underlying mechanism. Participants (n=96) imagined that their university (close condition) versus another university (distal condition) was planning to introduce laptops in the classrooms. Then, we presented participants with a laptop described using round or precise numbers (e.g. 2507 by 1593 vs. 2500 by 1600 pixels of resolution). We replicated the same pattern of results of study 1 and 2 and they were significant ($F(1,93)=5.19, p<.05$). In addition, we also found support of our proposed underlying mechanism, and processing fluency was dependent of a fit between precise (vs. round) numbers and close (vs. distant) psychological ($F(1, 92)=5.83, p=.01$). Finally, a mediation analysis supported the processing fluency as the mediator of the proposed effect ($\beta=.31, SE=.16$), with a 95% confidence interval excluding zero [.06 to .76].

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Timely Vices and Virtues

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consider an online streaming service that sells an eight-movie package valid for one month (i.e., the movies cannot be watched after the month is over). Would consumers prefer a time window of two months instead? Intuition suggests that products with longer time windows ought to be preferred, but we show that the effect of time windows depends on whether the good is a vice or a virtue.

Theoretical Development

To consume less vices and more virtues, consumers resort to self-control strategies such as quantity rationing. Thus, they control the quantity of vices, such as of cigarettes and chocolate bars (Wertenbroch 1998; Mishra and Mishra 2011) in order to limit the rate of consumption and achieve their long-term goals, such as that of good health. The presumed goal is not to reduce consumption in a vacuum, but within a period of time. Given that rate of consumption = quantity consumed / time window of consumption, one can lower the rate of vice consumption by decreasing the numerator, but also by increasing the denominator. Thus, for vices, just as individuals prefer smaller quantities, we propose that they will prefer longer time windows. For virtues, the converse logic applies. It is known that individuals try to increase virtue consumption by opting for larger packs (Mishra and Mishra 2011). Thus, for virtues, just as individuals prefer larger quantities, we propose that they will prefer shorter time windows. Overall, a longer (vs. shorter) time window will increase preference for a vice product, while decreasing preference for a virtue product.

We observe such effects in 4 studies, two of which provide process evidence. Study 3 shows that our results are mediated by the extent to which time windows help individuals achieve their long-term goals. Study 4 shows that our results are moderated by the extent to which people struggle to achieve their long-term goals—our results are stronger for impulsives (vs. non-impulsives).

Studies

In study 1, a single factor (time window: short vs. long) between-subjects design was employed. Participants chose between hypothetical subscriptions for desserts (a relative vice) versus salads (a relative virtue). In the short (long) time-window condition the subscriptions offered two servings of either desserts or salads every week for 4 weeks (every month for 4 months). We found that the vice was chosen significantly more when the time window was long versus short.

In study 2, a 2 (time window: short vs long) x 2 (product: virtue vs vice; measured) between-subjects design was employed. We asked wine drinkers their preference for a hypothetical coupon to a wine store. In the short (long) condition the coupon gave them 1

glass of wine every day for 7 days (1 glass of wine every week for 7 weeks). Participants indicated their preference for the coupon and whether they perceived wine to be a relative virtue or a vice. We found that those who viewed wine as a virtue (vice) preferred the coupon less (more) as the time window increased in size.

In study 3, a 2 (product: virtue vs vice) between-subjects design was employed. Participants imagined a scenario in which they could obtain a certificate good for 8 shakes, which were described as either virtues or vices. Participants were then told that the validity of the certificate was 1 month, but they could increase the validity of the certificate to 4 months if they visit the regional office. Additionally, participants indicated whether they felt as though they could better achieve long term health goals by extending the validity. As predicted, those in the vice (vs. the virtue) condition chose to extend the validity of the certificate more, and this effect was mediated by perceptions that doing so would help better achieve long term health goals.

In study 4, a 2 (time window: short vs long) x 2 (product: virtue vs vice) x 2 (impulsivity: high vs low; measured) between-subjects design was employed. Participants imagined a scenario in which they could obtain a certificate good for 8 shakes, which were described as either virtues or vices. In the short (long) condition the certificate was to be used within 1 month (4 months). Participants indicated their likelihood of obtaining the certificate and later completed Puri's (1996) impulsivity scale. Once again we found that longer time windows increased preference for vices but decreased preference for virtues. Further, these effects emerged strongly for impulsives but dissipated for non-impulsives.

Discussion

We show that longer time windows increase preference for vices while decreasing preference for virtues. Our process evidence, both mediation and moderation, is consistent with our theory about time windows being used in accordance with one's long-term goals.

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Austere Times: Male Experiences of Liminal Vulnerability

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Since 2008, many European countries have suffered recessionary pressures that have led to an increasing vulnerability for some (Allen and Synder, 2009). While studies on the topic of low-income/disadvantaged consumers (Hamilton, 2012) focus on a more 'fixed state' of poverty (Elms and Tinson, 2012), we explore experiences of austerity from both working-class males and the less-well-known consumption practices of the middle-classes (Keating et al., 2013) which enables us to shed more light around the liminality or transitional nature of vulnerability. As consumer researchers have largely focused on women in vulnerable situations (Cappellini et al., 2014; The Voice Group, 2010), this study aims to redress this balance with a focus on male vulnerability by acknowledging the relevance of gender in appreciating the construction of identity in relation to the allocation and assumption of responsibilities and expectations during austere times.

Vulnerability is commonly referred to as a multi-dimensional state of 'powerlessness that arises from an imbalance in marketplace interactions' (Baker et al., 2005, p.134; Peñaloza, 1995). Research suggests that gender can impact on consumer vulnerability (Hill and Dickenson, 2005). The traditional concept of masculinity has been challenged with recent studies calling for a rejection of hegemonic masculinity embodied by the notion of 'a man's man' to a more pluralistic identity embodying both male and female characteristics (de Visser, 2009, p.367). Hence, given the evolution of the concept of modern masculinity and the particular lack of academic attention paid to the effects of austerity on male vulnerability, we respond to previous calls to advance our understanding of the 'consumption behaviours of liminal people' (Banister and Piacentini, 2008; Cody et al., 2011; Schouten, 1991, p.422).

Liminality is constructed as a new identity state to be contrasted with a 'normal' state and is often associated with major life challenges (Baker et al., 2005). In addition, liminality has long been associated with rites of passage (van Gennep, 1960[1906], Turner, 1974) and therefore viewed as formalized transitions, consisting of three core phases. The first phase is 'separation' and involves some removal from the stable identity (Turner, 1974). Secondly, there is the 'marginal' stage which describes when the liminar (or passenger) finds themselves in an ambiguous, betwixt and between situation which divorces them from their past and their future (van Gennep, 1960[1906]). Finally, 'reaggregation' is the identity that emerges from the state of liminality and may be seen as better (and definitely different) to the previous identity. From liminality, *communitas* (i.e. a bonding over and above formal social bonds) can spontaneously emerge through a comradeship of those involved. However, there can also be *outsiderhood* where the passenger is 'situationally or temporarily set apart' (Turner, 1974, p.233) from others.

Given the cross-cultural aspect of the study which was conducted by a team of European researchers across five countries, face to face in-depth interviews were chosen as an appropriate form of social enquiry (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Using a purposive sample (Patton, 1990), 32 consumers from Ireland, UK, Spain, Portugal and Greece across a range of

demographics (e.g. age, gender, lifestage and income including unemployed people) were interviewed. Of this, 11 interviews were conducted with European men to explore the effects of austerity in terms of changes to everyday consumption practices and experiences, both prior to and during austerity. The interviews ranged in length from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours and reached a deep level of richness and insight. The interviews were firstly transcribed and if applicable, translated to English. Coding was carried out by all members of the research team, followed by cross-checking of interview transcripts (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Key findings related to vulnerability and liminality which led the researchers to engage with van Gennep (1960 [1906]) and Turner's (1974) rites of passage and are illustrated under the themes *separation*, *transition*, *reaggregation* and *communitas*.

Overall, our findings revealed varying levels of financial insecurity and vulnerability as a result of austerity. Their rites of passage through austere times had also affected their identity, expectations and aspirations. While austerity is a temporal economic force, the application of liminality theory shows, particularly for those in the liminal/transition stage, that it may take time and be a difficult process to make the transition to the reaggregation stage. Through examining transition states we can recognize the different macro and micro-forces affecting those experiencing liminality as well as illustrate the forms this takes alongside the ultimate reaggregation for some. The levelling that liminality brings about is deeply felt by these men in their multi-faceted vulnerability which has affected their personal relationships, identity and economic stability resulting for some in a sense of *outsiderhood*. But, for some men, the positive *communitas* experienced with others and for others has had benefits which have supported these men through the liminal stages.

This paper has made contributions to understanding vulnerability in three ways. Firstly we have advanced the concept of liminal vulnerability. In so doing, we have followed van Gennep (1960[1906]) and Turner's (1974) three phases of transition rites which have been examined elsewhere (Baker et al., 2007) but which bear greater scrutiny given their potential for understanding how people in different situations cope with 'rites of passage'. Secondly, we have examined this concept from the perspective of male vulnerability which is an under researched area. Finally, we applied this to a current situation of potential vulnerability, the economic recession in Europe. Through this exploration of liminal vulnerability, the research reveals that the participants often held deep-seated traditional roles of male provider, family man, and father which were greatly affected by the vulnerable states. Our study therefore points to a reinforcement of gender stereotyping similar to that identified in Cappellini et al.'s., (2014) research on women and austerity, evidenced through the deep engagement by many of our participants with traditional male roles. While the research reveals that the temporal nature of this liminal vulnerability may result in positive reaggregation, it is inevitable that the humiliation, levelling and 'ordeal' of liminal vulnerability will be significant and enduring for many men.

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Deal or No Deal? The Effect Online Deals on Consumer Quality Perceptions and Competition

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction and Research Questions

Consumers today routinely use online reviews to inform their consumer decisions in both online and offline contexts. With the advent of Web 2.0 tools, the Internet has grown into a social tool where consumers interact with each other to provide and collect experience data (Coker 2012). The Local Consumer Reviews (LCR) Survey of 2013, for example, found that 95% of consumers use the Internet to find local merchants, 85% of consumers say they read online reviews for local businesses, and 65% of consumers are more likely to use a business that has positive reviews (BrightLocal 2013). Another similar survey found that 64% of consumers search for online reviews before spending on services and 85% of them are more likely to purchase services when they can find online recommendations for the same services (Cone 2011). The popularity of online review platforms has also grown considerably recently. Yelp.com, for example, contains over 71 million reviews of local merchants and was visited by approximately 120 million monthly unique visitors, or over a third of the U.S. population, in Q4 2013 (Yelp 2014). One of the most popular uses of online reviews is to choose a restaurant. In Yelp, for instance, restaurants account for the second largest category with over 20 million online reviews, and, according to the LCR Survey, 61% of consumers search for restaurant online reviews and 51% of consumers say that online reputation matters the most when choosing a restaurant (BrightLocal 2013). Marketing scholars, fittingly, have studied the impact of online reviews on firm-level outcomes and have found that online word of mouth can directly influence performance, often in the form of sales (Godes and Mayzlin 2004; Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006). More recently, Luca (2011) focused on restaurants and estimated that a one-star increase in Yelp rating leads to a 5-9 percent increase in revenue. Thus, it is well-established in our literature that online reviews are a key driver of a merchant's bottom line; understanding the dynamics of how online reviews are created therefore continues to be a topic of considerable interest for the marketing and management community.

Another popular, though less understood, online tool at the disposal of consumers and merchants are online daily deals (online deals), which are sites that offer promotions on specific retail products or services for a short period of time. Customers need to register with the deal site to receive information about available deals around them. Then they can purchase a deal and continue to receive new offers by email. Groupon, the market leader, has 44 million active consumers, over 200 million subscribers, and has sold over 400 million deals to date in the U.S and abroad. Despite their popularity, online deals have been a controversial subject. The popular press provides several articles detailing the failures of many merchants' that offer online deals (Clifford and Miller 2012; Agrawal 2013, Cohan 2012). In a recent survey of online deals merchants, Dholakia found that 55% of merchants made a profit while 26% lost money (2011). A Living Social survey finds similar results with only 54% of merchants actually making a profit (BusinessInsider 2011). Given that a restaurant offering a \$50 for \$25 Groupon deal, received on average \$12.50 approximately, it is a real possibility that a restaurant might sell these deals at a loss since a typical restaurant spends 28%-35%

of their revenue on food and ingredients (RestaurantReport 2012), more than the 25% that they often receive as a result of the deal. But this is only part of the story. There may be other, less directly measurable, effects beyond higher short-term revenue that might affect the merchants offering deals. For example, do online deals affect a merchant's online reputation and through them, gradually affect a merchant's market position? Further, what is the effect of these deals on the merchants offering the deals vis-a-vis their competitive landscape?

We offer two theoretical mechanisms by which online deals might affect quality perceptions as reflected by online reviews. First, online deals share many features with opt-in advertisement. For example, consumers are often required to provide their email address before they can even view available deals, and once they provide their email address, customers receive emails that contain many components of traditional ads, such as pictures and suggestive text. Grounded in the persuasion knowledge model, introduced by Friestad and Wright (1994), and in the empirical work of Kirmani and Wright (1989) and Kirmani (1990), online deals can arguably reflect a high advertisement effort, which in turn may indicate high marketing effort and therefore high confidence of the merchant in the product's quality. Alternatively, as Kirmani (1990) argues, high advertisement effort might under certain situations reflect a merchant's desperation. Second, online deals also share features with price promotions, which have been studied by extensively in the economics and marketing literature (Blattberg, Briesch and Fox 1995). In this literature, significantly decreasing the price of a product, as is the case with online deals, is likely to decrease quality perceptions through a decrease in the reference price of the product in consumers (Li and Hitt 2010, McGregor et al. 2007).

There is in fact preliminary work suggesting that while Groupon deals are correlated with an average increase in the number of reviews, they are also correlated with a small decrease in the short-time online rating provided by users (Byers et al. 2012a). We build on these early findings and draw from the marketing and economics literature to investigate under which conditions daily deal promotions affect the consumer quality evaluations found in online reviews. Furthermore, we explore if deals offered by nearby competitors also affect the consumer quality evaluations in online reviews. To investigate these questions, we combine an empirical model using reviews from Yelp.com with a series of lab experiments to extend and validate our empirical model's findings.

Study 1: Hierarchical Bayesian Empirical Model Using Reviews from Yelp.com

Data

For our study, we have chosen to focus on online reviews and online deals for restaurants in a large U.S. metropolitan area, restaurants operating in Washington D.C. Prior literature (Mangold et al. 1999; Luca 2011; Gu et al. 2012) suggests that because of the intangible nature of restaurant services and high involvement nature of food, restaurants provide an ideal context to study the effectiveness of WOM. Our online reviews were collected from Yelp.com, the market leader in North American online reviews (Yelp 2014).

From Yelp.com, we collected data on over 2000 restaurants operating as going concerns in Washington, D.C. This figure is similar to the National Restaurant Association's estimate of the total number of restaurants in the city of 2,035 (2012). Each restaurant listing has general information on restaurants characteristics, such as the phone number, location, cuisine, price point, ambiance, and online reviews information, such as the average rating and the number of reviews. Furthermore, for each restaurant, we collected each individual review available, which resulted in 143,745 reviews collected between Yelp's initial release in 2004 and our data collection in 2012.

For the online deals data set, we used data provided by Yipit.com, a service provider that aggregates daily deals data for retailers across multiple deal platforms, for a six-month period from January to June 2012. We chose Yipit.com because it aggregates transaction data from over 95% of online deals sites (Yipit.com 2014), which allows us to look at a whole spectrum of online deal providers instead of focusing on a single one, such as Groupon. Each deal listing contains information about the restaurant, such as the phone number, name and location; deal characteristics, such as the price of deal, discount offered and duration; and deal performance metrics, such as the quantity sold and revenues. The two data sources – Yelp and Yipit, formed the core of our empirical data collection strategy. We created a panel data structure of deals and online reviews during the six-month deals period. We first defined two-week time intervals between January 1, 2012 and June 30, 2012, for a total of 15 two-week periods. We chose two-week periods since this represents the average deal duration period for restaurants (Dholakia 2012).

Measures

We computed the average rating across all reviews arriving during time period t for a given restaurant i . This is our dependent variable and is denoted as $Rating_{it}$ for restaurant i during time period t . Any effect of a deal is likely captured by the reviews provided during this period, as per extant literature (Byers et al. 2012a). For each time-period, we also created an indicator variable, $Deal_{it}$, for each restaurant i , equal to 1 if the restaurant offered a deal during time period t and 0 otherwise. Similarly, we measure competition through two variables. $RestInZip_{it}$ is a numerical count of the number of competitors in the same zip code. More importantly, $DealsInZip_{it}$ captures the number of competitors' deals in the same area. Additionally, we add numerous control variables, such as the price point of the restaurant, the baseline rating and number of reviews for each restaurant, calculated respectively as the average of all ratings received and the total number of reviews received before January 1, 2012, cuisines, geographical location in the city, and other characteristics (16 in total), such as methods of payment and parking options.

Model

We then proceed to model the $Rating_{it}$ with a longitudinal hierarchical Bayesian model (Allenby and Rossi 1998) with the following specification. We aim to capture the effect of offering a deal, potential deal interaction effects, and our controls on the longitudinal rating of the restaurant.

$$Rating_{it} = b_{10} + \beta_0 + \beta_{11} Deal_{it} + \beta_2 pricepoint_i + \beta_3 BaseNumReviews_i + \beta_4 BaseRating_i + (\beta_5 Deal_{it} * pricepoint_i + \beta_6 Deal_{it} * BaseNumReviews_i + \beta_7 Deal_{it} * BaseRating_i) + \beta_8 Cuisines_i + \beta_9 OtherChars_i + \beta_{10} Location_i + \beta_{11} RestInZip_i + \beta_{12i} DealsInZip_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

First, we find that the main effect of the deal is negative and highly significant, which is consistent with prior work (Byers et al. 2012a and 2012b). However, and as a departure from previous work, we find strong moderators to the deal effect, such as a price-point and

the baseline rating score. That is, while there is a negative main effect of a deal, for restaurants with high price points and high ratings, the effect of a deal can actually be positive. Taken together, these results further validate Kirmani (1990) in that high-advertisement efforts, such as Groupons and daily deals can be perceived as high confidence or desperate attempts depending on the characteristics of the merchant. Surprisingly, we also find that even merchants who do not engage in deals are affected negatively by nearby deal competition. Moreover, we find that under certain conditions, merchants might be better off offering a deal as a response from strong deal competition.

One might argue, however, that the decrease in quality perceptions and rating from offering a deal is actually due to poor performance from deal merchants. But is there a decrease in consumer quality perceptions even before consumers purchase the product or services? Or in our restaurant context: is there a decrease in quality evaluations prior to visiting and reviewing the restaurant? To investigate this phenomenon further we conducted study 2 in a controlled setting.

Study 2: Deals and Perceived Quality in a Controlled Setting

Procedure

Study 2 examines whether the result that deals decrease consumer quality expectations is replicated in a controlled setting. Four hundred respondents from an online panel participated for pay. Respondents were randomly assigned to one of four 2 (deal offered: yes vs. no) x 2 (price point: low vs. high) between-subjects conditions.

We developed the stimuli by randomly selecting a restaurant's Yelp cover page (without individual reviews). The cover page contains information about the general characteristics of the restaurant, such as the price point, the number of reviews, the rating, the location, etc. To create the low price treatment, we changed the price point from \$\$\$\$ to \$ and to create the deal treatment, we added Yelp's proprietary message signaling that the restaurant is offering an online deal through Yelp. Participants first read the information on the cover page and then assess the perceived quality.

Measures

We measured perceived quality on a seven-point scale with two questions adapted from Kirmani and Wright (1989): "Given the information provided about this restaurant, please rate the likely overall quality of this restaurant" (1="very low" to 7="very high"). As a manipulation check, participants were asked to rate the restaurant in price-related scaled (1 = "low priced," and 7 = "high priced").

Results

Replicating our results from the empirical model, we find a significant deal x price point interaction ($F(1, 400) = 6.31, p < 0.01$). A first set of planned contrast show that for non-deal restaurants, a higher price point had no significant effect on perceived quality ($M_{non-deals-low} = 5.14$ Vs. $M_{non-deals-high} = 5.28; F(1, 400) = 2.12, p = 0.33$). For deal restaurants, however, having a higher price point significantly increased quality perceptions ($M_{deal-low} = 3.94$ Vs. $M_{deal-high} = 5.6; F(1, 400) = 3.59, p < 0.05$). A different set of planned contrasts show that for already restaurants with a low price point, there is a significant decrease in perceived quality when a deal is offered ($M_{low-non-deal} = 5.14$ Vs. $M_{low-deal} = 3.94; F(1, 400) = 4.11, p < 0.05$). However, this effect becomes "marginally significant" and positive for restaurants with a high price point restaurants ($M_{high-non-deal} = 5.28$ Vs. $M_{high-deal} = 5.6; F(1, 400) = 3.71, p = 0.07$). The manipulation of review valence was also successful. Those in the deal condition indicated that the restaurant was lower priced.

Discussion

As in our empirical model, we observe that the price point of the restaurant moderates the negative effect of the deal. In other words, we replicated a part of Study 1's results in a lab setting that controls for selection and unobserved variable issues that may be present in our archival data. These results suggest that even before visiting the restaurant and experiencing the service provided, there is a decrease in perceived quality for certain merchants who offer online deals. Thus adding further evidence that certain merchants will be perceived as "desperate" (low-priced) whereas other merchants will be perceived as "confident" (high-priced) as suggested by Kirmani (1990).

General Discussion

The revenues from online deals are expected to climb to \$5.5 billion in 2016 according to industry analysts (BIA Kelsey 2014). Our study aims to shed light on how online deals are affecting the quality perceptions of customers through online reviews. We built a comprehensive dataset that combined online deals and online reviews for a major U.S. metropolitan area over a six-month period. Our results significantly expand previous work in online deals and unravel the effects of merchant characteristics. Surprisingly, we find that even merchants who do not offer online deals are affected by nearby online deals thus extending the eWOM literature into competitive dynamics.

We contribute to the WOM literature in marketing and management by understanding how a firm's marketing effort can affect back online reviews, which have been previously shown to affect firm performance. We also contribute to the advertising and price-promotions literatures in marketing and economics respectively by studying the effects of advertising expense and price promotions on consumer quality perceptions. Further, our results show that the Groupon effect, as discussed by Byers et al. (2012a) does exist but that the effect is strongly moderated by restaurant and environmental factors. Thus, the relationship between offering a deal and its resulting effect on customer traffic and reviews is more nuanced than expected from extant literature (Dholakia 2012; Byers et al. 2012a).

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The Influence of Social Identity on Disposal Behavior

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Given the significant amount of municipal waste that is generated in the US and abroad, it is not surprising that efforts have been made to reduce the need for landfilling and incineration by encouraging consumers to dispose of products in a greener fashion (e.g., recycle). Unfortunately, nearly 60% of what is in our landfills is recyclable (EPA 2012) and thus identifying factors that determine whether a product is recycled or trashed may play an important role in helping to conserve the environment.

To date, the majority of research that has investigated consumer disposal decisions and recycling behavior has primarily focused on the influence of individual-related characteristics (e.g., McCarty and Shrum 2001) and the efficacy of different promotional-related strategies (e.g., White, MacDonnell, and Dahl 2011) on a consumer's intention to recycle. More recently, Trudel and Argo (2013) investigated the impact of characteristics (i.e., size and form) related to the product itself. They found that consumers are more likely to trash a product that is small (vs. large) and whose form has been distorted (vs. not distorted), as in both of these instances consumers perceive there has been a decrease in the usability of the product. The present research seeks to integrate this past research on recycling with work that explores the role of product meaning and identity in consumption decisions (e.g., Ferraro, Escalas and Bettman 2011) to propose that the extent to which a product possesses an aspect of a consumer's identity will predict disposal decisions (i.e., to recycle or trash the product).

We suggest that linking everyday products to consumers' identities may enhance the product's meaningfulness and subsequently impact consumers' disposal behaviors. However, unlike the meaningful possessions studied in previous research (e.g., Belk 1988), everyday products are rarely kept, sold, or given away to others after consumption; thus, disposal options for such products typically involve a decision between either throwing the product in the trash or in the recycling. Given that past research has found that products are trashed when they are deemed worthless (i.e., useless; Trudel and Argo 2013), we argue that a decision to throw an identity-linked product in the trash will symbolically represent a threat to the self, as in essence you would be throwing a piece of your "self" in the trash and by extension you must be worthless. As such, when an identity-link is made salient and because consumers are motivated to maintain a positive self-worth (Steele 1988; and by extension, their identity tied to the product), we expect that they will opt for the least threatening means to dispose of an identity-linked product (i.e., recycle as compared to trash).

Across eight studies we provide robust evidence for our theorizing using a variety of everyday product categories (i.e., paper,

plastic cups, paper cups, and aluminum cans) and identities (i.e., social-identity at the university- and nationality-level, as well as self-identity at the individual- and brand-level). We demonstrate that when an everyday product is linked to a consumer's identity it is more likely to be recycled as compared to trashed. Further, we find that the tendency to recycle an identity-linked product increases with the strength of the connection between the consumer and product (or brand). Finally, we show our effects arise due to a motivation to avoid trashing a product that is linked to the self because it is viewed as a self-threat. From a theoretical perspective, this research explores the impact of non-tangible characteristics related to the product itself – the extent to which it has an identity that is important to consumers and thus links the product to the individual. We have shown that identity-links are not exclusive to meaningful (i.e., special) possessions but can also be formed with everyday products, even when they are no longer needed or wanted. Importantly our results suggest that placing these identity-linked products in the trash creates a threat to the self; a situation consumers are motivated to avoid.

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Fostering Relational Closeness via Shared Extraordinary Experiences

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Humans are social animals. We not only share a significant portion of our life experiences with others but also benefit from it. Prior research has suggested that sharing experiences can bring people closer (Pinel, Long, Landau, Alexander, and Pyszczynski 2006) and make them happier (Caprariello and Reis 2012), compared to experiencing events alone. However, does such positive effect of shared experiences hold for any type of experiences shared with anyone in our lives?

In this research, we posit that different types of shared experiences would differentially influence the quality of the relationship between two people and that this would depend on the type of relationship the two people are currently in. Specifically, we focus on two types of experiences – ordinary vs. extraordinary – shared with another person. Extraordinary experiences are those that go beyond the commonality of our everyday lives whereas ordinary experiences are those that are within it (Bhattacharjee and Mogilner 2014; Sussman and Alter 2012).

We hypothesize that an individual would feel closer, connected, and similar to another person whom they share an extraordinary (vs. ordinary) experience with, even when they had just met the other person. We believe that this would be due to the “defining” characteristic of extraordinary shared experiences (Bhattacharjee and Mogilner 2014). That is, when someone shares an extraordinary, unusual experience with another person, s/he might (mis)conceive that the other person must be the type to engage in or perhaps even enjoy such experiences, leading her/him to, perhaps mistakenly, believe that s/he is knowledgeable of the other person’s “extraordinary, unique” preferences. Given this idea, we further hypothesize that the closeness-fostering effect of shared extraordinary experiences would be most pronounced when the two individuals are still in the process of getting to know each other (e.g., new friends or people they had just met). For individuals who already have deep knowledge of each other (e.g., very old friends), extraordinary shared experiences would not contribute much to feelings of obtaining further knowledge about the other person and subsequently to feelings of closeness.

In the first study, we predict and find that people feel greater closeness and similarity with someone whom they share an extraordinary (vs. ordinary) experience. In Studies 2a and 2b, we examine whether the effect of experience on closeness holds when the other is a friend. We find that people feel greater closeness with a friend whom they share an extraordinary (vs. ordinary) experience. In Studies 3 and 4, we examine a potential underlying mechanism of the basic effect identified in prior studies. We find evidence that the effect of extraordinary and ordinary experience on relational closeness/similarity stems from beliefs about knowing the other’s unique

preferences. People felt like they knew the other person more when they shared an extraordinary (vs. ordinary) experience, which then led them to feel closer and more similar to him/her. In Study 4, we also identify a boundary condition for the effect of experiences on relational closeness and similarity. In prior studies, we demonstrate that the effect occurs when two individuals are in the process of getting to know each other (e.g., relatively new friends or people they had just met). We explore the idea that for individuals who already have deep knowledge of each other (e.g., very old friends), extraordinary shared experiences would not increase feelings of obtaining further knowledge about the other person and subsequently to feelings of closeness. We predict and find a moderated mediation in which sharing an extraordinary (vs. ordinary) experience increases people’s feelings of similarity with a new relationship partner (e.g., new acquaintance) but not with a relatively old relationship partner (e.g., very old friend) because of feelings of knowing the other better.

In sum, the present research tests the relational consequence of sharing experiences that vary on the ordinary-extraordinary dimension. The first set of studies (Studies 1-2b) demonstrates the basic effect of type of experience shared on closeness and similarity to the other. Studies 3 and 4 then tested a potential mechanism – feelings of knowing the other person (such as his/her unique preferences). In Study 4, we also identify a boundary condition in which sharing an extraordinary vs. ordinary experience with a relatively old (vs. new) relationship partner did not lead to changes in interpersonal closeness and similarity. Overall, these findings contribute to the paucity of research on the impact of experiences on the relationship between two individuals, whether they recently met or knew each other for a very long period of time.

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How Much is a Like Worth? A Field Experiment of Facebook Pages

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In the current project we examine customers' willingness to like a company's Facebook page, the factors that influence customers' propensity to like a page, and whether likes translate into improved customer value for the firm. Our results suggest that Facebook likes are easy to acquire and that small changes in message framing can have an important impact on liking propensity. Importantly, we find that page likes translate into measurable real world changes in consumer behavior. However, these effects are conditional on reaching a sufficiently large percentage of page likers, which has implications for the mechanism by which likes affect behavior. To our knowledge, this is the first demonstration of a causal effect of Facebook likes on real consumer choices and behavior.

In this field experiment, customers of Discovery Vitality (a health wellness program) were invited to complete an online survey. The 4,054 survey responders who indicated that they had a Facebook account and currently did not like the Vitality Facebook page were randomly assigned to one of five conditions that manipulated whether they were invited to like the Vitality Facebook page, as well as the invitation message. Participants in the control condition were not invited to like the Vitality Facebook page. Participants in the other four conditions (which we will jointly refer to as the 'treatment' condition) were invited to like the Vitality Facebook page. By randomizing participants into either liking (treatment) or not liking (control) the page, we are able to test for the causal effect of a like on consumer behavior.

Within the treatment condition, we randomized the framing of the invitation based on a 2X2 between-subjects design. For half of the participants, the focus of the invitation was on improving their health. For the other half of the participants the invitation focused on the peripheral rewards that could be obtained by accumulating many points in the Vitality program. The second factor manipulated whether the value of the page was framed in terms of gains, or avoiding losses.

Following this initial manipulation, there was no further direct contact between Vitality and the study participants via email. Participants who liked the page were exposed to Vitality content whenever they logged in to Facebook in the same way (i.e., organically) that any liked page's content would appear on their newsfeed. As per normal business activity, all participants' involvement in the Vitality program was recorded for the following six months. During the last two months of this period, Vitality paid to promote two posts per week to increase the reach of their Facebook page.

We first examine customers' propensity to accept an invitation to like a company's Facebook page, as well as the factors that may influence this. Out of the 3,236 participants who were assigned to one of the four invitation conditions, 2,245 (69%) agreed to like the Facebook page. We confirmed that these were real likes by matching this behavior to actual likes on Facebook Insights for Vitality's Facebook page.

We next examine the effect of the experimentally manipulated invitation framing. We find that participants were more likely to accept the invitation when it focused on the peripheral rewards of the

Vitality program rather than on the central health benefits ($\beta=.54$, $SE=.11$, $p<.01$), as well as when the invitation was framed in terms of gains ($\beta=.27$, $SE=.11$, $p<.05$). Interestingly, there was a significant interaction between these two factors ($\beta=-.46$, $SE=.15$, $p<.01$). For the central health benefits focus, the gain frame was more effective, while for the peripheral rewards focus, the loss frame was more effective. These results suggest that while there is an overall high response rate to the invitation, small changes in message framing can have a large impact on whether people go on to like the page.

We next test whether Facebook likes translate into actual changes in customer behavior. We focus on the Vitality points accumulation data, which measures the total amount of involvement in the Vitality program. Since this measure is positively skewed in the population, we focus on log number of points. Participants in the treatment condition accumulated more points (i.e. were more engaged) than those in the control condition. However, this difference was not statistically significant under parametric ($t(4052)=.88$, $p=.38$) or non-parametric tests (Mann-Whitney $Z=1.19$, $p=.23$).

One concern with this test is that Facebook has a very stringent filter, which only allows a small percentage of followers to be organically exposed to a particular post. Therefore, this small effect could be the result of poor power to detect differences brought on by the filter, rather than an indicator that Facebook posts do not influence behavior. We next split the intervention period into the first four months where there were no promoted posts, and therefore their reach was purely organic (limited by the Facebook algorithm), and the last two months where Vitality had promoted (paid) posts that reached most of the page likers in the treatment condition. This allows us to simulate what would happen if Facebook did not impose such a stringent filter on brand page content, or alternatively if companies more regularly paid to promote their content. The results show no effect of the intervention during the organic period ($t(4052)=.09$, $p=.93$; Mann-Whitney $Z=0.60$, $p=.55$), but significantly higher levels of engagement for the treatment group during the promoted posts period ($t(4052)=2.03$, $p<.05$; Mann-Whitney $Z=2.01$, $p<.05$).

These results suggest that conditional on reaching your customers, Facebook posts can influence actual behavior. These results also provide some evidence for the mechanism by which Facebook pages affect customer behavior. If Facebook likes affected behavior through self-perception (Bem 1972), then we would expect the largest effect to occur immediately after liking the page, when the self-signal is strongest. However, we observed no effect during this period. We only observed an effect when the firm paid to increase the reach of the message, suggesting that the effect is driven more by the exposure to the message itself (Grossman and Shapiro 1984).

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The Motivating Power of Money: Understanding Money's Unique Effect on Motivation

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The notion that money can influence behavior has recently gained prominence. Priming concepts of money can motivate work on tasks (Vohs et al. 2006), and individuals with increased wealth feel more in control over their lives (Kraus et al. 2012). Although prior work shows that money increases preference for personal (vs. social) goals, relevant goal factors are not manipulated, making it difficult to understand precisely why feeling one has money could increase motivation. The present work attempts to clarify how money may affect goal pursuit, by varying goal attainability and focusing on important personal goals.

Research has shown that increased difficulty associated with achieving goals can enhance pursuit with more important objectives. Moreover, if having money leads to greater self-sufficiency, individuals may feel they can achieve any challenging goal. However, we consider that having money may instead create a need to validate one's abilities (Elliott and Dweck 1988), as research shows that participants primed with money act in ways consistent with this goal orientation (Grant and Dweck 2003). We predict that priming individuals with money and wealth, rather than creating a sense one can do anything, leads individuals to pursue goals that validate their competence (high attainability), but disengage from goals that challenge competence (low attainability).

In study 1, we use a 2 (Control/Money) between subjects design. Individuals first participated in a sentence scrambling priming task, with those in the money condition exposed to money and wealth related (vs. neutral) phrases. Individuals then listed an important but less attainable goal, rated their likelihood of pursuit and feelings of efficacy. Results showed that individuals in the money condition were less likely to pursue the goal; moreover, efficacy ratings were lower for the money condition. Efficacy perceptions mediated the effect of prime on likelihood of goal pursuit.

For study 2, a 2 Prime (Money/Control) x 2 Attainability (High/Low) between subjects design was used. Individuals participated in the priming procedure from Study 1. Individuals were then told they would participate in a word scramble task to test their intelligence. For the high (low) attainability condition, individuals were told that to perform well they should unscramble at least 8 (32) words. Performance was determined by word completion. A prime x attainability interaction emerged for performance. In the high attainability condition, individuals in the money condition completed more words relative to control; in the low attainability condition, individuals in the money condition completed fewer words than the control condition.

For study 3, we hold time spent constant when manipulating goal attainability. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 Prime (Money/Control) x 2 Attainability (High/Low) between subjects design. The priming manipulation presented images of money (vs. geometric figures for control) during a filler task. Individuals then indicated their motivation to complete a word fragment task. For the high attainability condition, individuals were told that to perform well, they needed to build on at least 14 word fragments, and generate at least 2 words for each fragment. For the low attainability condition, individuals had to build on fewer fragments (4), but generate more words (7; thus completing same number of words in each condition). Individuals were asked how motivated they would be to perform well. A significant interaction emerged, with individ-

uals in the money condition more motivated than control in the high attainability condition, though less motivated than control group in the low attainability condition.

In study 4, we identify process more directly through a self-handicapping manipulation. We predict that if individuals primed with money are interested in protecting efficacy, they should persist more with a handicap, as concern about validating ability is removed. The study followed a 2 Prime (Money/Control) x 2 Handicap (Present/Absent) between subjects design. The prime and task from study 2 with just the low attainability condition (completing 32 words to do well) was used. In the handicap present condition, individuals were told that for the test to measure their actual abilities, individuals needed to practice, but they were asked to join the no practice group instead. Individuals in the no-handicap condition proceeded to the test. A significant interaction emerged for time spent on the task. For the no handicap condition, individuals in the control group spent more time on the task compared to money condition, while for the handicap condition, those in the money condition spent longer on the task than the control.

In study 5 and 6, we examine consumption contexts. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 Prime (Money/Control) x 2 Attainability (High/Low) between subjects design for both studies, and first took part in the picture priming manipulation used in study 3. In study 5, individuals are next told to think about using a tablet product for a class where they feel it is easy (difficult) to get a good grade, and asked how much they would pay for a tablet. A significant prime x attainability interaction emerged. In the high attainability condition, individuals in the money condition were willing to pay more compared to the control; in the low attainability condition, individuals in the money condition were less willing to pay. In study 6, individuals after the prime were told that they would evaluate an exercise program. For the high (low) attainability condition, the program recommended at least 3 (7) workouts a week. Individuals were asked how willing they would be to buy the program, and efficacy perceptions were measured. A significant prime x attainability interaction emerged for willing to buy. In the high attainability condition, individuals in the money condition were more willing to buy the program compared to the control; in the low attainability condition, individuals in the money condition were less willing. Efficacy perceptions mediated willingness to buy for the low attainability condition.

By focusing on important personal goals and varying goal attainability, we demonstrate when activating the concept of money can motivate goal pursuit. Thus, this research bridges work on the psychology of money with achievement motivation, pinpointing the needs that money leads individuals to focus on—validating one's abilities.

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Emotional Benefits or Basic Needs: How Benefit Focus Affects Donation Behavior

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

While it is important to understand what motivates helping behavior, little research investigates how focusing on the benefits of helping influences giving. Moreover, in previous research, requests ask donors to provide basic needs (e.g. medicine), although appeals can also focus on emotional benefits (e.g. providing hope or joy to beneficiaries). Here, we focus on understanding how donors react to appeals emphasizing *emotional benefits* (vs. *basic needs*).

Previous work demonstrates that individuals feel increased empathy towards recipients who lack basic needs, which increases helping (Batson 1990). However, while a donor may feel they can help one beneficiary (e.g. provide 1 person with medicine), when the number increases (e.g. provide 8 people with medicine), they donate less. This has been termed the “identifiable victim effect” (Kogut and Ritov 2005a, 2005b; Small et al. 2007).

What would happen if appeals focused on emotional benefits? Would these effects replicate? Research suggests that hedonic benefits are easier to visualize (Dhar and Wertenbroch 2000), making it easier to expect emotional benefits to materialize. Compared to basic needs, it could also feel easier to intuit how a positive outcome could be achieved for many, and individuals could then feel they make a more significant contribution with many (vs. one) recipients. Thus, while focusing on basic needs should increase giving to one individual (vs. many), focusing on emotional benefits should increase giving to many (vs. one).

In study 1, we test whether emotional appeals increase donations for many (vs. one) beneficiaries. Participants were randomly assigned using a 2 Beneficiary Size (Many/One) between subjects design, and read a charitable appeal. Those in the many (one) condition were told that they could support eight children (one child). Participants were told that an organization was running arts programs, and their support would provide the children (child) with “the opportunity to do something fun” that would “bring joy” to the children (child). Participants then learned about a lottery being offered, and could donate any part of the \$10 winnings to this cause. We conducted a one way ANOVA with amount donated as dependent variable. Individuals in the many condition donated more compared to the one condition.

In study 2, we test the robustness using a visual manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned using a 2 Beneficiary Size (Many/One) between subjects design. Participants had the opportunity to help support five children (one child) attend an educational center; the same emotional benefits used in study 1 were emphasized. In the many condition, one image of five children and five names were shown. In the one condition, a randomly selected image of one child (from the group picture) was shown with one name. Individuals were then asked if they could be contacted by email to make a donation (Yes/No). We submitted participants’ willingness to donate as the dependent variable with beneficiary size as predictor, revealing individuals were more willing to donate to five children versus one child.

In Study 3, we provide process support. Participants were randomly assigned using a 2 Beneficiary Size (Many/One) between subjects design. Individuals were told they could help 12 (one) homeless children (child), using the same emotional benefits emphasized in study 1. Individuals indicated their willingness to donate and how

much they were willing to donate. We then measured perceptions of impact, feelings of empathy, and positive affect. We conducted a one way MANOVA with willingness to donate and how much donated as the dependent variables. Individuals in the many condition were more willing to donate and likely to donate more. Moreover, impact perceptions were higher for many (vs. one), but empathy ratings and affect were not affected. As expected, impact perceptions mediated results.

In study 4, we compare how donations are affected when individuals are asked to provide emotional benefits (vs. basic needs). Individuals were randomly assigned using a 2 Beneficiary Size (Many/One) x 2 Benefit Focus (Emotional/Basic Needs) between subjects design. Individuals were told that an opportunity was available to help support sick children living in areas of poverty. Those in the many (one) condition were told donations would support eight children (one child); individuals in the emotional benefits (basic needs) condition were told that their support would help provide entertainment activities (medical treatments). Afterwards, participants were asked if they had \$10 dollars, how much they would be willing to donate. We conducted a 2 x 2 ANOVA with the amount willing to donate as the dependent variable. In the emotion-focus condition, individuals were willing to give more to the many (vs. one) condition, but in basic needs condition, individuals were less willing to give to the many (vs. one) condition.

In study 5, we use the same activity in the appeal, with one type of benefit emphasized. Individuals were randomly assigned using a 2 (Many/One) x 2 (Emotional/Basic Needs) between subjects design. Participants viewed an appeal about an organization helping women by having them participate in a job training program. Individuals in the many (one) condition were told their contribution would benefit five (one) women. For the emotional focus condition, the appeal focused on emotional benefits (e.g. bringing hope to women). For basic needs, the appeal focused on basic benefits (e.g. gain necessary skills). We use the same lottery procedure used in Study 1.

A 2 x 2 ANOVA was run with amount donated as dependent variable. Individuals in the emotion-focus condition were more willing to donate when five women would benefit versus one. In contrast, while means are directionally in line with predictions, no differences emerged in the needs condition.

Thus, in five studies we demonstrate that when a charitable appeal focuses on providing positive emotional benefits, individuals are more likely to help many (vs. one) individuals. We also point to the potential usefulness of motivational frameworks to explain helping behaviors, highlighting the role of impact perceptions. This research also provides organizations with a practical tool to increase giving to groups, showing when emotional benefits can boost donations.

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Now I'm Curious!

Boosting Innovation Adoption Through Gamified Information Release

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Innovations are a key driver of firm performance (Henard and Dacin 2010). However, failure rates of innovations are high (Min, Kalwani, and Robinson 2006). A key reason for this is that consumers often lack the motivation to learn about an innovation (Wood and Lynch 2002). Therefore, firms are not able to effectively communicate the advantages of these innovations to consumers, and thus, consumers are often not willing to adopt the innovations (Rogers 2003). To increase innovation adoption, practitioners have started to implement gamification. Yet, evidence is anecdotal so far and conclusive consumer research on the psychological processes and behavioral consequences of gamification for presenting innovations is missing.

In this article, we seek to close this gap by examining *when* the gamified presentation of information about an innovation enhances consumers' tendency to adopt an innovation and *what* psychological process underlies this effect. The central hypothesis of this research is that a gamified presentation of information elicits a state of playfulness, which induces curiosity and thus increases consumers' innovation adoption. We offer empirical evidence from four experiments on the effect of a gamified information presentation on adopting innovations and the underlying psychological process. We define the gamified information presentation as presentation of information about a product in a format that incorporates a game that a consumer must play if s/he wishes to obtain additional information. This stands in contrast to the standard information presentation (without games) which places product information in the foreground. The findings of four experiments demonstrate that designing the presentation of information about innovations in part as a game that consumers have to complete successfully increases consumers' innovation adoption relative to the standard information presentation.

In experiment 1, we assigned participants to either a control or a game condition. Participants assigned to the control condition read information texts about five product features of an in-car multimedia system. In the game condition participants received the same information about the innovation, but they could receive it in form of a quiz. We measured significantly higher purchase intentions for participants in the game condition than for those in the control condition. This effect was mediated by curiosity ($\beta_{\text{Total}} = .28, p < .05; \beta_{\text{Direct}} = .13, p > .10; \beta_{\text{Indirect}} = .15, 95\% \text{ CI} = .02 \text{ to } .30$).

Experiment 2 extends the findings of experiment 1 by using a different type of game: a video racing game had to be played successfully to receive more information. Moreover, we will test whether the radicalness of the innovation is a boundary condition to the effect. We ran a 2 (innovation: incremental vs. radical) x 2 (game: control vs. video game) between-subjects design. All participants received information about the same two product features of the in-car multimedia system. After reading the information, participants were assigned to either the game or the control condition and could opt-out of more information. Participants who decided to receive more information received information about three more product features (radical vs. incremental) in the control group, or played a car racing game to receive the additional information (radical vs. incremental) in the game condition. A moderated mediation analysis indicated that curiosity partially mediates the effect of gamified information presentation.

The conditional direct effect was significant for incremental innovations but was insignificant for radical innovations ($\beta_{\text{Direct;Incremental}} = .44, p < .05; \beta_{\text{Direct;Radical}} = .25, p > .10$). The conditional indirect effect for incremental innovations is significant ($\beta_{\text{Indirect;Incremental}} = .35, 95\% \text{ CI} = .05 \text{ to } .70$), but not for radical innovations ($\beta_{\text{Indirect;Radical}} = -.17, 95\% \text{ CI} = -.49 \text{ to } .14$). The conditional effect of a gamified information presentation on purchase intention is significant for incremental innovations ($\beta_{\text{Total;Incremental}} = .79, p < .01$), but not for radical innovations ($\beta_{\text{Total;Radical}} = .08, p > .10$).

The aim of experiment 3 was to provide evidence that playfulness is the underlying cause of the effects. The innovation and the experimental set-up mirrored the incremental innovation condition of experiment 2 with exception of the playfulness measure which was added in this experiment. Results of a sequential mediation analysis showed that the relationship between a gamified information presentation and purchase intention was sequentially mediated via the participants' induced state of playfulness and their curiosity ($\beta_{\text{Total}} = .61, p = .06; \beta_{\text{Direct}} = .25, p > .10; \beta_{\text{Indirect;PlayCuriosity}} = .24, 95\% \text{ CI} = .06 \text{ to } .56$).

Experiment 4 corroborates and extends the preceding experiments by demonstrating that the gamified information presentation increased actual purchases ($\beta_{\text{Total}} = 1.32, p < .01; \beta_{\text{Direct}} = 1.11, p < .05; \beta_{\text{Indirect}} = .39, 95\% \text{ CI} = .05 \text{ to } 1.05$). Additionally, experiment 4 demonstrated that the increased curiosity translated into more information acquisition, which increased participants' recall of product advantages ($\beta_{\text{Total}} = .19, p > .10; \beta_{\text{Direct}} = -.19, p > .10; \beta_{\text{Indirect;Curiosity}} = .24, 95\% \text{ CI} = .026 \text{ to } .628; \beta_{\text{Indirect;CuriosityInfo}} = .08, 95\% \text{ CI} = .004 \text{ to } .273$). Moreover, by giving the control group the same motoric task, we ruled out an alternative explanation, which is the difference in the motoric actions of the participants.

The article mainly contributes to recent work on how different formats of information presentation prompt consumers' innovation adoption. Designing the presentation of information in part as a game that consumers must play successfully to receive more information boosts subsequent innovation adoption relative to a standard information presentation. Additionally, the findings of this research advance our understanding of consumers' state of playfulness and curiosity in the adoption of innovations. We find that a gamified information presentation may elicit a state of playfulness in consumers which induces curiosity and increases innovation adoption. Moreover, we find that the effect is attenuated by the degree of radicalness of the innovation.

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Divine Intervention: How Illusory Causal Perception Reduces Consumer Punishment After Bad Things Happen to Bad Firms

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Sometimes firms cause harm. Yet, sometimes the same firms are victims of harm. For example, Apple computer's production system was recently accused for polluting, but elsewhere they suffered significant damage from a factory explosion (Barboza 2011). Prior research shows that when consumers learn a firm has committed a transgression, they are likely to engage in retaliatory behavior (Folkes 1984). However, will the retaliatory behavior be tempered if they learn that the firm has also suffered a loss? We argue that this depends on factors that influence whether consumers perceive causality between the transgression and the unrelated loss.

Previous work explored consumers' attitudes toward punishing others who have violated norms. An important finding is that once a violator is perceived to have been punished, even if by others, further punishment intent is diminished (Lin, Dahl, and Argo 2013). We extend this line of work by examining situations in which a firm has faced no actual punishment at all. Instead we look at situations when a consumer may *infer* that punishment has occurred by drawing a causal relationship between a firm's transgression and a coincidental harm to the firm. When this occurs, consumers are more likely to believe that the firm has "paid its dues" and thus are less likely to call for future punishment.

Our research studies the joint effect of external cues and individual factors on determining causal perceptions. Previous research emphasized the role of resemblance in determining which in a list of potential causes stand out as more probable (LeBoeuf and Norton 2012; Nisbett and Ross 1980). We contribute to this line of research by demonstrating when arbitrary similarities as external cues facilitate a causal perception between two independent events belonging in separate domains, with no inherent reason to assume they are causally related. We refer to arbitrary similarities in this article as coincidental similarities between elements of a firm's transgression and elements of an unrelated negative event that happened to the firm. For example, if a natural fire spread to the same factory that used rotten food ingredients, the similarity between the two events (i.e., their locations) may lead some individuals to believe that the fire and the firm's wrongdoing are causally related.

We also demonstrate that individuals with highly accessible belief in a higher power rely on similarity cues and readily make causal attributions based on them. An important self-regulatory function served by a belief in a higher power is providing a sense of meaning to events (Wuthnow 1989). Therefore, information about coincidental similarities between events should carry a significant meaning in their judgments concerning the relationship between these events.

Across all three studies, participants read some version of a hypothetical news report about a food company that was caught using rotten ingredients (transgression) and a fire at this business's facility (harm to business). In study 1, we manipulated whether the transgression and the fire occurred at the same facility (presence of arbitrary similarity) or at a different facility (absence of arbitrary similarity). To examine the role of belief in a higher power, we measured the belief using two measures: Harmony Control (HC; Morling and Fiske 1999) and religiosity. As predicted, we found a significant two-way interaction between HC and arbitrary similarity when predicting participants' punishment intentions (e.g., "I would sign a petition or

protest against the company"; $B = -.64$, $SE = .22$, $p < .01$). Individuals with a stronger belief in a higher power were more strongly influenced by arbitrary similarity, i.e., they became less punitive against the transgressor when there was an arbitrary similarity. The Johnson-Neyman technique revealed that, at $HC \geq .22$ (the HC variable was mean-centered at 0, with a SD of .82), the effect of arbitrary similarity on reducing consumer retaliation was significant. The same pattern of results emerged when the HC was replaced with religiosity.

In study 2, we used a priming method to temporarily enhance the accessibility of religious constructs (Shariff and Norenzayan 2007), instead of measuring religious beliefs. Tests of two-way interactions revealed that the religious (vs. neutral) prime led to stronger perceptions that the transgression caused the fire, $F(1,168) = 8.79$, $p < .01$, and that the company had paid its dues, $F(1,168) = 4.67$, $p = .03$, only when the fire occurred in the same (vs. different) location as the transgression. The moderated mediation was significant (Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes 2007); heightened causal perception led people to perceive that the company had paid its dues through the harm of the fire, only in the religious (vs. neutral) prime condition (BCa CI 95% [.19, .58]).

In study 3, we showed all participants an arbitrary similarity cue, but the order of events was manipulated so the fire occurred either before or after the transgression. We also measured participants' HC. There was a significant two-way interaction between HC and temporal order in participants' causal perceptions ($B = .84$, $SE = .29$, $p < .01$) and "paid dues" judgments ($B = .88$, $SE = .34$, $p = .01$). Based on the Johnson-Neyman technique, people with higher HC were more likely to think that the events were causally linked ($HC \geq -.30$) and that the company had paid for its crime ($HC \geq .22$) only when the fire occurred after (vs. before) the transgression. The moderated mediation test was also significant, conceptually replicating the findings from study 2.

This research sheds light on the under-researched area of consumer forgiveness regarding firms that committed transgressions. Furthermore, we identify the role of causal perception between the transgression and an independent loss by the firm in consumer forgiveness.

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A New Strategy for Repairing Consumer Trust: Targeting Negative Emotions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Companies regularly violate the trust of their customers. In response to these violations of their trust, consumers can experience strong negative emotions. Seeking to contain and hopefully reverse the reputational damage caused by their offensive actions, companies that have violated consumer trust often engage in attempts at trust repair. In this paper we ask the question: is the likelihood that a company's trust repair attempt succeeds dependent on its ability to reduce the strong negative emotions that consumers feel following a trust violation? While previous literature has proposed several types of trust repair strategies as being effective, this literature mainly takes a value-expectancy approach, assuming that people update their trusting beliefs by calculating the likelihood that the violating party will display better behavior in the future (Desmet, Cremer, & Dijk, 2011; Dirks, Kim, Ferrin, & Cooper, 2011; Kim, Ferrin, Cooper, & Dirks, 2004). In contrast to this approach, we predict that for trust repair strategies to be effective, they must address the strong negative emotions that people feel after a trust violation has been committed.

Because specific negative emotions can have very different effects on consumer judgments and beliefs (Lerner & Keltner, 2000, 2001; Lerner, Li, Valdesolo, & Kassam, 2015), in order to understand how negative emotions might impact the success of trust repair strategies, we first need to predict that types of negative emotions consumers are likely to feel after companies violate trust. Drawing on common multi-factor definitions of trust (Colquitt, Scott, & LePine, 2007; Mayer, Davis, & Schoorman, 1995) benevolence, and integrity of a trustee, we predict that when a company violates integrity consumers will experience anger. This is because integrity involves the belief that a company will abide by commonly accepted norms of behavior, and according to the emotion appraisal literature, the perception that another party has violated norms leads to anger (Lerner et al., 2015; Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988, p. 148; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). In addition, we predict that when a company violates competence consumers will experience fear. This is because competence involves the belief that a company has the ability to control the delivery of positive outcomes, and the emotion appraisal literature predicts that perceptions that another party does not have control over important outcomes (and instead the situation is in control) leads to fear (Lerner et al., 2015; Ortony et al., 1988, p. 112; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985).

Given those negative emotions, we then offer predictions about what types of trust repair strategies will best reduce those negative emotions. Because the anger that people experience after an integrity violation can involve appraisals that the violating party is blameworthy and has disrupted commonly accepted norms, we predict that the violating party will need to indicate its remorse and its intention to abide by commonly accepted norms in the future. Although it hasn't been tested in the domain of marketing, previous literature in the domain of economic games has identified that remorse can be effectively expressed by offering monetary penance (Bottom, Gibson, Daniels, & Murnighan, 2002). Reducing the fear that follows a competence violation will require a different strategy. Because the fear that people experience after a competence violation can involve appraisals that the other party is not in control of important outcomes, we predict that the violating party will need to indicate that it has reestablished control of those important outcomes.

Recent research has demonstrated that incidentally-induced emotions can influence trust for another party, with strong negative emotions such as anger reducing trust relative to a control, neutral-emotion condition (Dunn & Schweitzer, 2005, Study 5). While Dunn & Schweitzer didn't test it, a reasonable extension of their findings is that reducing negative emotions will increase trust. Thus, we expect that effectively reducing the negative emotions caused by a competence or integrity violation will increase trust, and that the causal relationship between a company's trust repair strategy and an increase in trust will be mediated by a reduction in the negative emotions caused by the company's trust violation.

We test our predictions in two empirical studies. In Experiment 1, participants read scenarios about companies committing either competence or integrity violations, and then choose anger- or fear-related words to express how they feel. We find that participants are more likely to choose anger-related words following an integrity violation (log odds = 1.48, $p < .001$) and are more likely to choose fear-related words following a competence violation (log odds = -1.34, $p < .001$). In Experiment 2, participants read scenarios about a pharmaceutical company committing either an integrity or competence violation, and then read about the company either not trying to repair trust, trying to repair trust by increasing consumer certainty, or trying to repair trust through monetary penance. We find that, in the integrity violation condition, monetary penance reduces anger more than does no repair or a certainty increasing repair ($F(1,113) = 26.53$, $p < .001$). In the competence violation condition, a certainty-increasing repair reduces fear more than does no repair or monetary penance ($F(1,116) = 57.02$, $p < .001$). In addition, monetary penance is the most effective strategy for increasing trust after an integrity violation ($F(1,113) = 10.18$, $p = .002$), and increasing certainty is the most effect strategy for increasing trust after a competence violation ($F(1,116) = 29.85$, $p < .001$). Finally, the increase in trust that is caused by an effective trust repair strategy in both the competence and integrity violation conditions is mediated by a reduction in the negative emotion associated with the trust violation.

This research adds to the literature on trust violation and repair by demonstrating that different types of trust violations can lead to different negative emotions, and that a trust repair strategy targeted at reducing the dominant negative emotion caused by a trust violation will be the most effective way to increase trust.

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Can Beloved Brands Reduce Pain?

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The notion that interpersonal relationships help reduce pain has received increasing support (e.g. Eisenberger et al. 2011; Master et al. 2009; Younger et al. 2010). However, who can individuals turn to during times of pain if soothing support from another human being is out of reach? In the United States alone, the proportion of single-person households increased from 17 to 27 percent between 1970 and 2012 (Vespa, Lewis, and Kreider 2013), and the proportion of individuals reporting that there is no one they can turn to almost tripled between 1985 and 2004 (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Brashears 2006).

There is rising evidence that consumers view brands as relationship partners (Fournier 1998) and attach to brands similarly than they attach to other humans (Thomson, MacInnis, and Park 2005). Building on this work, the present research explored whether and how consumer-brand relationships can reduce one's pain experience. Thus, the present study fuses research on the role of social support in pain management (e.g., Eisenberger et al. 2011; Master et al. 2009) with research on close consumer-brand relationships (e.g., Fournier 1998) to hypothesize that a beloved brand can reduce pain.

Experiment 1 explored the effect of brand relationships on the experience of pain. We used an established methodology for inducing *physical pain*, the cold pressor test (e.g., von Baeyer et al. 2005). Experiment 1 employed a one-way experimental design with condition (brand relationship, control) as between-subjects independent variable and physical pain ratio as dependent variable. Brands with which participants had previously formed a relationship were more effective in reducing pain compared to control.

Experiment 2 attempted to replicate the effect of brand relationships on the experience of pain in a different context. We used a previously established methodology for inducing *psychological pain* in which participants were asked to imagine the loss of a loved one (Twenge et al. 2001). Experiment 2 employed a one-way experimental design with condition (loved brands, distraction, control) as between-subjects independent variable and psychological pain difference as dependent variable. Loved brands were more effective in reducing pain compared to both a neutrally valenced distracting stimulus (photo of a chair) and control (blank screen).

Experiment 3 provided evidence that pain reduction is greater in the case of loved brands than in situations in which consumers simply experience positive affect. Experiment 3 employed a one-way experimental design with condition (loved brands, positive affect, hated brands, negative affect, control) as between-subjects independent variable and psychological pain difference as dependent variable. Loved brands were again more effective in reducing pain compared to the other conditions in this study. This experiment also revealed that, counter to intuition, neither hated brands nor a negative consumption-related stimulus further increased pain but instead reduced it.

Experiment 4 provided support for why beloved brand relationships reduce pain so effectively. We hypothesized and showed that beloved brands trigger feelings of social inclusion, which help consumers to cope better with pain. Experiment 4 employed a one-way experimental design with brand relationship (loving, neutral) as between-subjects independent variable, feelings of social inclusion

as independent variable, and psychological pain difference as dependent variable. Loved brands signaled social inclusion and made individuals feel less lonely, and thus were more effective in reducing pain compared to a neutral product.

Four experiments provided convergent empirical support for the notion that consumers who are confronted with their loved brands tolerate both physical and psychological pain more compared to participants viewing (a) unbranded but consumption-related positive affective stimuli, (b) unbranded distracting stimuli, (c) hated brands, (d) unbranded but consumption-related negative affective stimuli, or (e) control. This research contributes and extends extant work on the role of social support in pain management and on the roles of brands in human relationships by showing that loved brands carry pain-soothing strengths akin to those of loved human partners.

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The Role of Set Completion in the Offer Framing Effect and Preference for Variety

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research on variety-seeking behavior is prevalent throughout academic studies of consumer decision-making. The offer framing effect purports to be a novel explanation for the diversification bias, above and beyond well-understood determinants of variety seeking. Specifically, the offer framing effect holds that participants prefer greater variety in an outcome bundle of goods when making a series of single discrete decisions, relative to a single decision among pre-constructed bundles of goods (Mittelman, Andrade, Chattopadhyay, and Brendl, 2014). We propose that the offer framing effect is a manipulation of the salience of set completion; the set-fit effect holds that consumers prefer to acquire complete sets that are either unvaried or completely different. We believe a preference for complete sets, rather than preference for variety across multiple instances of choosing, explains the offer framing effect. Across six studies, we modify the paradigm used to study the offer framing effect such that the salience of set completion emerges as a key determinant in preference for variety.

In Studies 1a and 1b, we replicate Experiment 1 from the original offer framing effect paper. The design of the original experiment implies ordered preference in choosing in the single offering condition. This may induce participants to artificially choose more variety, relative to the bundled offering condition. In Study 1a, participants were assigned to one of four conditions; two are a direct replication from Mittelman et al., while two new conditions edit instructions to remove any implication of ordinal preference in choice. The results of Study 1a indicate an attenuated interaction, such that the offer framing effect exists in the original two conditions, but does not in the conditions with clarified instructions. In Study 1b, we replicate the findings in the two new conditions from Study 1a. Once again, with addition of clarifying instructions, participants show no difference in preference for variety between the single offering and bundled offering conditions. We interpret this as evidence that the offering frame is not the primary determinant in differing preference for variety between the single and bundled offering conditions.

In Study 2, we replicate Experiment 2 from the original paper. Experiment 2 demonstrates the robustness of the offer framing effect across product categories, and provides evidence that the single offering frame induces participants to choose greater variety. Experiment 2 is identical to Experiment 1, except participants choose from among candy bars (Snickers and Twix) rather than soft drinks. Experiment 2 thus retains the same confounded language as Experiment 1. In Study 2, participants were assigned to one of four conditions, mirroring Study 1a. Consistent with Study 1a, we replicated the offer framing effect in the two conditions using identical language from the original paper. In the two new conditions, however, the offer framing effect again disappears.

A limitation of Studies 1a, 1b, and Study 2 is that all potential outcome bundles are complete sets. In choosing bundles containing two goods from among two options, all outcome bundles contain either complete variety or are completely unvaried. Study 3a addresses this limitation by having participants choose bundles of three goods from among two options. In this case, however, complete sets are those that contain an unvaried bundle of goods. Thus, the salience of complete unvaried bundles is greater in the bundled offering condition than in the single offering condition.

We replicated two conditions from Experiment 3 in Mittelman et al. (single offering condition and bundled offering condition containing four options), while adding a third condition that removed an artifact such that the prominence of unvaried bundles was over-weighted in the original bundled offering condition. In this third condition, all eight possible permutations of bundles of three flowers are presented to participants. The results from this study again replicated the offer framing effect, but the magnitude of the effect size is greatly reduced in comparing the single offering condition to the new, expanded, bundled offering condition.

While Study 3a addresses a feature of the bundled offering condition, Study 3b addresses a feature of the single offering condition. The proposed explanation for offer framing effect is that the selection of goods across multiple discrete choices induces preference for variety among choices. In Study 3b, a new condition, the two-step offer condition, is introduced such that participants make multiple discrete choices, but the salience of complete sets is enhanced. The results from this study replicate the offer framing effect in the original single offering and bundled offering condition, but show a reduced preference for variety in the two-step offering condition relative to the single offering condition. There is no difference in preference for variety between the two-step offering condition and the bundled offering condition. We interpret this as evidence that the salience of complete sets, rather than a preference for choosing different options across discrete choices, underlies the offer framing effect.

Studies 3a and 3b provide evidence for the importance of the salience of complete sets in determining preference for variety. These studies are limited, however, in that participants are unable to choose fully varied bundles. Study 3c addresses this limitation by allowing participants to choose bundles of three roses from among red, yellow, and orange roses. Participants were assigned to a single offering condition, a reduced bundled offering condition containing ten choice options, and an expanded bundled offering condition containing all 27 possible permutations of bundles containing three roses. Once again, in comparing the single offering condition to the reduced bundled offering condition, we see an offer framing effect, with participants choosing greater variety in the single offering condition. In comparing the single offering condition to the expanded bundled offering condition, we find no difference in preference for variety. Moreover, we find that across all three conditions, 65-71% of participants prefer complete sets, choosing bundles that contain either no variety or complete variety.

In sum, across six studies, participants consistently demonstrate a preference for complete sets of goods. The single versus bundled offering frame can be used to heighten the salience of complete sets, thereby inducing participants to differ in their preference for variety.

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Rejuvenated Territories of Adulthood

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This conceptual paper argues for the need to re-examine the often taken-for-granted notion of adulthood in consumer research. More specifically, I propose the concept of a rejuvenated adulthood at a time when traditional economic and social markers of adulthood are vanishing and marketplace institutions are promoting an *infantilist ethos* (Barber 2007).

Adulthood is defined historically and constructed socially and culturally. The current Western conceptualization of adulthood dates back to the eighteenth century with the Enlightenment movement viewing itself as the passage from childhood to adulthood, that is, from immaturity to maturity (Kant 1784). Adulthood thus becomes a synonym for rationality, responsibility, and free will (Stegner 1976). It also becomes synonymous with work, as society wants ignorant and vulnerable children to be educated (Locke 1693; Rousseau 1762). The growing role of institutions homogenizes this conceptualization of adulthood (Bourdieu 1980) and strengthens the view that adulthood is both the rational-legal and the traditional authority as defined by Weber (1919). Later on, the popular successes of developmental psychology (e.g., Piaget 1927) and psychoanalysis (e.g., Freud 1905) reinforce the legitimation of modern discourses and the adulthood/childhood distinction. One of the consequences is the particular attention accorded to the child, who becomes both a king and a target in a society that places its faith in the future (Gauchet 1985; Postman 1982). In this context, childhood is dedicated to the preparation of the adult's journey, which assumes the form of a pilgrimage and the pursuit of progress (Bauman 1996).

I suggest that this conceptualization of adulthood is challenged by the modern crisis (e.g., loss of institutional legitimacy, decreasing faith in the future and modern values). Various crises have led adults to lose their status in society and search for new non-modern, or postmodern, markers that could contribute to their re-legitimation. The consequence is a *detritorialization* of adulthood, which is today in search of legitimacy and authority in order to *reterritorialize* (Deleuze and Guattari 1980). One of the most visible indicators of deterritorialization is the increasing loss of traditional economic and social markers of adulthood. While work, marriage, and childbirth may still symbolize entry into adulthood (Shanahan 2000), they are postponed to an ever later age, thus letting appear a new life stage in psychology known as *emerging adulthood* (Arnett 2000). Côté (2000, 31-32) stresses that adulthood is today "more a psychological status than a social status [...] [and it is] based more on individual preferences than on social norms." Such indicators of deterritorialization should become even more visible in the future since ways to access traditional symbols of entry into adulthood are increasingly difficult to obtain due to the development of higher education, housing costs that overwhelm first-time homebuyers, or high unemployment rates (André 2010; OECD Report 2014).

It is difficult to identify new markers of a conceptualization that has not yet reterritorialized and that may never have lasting markers. However, it is possible to observe traditionally and socially non-adult elements that penetrate and help to reterritorialize adulthood, as they themselves are altered through relation. One of the best examples is found in the play element, and, more particularly, its evolution within consumer society. Highly visible today, the end of the work/life separation from play was first witnessed decades ago, with an overlap between consumption and play (e.g., Firat and Venkatesh 1995; Grayson 1999; Holbrook *et al.* 1984; Holt 1995; Kozinets *et*

al. 2004). In this playful consumer society, fun has become an imperative (Wolfenstein 1951) and allowed consumers, with the help of a predominant culture of leisure, to lose themselves in spontaneous play without shame (Giddens 1964). Today, consumers can party in an adult-sized playhouse, spend their spare time coloring to cope with stress, dress like superheroes in the streets of Cincinnati to stop the "bad guys," or run to flee zombies as if they were acting in the Walking Dead series. Play that was once ascribed to childhood alone (Wyness 2012) has now entered the domain of adult consumption and helps construct a new adulthood, as play is being altered within consumer society.

Play has been moving from ludus to paidia (Caillois 1958), from established rules of consumption to spontaneous desire to play with consumption. Paidia is visible when consumers decide to play with the rules instead of playing by the rules (Grayson 1999); when they reinterpret a brand's culture and symbols. Consumers can make mini-motos and simultaneously create new marketplaces (Martin and Schouten 2014); they can transform wooden pallets into home furniture or reverse the power of negotiation with websites like Napster. Many other examples of paidic play can be found: beer pong, paintball battles, flea markets, logo parodies, and so forth. These all have in common a preference for spontaneity as opposed to organization. Even ludic play that should be more organized by nature, such as Disneyland or IKEA, sometimes has its rules broken (e.g., Disneyland with the flash mountain game and IKEA with the Hide-and-Seek game).

Finally, why should we call this reterritorializing adulthood *rejuvenated adulthood*? First, the word, paidia, which has gained consumer society, is the Greek word for *children*. In other words, paidia is child's play. Second, civilizations have always favored one specific combination of play: competition and chance or simulation and vertigo (Caillois 1958). I suggest that our times are appropriate for a simulation-vertigo combination, as found in primitive cultures (Caillois 1958). The simulation-vertigo combination is a time for illusion and disruption with regular perception. It is the return of magical thinking and enchantment, harmoniously operated by Bauman's (1996) figures of the player, stroller, vagabond, and tourist. It also reveals today's nature of consumption, which is similar to the socially constructed image of childhood. Consumers blend fantasy and reality (Kozinets *et al.* 2004); they no longer test hypotheses but rather ensure that they seem plausible so that they become true (Eco 1990). More generally, marketplaces rely on illusion: a term that derives from the Latin and means *in-play* (Huizinga 1944), which obeys the logic of desire rather than the logic of truth (Freud 1913). A term that asks rejuvenated adults to enter a playful fantasy world previously entered only by children (Baudrillard 1981; Holbrook 2001; Ritzer 2010).

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The Embodied Simulation of Verticality

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The existing literature proposes that metaphorical effects are mediated by semantic priming (Zhang and Li 2012): Sensory-motor experiences prime metaphorically associated knowledge that, in turn, affects judgments and behaviors (e.g., weight primes importance). Accordingly, embodied simulation—which entails the re-enactment of sensory-motor experiences—serves only as a means to prime metaphorical concepts and it is thus not necessary for metaphorical effects to occur. We qualify this metaphor-as-priming explanation by showing that semantic priming and embodied simulation are separate and independent underlying processes of the metaphorical transfer effects of verticality, each leading to opposite effects on preference for status products.

We distinguish between metaphors based on dynamic (i.e., moving down) and static (i.e., being down) sensory experiences of verticality. In line with the metaphor-as-priming explanation (Meier and Robinson 2004), we suggest that metaphors based on static experiences of verticality (e.g., imagining being in a lower vertical position) are mediated by the priming of associated concepts (e.g., “low” primes “bad”). Since these associations generally result in assimilative responses (Sela and Shiv 2009), static downward verticality reduces preferences for status products.

By contrast, because dynamic sensory experiences are processed through the re-enactment of the sensory-motor system (Glenberg and Kaschak 2002; Tettamanti et al. 2005), we suggest that metaphors based on dynamic verticality are mediated by embodied simulation. That is, without embodied simulation there will not be dynamic metaphorical transfer effects on consumer behavior. Furthermore, because the re-enactment of motor experiences (i.e., embodied simulation), has been shown to activate regulatory goals (for a review see Pezzulo et al. 2013), we predict that metaphors based on downward movement activate a compensatory goal that increases preferences for high-status products (Sivanathan and Pettit 2010). Moving up, on the other hand, is unlikely to have any effect on consumption preference because self-worth boosts might have limited effects on preferences for high-status products (Sivanathan and Pettit 2010). Therefore, moving down, not up, is the central focus of our investigation. Study 1 tested our prediction. Participants imagined one scenario of a 2 (direction: up vs. down) x 2 (movement: dynamic vs. static) design, before reporting the percentage price premium for a high-status product over a low-status product. Participants were informed of the retail price of each product and asked to report the highest percentage of the retail price they would be willing to pay for the two products. In line with the definition of price premium (Kusum, Lehmann, and Neslin 2003), an index was created by subtracting the percentage of the full price participants were willing to pay for the low-status product from the percentage they were willing to pay for the high-status product. Higher scores indicate a higher price premium for the high-versus low-status product. Measures of embodied simulation derived from past research (Labroo and Nielsen 2010) and theoretical considerations (Barsalou 2005) were collected both for static (e.g. *it felt as if I was at the bottom*) and dynamic (e.g., *it felt as if I was moving downward*) verticality. An ANOVA with price premium as dependent variable revealed a significant interaction effect. Participants in the “being down condition” reported a lower price premium for the high relative to the low-status product. Consistent with the meta-

phor-as-priming explanation (Zhang and Li 2012), imagining being down should prime lower value hence decreasing preferences for status products (Mandel, Petrova, and Cialdini 2006; Sela and Shiv 2009). By contrast, imagining moving downward increased price premium for the high-status product, suggesting that moving downward activates regulatory goals that increase preferences for status products. Furthermore, embodied simulation of dynamic verticality mediated the effect of vertical movements on price premium, as suggested by a bias-corrected 95% confidence interval of the indirect effect did not include zero. By contrast, static embodied simulation did not mediate the effect in the static scenarios.

Studies 2 and 3 provide further evidence, through a moderation-of-process approach (Spencer, Zanna, & Fong, 2005), that dynamic metaphorical transfer effects are mediated by embodied simulation. Because the re-enactment of sensory-motor experiences is modulated by vividness of the imagination (Lorey et al. 2011) and vividness of the imagination intensifies the activation of the brain areas originally developed to process that particular sensory-motor experience (Amedi, Malach, and Pascual-Leone 2005; Cui et al. 2007; Lorey et al. 2011), we predict that metaphorical effects of dynamic verticality are moderated by the vividness with which movements are imagined. This prediction cannot be accounted for by the metaphor-as-priming explanation (Lee and Schwarz 2012).

Study 2 tested whether the vividness of imagination moderates the effect of imagined vertical movement on preference for high-status products. Participants read a text describing a virtual tour of a luxury building that started from the gym and ended at the apartment unit. Movement was manipulated by changing the location of the gym (on the 10th floor in the upward condition and on the 50th floor in the downward condition) while keeping constant the location of the apartment on the 30th floor, so that participants imagined moving either 20 floors upward or downward. Vividness was manipulated by changing the concreteness with which vertical movement was described. Intention to rent the apartment was then measured. The results show a significant interaction effect: In the downward condition, vividness increased intentions to rent the luxury apartment, whereas vividness had no effect in the upward condition.

Study 3 tested whether the effect of imagined vertical movement on preference toward status products is moderated by imagery dispositional ability. Participants reported their willingness to pay to rent the apartment after listening to an audio describing the vivid scenarios used in Study 2 along with measures of imagery ability (Marks 1973). A regression analysis revealed a significant interaction effect: In the moving down condition, imagery ability increased willingness to pay for the luxury apartment, whereas, in the moving up condition, imagery ability had no significant effect on willingness to pay.

Altogether, our research advocates for a theoretical framework of metaphorical transfer effects on consumer behavior that incorporates both semantic priming and embodied simulation as independent underlying processes.

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How Store Employees Influence Consumer Choice Under Retail Crowding – A Social Overload Perspective

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Retail crowding has been shown to influence several aspects of the retail outcome. With only few exceptions (e.g., Van Rompay et al., 2008; Li, Kim, & Lee, 2009) the majority of previous studies have highlighted the negative consequences of crowded store environments from both a consumer perspective as well as a managerial standpoint. For instance, prior research has demonstrated that perceived crowding generates negative emotions and reduces positive emotions (Byun & Mann, 2011) leading consumers to adapt to this decreased level of comfort by reducing their shopping time, engaging less in exploratory shopping behavior or postponing their purchase decisions entirely (e.g., Harrel et al., 1980; Eroglu, Harrell, 1986; Michon, Chebat, & Turley, 2005).

Given the extensive literature on the negative outcomes of retail crowding and the apparent demand for adequate crowd management strategies, it is surprising that one important factor, which is an essential part of the shopping environment has largely been neglected in prior research: the role of store employees. In the present research we address this gap and investigate how store employees influence consumer choice in crowded compared to less crowded store environments.

Previous literature allows for two contrasting predictions on the importance of store employees for consumers' choice outcome under retail crowding: Stimulus overload theory assumes that experienced social crowding increases environmental stimulation and the degree of complexity and difficulty of the choice situation (Desor, 1972; Milgram, 1970). Consequently, people are forced to adapt their information processing strategies to be able to process incoming information more effectively (Langer & Saegert, 1977). As a consequence, store employees should influence consumer choice more strongly when retail density is high, because they are expected to simplify the decision-making process. This assumption is in line with a recent study by Maeng et al. (2013) showing that crowding induces a preference for safety-related choice options, one of which could be relying on store employee recommendations (cf. Florack, Palcu, & Friese, 2013).

Behavioral constraint theory (Stokols, 1972), on the other hand, posits that consumers experience retail crowding as an intrusion into their personal space and as a loss of personal control. This leads individuals to take actions that minimize further social stimulation and restore their personal control (Stokols, 1972). This suggests that store employees should not only be approached less when shopping environments are crowded, but also that choice options that are particularly promoted by store employees should be selected less frequently because consumers are less motivated to engage in social interactions.

To offer initial insight into the question of how consumers' choice outcomes are influenced by store employees, we conducted one field experiment and two laboratory studies.

Study 1

In Study 1, we presented passers-by on a shopping street with a choice between two product samples, whereby a sales promoter promoted one of the two samples. We assumed that consumers' tendency to minimize social stimulation would reflect in their preference to pick a choice option that is not promoted by a sales promoter. By

contrast, if the avoidance of social contact is of less priority, then the choice outcome should not reveal a stronger preference for the choice option that is socially promoted. Our results support the assumption that retail crowding leads to avoidance of social stimulation and this avoidance reflects in consumers' choice, $\chi^2(1, N = 200) = 5.83, p = .016$. On the less crowded shopping day, 65.08% of the participants picked a product sample from the bowl that was held by a confederate. This number decreased to 46.72 % on the crowded shopping day.

Study 2 and 3

In Studies 2 and 3 we presented participants in a laboratory setting with a shopping scenario that described a choice between two products in either a crowded or an almost empty supermarket. Additionally, we varied the type of information that was presented with one of the choice alternatives (social promotion or non-social promotion) between participants.

The results of Study 2 and 3 replicate our findings from Study 1. More specifically, in Study 2, we found a significant interaction between the crowding condition and the type of sales promotion on the choice frequency of the promoted product, $\chi^2(1, N = 115) = 9.696, p = .003$. In the crowding condition, participants chose the product more frequently with a non-social compared to a social promotion, $\chi^2(1, N = 59) = 12.850, p = .001$. By contrast, in the no crowding condition, there was no difference in choice frequency for the differently promoted choice options, $\chi^2(1, N = 56) = 0.553, p = .566$. Similarly, in Study 3, we found a marginally significant interaction between the crowding condition and the type of sales promotion on the relative choice preference for the two choice options, $F(1, 191) = 2.794, p = .096$. Again, in the crowding condition, the product with the non-social promotion ($M = 11.21, SD = 22.00$) was preferred more than the product with the social promotion ($M = 2.43, SD = 22.10$), $t(98) = 1.987, p = .050$, while in the no crowding condition, we did not find any differences between the different promotion types, $t(93) = 0.451, p = .653$.

Overall, our results support the idea that perceived retail crowding negatively affects consumers' preference for choice options that are promoted by store employees. We believe that our findings have considerable implications for both future research approaches as well as the development of future crowd management strategies. Inherent to our research is the idea that store employees should not be used as means for controlling negative effects of retail crowding without further investigations of the conditions under which they might positively influence consumer behavior. It is conceivable, for instance, that sales employees are given more weight in crowded situations after longer exposure to the crowded environment (Eroglu et al., 2005), when consumers' expectations of crowding are in line with their experiences (Machleit et al., 2000) or when consumers have an increased need for affiliation (Van Rompay et al., 2008).

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Fighting Poverty One Coin at a Time, through Money-Saving Options: The Cash Attraction Effect

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumer researchers are mobilizing to provide solutions for financial insecurity, as evidenced by recent publications (e.g., the JCR curations on Financial Insecurity and Deprivation -Fischer 2012). The consumer welfare literature (Amar et al. 2011; Peñaloza and Barnhart 2011) emphasizes that a key step for our modern society is handling the debt problem and helping consumers to save money. The financial crises have exposed the far-reaching negative consequences of empty savings accounts for individual consumers and for the sustainability of our inter-connected systems. Changing attitudes toward savings, and helping consumers balance their budgets is no easy feat. Analysts suggest that the earlier in the consumer's life the problem can be addressed, the better the odds to form healthy habits for years to come. Therefore, we direct our research to factors that can help consumers - individuals of all ages and young consumers in particular - to increase their savings. The investigation relies on data collected in households from Kenya and South Africa, as well as responses from young Canadian students who are living on a tight budget. Toward enhancing the savings outlook for consumers, our studies are focused on the previously unexplored potential of the actual form of savings - cash versus electronic money.

When people put money aside, they typically give the amount to a financial institution or person now and obtain more money with interest in the future. The money set aside entails a sacrifice, as parting with money in hand for savings purposes means not having it available for current consumption. We propose that an important factor influencing the decision to save is the money format, and expect that individuals will have a harder time relinquishing cash versus electronic money in order to save. This perspective is anchored in the psychological view that cash has a very special relationship with human behavior, and its power might be under-appreciated in financial policy guidelines.

Having cash is a nearly universally desired state, as the crispy bills and shiny coins have an instant grab. From early childhood individuals are conditioned to aspire to (and enjoy) holding precious cash. The ownership of money is viscerally experienced with cash – perceived as real, palpable money- rather than an electronic financial instrument merely displaying a sequence of numbers. We dub the intrinsic fascination with cash “*the cash attraction*” effect, and point to conceptual evidence to support it. Coleman (1992) and Youn et al. (1999) indicate a thick layer of meaning associated with money that is transcending its economical exchange value. Doyle (1992) states that at a psychological level, cash is often seen as a talisman. Having money at hand induces a sense of security generated by the talisman, and the physical pleasure of touching, seeing and feeling a treasured possession. While electronic money may preserve the sense of security, it has a less vibrant visceral, emotional connection to their owners (Khan et al. 2015; Hansen et al. 2013). Therefore, we propose that consumers would be less willing to give up cash (as compared to electronic money) for savings purposes.

Interestingly, our research is the flip side of studies showing that consumers tend to spend more with electronic money versus cash (Feinberg 1986; Soman 2001; Thomas et al. 2011). The spending research would suggest that consumers are inclined to save more when using cash versus electronic options. However, we are demonstrating the reverse outcome for interest-earning savings. Furthermore, we

show that the vividness of the monetary instrument moderates the hypothesized effects.

Study 1 entailed an actual decision to keep the money now or save with interest (i.e. get more money in a week's time), following a between-subjects experiment involving 294 students from a Canadian university. Participants in the high-vividness conditions were able to see, touch and experience the ownership of \$10 in the form of either cash or prepaid Visa gift card. In the low-vividness conditions, participants merely read about the \$10 they owned, without physically experiencing the money at hand. As predicted, the results revealed a significant main effect of money format, such that the likelihood to save was higher in the electronic versus cash situation. This overall effect was primarily driven by the high-vividness conditions: the means contrasts indicated that whereas the difference between electronic and cash savings was significant when participants were able to hold the actual card/cash in their hands, the effect was mitigated under low-vividness conditions when they only read about the savings form.

Study two was conducted through individual field visits in Kenyan and South African households living close to or below the poverty line. Fieldwork considerations allowed testing the money format factor, but prevented the administering of vividness conditions within-country, such that the Kenyan sample received the high-vividness treatments and the South African sample received the low-vividness treatments. In Study 2a Kenyan participants were randomly assigned to either the cash or electronic (M-Pesa) condition. The study not only mirrored the cash attraction effect from Study 1, but demonstrated that it is not necessary for consumers to actually hold/touch the money: the sight of the cash/electronic instrument is sufficiently vivid to trigger behavioral reactions relevant to savings. Specifically, when participants were shown the money, a significantly lower number of respondents decided to save it for future gains in the cash versus electronic group.

In Study 2b South-African participants were randomly assigned to either the cash or electronic (voucher) condition. In line with the “low-vividness” situation, the savings decision was presented without physically exposing participants to the monetary instrument. The cash (vs. electronic) group revealed a slightly lower tendency to relinquish the money for savings purposes, but the difference between groups was not statistically significant. This replicates the results from Study 1 in the low vividness conditions, and suggests that the salience of the instrument must be concrete (either visual or palpable) for the cash attraction effect to occur.

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Smiles Lead to More Smiles Unless They Lead to Tears

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Imagine a customer walking into a car dealership. He finds the dealership is playing his favorite song and offering free cookies both of which put him in a good mood. However, when a salesperson approaches offering to show him a car, he is even more critical of the offered automobiles. His goal to assess the car accurately and not to be influenced by his good mood makes him more critical of the car.

The scenario above highlights the complex and consequential nature of consumer affect. Given the ubiquity of affect (i.e., mood and emotion) and its tremendous impact on customer behavior, it is critical to understand when positive affect will be advantageous (lead to smiles) and when it could be detrimental to a favorable consumer response (lead to tears).

Research has identified two seemingly opposing roles that affect can play in consumer behavior. An abundance of findings document congruent effects of affect whereby more positive affect leads to more favorable consumer response and more negative affect leads to less favorable consumer response. The dominant explanation for these findings is an affect-as-information (AAI) interpretation in which affect serves as a cue to the consumer as to the favorability of an option (Pham et al. 2001). In contrast, there is a parallel stream of literature showing an affect incongruence effect whereby more positive affect can lead to less favorable consumer response and more negative affect can lead to more favorable consumer response. These affect incongruent effects appear to be driven by the goals of the consumer (Cohen and Andrade 2004; Garg, Inman, and Mittal 2005).

To help resolve these inconsistent findings and provide guidance for future research on affect, we develop an integrated model of the relationship between affect and consumer response, focusing especially on identifying key moderators of this relationship. To do so, we conduct a meta-analytic review of previous research, focusing on the impact of affect on consumer behavior. We examine the impact of intensity (i.e., arousal and engagement), salience (i.e., transparency of the affect induction and use of a cover story), goals (i.e., affect regulation and processing) and social norms (i.e., culture and interpersonal context) on consumer response. We find that when the affective experience is more intense, the source of the affect is less salient, the consumer does not have an affective goal and social norms support a response, the impact of affect is stronger.

First, we review the research looking at the impact of affect on evaluation and behavior. Second, we describe our literature compilation procedures and meta-analytic methods. Third, we discuss our findings and their implications.

Affect and Consumer Response Moderators

In this section, we develop a theoretical model of the relationship between affect and consumer evaluation and behavior that will guide our meta-analysis. First, we examine factors internal to the individual that are closely linked to the experience of affect itself (intraindividual factors). We then move on to more external factors in the form of the goals primed by the situation and the social context (contextual factors).

Intensity

Since the earliest conceptions of affect, arousal has been viewed as an important component of affect experience (James 1884). Arousal refers to activation and marks one extreme of the arousal-sleep dimension (Russell 1980). Central to our investigation are findings suggesting that arousal leads to greater polarization of attitudes (Cohen et al. 2008). Evaluations have been found to be more extreme under situations of incidental affect marked by high arousal (Gorn, Pham, and Sin 2001; Dutton and Aron 1974). Thus, we would expect findings to be stronger under higher arousal conditions.

We expect affective experience to be more intense and have a stronger effect when a consumer is less engaged. Research suggests that when a consumer is cognitively absorbed in a decision the impact of affect is reduced. When people are highly engaged, they may try to limit the impact of affect. Research finds that for highly important decisions consumers are more likely to regulate a negative affect state than they are for unimportant decisions (Agrawal, Menon, and Aaker 2007; Pham et al. 2001; Greifeneder, Bless, Pham 2011). When an individual is engaged, they are more likely to use affect as information resulting in a stronger affect-congruent effect on evaluation and behavior. Thus, given engagement seems to heighten consumer attention and vigilance to the task at hand, it would seem that more engaged consumers would experience a less profound influence of affect and show less dramatic responses.

Hypothesis 1: Impact of affect on consumer response is stronger under high arousal conditions compared to low arousal conditions.

Hypothesis 2: Impact of affect on consumer response is stronger when the situation is less engaging.

Salience

Looking at cognition within the consumer, considerable research has suggested that the more salient an affective state is, the less likely it is to affect evaluation and behavior (Gorn, Goldberg, and Basu 1993). It is thought that when affect is salient, consumers are likely to correct for its effects on judgment (Schwarz and Clore 1988). To better model the effects of naturally occurring affect, researchers often seek to minimize the transparency of an affective manipulation and/or use a cover story (Cohen et al. 2008). In addition, we would expect incidental affect that occurs outside the decision process would be less salient and facilitate a larger effect. Thus, given that increased salience of affect can lead to correction for the influence of affect, we expect that the impact of affect should be stronger when affect salience is lower (i.e., due to a less salient manipulation or use of a cover story).

Hypothesis 3: Impact of affect on consumer response is stronger when the manipulation of affect is less transparent compared to more transparent.

Hypothesis 4: Impact of affect on consumer response is stronger when the researchers employ a cover story compared to when they do not.

Hypothesis 5: Impact of affect on consumer response is stronger when the affect is incidental rather than integral.

Goals

Recent research has found that goals act as an important moderator leading to a reversal of the more general affect-congruent effect. Specifically, when a contextual factor primes a goal to regulate or change their affective state (affect regulation goal) (Cohen and Andrade 2004; Garg, Inman, and Mittal 2005) or primes a goal to analyze stimulus materials in significant depth (processing goal) (Agrawal and Menon 2007; Raghunathan and Trope 2001; Schwartz and Clore 1988), consumers show affect incongruent evaluation and behavior that contrasts with their affective state.

Hypothesis 6: Impact of affect on consumer response is moderated by the presence of an affect regulation goal such that more positive affect leads to a less favorable consumer response and more negative affect leads to a more favorable consumer response.

Hypothesis 7: Impact of affect on consumer response is moderated by a processing goal such that more positive affect leads to a less favorable consumer response and more negative affect leads to a more favorable consumer response.

Social Norms

Cultural context influences affective expression and, in turn, affective experience. Cultural display rules that dictate and often limit affective expression are well documented (Diefendorff and Greguras, 2009; Fok, Hui, Bond, Matsumoto, and Yoo, 2008). Within research on display rules is evidence of normative masking which refers to the process and degree to which people modulate their expressions to conform to societal rules (Gross 2002). Eastern cultures are characterized by strict display rules that generally limit expression (Safdar et al. 2009). Limits on expression reduce affective experience via a facial feedback mechanism that leads expression of affect (or lack thereof) to change how one feels (Stack, Martin and Stepper 1988; Hennenlotter et al. 2009). Thus, we would expect the impact of affect to be limited by display rules in Eastern cultures more than Western ones.

Across cultures we see evidence of interaction norms dictating that individuals should display neutral affect in typical interactions. Research finds that individuals anticipating social interaction will neutralize both a positive and a negative affective state while those not anticipating interaction do not (Erber, Wegner and Theriault 1996). Thus, we would expect a stronger influence of affect on consumer response when an individual is alone compared to in a group setting that invokes these interaction norms of neutrality.

Hypothesis 8: Impact of affect on consumer response is stronger in Western compared to Eastern cultures

Hypothesis 9: Impact of affect on consumer response will be stronger when affect induction occurs in an individual compared to a group context.

METHOD

To create an integrative framework we identify the moderators that explain variability in the nature and size of the influence of affect. Meta-analysis is a distinctively powerful and reliable method to pin the variability in study outcomes across a research stream to the characteristics of individual studies (Miller and Pollock 1995; Geyskens, Steenkamp, and Kumar 1999). Meta-analysis is one of the few methods, and arguably the only method, for quantitatively summarizing data from a field of independent research. It allows us to empirically explore how various characteristics of studies impact the research findings across an area.

Meta-Analytic Procedures

Data Collection. Our final dataset draws on 213 effects with a total of 16,052 participants reported in 61 articles giving us considerable assurance of the reliability of our findings. We synthesize 28 years (1987-2015) of empirical research (published and unpublished) on the impact of affect on consumer response based on an extensive literature search that includes searching journals, conference proceedings, and personal communications with scholars in the field. Following meta-analytic procedures standard to the field (Brown and Peterson 1993; Grewal, Kavanoor, Fern, Costley, and Barnes 1997; Keller and Lehmann 2008; Palmatier, Dant, Grewal, and Evans 2006), we searched ABI/INFORM, ACR and SCP proceedings, Proquest, Google Scholar, Scirus, SSRN, and EBSCO (Business Source Premier, PsycINFO, and PsycArticles), as well as many individual journals including (but not limited to): *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Marketing*, *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, and *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. We then examined bibliographies of the articles from these sources, reviewed the CVs of major scholars in the area, and did additional web searches to identify any additional published papers our initial literature search may have missed. To reduce the effect of publication bias we requested unpublished "filedrawer" papers through a LISTSERV.

Inclusion criteria. Meta-analysis requires that the design of the studies and research questions be comparable to enable integration and analysis. As a result, we include papers that were published in a marketing journal or explicitly related to marketing that experimentally manipulate affect and include a comparison group of a different valence (e.g., happy versus sad). A complete list of articles included is available upon request from the authors.

Studies had to be excluded if they manipulated only a single valence without a comparison group (e.g., just happiness), compared two types of affect of the same valence (e.g., sadness and anger), or measured naturally occurring affect without an experimental manipulation. Finally, sufficient information had to be available (either in the paper or through correspondence with authors) to calculate an independent effect size (we use Pearson's r as a scale-free measure of the effect of affect). Studies not meeting these criteria were excluded.

Calculation of effect sizes. Consistent with meta-analytic practice, we calculate an independent effect size as our unit of analysis and calculate the mean effect size of affect across studies on evaluation and behavior. We use Pearson's r as a scale-free measure of the strength of affect on the consumer for a specific dependent variable. In particular, Pearson's r represents the degree to which more positive affect led to more favorable responses on a dependent variable.

We analyze the impact of affect within three subgroups of contrasts (positive affect/negative affect, positive affect /neutral affect, neutral affect /negative affect). The results are consistent across all three comparisons, so we will focus on the positive versus negative comparison for the remainder of the article. A positive effect size indicates that positive affect results in a stronger effect. Effect sizes were computed using standard formulas (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, and Rothstein 2006) from the available statistics, such as F -values ($df = 1$; (e.g., from t-test Rosenthal 1991).

It is not uncommon for studies to merely indicate an effect was non-significant (or $F < 1$). In these cases we followed Rosenthal's (1991) conservative recommendations and assigned these effects an r value equaling 0.

Data coding. Overall inter-rater reliability was quite high ($\kappa > 90\%$). Any disagreements were resolved through discussion (Szymanski and Henard 2001). All studies were coded by a minimum of two independent coders.

Data analysis. Mean effect sizes, heterogeneity statistics, and moderator analyses were conducted using *Comprehensive Meta-Analysis v2.2* (Borenstein et al. 2006). To maintain the independence of effects sizes, we have classified each effect size into the dependent variable categories of evaluation and behavior. In the case that a study reported multiple results for either of these variables (e.g., participants evaluated both an ad and a product), we average the effect sizes within that category before entering them into the analysis. This results in each study or subsample contributing only a single effect size per dependent variable, thus maintaining independence of the effect sizes (Brown and Peterson 1993; Borenstein et al. 2009).

We examined the moderating role of intensity, salience, goal and social norms. All tables and discussion of results use the sample-weighted, reliability-adjusted effect size (hereafter referred to as r). A significant Q statistic can be interpreted in the same fashion as an F statistic – it is an indication of significant differences between levels of a moderator.

Results and Discussion

Intensity

Based on previous work (Cohen et al. 2008; Dutton and Aaron 1974; Gorn, Pham, and Sin 2001), we had predicted that high arousal conditions would lead to more polarized attitudes. Our findings support this hypothesis. High (compared to low) arousal leads to stronger effects of affect for both evaluation and behavior (evaluation: $r_{\text{High}} = .36$, $r_{\text{Low}} = .24$, $Q(1) = 8.41$, $p < .01$; behavior: $r_{\text{High}} = .32$, $r_{\text{Low}} = .16$, $Q(1) = 11.11$, $p < .001$). That is, more intense affect experience leads to larger differences between positive and negative affective states on favorability of evaluation and behavior.

As affect appears to work primarily as a heuristic cue (Greifeneder, Bless and Pham 2011), we expect that its effects would be stronger under low engagement situations. That is, under low engagement conditions, affective experience is more likely to lead to an AAI effect. Our results support these predictions. In support of hypothesis 2, we find that the impact of affect on both evaluation and behavior is stronger under low engagement conditions (evaluation: $r_{\text{Low}} = .35$, $r_{\text{High}} = .23$, $Q(1) = 9.21$, $p < .01$; behavior: $r_{\text{Low}} = .30$, $r_{\text{High}} = .21$, $Q(1) = 6.38$, $p < .01$).

Salience

We predicted that when attention is drawn to a consumer's affective state consumers will correct for its effects on judgment. This correction for the impact of affect will lead the impact to be reduced. As a result, situations in which the affect is less salient should produce stronger effects of affect. Supporting hypothesis 3 less trans-

parent manipulations of affect yielded stronger effects of affect on evaluation ($r_{\text{Non-Transparent}} = .37$, $r_{\text{Transparent}} = .23$, $Q(1) = 14.85$, $p < .001$; effects for behavior n.s.), and in support of hypothesis 4, employing a cover story enhances the effects of affect on behavior ($r_{\text{No Cover Story}} = .07$, $r_{\text{Cover Story}} = .31$, $Q(1) = 35.29$, $p < .001$; effects for evaluation n.s.) Incidental and integral affect had comparable effects on consumer response (n.s.).

Goal

In support of hypotheses 6 and 7 our results indicate that a goal to either regulate affect or process information is an important moderator of the impact of affect on evaluation and behavior. An affect regulation or processing goal led to positive affect resulting in less favorable evaluation and behavior. The robustness of these effects is evidenced by the significance of the contrasts between these goals across both dependent variables (i.e., evaluation and behavior): positive versus negative (Evaluation: $Q(2) = 48.38$, $p < .001$; Behavior: $Q(2) = 182.13$, $p < .001$).

Social Context

Finally, we considered the moderating role of social normative influences on affect's impact on behavior and evaluation. Due to the role of display rules, we had expected that individuals in Western cultures would display a larger effect of affect on behavior and evaluation. As social interaction can invoke norms of neutral affect, we also expected individuals in groups to display a reduced effect of affect.

In support of hypothesis 9, we find that the impact of affect was stronger for evaluation among individuals in Western (versus Eastern) cultures ($r_{\text{Western}} = .38$, $r_{\text{Eastern}} = .20$, $Q(1) = 23.00$, $p < .001$). Interestingly, we find a reversal for behavior. The impact of affect was stronger for behavior in Eastern compared to Western cultures ($r_{\text{Western}} = .23$, $r_{\text{Eastern}} = .31$, $Q(1) = 6.39$, $p < .01$). It may be that suppression of affect in expression of evaluation attitudes leads to a rebound effect on behavior (Wegner 1989). For group context, while directionally supporting our hypothesis, the stronger effect anticipated for the individual setting did not prove significant ($r_{\text{individual}} = .29$, $r_{\text{group}} = .22$, $Q(1) = 2.32$, $p = .13$).

Conclusions

This research highlights the complexity in examining the role of affect on consumer behavior. The chief strategy among practitioners has been to promote positive affect. For example, the large majority (80%) of TV ads (Puccinelli, Wilcox, and Grewal, 2015) and music in retail stores (90%) is positively valenced. (Two independent coders evaluated 20 stores in two major metropolitan areas). This practice makes good sense in many instances. However, if for example a consumer has a goal to evaluate product information carefully, this strategy may backfire. The consumer may over correct for the impact of positive affect and evaluate the retailer more negatively. More generally, certain factors appear to enhance the impact of affect and could be used strategically to foster positive attitudes to a brand.

Implications

To understand the real practical impact of these effects it is instructive to consider an effect size estimate in real terms (Rosenthal and Rubin 1982). For example, an effect size of $r = .29$ tells us that people are 82% more likely to behave favorably (e.g., choose to buy a product) under positive affect conditions relative to negative affect conditions. Extending the BESD tool to the other effects observed we can say that:

1. Evaluation is 112% more favorable when a consumer is in a positive affect state compared to a negative one.

2. When consumers are motivated to regulate their affective state, consumers in a positive affect state are 94% less likely to engage in favorable behavior (e.g., choose the product) compared to consumers in a negative affect state.
3. When consumers are in a high arousal positive affect state they are 112% more likely to show favorable evaluation and 94% more likely to show favorable behavior compared to those in a negative affective state.
4. When the source of a positive affective state is unclear, consumers are 117% more likely to show favorable evaluations and 74% more likely to show favorable behavior compared to those in a negative affective state.

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To Wink or Not to Wink?

The Role of Anthropomorphism, Power, and Gender Stereotypes in Luxury Branding

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

In attempts to find unique brand positioning strategies, luxury brands sometimes turn to the strategy of anthropomorphizing their brands by either humanizing product designs (e.g., Jean Paul Gaultier “Le Male” cologne; Kate Spade’s new collection with winking cosmetics cases) or activating human-schemas to communicate brand meaning (e.g., recent Jaguar ad showing the brand’s logo in a woman’s womb symbolizing a human embryo). Prior research shows that brand anthropomorphism generally creates positive outcomes, such as product likability (Aggarwal and McGill 2007), positive affect, and brand loyalty (Chandler and Schwarz 2010). Arguably, these effects occur since anthropomorphism entails attributions of human nature characteristics, such as interpersonal warmth, and leads to a feeling of social connectedness with this entity (Epley, Waytz, and Cacioppo 2008).

The question we address in this research is: Could these cues of interpersonal closeness brought by brand anthropomorphism hurt in some contexts, such as a luxury brand, or a product that offers uniqueness as its key benefit? We pose this question in light of several streams of prior research. First, research shows that luxury brands are positioned around creating social distance and being high status (Fuchs et al. 2013). Second, associating a luxury brand with actions that enhance social connectedness or protection of others (e.g., corporate social responsibility) results in a dilution of a luxury brand’s equity (Torelli, Monga, and Kaikati 2012). Relatedly, activating the concept of money makes people feel more independent and powerful, and simultaneously, leads to lower desire for social connection (Vohs, Mead and Goode 2006). Given that luxury brand consumption serves a function of increasing one’s state of power, we propose that the cues of social connectedness induced via brand humanization can lead to lower product evaluation of luxury brands. We further posit that these possible negative effects of luxury brand anthropomorphism will hold only for consumers who are actively seeking to increase their social distance, and, thus, are more sensitive to the undesirable cues of social connectedness.

Our theoretical predictions are based on different streams of research. A first stream of research shows that people with low power are particularly attracted to luxury brands: state of low power is aversive, and people strive to reduce the feeling of powerlessness (Keltner and Gruenfeld 2003). One way to signal power is to demonstrate higher status (Rucker and Galinsky 2009), and owning luxury brands indicates that one has high status and power. Furthermore, we suggest that due to gender stereotypes, communal attributes (e.g., warm, caring) are generally viewed as more descriptive of females, and that these communal attributes are also viewed as being misaligned with high status and dominance, resulting in females being more likely to be linked with low status (Rudman et al. 2012). Thus, we propose that females who are low in power will be particularly more sensitive to the negative signal of brand anthropomorphism (being more concerned with the need to signal status) such that they would evaluate luxury brands that are anthropomorphized lower compared to brands that are not anthropomorphized. Study 1 tests this proposition.

Next, prior research shows that people have concomitant desires to fit in and stand out (Brewer 1991). Much like individuals with low perceived power, we propose that making a social goal to stand out salient could also lead to a heightened desire to acquire brands that

signal status and social distance, and, therefore, result in a negative effect of brand anthropomorphism on perceptions of luxury brands. As noted before, this negative effect of brand humanization on brand perceptions would be especially salient for female consumers given the society’s ascribed low status of females (Ibarra, Carter, and Silva 2010). We test this proposition in Study 2.

Furthermore, because people frequently observe how powerful and powerless people act, they develop schemas and expectations for the roles associated with different levels of power (Rucker, Hu, and Galinsky 2014). Research also shows that people tend to ascribe to the behaviors tied to the expected power roles, and, thus, expect the powerful to be consuming luxury brands. Hence, we argue that people with the focus on the expectations of high power would develop more negative evaluations if a luxury brand is anthropomorphized, and that these effects will be no different for males versus females. This proposition is tested in Study 3.

Study 1 used a context of a fictional luxury watch that was either anthropomorphized or not. Subsequently, participants indicated their perceived sophistication of the product. A regression model using a bootstrapping approach showed that the females in low power prefer non-anthropomorphized product (-1 SD of power; $\beta = -1.54$, $t(53) = 2.09$, 95% CI [.07, 3.02]), while those in high perceived power prefer the anthropomorphized product ($+1$ SD of power; $\beta = -1.56$, $t(53) = -2.32$, 95% CI [-2.91, -.21]). Study 2 examines the role of social goal of standing out on the effect of anthropomorphizing luxury brands. The results revealed that participants in the stand-out goal evaluated a humanized (vs. non-humanized) product as less sophisticated ($M_{Anthro} = 3.51$, $M_{NonAnthro} = 4.28$; $F(1, 108) = 7.13$, $p < .05$) compared to those in the ‘fitting in’ goal. Further, this effect was significant only for the females ($M_{Anthro} = 3.24$, $M_{NonAnthro} = 4.41$; $F(1, 108) = 6.41$, $p < .05$), but not for the males. Study 3 used anthropomorphism, power, and gender as the three between-subjects factors, and examined reactions to a luxury bag ad. As predicted, results revealed that respondents in the expectation of high power viewed a humanized product as less sophisticated than a non-humanized product, and this effect was significant for both males and females.

This research contributes to emerging literature on the negative effects of anthropomorphism in the marketplace (Kim and McGill 2011; Puzakova, Kwak, and Rocereto 2013). This research also contributes conceptually by highlighting the role of power and gender in the context of luxury product consumption. Finally, our research has important practical implications for the marketing of luxury brands.

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My Purchase, my Refuge: Experiential Versus Material Attachment as Predicted by Gender And Loneliness

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Most of the current research in our field has focused on pre-purchase, purchase, and immediate post-purchase processes. The meaning of purchases to consumers, though, does not end there. Items are often incorporated into the extended self when an individual is able to derive their own self-meaning or self-worth from them (Ferraro, Escalas, & Bettman, 2011). Although the definition of extended self is not limited to material possessions, the vast majority of research in the area has concentrated on object incorporation into the extended self (Ahuvia, 2005; Belk, 1989, 1991; Ferraro et al., 2011; Ilmonen, 2004; Kleine & Baker, 2004; Kleine, Kleine, & Allen, 1995; Lastovicka & Sirianni, 2011; Richins, 1994; Rosenblatt, Walsh, & Jackson, 1976). The current research seeks to expand our understanding of purchases and the extended self to include the role of experiential purchases. It also identifies loneliness and gender as predictors of the incorporation of material versus experiential purchases into the extended self.

Loneliness deals with social deficiency in the sense that an individual's social network is smaller than desired or inadequate in nature or depth (Peplau & Perlman, 1979; Russell, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980). Up to 25% of the population can suffer from this feeling of social deficiency at any point in time (Cacioppo & Patrick, 2008; Cornblatt, 2009). It is important to note that loneliness is not objective in nature but rather deals with perceived social isolation (Hawkley & Cacioppo, 2010; Russell et al., 1980).

In the current research, gender is proposed as a possible moderator, based on differences in how men and women relate to their purchases. If men or women find themselves feeling lonely, they should reflect on purchases that best serve as symbols of their social self, and can help them cope with feelings of social deficiency through affirmation of their social self. Accumulating evidence suggests that men and women view and value their material purchases in terms of different criteria (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Kamptner, 1989, 1991; Kleine & Baker, 2004; Rudmin, 1994). Women (men) seem to view their material possessions more in terms of emotional affiliations or their representation of their relationships with others (utilitarian functions) (Wagner, Demick, & Redondo, 1990). This gender difference appears to be universal, and even adolescent girls and boys demonstrate the same patterns described above (Kamptner, 1995). Lonely men, in contrast, tend to have a more activity-centered (versus relationship-centered) identity construction (Dittmar, Beattie, & Friese, 1995) and see their relationships more in terms of shared activities/experiences (Caldwell & Peplau, 1982; Swain, 1989; Wright & Crawford, 1971). Therefore, when their self is threatened by feelings of loneliness, I propose that women (men) shift attachment towards their material (experiential) purchases, through which they can confirm their social selves and cope with threat.

Studies 1 & 2

Studies 1 & 2 manipulate feelings of loneliness through false feedback (Wildschut, Sedikides, Arndt, & Routledge, 2006). In study 1, participants were asked to list their five most self-defining purchases and rate each purchase as material versus experiential and how important it is to their self. To compute a weighted experiential attachment score, I multiplied the material-experiential classi-

fication by its assigned importance score and averaged across the 5 purchases. A gender by loneliness condition interaction predicts the weighted experiential score, $F(1,83)=7.113$, $p=.009$. Men (women) attached more to experiential (material) purchases in the high loneliness condition ($t(41)=1.98$, $p=.055$). In study 2, after receiving the same loneliness prime, participants were asked to write about/share two of their most self-identifying purchases and to rate the purchases as material versus experiential (100 point scale). Results indicated a significant gender by loneliness interaction predicting the average of these experiential scores, $F(1,114)=6.305$, $p=.013$ —lonely men (women) attach more to their experiential (material) purchases ($t(56)=2.75$, $p=.008$).

Studies 3 and 4

Studies 3 and 4 examine the mediating role of perceived social value of material versus experiential purchases. In study 3, participants were asked to recall their daily routine (control) or times when they felt lonely/isolated or companionship/connectedness. Next, participants were asked to list their most self-defining material and experiential purchase and indicated which of those was most self-defining. Participants then filled out a scale of perceived social value of experiences versus material purchases (based on Zhang et al., 2013). Moderated mediation analyses support our hypotheses, 95% CI [.02, .49], indicating that lonely women (men) view their material (experiential) purchases as having a higher social value and, therefore, choose that purchase type as being most self-defining for them. Study 4 used a new prime and measure of perceived social value—moderated mediation analyses again supported our hypotheses (same as study 3), 95% CI [-78.85, -10.63].

Study 5

Study 5 examines how the goal of affirming one's social self (social motivation) drives the link between perceived social value and attachment to purchases. A 2 (material versus experiential social value prime) X 2 (social versus autonomy goals) design was used. Results indicate that being primed with the idea that material (experiential) purchases are better social tools only leads to material (experiential) attachment when social goals are activated (95% CI [-33.57, -2.03]) but not when autonomy goals are activated (95% CI [-11.36, 28.57]).

Study 6

Study 6 examines how purchase attachment impacts future purchase tendencies. Participants completed a measure of loneliness (Hughes, Waite, Hawkley, & Cacioppo, 2004). They listed the three purchases they felt were their most self-defining and rated their importance. Participants were then given the hypothetical scenario of being given a \$50 gift card to spend on whatever they want. After listing how they would spend the gift-card, they were asked to rate their 3 purchases and the gift card purchase as material vs. experiential. Moderated mediation analysis was used to examine the role of attachment (experiential weighted score) as a possible mediator to purchase choice tendencies, 95% CI [-11.42, -.37].

The idea that attachment to different purchase types can be predicted and differs across individuals has not previously been studied in the literature. These findings indicate not only that purchase type

is an important factor, but also that gender differences moderate differential attachment to material and experiential purchases.

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Risk Seeking For Experiential Purchases: Why Consumers Take a Gamble on Experiences But Play it Safe For Material Options

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers often take risks on new products/services, or splurge on costlier purchases. But what kind of purchases are consumers predisposed to take the biggest risks on? The decision-making literature shows that consumers tend to be risk averse for potential gains, preferring a sure thing over a larger, but riskier, reward (i.e., Kanheman & Tvkersy, 1979). We propose that risk aversion holds for material choices (televisions, shoes), but that when faced with an experiential reward (vacation, restaurant meal), consumers become risk seeking. That is, when contemplating experiential choices—intangible purchases made for the sake of acquiring a memory/experience—consumers opt for potentially more rewarding, less likely options. We explore this risk-seeking phenomenon for experiences and examine its underlying mechanisms.

Prior work on experiential purchases versus material purchases indicates that experiences are more effective at increasing our long-term happiness (Carter & Gilovich, 2014). The current work focuses on how experiences are generally more central to consumers' sense of self. We propose that self-connectedness drives risk seeking for experiences that have a higher reward (e.g. higher potential to be self-connecting or special to the consumer), despite the higher risk associated with them. For example, experiential purchases have the potential to result in increased reports of happiness if their outcomes are positive in nature, but also have the potential to bring more negative consequences (compared to material purchases) (Nicolao, Irwin, & Goodman, 2009). Experiential purchases are also more likely to be shared, talked about, and embellished upon (Howell & Hill, 2009; Kumar & Gilovich, 2013), a process which enhances the significance of experiences as representing one's self (Belk, 1988). The literature, therefore, suggests that experiences spontaneously drive an association with the self. Thus, we propose that contemplating experiential (vs. material) rewards leads to an increased focus on potential connection to the self, which enhances risk seeking beyond the levels normally observed for material objects.

Study 1

Study 1a demonstrates that consumers are more risk-seeking for experiential than for material rewards. Participants were presented with 2 material and 2 experiential pairings of prizes. Chi-square analysis for the experiential pairs revealed a risk seeking preference for the riskier, larger reward options: live theatre pairing, $\chi^2(1, N=98)=19.8, p<.0005$, and for the spring break stay, $\chi^2(1, N=98)=6.90, p=.009$. Material purchases display a risk aversion pattern.

Study 1b examines how framing the same offering as experiential versus material might shift participants to be more risk seeking. Participants were tasked with imagining that they had the chance to win an iPod and were assigned to write about what it would be like to own this iPod: in experiential (listening to music) or material terms (based on Carter & Gilovich's, 2012). Participants evaluated how connected they felt to the iPod (3-items). Finally, they indicated a choice between a sure chance of a lesser reward (iPod shuffle) or a 50% chance of a greater reward (iPod Touch). Bootstrapping analysis was used to examine connectedness to the product as a mediator of the relationship between experiential (vs. material) framing and

choice of the riskier option, 95% CI [.04, 1.04]. But what is it about experiences that violates the longstanding finding of risk aversion for consumer gains?

Study 2

Study 2 manipulates connectedness to examine how risk seeking might also be increased for material reward options. Participants were randomly assigned to two essays: connectedness (reflect on purchases, how they feel connected to them) vs. control. Next, they were presented with a series of three risky choice pairs and asked to indicate which they would choose. Logistic regressions were utilized on each pair to examine how connectedness might predict increased risk seeking (less risk aversion) for all product pairings ($p's \leq .05$), supporting the proposition that an increased focus on connectedness leads to increased risk seeking for more desirable but less certain reward options.

Study 3

Study 3 examines the role of time versus money salience in predicting risk seeking preferences. Time is more personally meaningful and more connected to the self than money (Aaker, Rudd, & Mogilner, 2011); so experiences naturally map onto thoughts of time. Participants were randomly assigned to reflect on and write about how they use their time/money in a typical week (Zhou, Vohs and Baumeister, 2009). After, students made choices within 2 material and 2 experiential paired gambles. For both material (all $p's < .04$) and experiential ($p's < .04$) gambles participants in the money condition showed significantly more risk aversion—indicating that thinking about prizes in terms of time (versus money), like priming self-connectedness, plays a key role in consumer risk taking tendencies.

Study 4

Study 4 examines how thinking about purchases in terms of self-connectedness/time influences construal level (abstract). Participants were randomly assigned to the connectedness primes from study 2. Next, they completed 25 items from the Behavior Identification Form (Vallacher & Wegner, 1989). These items examine how participants interpret a set of 25 different behaviors presented with two possible descriptions—a higher/abstract (1) and a lower/concrete (2) construal level. Examining the basic effect of condition on construal, we find that connectedness leads to higher-level construal ($M_{connect}=1.29, M_{control}=1.40; F(1, 112)=5.99, p=.016$).

Study 5

Study 5 examines the last step in the causal chain by priming construal level and examining its effect on risk seeking. Participants were randomly assigned to two conditions in which they were asked to either provide a superordinate category (abstract) or an example (concrete) for the same set of 25 everyday words. Next, participants viewed images of five jars, in which the amount of tickets pictured in each jar, along with its prize, was manipulated to simulate the percent chance of winning the prize (e.g. full jar for the best prize; jar with the fewest tickets for the smallest prize). Results indicate that abstract construal leads to increased risk seeking preferences ($F(1, 143)=5.98, p=.05$).

The present work contributes to the literature on risky choice behavior and decision making by showing that experiential purchases are more likely to foster risk seeking. This effect occurs via the mechanisms of self-connectedness and time, leading to a higher-level, abstract construal and a focus on maximizing such positive potential benefits of experiences.

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Mapping Time: How the Spatial Representation of Time Influences Intertemporal Choices

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Every day we make decisions that trade off immediate versus delayed rewards. For example, would you prefer to receive a 30 minute massage today or would you wait three months to receive a 45 minute massage? While previous literature has documented several contextual cues that can affect consumers' present bias, it has not yet examined how congruence with the organization of time can influence how much we discount the future. Specifically, we ask whether and how spatial location cues alter time perception and accentuate the desire for immediate rewards. To approach these questions, the current research merges the findings from numerical cognition, cognitive linguistics, processing fluency, and intertemporal decision-making. Three studies demonstrate that a display that matches (mismatches) the spatial organization of time increases duration judgments of future wait times, and subsequently biases decisions towards the present.

Accumulating evidence in psychology suggests that Westerners organize time following a *past-left, future-right* organization. Some researchers argue that this systematic organization originates from a generalized magnitude system in which time and numbers share a location representation structure in the form of left-to-right (Lourenco and Longo 2010; Walsh 2003). Specifically, earlier events are organized on the left and later events are organized on the right (Ishihara et al. 2008; Vallesi, Binns, and Shallice 2008). A different research stream exploring the metaphorical transfer between space and time (Boroditsky 2001) provides a language-based explanation. This account argues that when speaking about time, people often recruit spatial metaphors (Casasanto and Boroditsky 2008). To illustrate, speakers of the English language generally use horizontal spatial metaphors to describe the direction in which time moves including "move ahead of time", "look forward to meeting you", etc. (Boroditsky 2001), which has led to a mental mapping of time following a *past-left, future-right* structure.

We contribute to the literature on spatial organization of time by studying how it affects downstream judgments and decision-making. We argue that seeing temporal sequences arranged congruently with the spatial organization of time increases processing fluency (Chae and Hoegg 2013), thus, influencing time perception. In particular, based on time perception research (Warm and McCray 1969; Witherspoon and Allan 1985; Kellaris and Kent 1992), we propose that viewing a temporal progression arranged congruently (vs. incongruently) with the mental representation of time leads to longer future time duration estimates. Because of this elongated time duration, a congruent spatial representation of time should also lead to steeper discounting of future outcomes. We operationalize time-space congruence by displaying a temporal progression horizontally (i.e., congruent with the Western conceptualization of time) or vertically (unconventional manner of organizing time spatially, Boroditsky 2000).

The first study evidences how a display of intertemporal options that is congruent (incongruent) with the *past-left, future-right* manner of organizing time leads consumers to judge prospective time periods as being longer ($M_{\text{horizontal}} = 154.48$, $M_{\text{vertical}} = 82.40$, $F(1, 54) = 7.63$, $p < .01$). A follow-up study provides a conceptual replication of this finding but in a managerially relevant context. We demonstrate that viewing before and after pictures arranged horizontally

(vs. vertically) led participants to the belief that a weight loss product would take longer to show results, which, in turn, negatively influenced willingness to buy the product.

Study 2 provides process evidence that the spatial organization of time influences discounting through changes in prospective time perceptions. That is, when a temporal progression is displayed congruently (vs. incongruently) with the *past-left, future-right* manner of organizing time, consumers judge the passage of a future time period as longer ($M_{\text{horizontal}} = 4.35$, $M_{\text{vertical}} = 3.54$, $t(108) = -2.14$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, this elongated time passage leads to higher preferences for present rewards, which is evidenced by a steeper discount rate ($M_{\text{horizontal}} = 2.32$, $M_{\text{vertical}} = 1.39$, $t(108) = -1.97$, $p = .05$).

Study 3 manipulates the direction in which participants organize temporal sequences to demonstrate how spatial representation of time plays an important role in discounting tasks. Half of the participants were asked to build a vertical timeline of six different events, while the other half of the participants were not exposed to the timeline task (i.e., control). Subsequently, as a part of an ostensibly unrelated task, participants performed an intertemporal matching task. This study's results demonstrate that participants had steeper discount rates when they were primed with a vertical time direction and the intertemporal options were also presented vertically ($M_{\text{horizontal}} = 1.67$, $M_{\text{vertical}} = 3.51$, $F(1, 87) = 4.39$, $p < .05$). However, because Westerners naturally organize time horizontally, the results reversed in the control condition ($M_{\text{horizontal}} = 2.57$, $M_{\text{vertical}} = 1.74$, $F(1, 71) = 3.50$, $p = .06$), indicating congruence between the mental organization of time and the display of intertemporal options increases the discounting of future outcomes.

The current research enriches the literature on different contextual cues that can influence subjective time perceptions, and ultimately discounting (Kim and Zauberan 2013; Kim, Zauberan, and Bettman 2012). More specifically, the present research uniquely studies how location, a dimension of spatial information, can alter temporal perceptions. Further, the current research seeks to provide a deeper understanding of how spatial information can influence temporal perceptions through the identification of the fluency and time perception link. Finally, this research also contributes to the body of work on how lateral organization of stimuli can influence consumer perceptions such as ad evaluation (Chae and Hoegg 2013; Janiszewski 1990), motion perception (Maass, Pagani, and Berta 2007), and aesthetic judgments (Chokron and De Agostini 2000) by demonstrating how the lateral spatial representation of time increases time duration judgments and intertemporal discounting.

From a managerial perspective, this research demonstrates that displaying temporal progressions congruently with spatial organization of time can affect how quickly the product is expected to yield results. This finding could be of particular interest to a variety of products (e.g., beauty enhancers, DIY projects, etc.) that are concerned with managing consumers' time expectations. From a consumer advocate perspective, the findings of this research could also be used to increase awareness of how small changes in location cues can negatively influence intertemporal choices.

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The Costly Influence of Human-Like Products and Stereotype Endorsement on Consumer Spending

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Could seeing the shape of a Coca-Cola bottle impact your subsequent purchase decisions, and if so, how? We approach these questions by highlighting the role that human shapes plays in activating incidental semantic information and in influencing subsequent behavior. Western society continuously promotes a ubiquitous message that relates being thin to virtues and being overweight with vices, which is widespread in a number of different life spheres (Puhl and Brownell 2001; Lewis, Cash, and Bubb-Lewis 1997). Given these broad stereotypical associations, we argue that seeing a human-like wide-shaped (vs. thin) product has the capacity to influence not only eating behavior but also a wider scope of actions that require exercising restraint, such as spending impulses. Furthermore, we propose that the effect of seeing a human-like shape on behavior depends on how much the perceiver believes weight is related to exercising control.

Our theorizing contends that in the presence of an overweight prime (compared to a thin), strong endorsement of the control-weight stereotype should lead to higher activation of negative attributes, making individuals susceptible to engaging in stereotype-consistent behavior, even when they perceive the stereotype and the associated behavior negatively (Wheeler and Petty 2001). Therefore, we expect that individuals who hold a strong belief that weight is associated with control will spend more after exposure to a wide-shaped package than after exposure to a thin-shaped package. In contrast, studies in the stereotype literature have shown that those individuals who do not explicitly endorse stereotypical beliefs actually tend to focus on positive evaluations of the stereotyped group (Lepore and Brown 2002). Therefore, for a person who does not endorse the control-weight stereotype, seeing stimuli that resembles the overweight social group should lead to lower spending compared to seeing a product that resembles the thin form.

Across three studies, we find that seeing products that structurally resemble the human form activate stereotypical knowledge related to being overweight (vs. thin) and influence spending in systematic ways, depending on the level of explicit endorsement to the stereotypical belief that weight and control are related. In Study 1, we exposed participants to a thin or wide products in the context of a matching task (Kay et al. 2004). Subsequently, they participated in a word completion task involving indulgent (e.g., splurge), control (e.g., save), or neutral words (e.g., boat). Our results revealed that when stereotype endorsement is high, the concept of control relative to indulgence becomes less accessible after the presence of a wide (vs. a thin) product shape ($\beta = -1.21$, $SE = .57$, $p = .05$). In contrast, for those that do not endorse the control-weight link, control becomes more accessible in the presence of a wide-shaped (vs. thin-shaped) product ($\beta = .64$, $SE = .32$, $p < .05$). Thus, Study 1 evidences that shapes that are structurally similar to a thin or overweight body-type can activate group-specific semantic knowledge depending on the level of stereotype endorsement.

In Study 2, we demonstrate that consumers who strongly endorse the control-weight stereotype are willing to spend more after seeing wide products than thin products. However, those who do not endorse the stereotype spend less after seeing wide products (compared to thin). Specifically, we found that higher endorsement of the control-weight stereotypical belief results in exercising less control

after seeing wide-shaped products compared to thin ($\beta = 39.04$, $SE = 19.80$, $p = .05$). However, those participants that weakly endorse the control-weight link spend less after exposure to wide versus thin products ($\beta = -28.64$, $SE = 14.52$, $p = .05$).

Study 3 manipulates the degree to which the shape of the products resembles the human form. We demonstrate that structural similarity with the human form is required in order for our proposed effects to take place. In particular, the results of this study confirmed that only wide curved-products (i.e., resemble the human form), and not sharp-angled products, led to changes in consumer spending behaviors. This study also provides evidence that it is the structural similarity to the human form, and not simply the width of the products, which activates semantic information and influences behavior.

We contribute to the existing literature on how the weight of others influences behavior in several important ways. First, our research evidences that the mere presence of an object that merely resembles the silhouette of a person from that social group can influence control-related behavior. Second, our research also contributes to this literature by examining the association of being overweight to a broader concept of control; this connection affects behaviors beyond eating. Third, we demonstrate that the level of endorsement to control-weight relationship is an important determinant of how an individual will adjust behavior after seeing thin or overweight primes.

In addition to contributing to the theoretical literature on the effects of stereotype priming, our results are highly relevant to the practical domain of weight management and stereotypes. Obesity has become an important health issue in the United States. The increasing trend in obesity rates is also accompanied by increasing negative attitudes toward those perceived as being overweight. A primary focal point for negative attitudes towards overweight consumers is the belief that being overweight is blameworthy (i.e., individual is unable to control him or herself). Given that our results show that perpetuating the control-weight stereotype can be detrimental for consumers not only in their eating behaviors but also in other behaviors that require self-control, it seems that consumer advocates should be wary of reinforcing the link between weight and self-control.

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I Made It Just for You! Building Attachment via Self-Designed Gifts

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Creating or customizing a product on your own has become a popular past-time among consumers. Consumers can design everything from t-shirts and shoes to shelves on their own, and use toolkits of configurators that help them conduct such designs (e.g., Piller and Walcher, 2006; Franke and Piller, 2004; Fuchs, Prandelli, and Schreier, 2010). Self-designed products are popular among consumers because they tend to set greater value of products they have designed themselves (the “I designed it myself” effect) (Franke, Schreier and Kaiser, 2010).

A goal involved with self-design is that the products that are created would fit consumer better than products that are not self-designed. A product that is self-designed should create greater product attachment (i.e., greater product love) than product that are not self-designed, because when designing for oneself, one knows what one likes and wants. By specifying the product to fit those personal parameters, one increases the likelihood of attachment and simultaneously decreases the likelihood of early product disposal (e.g., Schifferstein and Zwartkruis-Pelgrim, 2008).

Consumers can design products for themselves (Moreau and Herd, 2010; Atakan, Bagozzi, and Yoon, 2014a; Buechel and Janiszewski, 2014; Norton, Mochon, and Ariely, 2011), or for others (Moreau, Bonney, and Herd, 2011). Most studies in the self-design literature have emphasized designing for oneself. In this stream of literature, studies have found that when consumers design for themselves, the constraints imposed on the design process largely determine the outcome of the self-design (e.g., Buechel and Janiszewski, 2014). Moreau et al. (2011) investigated designing for others instead of for oneself, and found that when consumers design for others, they evaluate the process differently. They showed that when designing a gift for another person, consumers tend to consider the design process to be more effortful, because it is more difficult to know what another person would like than what oneself would like.

Moreau et al. (2011) did not focus on the constraints involved in the design process, presumably, because the constraints do not operate the same way in designing for oneself as in designing for others. In this study, we wish to address this gap by focusing on the role of constraints in designing products for *others*.

The goal of this study is to examine the influence of constraints in the design process when consumers *design products for someone else*, i.e., products that are intended to be given away as gifts. We refer to such products as *self-designed gifts*. With only a few exceptions, most studies on self-design focus on creating products for oneself (Moreau et al. 2011). This is surprising, given that mass customization companies increasingly position themselves as sources for unique gifts, and self-design enables consumers to create such gifts. As such, our main contribution to the literature involves focusing on designing for others (*self-designed gifts*), and examining the influence they have on the gift giver over time. In contrast from previous studies, we propose that designing for others takes the form of a multi-stage evaluation, in which the consumer first reacts to the self-design in terms of his/her own reactions toward it in terms of the emotions experienced, as well the degree of attachment experienced toward the self-designed gift. These reactions become re-assessed at the time when the gift is given away, in light of the prospect of the receiver’s reaction. Finally, based on the receiver’s feedback, the initial assessment is re-aligned.

To be able to examine this multi-stage model, we conduct two longitudinal investigations in which we measure the attachment toward self-designed gifts at four time points, over a period of time of six weeks. We investigate this pattern in two studies. In both studies, we focus on how input and process constraints on the self-design activity influence product attachment, and how such assessments may fluctuate over time.

Product Attachment and Self-designed gifts

Self-design refers to a consumer’s activity to create a product herself, a process which may include the configuration, assembly or even production of a product, as well as design choices that determine its utility (e.g. color, scent, shape) (Moreau et al. 2011). In this study, we focus on a self-design kit for soap-making, a set of materials and tools that the user can configure to her liking to produce a piece of soap.

In self-design activities, two kinds of constraints are commonly active: *input constraints*, referring to limitations inferred by pre-designed materials, instructions or goals; and *process constraints*, referring to limitations in the required activity by the user.

Input constraints

Moreau and Dahl (2005) conceptualized input constraints in terms of how much choice the participant has in the input for the creative process. They found that participants were more likely to employ creative processes when they had to use a set of pre-selected materials, and concluded that for creative outcomes, inputs are best constrained (the “we choose” versus “you choose” effect). In a similar vein, Troye and Supphellen (2012) find that self-preparation of a dish with a dinner-kit that offered *no option* for input selection lead to an increased liking of the self-made dish and the kit as well. They attributed this effect to increased self-integration, the feeling of relatedness with the self-made product, which also reflected on input evaluation. Further support for constrained activities comes from Norton, Mochon and Ariely (2012) who found that even product assembly without *any* design choice can enhance people’s attachment toward an object. They called this effect as “labor leads to love”, referring to the fact that labor itself, without any creative input, is sufficient for increasing people’s attachment toward an object. Based on these findings, it would seem as if just *making* an object (instead of buying it ready-made) would be sufficient for increasing attachment.

Process constraints

Process constraints refer to limitations in the required activity by the user. The activity required by a user can be minimal (e.g., in a demonstration set-up, in which the kit is demonstrated and the demonstrator makes the product for the consumer, no input is required by the user) or more involving (e.g., a workshop setting when the consumer designs and makes the product him/herself). Process constraints have been conceptualized as the degree of involvement of the customer in the design or production process. Buechel and Janiszewski (2014) found that self-design activities were more enjoyable when more effort was required, indicating that constraining process involvement would lead to a decrease in enjoyment. This finding might be especially relevant in a gift-giving context: Moreau et al. (2011) discovered that customers designing a product as a gift tended to value their own effort to a greater extent than when de-

signing it for themselves, indicating that less effort would decrease product evaluation.

Consumers can also be involved in the actual production of a product. Troye and Supphellen (2012) conceptualize self-production as different from self-design in that the consumer is actively participating in the production process, instead of (only) the design process. In the case of self-production, consumers can perceive additional benefit from the learning derived by the activity (Etgar, 2008) or from the haptic cues received during the physical shaping of the product. Such activities have been found to increase the level of attachment experienced toward the final product (Atakan, Bagozzi, Yoon, 2014b).

We propose that when making a gift for someone else, consumers would prefer to have fewer process constraints, i.e., be actively involved in the production. Although the error margin is minimized with more process constraints, it does not feel self-made unless the consumer is actively participating in the creation of the gift. Additionally, handmade products have been shown to transfer emotions perceived by the creator to the receiver, which could be especially valuable for handmade gifts (Fuchs, Schreier and Osselaer, 2015). Thus, being actively involved in the self-making process, even when the end result might objectively suffer as a consequence, is likely to result in greater attachment toward the self-created gift. We propose:

Hypothesis 1: When designing a self-made gift, providing less (vs. more) input constraints (self-selected vs. pre-selected) and providing less (vs. more) process constraints (self-made vs. ready-made) increases product attachment (the love of one's labors) experienced by the gift giver.

Change in Emotions Between Time of Making and Time of Giving

In a self-design context in which the consumer keeps the result of her work for herself, evaluation of the outcome of her creative work will take place mainly when the result is finished. In a gift-giving context, however, the creative output will not only be evaluated by the creator after it is finished, but also again when the gift is handed over to the recipient. At the time of gift-giving, the receiver of the gift will likely express feedback to the giver with regards to the gift (Roster, 2006; Wooten, 2000). Such feedback has been shown to cause a consumer to re-evaluate and even re-design the product to match the taste of the receiver (Hildebrand et al., 2013).

The prospect of the recipient's reaction is also likely to give rise to negative emotions. Support for this contention comes from Moreau et al. (2011), who found that when designing a product for another person (vs. for themselves), participants experienced greater levels of negative emotions. Negative emotions can also affect the giver's evaluation of the gift, causing him/her to re-evaluate its quality and appropriateness (Moreau et al. (2011).

We propose that the constraints imposed on the creative process (self-selected vs. pre-selected; self-made vs. ready-made) will play a similar role here as in H1, meaning that we would expect the same type of outcome for the different conditions in H2 as in H1. In addition, we propose that product attachment will decrease at the point of gift giving, in anticipation of the receiver's reactions. As such, we only specify the *change* in attachment we would expect to take place between the time of making and the time of giving the gift away. We propose:

Hypothesis 2: The influence of the constraints outlined in H1 contribute to a decrease in product attachment at time of gift giving across all conditions.

Emotional Repair Over Time

As stated in H2, gift-giving causes the giver to re-evaluate her gift when she gives it away. If the feedback one receives on the self-made gift is positive, it will likely result in a positive re-evaluation. This should result in a removal of the negative emotions experienced at the time of gift giving, so that the positive assessment of the gift will likely be restored. We propose that this is particularly the case when a gift is made with the receiver in mind. When a gift is made with a receiver in mind, it is more likely to fit the receiver's taste, and increase the likelihood that the receiver will appreciate the gift. Also, when a gift is made with the receiver in mind, it will come across as being more thoughtful; the receiver knows that the giver has been thinking about them. As such, we propose:

Hypothesis 3: When a gift is made with the receiver in mind, that is, with a specific relationship-focus (vs. made without a specific relationship-focus) the attachment will increase after the point of gift giving.

Method

We conducted two studies for examining the proposed hypothesis. Study 1 focuses on H-H2. Study 2 is aimed at replicating the effects of H1 and H2 using a different operationalization of the proposed constraints, and also to test for H3.

Study 1

We chose soap-making as the creative experience in our studies for two reasons: (1) it consists of a simple creation process, that can be explained in a step-by-step manner, allowing for instant success, (2) it offers a sufficient degree of freedom to manipulate input constraints during the process and (3) the self-made soap requires one week of drying time before it can be used, allowing for a delay of gift-giving of one week after creation (similar to e.g. the deliver time after online customization).

The kit contained the following items sufficient to make one piece of soap: grinded soap, colorant, scent, glitter, mold(s). We manipulated the contents of the kits to manipulate input constraints: in the more input constraints condition the kit contained only one colorant and one scent. In the less input constraints condition it contained each three scents and three colors. In both conditions the kit contained only one mold.

Design and Procedure

The study was a $2 \times 2 \times 4$ mixed design with two between-subjects factors and one within-subject factor. 95 participants were randomly assigned to four conditions in a 2 (input constraints: self-selected vs. pre-selected) \times 2 (process constraints: self-made vs. pre-made) study set up. In the self-made condition participants were allowed to create a piece of soap themselves with the kit provided and under the guidance of the workshop coordinators, who performed a step-by-step demonstration of the process. In the ready-made condition participants were not allowed to make the soap themselves, but instead were first asked to inspect the kit and then watched a step-by-step demonstration of the process by the workshop coordinators. After the demonstration, they received a ready-made soap that they were told has been made with the kit. In the "pre-selected" condition,

participants were only given the option of one color and one scent; while in the “self-selected” condition participants were allowed to choose between three different color and scent options.

At the end of the session, participants were asked to report their level of attachment toward the soap (we refer to this time point as time 1, t_1). They were asked to give it away to a receiver of their choice after the week had passed (we refer to this time point as time 2, t_2). After participants had given away the soap to the receiver, they were asked to fill in additional questionnaires after one week (we refer to this time point as time 3, t_3) and four weeks (we refer to this time point as time 4, t_4).

Measures

Attachment was measured using a 6-item scale using the items affect, love, connection, passion, delight and captivation and was computed to one attachment index. As a manipulation check, we measured perceived autonomy using the 4-item scale by Dahl and Moreau (2007) with 1 (=not at all) and 7 (=very much): I felt free to make choices”, “I felt free to express myself”, “I felt controlled”, “I felt pressured”, which we averaged to one autonomy index ($\alpha=.70$).

Manipulation Checks

The manipulation of input constraints was successful ($F(1, 94) = 5.20, p < .05$). Participants in the “pre-selected” condition reported a lower level of autonomy ($M_{\text{pre-selected}} = 3.78$) than participants in the “self-selected” condition ($M_{\text{self-selected}} = 4.36$).

Results

At time 1, planned contrasts showed that participants who had less (vs. more) input constraints and less (vs. more) process constraints (i.e., made the soap themselves could select the input themselves) reported a greater degree of attachment towards the self-made soap ($M = 4.27$) than participants in the other conditions ($M_{\text{pre-selected}} = 3.44, t(91) = 2.26, p < .05, M_{\text{self-selected, pre-made}} = 2.96, t(91) = 3.53, p < .01, \text{ and } M_{\text{pre-selected, self-made}} = 3.47, t(91) = 2.22, p < .05$).

To examine H2, we compared the means for all the conditions across t_1 and t_2 . Paired t-tests comparing t_1 to t_2 show a significant decrease in attachment for all conditions; More input constraints, more process constraints (pre-selected, pre-made): $M_{\text{time1}} = 3.44$ vs. $M_{\text{time2}} = 2.78, t = 2.09, p < .05$; More input constraints, less process constraints (pre-selected, self-made): $M_{\text{time1}} = 3.47$ vs. $M_{\text{time2}} = 2.96, t = 3.36, p < .01$; Less input constraints, more process constraints (self-selected, pre-made): $M_{\text{time1}} = 2.96$ vs. $M_{\text{time2}} = 2.46, t = 2.39, p < .05$; Less input constraints, less process constraints (self-selected, self-made): $M_{\text{time1}} = 4.27$ vs. $M_{\text{time2}} = 3.43, t = 5.22, p < .05$.

Study 2

Method

We used the same soap-making activity for the creative experience as in study 1. We followed the same manipulation for process involvement as in study 1, but manipulated input constraints by asking participants to choose a shape for the soap that symbolized either their own personality (self-focus) or the relationship they had with the receiver (relationship-focus). We provided three choice options for the mold, allowing participants to pick a shape in accordance with their relationship with the receiver. In the relationship-focus conditions, the kit contained three shapes that had been pretested to be symbolizing a certain type of relationship (friendship, family, love). In the self-focus condition, the kit contained three molds that had pretested as non-symbolic shapes. The kit additionally contained three choice options for colors and scents, to match the “self-selected” condition in Study 1.

Measures

We used the same measures for product attachment as in Study 1.

Procedure

82 students (40 female) participated in a 2 (input constraints: self-focus vs. relationship-focus) x 2 (process constraints: self-made vs. pre-made) study design. In this study, we emphasized giver-receiver relationship, so we asked participants prior to the workshop to pick a receiver, to describe the relationship with the person (friendship, family, love) and to make a drawing symbolizing this relationship. We followed the same workshop procedure as in Study 1.

Test of Hypotheses

At time₁, planned contrasts showed that participants who engaged in self-design with a relationship focus reported a greater degree of attachment towards the self-made soap ($M = 4.65$) than participants in the other conditions ($M_{\text{relationship-focus, pre-made}} = 3.78, t(78) = 2.82, p < .01, M_{\text{self-focus, pre-made}} = 3.54, t(78) = 3.65, p < .01, \text{ and } M_{\text{self-focus, self-made}} = 4.12, t(78) = 1.79, p < .10$).

To examine H2, we compared the means for all the conditions across t_1 and t_2 . Paired t-tests comparing t_1 to t_2 show that attachment decreased at t_2 for participants in the pre-made self-focus condition ($M_{t_1} = 3.54, M_{t_2} = 2.82, t = 2.98, p = .008$); for participants in the pre-made relationship-focus condition ($M_{t_1} = 3.78, M_{t_2} = 2.65, t = 5.61, p = .000$); and for participants in the self-made self-focus condition ($M_{t_1} = 4.12, M_{t_2} = 3.44, t = 3.16, p = .005$). There was no significant decrease of attachment for participants in the self-made relationship-focus condition ($M_{t_1} = 4.65, M_{t_2} = 4.43, t = 1.55, p = .138$).

To test for H3, we compared attachment at t_2 and t_3 . Paired-samples t-tests comparing showed that attachment significantly decreased at t_3 for participants in the pre-made self-focus condition ($M_{t_2} = 2.82, M_{t_3} = 2.28, t = 3.28, p = .004$) and significantly increased for participants in the pre-made relationship-focus condition ($M_{t_2} = 2.65, M_{t_3} = 3.20, t = -3.85, p = .001$). The differences for the participants in the self-made self-focus condition ($M_{t_2} = 3.44, M_{t_3} = 3.51, t = -0.61, p = .545$), and the self-made relationship-focus condition ($M_{t_2} = 4.43, M_{t_3} = 4.37, t = .50, p = .625$) were non-significant. Note that because attachment decreased for all conditions between t_1 and t_2 , but only decreased for one condition between t_2 and t_3 , most participants experience emotional repair over time, as the expectation here would be continuously decreasing levels of attachment (Yang and Galak, 2015).

Discussion and Conclusion

The goal of this paper was to investigate the effect of self-design on product attachment in a gift-giving context. Other than in a context where consumers design a product for oneself, the evaluation of a self-designed product in a gift-giving context seems to take place in several steps over time. In this study, we therefore investigated outcome attachment at four time points (at initial evaluation, at gift giving, one week after gift giving and four weeks after gift giving).

At initial outcome evaluation, our results show that self-designing a gift can enhance initial attachment toward the outcome, but only when sufficient selection options are given during the process (less input constraints). Self-design was not favorable for initial outcome attachment when more input constraints were placed on the participants. This finding seems to be at odds with previous findings by Moreau and Dahl (2005) and Dahl and Moreau (2007) who state that limited choice options can increase creative processes and process enjoyment. However, in a gift-giving context choice options might be more relevant than when making a product for oneself, as consumers might want to match the receiver’s taste as good as pos-

sible. Given that gift givers are willing to put an extensive amount of effort into selecting the perfect gift for the receiver (Otnes, Lowrey and Kim, 1993), denying them this option by constraining choice options might foster negative emotions and decrease product attachment, diminishing the otherwise positive effect of self-design.

At the time of gift giving, we find a decrease in attachment. We attribute this effect to negative emotions caused by expected feedback from the gift receiver. Finally, and most importantly, our results show that this negative effect can be repaired over time when gift-givers focus on the gift-receiver while designing the gift. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first demonstration of such an “emotional repair”.

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Cue me in!

The Effect of Attentional Tuning on the Susceptibility to Contextual Cues

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

We investigate the influence of basic attentional processes (attentional tuning—narrowing or broadening of attentional scope) on the susceptibility to subtle contextual cues (e.g. colors). We propose that the impact of goal-irrelevant primes is particularly pronounced when people maintain a broader attentional scope, becoming more receptive to goal-irrelevant stimuli.

Both psychology and consumer research are replete with examples of studies showing evidence of the effects of subtle environmental cues that prime accessible mental states, stereotypes, goals, or motives and profoundly affect judgment, decision-making, and social behavior. For instance, Labroo et al. (2008) demonstrate that even a short exposure to a word evoking certain conceptual associations ('frog') increases preference for a wine that is compatible with this activated semantic concept (a wine with a frog on its label). Strikingly, the role of basic attentional processes that may act as a mental filter at the cue exposure stage has been largely ignored. The present research aims to fill this void and extends previous work by focusing on the role of attentional scope as a key factor modulating the impact of subtle environmental primes on judgment and behavior.

Theoretical background. Attentional tuning refers to the phenomenon of narrowing and broadening one's attention at both a perceptual and conceptual level (Gasper & Clore, 2002). More recent work has stressed the role of motivational intensity—the urge to move toward or away from a stimulus—for this cognitive phenomenon, with higher intensity producing a narrowing of attentional scope and vice versa (Harmon-Jones et al., 2011). Gable and Harmon-Jones (2011) show that people's motivational intensity can be manipulated through either the anticipation versus attainment of monetary rewards.

An intriguing implication of this line of research is that the susceptibility to the influence of incidental environmental cues, unrelated to one's current goals may be a function of attentional tuning. We propose that the susceptibility to goal-irrelevant primes is a function of attentional tuning, such that their impact is particularly pronounced when people are in a reward attainment state and maintain a broader attentional scope, making them more receptive to goal-irrelevant stimuli.

We tested our expectations across three studies. In experiments 1 and 3, Dutch participants were exposed to subtle contextual cues having an orange vs. neutral color. As the color orange reflects Dutch national pride (Lakens, 2011), we expected that nationality-related thoughts would be more accessible when participants are exposed to an orange situational cue. In experiment 2, we assessed the accessibility of aggression-related thoughts, following the exposure to pictures of weapons vs. neutral pictures. Across all studies pre-goal and post-goal states were manipulated as follows: in pre-goal states people first were exposed to a contextual cue during a seemingly unrelated task, crucial DV's were collected and only afterwards they had the opportunity to gain additional money. In contrast, participants in the post-goal states first conducted the task allowing them to win extra money, and only afterwards they were exposed to a contextual cue and responded to our DV measures. In each study participants played an 18-trial game in which they had the possibility to gain extra money (€0.15 per trial).

Study 1

122 Dutch students participated in a 2(pre-goal vs. post-goal state)x2(contextual cue: orange pen vs. black pen) between-subjects design experiment. We measured our core DV in a knowledge quiz by asking participants to mention the first representative of a given category (writer, scientist, etc.) that comes to their mind in each trial. Participants wrote their responses using either an orange or a black pen.

An ANOVA, with the square-rooted sum of Dutch representatives listed across trials as the DV revealed only a significant interaction effect between goal state and pen color ($F(1, 118)=4.01, p<.05$). Additional simple main effect analyses to probe the interaction corroborated that pen color affected responses to the knowledge quiz under reward attainment (post-goal) conditions ($F(1, 118)=5.26, p=.024$). Participants writing with the orange pen, maintaining a broader attentional scope as a result of experiencing decreased motivational intensity, produced more Dutch exemplars ($M=1.78, SD=0.36$) than those writing with a black pen ($M=1.50, SD=0.57$).

Study 2

118 international student participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2(pre-goal vs. post-goal)x2(contextual cue: weapon pictures vs. neutral pictures (plants)) between-subjects design experiment. Core DV was measured by means of a modified Stroop task, using both aggression-related (*destroy*) and neutral (*bench*) words. Before engaging in the Stroop task participants were exposed to either pictures of weapons or neutral pictures. Higher reaction times to aggression-related words demonstrate greater accessibility of aggression-related thoughts.

An ANOVA on log transformed mean reaction times to aggression-related words, controlling for log transformed mean reaction times to aggression-related words in neutral trials, revealed only a significant interaction between goal state and type of the picture shown ($F(1, 113)=4.19, p<.05$). Additional simple main effect analyses demonstrated that exposure to pictures of weapons affected reaction times to aggression-related words merely under reward attainment conditions, when people maintained broader attentional scope ($F(1, 113)=3.64, p=.059$). Under this condition it took more time to name the color of aggression-related words when they were previously exposed to pictures of weapons ($M=822.40$ ms, $SD=111.30$ ms) rather than to neutral pictures ($M=780.20$ ms, $SD=99.30$ ms).

Study 3

251 Dutch students participated in a 2(pre-goal vs. post-goal)x2(contextual cue: orange background vs. white background) between-subjects design experiment. The DV was the outcome of 9 dyadic product choices, each consisting of a Dutch and a foreign brand (available in the Dutch market). To cover the true purpose of the choices, five additional choices involving only foreign brands were included. Participants indicated their preference for a particular product on a slider using 100-point scale. Product choices were made on either an orange or a white desktop background.

An ANOVA on the mean preference for Dutch products revealed a marginally significant interaction effect between goal state and color of the desktop background ($F(1, 247)=2.84, p<.1$). Since

we expected the orange background to exert effects only on people in post-goal states, we further explored the interaction through additional simple main effect analyses. Consistent with expectations, we find that the preference for Dutch brands was influenced by the desktop background in the post-goal, reward attainment state ($F(1, 247)=4.62, p=.033$). People indicated greater preference for Dutch brands when the product choices were made on an orange ($M=56.15, SD=11.88$) rather than white desktop background ($M=52.12, SD=10.23$).

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Pain and Preferences: The Impact of Other's Decisional Conflict on Our Own Preferences

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This paper explores a straightforward yet important and unexamined question: how does observing someone else experiencing emotional conflict over a decision impact our own preferences? Would we be more likely to choose similarly or differently after observing the pain and agony experienced by another? Indeed, understanding how other peoples' choices influence our own is important in many domains and contexts. A vast body of literature had studied social influence and how the behavior of others impacts our own actions and attitudes (see Cialdini & Goldstein 2004 for a review). In this paper we add to the social influence literature by demonstrating that observers' preferences are not only influenced by an actor's ultimate choice, *but also* by the *process* with which this choice is made. In particular, we hypothesize that observing others' choice conflict—a central and often conspicuous element of the decision making process—increases the likelihood that the observer's preferences will converge to those of the actor's. Six studies document this effect (two of which involve real and consequential choices), validate the suggested mechanism and rule out rival accounts.

We advance an emotional-based mechanism. In particular, integrating literature on empathy and shared identity, we argue that observing others in "pain and agony" over their impending decision triggers empathic reactions that make the observer feel a greater sense of shared identity with the conflicted actor, leading to preference convergence. Our conceptual framework is grounded in literature showing that (i) empathic reactions lead to greater sense of shared identity (e.g., Aaron and Aaron 1986; Cialdini et al. 1997), and (ii) that participants with greater sense of shared-identity exhibit a more congruent behavior (Goldstein and Cialdini 2007).

Admittedly, one could also argue that observing a conflicted actor may signal to the observer that the actor conducted a more thoughtful and deliberate choice process, and therefore, must have made a better choice. According to this account, convergence of preferences will occur through inferential processes and "cold" cognitions. Throughout our studies we address this rival account and isolate our proposed mechanism from such inferential processes.

In Study 1 participants observed a paid confederate either conflicted or not (between-subjects) over an impending donation decision (i.e., real monetary donations to one of two charities). After observing the confederate's decision-conflict (high vs. low) and ultimate choice, participants approached the experimenter's table and were asked to make a similar decision (after the confederate left the room). Participants that observed the confederate experiencing greater decisional conflict tended to donate more to the same charity chosen by the confederate (counterbalanced) compared to participants assigned to the low-conflict condition.

As a first step in validating the proposed mechanism, we used an indirect measure for empathy. In particular, previous research has shown that interpersonal-distance (often operationalized by seating distance) is negatively correlated with empathic reactions (e.g., Bryant, B.K. 1982; Strayer and Roberts 1997). Accordingly, we measured how close participants decided to sit next to the confederate after observing his choice conflict. As expected, participants sat closer to the confederate in the high (vs. low) conflict condition ($p < .001$). A mediation analysis supported that seating distance (our proxy for empathy) mediated the effect of observed conflict on preference convergence.

Study 2 employed pictures of facial expressions to manipulate observed decisional-conflict. A pretest verified that the pictures induced perception of greater decisional-conflict ($p < .005$) but not perceptions of increased attentiveness or thoughtfulness (ns). In the main study, participants learned about a dilemma that a certain person was facing and observed her (pretested) facial pictures, ostensibly taken during her deliberation. Consistent with our hypothesis, subjects were more likely to choose similar to an actor when the actor's facial expressions depicted high (as opposed to low) decisional-conflict and also compared to a condition in which no picture was provided ($p < .02$). Inconsistent with an inferential process, this effect was more pronounced for people with a stronger innate tendency to empathize with others (measured using Davis's IRI scale; 1983; $p < .05$).

In Study 3, using a multi-step mediation analysis we tested the entire path of the suggested mechanism: observed conflict [X], leads to empathic reactions [M1], which leads to greater sense of shared identity [M2], which leads to preference convergence [Y]. The 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect supported the suggested multi-step mediation ($B=.04$, $CI_{95\%}=.01$ to $.16$).

Studies 2 and 3 support the suggested emotional-based mechanism. Studies 4 and 5 directly rule out inferences as the main driver by exploring contexts in which such inferences are irrelevant. Participants in Studies 4 and 5 learned about a person that was asked to choose between two boxes containing cash prizes of \$200K and \$0 (as part of a game show). Participants that attended more to the decisional-conflict of this actor (either by directly learning about it – Study 5; or writing a paragraph describing his emotions and feelings during his deliberations – Study 4) converged to this person's choice more than participants in the low-conflict condition (Study 5) or emotion-free paragraph condition (Study 4). Thus, we find convergence tendencies even when decisional-conflict cannot be attributed to greater attentiveness or decision accuracy (as the choice was completely random). Further, Study 5 found that participants' preferences converged to those of the conflicted actor's only when they deemed such conflict as warranted. That is, when making a choice between boxes containing \$200K vs. \$0, but not when the boxes contained \$200K vs. \$150K (i.e., winning a big prize regardless of how the actor chooses).

In Study 6 we demonstrate the effect in a group decision-making context. Specifically, participants that played a group version of the ultimatum game (with real monetary rewards) tended to converge to their team-member's vote (to accept or reject the offer) when their team member exhibited greater emotional-conflict.

To summarize, as social creatures we are attuned to other people around us. In this paper we consistently find that emotional reactions to others' "pain and agony" over an impending decision, brings our preferences closer to theirs.

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Reconsidering Uncertainty in Preannouncements

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Firms use preannouncements to create market anticipation for upcoming events, such as launches of new products or services (Lilly and Walters 1997; Schatzel and Calantone 2006). Largely rooted in signaling theory, existing literature sees uncertainty in preannouncements as generally negative (Eliashberg and Robertson 1988; Su and Rao 2010). Uncertainty refers to a lack of information about whether, where, when, how, or why a future event will occur or how this future event will look like (Knight 1921). The underlying assumption is that uncertain preannouncements are less costly signals and, thus, less effective. Su and Rao (2010) argue that since “vague preannouncements have less influence on the targeted audiences, firms ... need to be clear and informative in their NPPs” (661).

Many preannouncements follow this suggestion (e.g. Sony 2015). Some preannouncements, however, deviate from this suggestion and appear to be deliberately uncertain. For example, Apple preannounced its MacBook Air line using the slogan “There’s something in the air” (Block 2008), and Facebook preannounced a recent event using “Come and see what we’re building” (Murph 2013). Conceptual support for potential positive effects of uncertain preannouncements comes from recent studies on the pleasure of uncertainty (Lee and Qiu 2009; Wilson et al. 2005). These studies demonstrate that, at times, consumers enjoy a sense of uncertainty surrounding a positive and self-relevant event. Lee and Qiu (2009), for example, show that not exactly knowing what prize one will get from a lucky draw leads to more positive feelings than exactly knowing the prize.

Across two studies, this paper investigates under which conditions positive effects of uncertainty in preannouncements occur. Our main assumption is that the effect of uncertainty on market anticipation depends on whether or not a preannouncement prompts an immediate decision. Thus, we predict a disordinal interaction between uncertainty and decision immediacy.

Hypothesis 1a: The immediacy of a decision moderates the effect of preannouncement uncertainty on market anticipation, in that when a decision is prompted certainty leads to higher market anticipation than uncertainty.

Hypothesis 1b: The immediacy of a decision moderates the effect of preannouncement uncertainty on market anticipation, in that when no decision is prompted uncertainty leads to higher market anticipation than certainty.

Study 1a used 105 U.S. consumers (MTurk sample; 45 % female, Mage = 35 years) that were randomly assigned to one of only four conditions. In Study 1a, we preannounced the release of a fictitious new novel by Dan Brown. Uncertainty was manipulated via the content of the preannouncement. Decision immediacy was manipulated through time-to-launch. In the near launch condition, we told participants that the novel would be released tomorrow, while in the far launch condition the novel would be released in four months. Thus, Study 1a used a 2 (preannouncement content: certain vs. uncertain) x 2 (time-to-launch: near vs. far) between-subjects design.

Study 1b replicated Study 1a by applying a different decision immediacy manipulation. Participants were 232 U.S. consumers

(MTurk sample; 44 % female, Mage = 33 years) that were randomly assigned to one of only four conditions. The preannouncement was the same press release as in Study 1a (far launch condition). The certain and uncertain content conditions were identical to those of Study 1a. Decision immediacy was manipulated via an opportunity to pre-order. In the pre-order condition, we added a “Pre-Order Now!” button at the end of the press release, while in the no pre-order condition no such button was added. Thus, Study 1b used a 2 (preannouncement content: certain vs. uncertain) x 2 (pre-order opportunity: yes vs. no) between-subjects design.

In Study 1a, a two-way ANOVA of market anticipation revealed neither a significant main effect of content uncertainty nor time-to-launch ($ps > .479$). More importantly, we found a significant (disordinal) interaction between uncertainty and time-to-launch ($F(1, 101) = 6.38, p = .013$). Planned contrasts revealed that when launch was near, certainty led to higher market anticipation than uncertainty ($M_{\text{certain,near}} = 5.18$ vs. $M_{\text{uncertain,near}} = 4.43; F(1, 101) = 2.45, p = .121$). This difference was not significant though. In support of H1b, when launch was far, uncertainty led to significantly higher market anticipation than certainty ($M_{\text{certain,far}} = 4.14$ vs. $M_{\text{uncertain,far}} = 5.02; F(1, 101) = 4.15, p = .044$).

The results of Study 1b further support our assumptions. A two-way ANOVA of market anticipation revealed neither a significant main effect of content nor pre-order opportunity ($ps > .759$). We again found a significant (disordinal) interaction between uncertainty and pre-order opportunity ($F(1, 228) = 7.83, p = .006$). In support of H1a, planned contrasts revealed that when a pre-order opportunity was given, certainty led to significantly higher market anticipation than uncertainty ($M_{\text{certain,pre-order}} = 4.98$ vs. $M_{\text{uncertain,pre-order}} = 4.30; F(1, 228) = 5.05, p = .026$). In support of H1b, when no pre-order opportunity was given, uncertainty led to a higher market anticipation than certainty ($M_{\text{certain,no-pre-order}} = 4.33$ vs. $M_{\text{uncertain,no-pre-order}} = 4.87$). This difference was marginally significant ($F(1, 228) = 2.97, p = .086$).

Together, these results enhance preannouncement literature in several ways. First, our work introduces a more nuanced perspective on uncertainty in preannouncements. While extant literature draws mainly from signaling theory and, thus, focuses on processes for which uncertainty is generally negative, our work suggests that preannouncements trigger different processes depending on the immediacy of a decision. Most notably, when no decision is immanent, uncertainty outperforms certainty in creating market anticipation. Second, our work suggests that preannouncements (made at least one month before launch) and announcements (made within one month before launch) require different amounts of information. In announcements, managers should provide enough details to facilitate consumers’ decision-making processes. In preannouncements, however, providing too much information might be counterproductive. We find that being too specific too early decreases market anticipation and thus, unnecessarily turns away consumers. Overall, our work suggests a novel strategy managers can use to increase market anticipation of upcoming events by varying the degree of uncertainty depending on the immediacy of consumers’ decisions.

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Correspondent Inferences and Consumer Decision Making

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

People tend to make *correspondent inferences* when observing others. They infer stable personality characteristics from the behavior of others, even when the presence of external factors severely constrains the range of possible behaviors other persons might have exhibited. This general tendency leads observers to over-attribute behavior of actors to their enduring dispositions and under-weight the influence of situational factors, committing a *correspondence bias* (Ross, 1977; Gilbert & Malone, 1995; Jones, 1979; 1990; Jones & Harris, 1967). Correspondent inferences are prevalent and consequential. Correspondence bias is exhibited by a majority of American adults and generalizes across demographic characteristics (Bauman & Skitka, 2010). These biased attributions affect a wide variety of social judgments such as performance that are relevant for consumer behavior, such as performance evaluations (e.g., Moore, Swift, Sharek, & Gino, 2010), blame and guilt judgments (e.g., Kassin & Sukel, 1997), impression formation in social interactions (e.g., Gilbert, 1998; Ross, Amabile, & Steinmetz, 1977), and judgments of moral character (Bierbrauer, 1979; Miller, Gillen, Schenker, & Radlove, 1974).

In this paper we adopt a psychometric approach to the analysis of the propensity to make correspondent inferences. To examine whether the propensity to make correspondent inferences is a unique construct and a stable individual difference, we developed and validated an instrument, the *Neglect of External Demands* (i.e., NED¹) scale, which combines the four paradigms most commonly used to assess correspondence bias, taking into account different types of dispositions—attitudes, abilities, emotionality, and morality (Gawronski, 2004). Our first three studies (1A, 1B, and 2) develop a new individual-difference measure designed to assess the extent to which a person makes correspondent inferences across varied judgmental tasks and targets, evaluate the reliability and the dimensionality of the instrument, and perform a verification of its factorial structure and discriminant validity. In Study 1A, we generated and tested numerous scale items drawn and cloned from existing items in the literature, which then underwent a purification process resulting in a 10-item scale with sound psychometric properties. In Study 1B, we verified the factorial structure of the scale. In Study 2 we tested its discriminant validity in relation to several established scales measuring potentially related psychological constructs such as intelligence, cognitive ability, preference for cognitive processing, preference for control, and attributional style.

In Studies 3, 4, and 5, we then tested the extent to which the propensity to make correspondent inferences predicted consequential, conceptually related, but different judgments and behaviors. In Study 3, we examined the relationship between the propensity to make correspondent inferences and attributions of blame to actors for having accidentally caused harm. Participants characterized by a high propensity to make correspondent inferences were more likely to make dispositional attributions to actors for harmful events when the harm

was due to the negligence of the agent. Moreover, this relationship was even stronger when no harm was intended and the outcome was accidental—when participants should have discounted more for situational factors that contributed to harm having been caused.

In Study 4, we investigated whether propensity to make correspondent inferences is associated to a higher neglect of job difficulty when evaluating the performance of employees for promotion. The results show that propensity to make correspondent inferences affects the extent to which people incorporate information on job or task difficulty when evaluating the performance of others. Participants characterized by high NED scores were more likely to evaluate to anchor their assessments on unadjusted performance, favoring candidates who benefited from an easier situation.

In Study 5, we examined whether high propensity to make correspondent inferences induces consumers to neglect market forces when evaluating fund manager performances in both performance judgments and incentive-compatible investment decisions. The results suggest that participants more prone to make correspondent inferences were more likely to make dispositional attributions for good and bad absolute performances and ignore the comparative value of those performances (a positive gain that was lower than the rise of the market and a loss that was less than the fall of the market) than participants less prone to make correspondent inferences. The consistency of this pattern across performance evaluations, preferences, and incentive-compatible choices made by participants provides further evidence of the predictive validity of the NED and of the pervasive effect of correspondent inferences not only on judgments, but also on behavior.

Finally, in Study 6 we examined a possible debiasing intervention to correct correspondent inferences, and show that making situational information easier to access helps people more prone to make correspondent inferences making reduce the impact of dispositional attributions on their decisions.

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¹ The scale is named after Edward E. "Ned" Jones, who first found evidence for this tendency.

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Embodying (Re-)Reading: The Material and Social Engagements of Nostalgic Leisure Reading Practices

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This paper utilizes the theory of practices to describe and explain some of the features of leisure reading. Broadly speaking, practice theory defines the social as “a field of embodied, materially interwoven practices centrally organized around shared practical understandings” (Schatzki 2005, 12). Such practices always involve “the active integration of materials, meanings and forms of competence” (Shove and Pantzar 2005, 45). The continually ongoing nature of this “active integration” means that practices are inherently capable of producing change within themselves. However, new and disruptive technologies can also catalyze significant change. This is particularly the case where those technologies come to be seen as vital to the competent and successful performance of the practice, or as enhancing the practice in some way (Warde 2005). This is an important point in the context of leisure reading, given the rapid technological developments that have significantly changed the production and consumption of books—the primary material artifact of reading practices—since the dawn of the 21st century.

Since the publication of the first mass-market ebook in 2000, digital technologies have continued to revolutionize the practice of reading, and ebooks now account for between 10% and 27% of revenue for each of the ‘Big Five’ English-language publishers (Wischenbart 2014, 13). This suggests that reading as a practice is undergoing a process of “remediation”, whereby the mediating artifacts of a practice are transformed as a result of changes in the object (“motive, purpose or focus of engagement”) of the practice (Miettinen, Samra-Fredericks, and Yanow 2009, 1318). This observation raises two important questions. First, how do digital technologies enhance reading practices, such that ebooks and e-readers have become so successful? Second, how is the object of reading changing, such that its remediation becomes possible and even desirable?

To illuminate these questions, this paper utilizes a research context that maximizes the salience of changes to the mediating material artifact: re-reading. Participants (N=13) for this exploratory study were recruited within the context of their engagement in reading practices. Given the nature of these contexts (for example, book clubs), a focus group or small group interview setting was used for data collection. The in-depth interviews took place before and after participants re-read a book of their choice in either their original print copy, an alternative print copy, or an electronic copy on their preferred e-reading platform, thus providing the opportunity to tease apart differences in objects and experiences on the basis of the materiality of the mediating artifact. The first interview for each group focused on participants’ book choices, responsibilities, and expectations for the study, as well as their general attitudes towards reading and re-reading; the second focused on the re-reading experience and its outcomes. Interview data was audio-recorded and then transcribed by the researchers, resulting in approximately 150 pages of text. This text was then analyzed using a hermeneutical framework (Thompson 1997). The findings reveal that competences to do with the embodied and social context of reading—including how to choose and handle mediating material artifacts, how to utilize available geographic and temporal contexts, and how to engage in shared reading practices with both readers and not-yet-readers—enable readers to express

and enact the meanings embedded in their shared knowledge of the practice.

These meanings are primarily understood through metaphors of consumption, relation and travel, each of which highlights particular understandings about the performance and object of reading. The *consumptive* metaphor reflects the understanding of reading as an embodied experience, and also suggests the two primary objects of re-reading: novelty and comfort, which implicitly or explicitly reference contemporary food discourses. The *relative* metaphor ties into the frequent personification of books (whether as material objects or imaginal ones), including books taking on relationship roles that range from the romantic to the platonic. This discursive trend reflects the understanding of reading as a socially situated activity in a wide range of contexts. Finally, the *travel* metaphor expresses the common understanding of reading as an “escape” from the everyday, as well as a “journey” of “self-exploration”. Travel also takes on a literal role in reading practices, whereby reading takes place in a range of embodied contexts—sometimes *in the home*, but also frequently *on the go*. Furthermore, the embodied context of a reading experience seems to entail specific reading practices, including the use of appropriate mediating artifacts (for example, either a paper book or an ebook, a tablet or an e-reader). In turn, the chosen mediating artifact results in particular embodied interactions between the reader and the artifact—for example, interactions occurring *in the hand* (such as holding the book or device) or *on the eye* (such as the lighting of a device’s screen).

As such, there seems to be a link between the object of reading and the embodied context of reading, in terms of both space and time, which in turn affects the embodied interactions through which the practice of reading is enacted. From this, we can deduce that being able to make decisions about the appropriate embodied context and enhancing mediating artifact for a particular reading object is a key form of competence for the performance of leisure reading, including nostalgic reading. Similarly, knowing how to handle the artifact within that embodied context is also important, for example how to hold a book comfortably while in bed or how to choose a book that can be carried easily on public transport. Other competences include the process of reading itself, of course, but also knowing and following the unspoken rules of etiquette for lending, borrowing and sharing books, as well as how to initiate others—including children and reluctant readers—into the practice.

While these materials, meanings and forms of competence have emerged within the context of a study on re-reading, many of them are also applicable to leisure reading more broadly. As such, many of them deserve more in-depth investigation. A future, fuller analysis of these findings in the context of contemporary discourses of reading would be a significant project with considerable theoretical and managerial implications.

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The Power of Uncertainty

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Suppose that from time to time you would get a coffee from a local café. Consider two alternative scenarios. In one scenario (certain), every time you buy a coffee, you receive a \$1 discount. In the other scenario (uncertain), every time you buy a coffee, you receive a \$1 discount or a \$0.50 discount, and you won't know which discount you will receive until you make the purchase. In which scenario will you buy more coffees from this café?

There are good reasons to predict that you will be more likely to keep buying coffees from this café if it offers the certain discount than if it offers the uncertain discount. For one, you would save more money under the certain discount than under the uncertain discount. For another, if you are like most normal consumers, you would prefer certainty to uncertainty, and the certain discount will allow you to enjoy more certainty than the uncertain discount.

Yet we predict the opposite. We predict that you will repeat the purchase more if the discount you enjoy is uncertain than if it is certain. We propose that outcome uncertainty can increase rather than decrease activity persistence and we attribute this effect to uncertainty resolution. Uncertainty resolution is a positive experience and reinforces the corresponding behavior. We tested this uncertainty effect and its mechanism in diverse contexts, and found that uncertainty in payment (Study 1) increases willingness to repeat in work, uncertainty in discount (Study 2) and uncertainty in price (Study 3) increase willingness to repeat in purchase, and uncertainty in prize (Study 4) increases willingness to repeat in study. These studies all involved real consequences to participants.

Take Study 3 as an example. The study ran a sales program for Reese's Peanut Butter Cups Miniatures. The sales program had three versions of pricing: certain low price (10 cents each), certain high price (15 cents each), and uncertain price (either 10 or 15 cents with equal chances). Each buyer encountered one version of the sales program, and decided whether to purchase the Reese's Cups one by one. In either certain price program, if the buyer decided to purchase, (s)he drew a Reese's Cup from a bag and paid its price. In the uncertain price program, if the buyer decided to purchase, (s)he drew a Reese's Cup from a bag and paid the price indicated by the cup. We found that in general, the uncertain price induced a larger demand than the certain low price, and the certain low price induced a larger demand than the certain high price. Among those who decided to make purchases, the participants in the uncertain-price condition made more

purchases than both those in the certain-low-price condition and those in the certain-high-price condition, and the purchases in the latter two conditions did not differ. These findings suggest that (a) adding uncertainty into a price can generate a larger demand than lowering the price, and that (b) price magnitude may influence the initial purchase, but price uncertainty drives purchase along the way.

In other studies, we found that (a) people are willing to repeat an activity when they have the opportunity to resolve uncertainty after each outcome but not when they don't have such an opportunity, (b) they do not decide to repeat because the outcomes they receive are varied, and (c) in prospect, they do not expect they would enjoy uncertain outcomes.

For another example, in Study 2 we introduced a second certain control condition, varied-but-certain outcomes, to assess the possible explanations based on outcome variety (e.g., the good outcome in the uncertain prospect may appear even better due to the contrast effect; varied outcomes may be more resistant to hedonic adaptation than fixed outcomes). Participants purchased Band-Aids piece by piece to earn coupons and decided whether to make the purchase again. Some received a 10-cent coupon for sure (certain-fixed) for each purchase; some received either a 10-cent or 5-cent coupon with equal chances (uncertain) for each purchase; and some also received either a 10-cent or 5-cent coupon with equal chances for each purchase but knew which coupon they would receive in advance (yoked to uncertain; certain-varied). We found that participants in both certain-varied and certain-fixed conditions made about the same number of purchases, but those in the uncertain condition made many more purchases. These findings suggest that the uncertainty effect we observed is caused by outcome unknown-ness, rather than outcome variety. In another study, Study 4, we manipulated whether participants had the opportunity to find out the unknown (uncertainty with vs. without resolution after each task) and found direct evidence for our proposed account: uncertainty resolution reinforces behavioral repetition.

In summary, contrary to what decision theories would expect and what lay people would predict, we document the neglected reinforcing power of uncertainty: people are more likely to repeat an activity if the size of its outcome is uncertain than if it is certain. Our findings provide insights for designing incentive schedules in managerial and marketing domains.

Group-Member Magnification: Brand Entitativity Polarizes Judgments of Products

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Products rarely stand alone in the mind of the consumer. A package of Tide detergent is not construed independently, but as a member of countless categories: Tide products, Proctor & Gamble products, cleaning products, Kroger products, and so on. Being a part of a category imbues the individual with the characteristics of the category, such that a consumer who respects the cleaning power of the Tide brand would be likely to do the same for individual Tide products. Does being a member in a brand or other category affect judgments of the individual product in any other ways beyond the inheritance of characteristics from the overall category? Might reactions to products differ depending merely on whether they are seen as part of a unified or non-unified brand? More generally, how does being a member of a unified group affect judgments of individuals?

Previous research finds that, when assessing highly entitative groups, people focus their attention on the overall group (Yzerbyt, Rogier, and Fiske 1998). This results in more extreme reactions to entitative versus nonentitative groups (Smith, Faro, and Burson, 2013). Thus, brands and other marketplace entities that seem unified may elicit stronger judgments, but less is known about how entitativity affects judgments of individual group-members such as products, and different theories of entitativity predict different directions for this influence. On one hand, processing of entitative groups is generally associated with reduced attention to individual members. This implies that judgments of individual products and product experiences may be more muted for entitative brands. On the other hand, members of entitative groups seem representative of their group, and seem to possess the meaningful core essence of the group, which makes forming judgments about them more useful. This attribution of an underlying essence to entitative groups and their group members implies that reactions to the individuals may be intensified in the same way as reactions to the overall group.

Three studies show that individual products are judged with more extremity when they are thought to be part of an entitative brand or group of products. Consumers' actual product experiences and consumption amounts vary depending on perceptions of the brand's entitativity, with favorable products eliciting enhanced ratings and consumption and unfavorable products eliciting reduced ratings and consumption when associated with a highly entitative brand. Participants in study 1 read about a juice brand, sampled juice, and rated the samples and the brand overall. Perceptions of the brand's unity were manipulated by informing participants that the company had either one or three product lines for accounting reasons. This manipulation should not obviously affect perceptions of quality of the juice, but should affect judgments of the brand's entitativity. Participants sampled two juices—orange and apple—which were described as coming from the same product line in both unity conditions. The quality of the juice was also varied, with participants either sampling two unadulterated juices, or two juices that had water, salt, and vinegar added to them. Following each tasting, participants rated the juice. As expected, an ANOVA revealed a significant interaction between unity and juice quality: the good juice was consumed more

and highly rated when it was believed to come from a company with one product line, while the bad juice was consumed less and rated more negatively when it was believed to come from a company with one product line. These ratings and consumption were mediated by perceptions of the company's entitativity.

Study 2 replicates this polarizing effect of brand-entitativity in a different domain using a manipulation of consistency and shared history amongst the products. It highlights crowdsourcing, an increasingly popular yet poorly understood means of content generation, as a factor that can vary entitativity perceptions for a brand. Participants in this study rated jokes that came from a website which was described as being put together by a single person or by a variety of people using crowdsourcing. The jokes were pretested to be either good or bad, yielding another 2 (entitativity: low or high) X 2 (valence: positive or negative) design. Results revealed a significant interaction on judgments of the jokes, with the entitative brand producing more positive ratings of the good jokes and more negative ratings of the bad jokes. A similar interaction was observed for the rating of the overall brand, and participants were also more confident in their rating of the brand in the high entitativity conditions.

Study 3 replicates these effects and provides insight into why they occur. Participants in study 3 read about a web-design company and rated web-sites. The unity of the company was manipulated by describing the company as a collaborative group with a consistent product line, versus web-designers working independently and producing a varied product line. Participants viewed and rated high quality or low quality web-sites. As in studies 1 and 2, a significant interaction emerged on the ratings of the products. A moderated mediation analysis revealed that brand entitativity significantly increases the perception that individual products represent the essence of the brand, and the effect of this representative essence on judgments of the individual products depends on their valence—the attribution of representative essence significantly improves good product experiences and hurts bad product experiences.

These findings show that perceptions of a brand's unity affect actual consumption experiences with the brand's products, even when nothing else is known about the brand. This research extends the theory of entitativity by exploring how perceptions of entitativity of a group affect judgments and experiences with the individual members of that group. They also have important implications for branding and other categorization-related phenomena such as stereotyping.

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The Discrimination Heuristic: The Role of Variance in Judgments of Expertise

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

This research proposes that people use the variance in critics' ratings as a heuristic (referred to as the discrimination heuristic) for judging expertise, perceiving a critic whose ratings exhibit higher variance as more knowledgeable. Importantly, we propose that people rely on this heuristic even in the presence of expertise-diagnostic information that contradicts the discrimination cue.

It has been argued that discrimination is a critical feature of expertise (Hammond 1996; Shanteau et al. 2002). Studies across different domains show that experts, relative to novices, are able to make finer distinctions between members of a category (Gauthier et al. 2000; Roy and Kravitz 1969; Tervaniemi et al. 2005). In a consumer context, similarly, expertise results in an increased ability to identify fine differences among members of a product category and to categorize products below the basic level with greater reliability (Alba and Hutchinson 1987; Mitchel and Dacin 1996).

However, whereas expertise involves an enhanced discriminating ability, discrimination by itself does not necessarily imply expertise. Critics may discriminate on attributes that are non-diagnostic or irrelevant (Gaeth and Shanteau 1984; Yates, McDaniel, and Brown 1991) or they may be inconsistent in their judgements (Einhorn 1974; Kinney 2009; Weiss and Shanteau 2003; Weiss et al. 2006). Thus, whereas expertise implies discrimination, discrimination does not necessarily imply expertise.

We argue that even though the relationship between discrimination and expertise is conditional, people treat it as bi-directional, i.e., they rely on discrimination as a heuristic for expertise. More importantly, we propose and show that people rely on discrimination at the expense of other expertise-diagnostic information, even when that other information contradicts the discrimination cue. We propose that the reliance on discrimination is particularly likely to be observed in contexts in which there is a bigger perceived gap between the lay consumer and the expert in terms of knowledge (such as financial or technical expertise) and there are fewer objective criteria on which to base product evaluations (as in experiential products like wine, books, or art).

Studies

Study 1 tests the discrimination heuristic in the context of wine evaluations. Participants were presented with three wines that were randomly selected from a large database, and were also given base-rate information about the distribution of wines in the database (percentage of 4, 5, and 6-star wines in the database). The base-rate information clearly indicated that the three wines were more likely to be of the same quality (all 5-star wines), rather than different quality (4, 5, and 6 star wines). Participants were then randomly allocated to an expertise or a control condition. Those in the control condition were asked to judge the likelihood of the three wines being of the same vs. different quality. Participants in the expertise condition were shown the ratings given by two reviewers to the three wines. One reviewer had given the same 5-star rating to all three wines, whereas the other had given 4, 5, and 6 star ratings. Participants were asked to judge which of the two reviewers was more of an expert.

Results were consistent with a discrimination heuristic. When choices were presented in terms of possible outcomes, respondents correctly judged that the no-variance outcome was more likely. However, when the information was presented in terms of critic ratings,

there was a marked reversal in preferences and participants overwhelmingly judged the discriminating critic to be more of an expert.

Study 2 explored the discrimination heuristic in the context of book reviews. Participants in this study judged the relative expertise of two book critics based on the variance in the critic ratings and consistency of their ratings with expert opinion. Results revealed that in the absence of discrimination information participants judged a reviewer who was more consistent with expert opinion to be more knowledgeable, but in the presence of discrimination information they completely ignored the consistency with expert opinion criterion and overwhelmingly judged the discriminating reviewer to be more knowledgeable.

Study 3 provided additional support for the discrimination heuristic in a different context – financial advising, and using a consequential design in which participants had real financial incentive to make the right choice. Results showed that in the absence of discrimination information, participants judged a financial adviser whose forecasts were closer to actual market performance to be more knowledgeable and preferred him over a less calibrated one in a subsequent choice task. In the presence of discrimination information, however, preference for the better calibrated adviser decreased substantially and participants became, on the average, indifferent between the discriminating (but less accurate) and the non-discriminating (but more accurate) advisor.

Finally, Study 4 showed that reliance on the discrimination heuristic is mitigated if participants are explicitly prompted to consider other the available expertise-diagnostic information.

In sum, four studies provide support for the use of a discrimination heuristic in judgements of expertise and that they judge a discriminating critic to be more knowledgeable than a non-discriminating critic even in the presence of expertise-diagnostic information suggesting that the non-discriminating critic is better calibrated. The effect is mitigated only when participants are explicitly asked to consider calibration.

These findings suggest that use of the discrimination heuristic may lead to suboptimal choices, whereby consumers rely more on the opinion of critics who are in fact less knowledgeable. It is important to note that we do not suggest that reliance on discrimination is always unreasonable – it may in fact be a good judgement criterion in the absence of other expertise-diagnostic information. However, we propose and show that people often ignore completely other expertise diagnostic information and base their judgements exclusively on the discrimination cue. When the ignored diagnostic information contradicts the discrimination cue, this bias leads to suboptimal judgements.

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An Integrative View on Target-brand Customers' Reactions to Different M&A Brand-name Strategies

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Given the evidence of high failure rates of M&A transactions (Homburg and Bucerus 2005), it is important to address the perspectives of stakeholders beyond management and employees to understand how consumers perceive and react to M&A announcements. This paper focuses on consumer reactions to different brand-name strategies that merging companies can employ. We concentrate on corporate brands. When two companies (A and B) merge, they can choose a predominance strategy (acquirer-dominant A or target-dominant B), a hybrid-brand strategy as a combination of the formerly independent brands (AB or BA), a recreation strategy with a completely new brand C, or they can avoid displaying the merger in the brand name and keep both brands independently (business-as-usual; A and B as before). In our analysis, we focus on the brand strategies A, AB, C, and the "business-as-usual" strategy (A and B as before) (Ettenson and Knowles 2006).

Previous knowledge about the impact of different brand-name strategies following M&A is fragmented. This paper aims to contribute to research by integrating the different perspectives in one systematic analysis. Following Thorbjørnsen and Dahlén (2011), we consequently consider real target-brand customers. The goals are threefold:

First, previous theoretical research on M&A brand-name strategies has suggested that decisions about the future brand signal or communicate "something" to consumers. Extending previous research, we analyze what consumers draw from the signals of the respective brand-name strategies. We consider two attributions – alteration of the firm (H1) and acquirer dominance (H2) (Ettenson and Knowles 2006).

Second, we analyze the mediating effects of brand-name strategies on target-brand customers' switching intentions. For these mediators, we draw from different research sources, more specifically from organizational change theory, signaling theory, theory of psychological reactance, and research in dominance in social psychology and leadership. Our hypotheses H3 to H7 refer to indirect effects, from the brand name selection of firms to the switching intention of customers, and consider diverse simultaneous and sequential mediators. The most important element of our conceptual model is the differentiation between two streams of effects. One stream considers the paths that include perceived alteration of the firm. We expect indirect effects of brand strategies selected by firms on the perceived alteration of the firm that further influence customer uncertainty (Homburg, Klarmann, and Staritz 2012), brand clarity (Erdem and Swait 1998), and psychological reactance (Brehm 1966, 2009; Thorbjørnsen and Dahlén 2011). For all of these paths, we expect undesirable effects (from a firm's perspective) on switching intentions – mainly because of status quo bias (Samuelson and Zeckhauser 1988). Another stream of effects pertains to the paths that include perceived acquirer dominance. Here, we draw from research in social dominance that has suggested "a double-edged sword role of dominance" (Chen, Jing, and Lee 2014, p. 27), meaning that dominance can lead to both desirable and undesirable effects. Undesirable effects from dominance are related to intimidation and coercion (Cheng et al. 2013), which may lead to psychological reactance. However, dominance may also lead to desirable outcomes, providing guidance, direction, and clarity (Foels et al. 2000; De Hoogh, Greer, and Den

Hartog 2015). We assume that this is reflected in a higher degree of brand clarity which in turn will lead to a more positive attitude towards the new firm and will also account for a reduction in customer uncertainty.

Third, extending previous research on the influence of brand fit (McLelland et al. 2014; Jaju et al. 2006), we analyze how a positive vs. negative premerger acquirer brand attitude influences and moderates the effects mentioned above. In particular, we expect that a negative (compared to a positive) premerger acquirer attitude will increase the two concepts "perceived firm's alteration" and "perceived acquirer dominance" (main effects, H8). For moderation, effects from the perceived firm's alteration on customer uncertainty, brand clarity, and psychological reactance are expected to be stronger for a negatively (vs. positively) evaluated acquirer (H9). Additionally, the effect of perceived acquirer dominance on brand clarity is expected to be weaker, while that of perceived acquirer dominance on psychological reactance is expected to be stronger for a negatively (vs. positively) evaluated acquirer (H10).

Our empirical study employed a 4 (brand name: A, AB, C vs. business-as-usual) \times 2 (acquirer brand valence: positive vs. negative) between-subjects design. As a stimulus, we used a fictive scenario regarding a possible merger between two existing brands (acquirer brand A, target brand B) in the German grocery industry (drugstores). We found differences in perceived firm's alteration and perceived acquirer dominance between the brand strategies when compared to the business-as-usual strategy. Using SEM, we tested indirect paths and found support for the undesirable effects of perceived firm's alteration, but (for the predominance strategy A) also for the different effects of perceived acquirer dominance (desirable while influencing brand clarity; undesirable while influencing psychological reactance). We also found moderating effects of a negative premerger acquirer brand attitude.

In sum, our results point to the advantages of a business-as-usual strategy; however, the results also indicate that brand name change strategies can compensate for the disadvantages in perceived alteration of the firm when brand clarity is increased through acquirer dominance (of a positively evaluated acquirer).

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A Dual-Process Model of Economic Rationality: The Symmetric Effect of Hot and Cold Evaluations on Economic Decision Making

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A lot of research has linked economically irrational behavior to inconsistent choices triggered by dual-processing system, often referred to as *hot* and *cold systems* (Dhar and Gorlin, 2012). The hot system is relatively automatic, quick and effortless, whereas the cold system is more deliberate, slow and effortful. Previous research has investigated the role of both systems in choice inconsistencies; however, some important questions remain unanswered: How severe are choice inconsistencies triggered by both types of judgment? Can such inconsistencies lead to a significant waste of money?

Literature findings on this matter are not clear. Several studies suggest that utility loss from suboptimal choices can stem from behavior triggered by the hot system, as various behaviors that can be viewed as suboptimal, such as lack of self-control and hyperbolic discounting, are attributed to the hot system (Wertenbroch 2003). On the other hand, a stream of research has shown that the cold system can have a negative impact on decision quality, as cognition can act as a form of distraction which can pull attention away from the most relevant information, and as such lead to inconsistent behavior (Lee et al. 2009). Last, some studies suggest that waste of budget does not necessarily result from a specific system, but rather from a potential discrepancy between types of processing and/or decision situations (Read and Loewenstein 1995).

However, none of the above studies has used a direct measure of severity of inconsistent choices involving conditions with different price regimes and budget restrictions. We do precisely that by employing a measure capturing the severity of choice inconsistencies, and translating this into budget loss. In two experiments we conduct an investigation of the severity of inconsistent choices (coming from behaviors triggered by the two systems) by using the General Axiom of Revealed Preferences (GARP) and Afriat's Index to examine choice behavior in terms of efficient budget use (Harbaugh et al. 2001).

In study 1, participants ($n=138$) were invited to come to the lab to complete a task designed to capture the severity of inconsistent choices. To be able to calculate Afriat's Index we created a revealed preferences task. The task included 12 sequential choice problems, with each choice problem consisting of four products: two vice, relatively tasty but not so healthy products and two virtue, relatively healthy but not so tasty products. The prices of the products differed for every choice problem. Participants were asked to indicate the quantities they wanted from each product given the different price regimes and their budget (10 tokens). As a manipulation of hot and cold system we varied the visceral state hunger (Loewenstein 1996), which resulted in three conditions. In the experimental condition, participants completed the choice task once hungry (hot) and once satiated (cold system; order counterbalanced), while in the control conditions the participants were asked to complete the choice task both of the times hungry (hot control condition) or satiated (cold control condition). In all conditions, the measurements were separated by one week. For every participant, we measured the relative vice and virtue consumption and the Afriat's Index for each session as well as the overall Afriat's Index of the two sessions.

A paired samples test showed that in the experimental condition, respondents chose more grams of vice products when hungry ($M_{\text{hungry}}=211,99$, $SD=72,81$) than when satiated ($M_{\text{satiated}}=177,87$, $SD=82,20$; $t(66)=3.90$, $p<0.001$), whereas they chose fewer grams of virtue products when hungry ($M_{\text{hungry}}=119,87$, $SD=70,38$) than when satiated ($M_{\text{satiated}}=149,52$, $SD=79,20$; $t(66)=3.49$, $p=0.001$). In the control conditions none of the differences were significant. Additionally, we compared the differences between vice choices in the two sessions across conditions and did the same for virtues. The comparison showed that the difference in both vice and virtue choices for the two sessions was significantly larger in the experimental condition than in the two control conditions (combined) ($t_{\text{vice}}(136)=3.884$, $p<0.001$; $t_{\text{virtue}}(136)=2.115$, $p=0.036$). This validates our manipulation.

Comparing the Afriat's indices resulting from choices in both sessions in the experimental condition, we found that the difference was insignificant ($M_{\text{hungry}}=0.972$, $SD=0.081$; $M_{\text{satiated}}=0.966$, $SD=0.054$; Wilcoxon $Z=-0.826$, $p=0.409$). These results indicate that the proportion of the budget wasted was small and similar for both types of judgments (cold versus hot). We also calculated the overall Afriat's index for the two sessions (different types of judgments). Specifically, we randomly picked six observations from each session dataset for each respondent. This yielded a dataset consisting of 12 observations per individual that allowed us to calculate an overall, cross-judgment Afriat's index that was directly comparable to the separate, within session indices. We repeated the same procedure 200 times and calculated the average of the overall Afriat's index for every respondent. The overall index was significantly lower ($M_{\text{overall}}=0.93$, $SD=0.077$) than the indices of each session respectively ($Z=-3.836$, $p<0.001$ for hot; $Z=-3.169$, $p=0.002$ for cold). The difference between the indices in both cold and hot control condition were all insignificant. Additionally, we calculated the absolute difference between the overall Afriat's index on the one hand and both separate Afriat's indices (which we averaged) on the other in all conditions, and compared these differences across conditions. We found that the difference ($d_{\text{experimental}}=0.031$) in the experimental condition was significantly larger than in the two (pooled) control conditions ($d_{\text{control}}=0.006$; $t(136)=3.312$, $p=0.001$).

The second study confirms the results of study 1 by using a different manipulation of the two systems (cognitive load; e.g. Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999) and incentivizing participants to maximize the utility of their budget (participants were told that they would receive one of their choices after the end of each session).

To conclude, we conducted two studies to investigate whether one of the systems (hot vs. cold) leads to budget wasting behaviors coming from inconsistencies. We show that budget waste resulting from behaviors triggered by either hot or cold system is low and comparable, but that overall budget waste across the two systems is significantly higher.

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Different Questions, Different Plans? The Impact of Planning Interventions on Consumer Goal Pursuit

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Research has demonstrated that implementation intentions – plans connecting situations and pre-deliberated actions – facilitate goal achievement (Gollwitzer 1999; Gollwitzer and Sheeran 2006). These interventions seem useful for consumption goals like saving, eating well, and exercising. However, recent work also shows that plans can be ineffective or harmful (e.g. Bayuk, Janiszewski, and Leboeuf 2010; Dalton and Spiller 2012; Townsend and Liu 2012). Thus, while plans represent a seemingly promising tool for consumers and marketers, further research is needed to uncover factors leading them to work successfully versus unsuccessfully.

In this paper, we examine two such factors. First, many interventions have been called “implementation intentions,” but little work has examined how they may differ. If consumers form plans in varied ways, the means they consider for reaching the goal may also differ. Second, while extensive research has examined whether planning facilitates goal achievement, a better understanding of how plans change the cognitive and affective experience of goal pursuit could help refine theory and resolve questions about their effectiveness. We present three studies that shed additional light on why plans may sometimes help or hurt goal achievement.

In Study 1, we demonstrated that two prompts often used interchangeably – “when-where-how” (WWH) plans and “if-then” (IT) plans – shift focus to different means: either steps toward the goal or ways to cope with obstacles. Without guidance, people tend to neglect obstacles (Buehler, Griffin, and Ross 1994). When-where-how plans, which ask participants to first consider an action and then elaborate on a context to execute it (e.g., “WHAT will I do: Buy David socks, WHEN will I do it: Thursday evening,” etc.), are likely to alter this natural tendency little. However, if-then plans, which prompt planners to first generate a situation to act and then consider an associated behavior (e.g., “IF the mall is busy, THEN I’ll shop online), should stimulate more reactive thought. As goal-related obstacles frequently require reaction, we predicted that IT prompts would lead to more focus on coping plans.

In a study about holiday shopping, participants planned to finish their gift-buying with prompts structured in a WWH or IT format, with no guidance in the control condition, or with a reversed if-then format to examine the effect of thought order. As predicted, control participants considered obstacles infrequently, and WWH plans exacerbated this tendency slightly. In contrast, IT plans greatly increased the likelihood of considering obstacles, compared to control. Decreasing the reactive nature of the plan by considering the goal-consistent situation prior to the action in the if-then reversed condition reduced thoughts about obstacles, compared to the if-then condition. Thus, these results demonstrate that WWH plans maintain the natural proclivity to concentrate on steps, while the reactive nature of if-then plans shifts attention to obstacle-coping.

Studies 2 and 3 examined the effect of step and coping plans at a process level. We contrasted these interventions against a naturalistic control condition where participants were not directed to plan. Importantly, the total X-Y effect was not significant. Instead, we observed an indirect-only effect (Zhao, Lynch Jr., and Chen 2010; see also Hayes 2009, 2013) through the monitoring of past actions, regret, outcome expectancy, and future intentions/actions. This indirect effect is important because, as recent literature shows,

plans can sometimes have unintended or ineffective results. Thus, unpacking intermediary links underlying how plans change the experience of goal pursuit is a step toward designing more consistent and effective interventions.

We theorized that when individuals ask themselves, “Have I done what I intended to do?” IT planners should adopt a particularly narrow answer. Planning decreases the likelihood of detecting unplanned goal-consistent situations (e.g., Parks-Stamm, Gollwitzer, and Oettingen 2007; Masicampo and Baumeister 2012). Further, plans may also impact judgments about action performance by influencing regulatory focus orientation (Freitas, Liberman, and Higgins 2002), leading obstacle-focused IT planners to adopt a prevention mindset and step-focused WWH and control participants to think in a promotion-focused manner. A prevention focus narrows memory and judgments (Brockner et al. 2002; Zhu and Meyers-Levy 2007; Bayuk et al. 2010); this narrow focus may leave IT planners “locked in” to planned actions and less likely to consider alternative means, leaving them more susceptible to regret and changing their expectations and actions for future goal pursuit.

Studies 2 and 3 demonstrated this indirect process using a serial mediation model (Hayes 2013) in two field contexts – a week-long study-time goal setting and a six-week exercise-time program. Compared to control, IT planners – who considered how to cope with obstacles – reported reduced performance at executing goal-related actions. This evaluation was associated with regret and changed intentions, expectations, and actions for future goal pursuit. In Study 2, where participants had much experience with the goal (studying), regret led to increased intentions for future pursuit of similar goals, but this was tempered by reduced intentions stemming from decreased outcome expectancies. Participants who formed WWH plans did not differ from control, nor did if-then planners considering inactions (e.g. “If I am tired, I won’t sleep”), which should facilitate “moving on” from poor performance more readily (e.g. Savitsky, Medvec & Gilovich 1997). Similarly, in the exercise context examined in Study 3, IT planners reported poorer performance at acting in service of the goal, prompting regret, which decreased future outcome expectancies and led to reduced performance over time. Further, experience with the goal moderated the link between regret and outcome expectancies – regret was associated with reduced outcome expectancies in novices but not for those with more experience. WWH planners – who considered steps – did not differ from control, again reflecting a close approximation to the natural tendency to neglect obstacles.

In sum, we revealed that planning using IT prompts focused participants on obstacle-coping while WWH plans mirrored what people do instinctively – considering steps. Further, IT planners who thought about actions to cope with obstacles reported reduced evaluations of action performance which influenced regret and future expectations/actions compared to control, while WWH planners did not differ from those not guided to plan. We hope these findings spur new theorizing and investigations for the benefits and drawbacks of planning for consumers.

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I Own What I Control

The Influence of Object Size on Psychological Ownership

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The feeling that something is “mine” (Pierce, Kostova, & Dirks, 2001) i.e. psychological ownership (PO) is a powerful feeling. It has been shown to predict perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors towards various types of objects (e.g., Kamleitner, 2011; Reb & Connolly, 2007; Shu & Peck, 2011; Van Dyne & Pierce, 2004).

However, for PO to develop it is important that the target object can be controlled by the individual (Furby, 1978; Prelinger, 1959). The more control over it I can experience, the more likely it becomes “mine” (Dittmar, 1992; Rudmin & Berry, 1987). Consequently, objects that are difficult to control, are unlikely to be psychologically owned.

A key feature that determines the extent of control an individual can exercise over an object is its physical properties, like size. We argue that perceived control over an object emerges from the actual capability to physically handle it. In turn, we suggest that the physical properties of an object bear the potential to increase the likelihood of it being psychologically owned. Specifically, we focus on size as key influencing factor of perceived control and, in turn, PO. In three studies we find support for our assumption.

In study 1 we manipulated the size of a wooden cutting board. Three boards were manually constructed, a small, a normal and a large board. 121 participants (49% female students) randomly received one of the three boards. Then they were asked to pretend to do functional, usage oriented tasks. In the subsequent questionnaire, each participant had to estimate the actual size of the board in cm. The following items were assessed on a 7-point scale (1=totally disagree, 7=total agree): perceived control exercised over the board (3 items, $\alpha=.88$), PO for the board (adapted from Shu & Peck, 2011) (3 items, $\alpha=.88$), participant’s estimation of the boards size (diagonal in cm) and weight (gram). Weight was kept constant throughout the entire analysis.

All three boards were perceived significantly different from each other in terms of size ($\eta^2=.32$). A one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of size on perceived control, ($\eta^2=.09$), indicating that larger boards elicit less perceived control. In order to see whether PO is indirectly effected by object size we ran mediation analyses using PROCESS: The hypothesized indirect effect of size on PO via control turned out to be significant.

To test if the effect can be generalized to another product category we replicated the study in the context of a blanket (Study 2). 106 participants (53.7% female students) were asked to do functional tasks with either a small, medium, or large blanket to which they were randomly assigned.

All three blankets were perceived significantly different from each other in terms of size ($\eta^2=.15$). The same measures as in Study 1 were used. An ANOVA showed a significant effect of blanket size on perceived control ($\eta^2=.36$). Mediation analyses again provide support for the assumption of an indirect effect of size on PO via perceived control.

Results of Studies 1 and 2 support the assumption that size influences PO via control. However, findings are based on usage simulations only and the object under investigation was not self-chosen. In study 3 we, hence, extended our inquiry to a real life context with a more meaningful object – cell phones. On top of that we took into

account that the controllability of a specific object size may also be a function of the physical make-up of the person.

In Study 3, 211 students (49.3% female) drew the outline of their own phone on a sheet of paper to enable us an exact measurement of phone size. In addition and to account for the fact, that the optimal size might depend on a person’s own physical make up we also asked participants to draw the outline of their hand. Perceived control (4 items, $\alpha=.92$) and PO (4 items, $\alpha=.95$) were assessed with similar items as in study 1. To thoroughly account for individual differences we established an indicator representing the fit between phone and individual, namely, a thumb length/phone width ratio. This individualized size measure functioned as main predictor.

A mediation analysis using PROCESS showed a marginally significant effect of this ratio on perceived control and a significant effect of control on PO. The indirect effect did not become significant (95% CI [-0.11, 1.4]). But why? Assuming that there may be an ideal size for each person, deviations in both directions could lead to a reduction of perceived control and, in turn, PO. Consequently, we tested for a curvilinear, inverted U-shape on top of a linear relation between size/thumb and perceived control and PO. We ran the analysis using MEDCURVE (Hayes & Preacher, 2010).

In line with the idea of an ideal size per person, we found a significant quadratic effect of the phone/thumb ratio on perceived control and a linear effect of control on PO. Results indicate that larger and smaller sizes than a phone/thumb length ratio of ~ 1 come along with lower control and, in turn, PO.

Concluding, our results attest to the assumption that PO can be deliberately influenced by the physical properties of an object. The reason for the relation between PO and size is that size influences perceived control. For many objects it seems that in particular increases in size lead to reduced control and PO. However, for some – most likely small - objects, there likely is a decrease in size can also reduce control and PO. Altering a products physical makeup is not just a matter of design but also affects the bond between product and individual.

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Role of Expertise, Affect, and Attribution in Consumer Created Service Exigency

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Jane has to receive her CEO at the airport, and she is late to start from her office. She persuades the cab driver so that she may reach on time. Despite the service been delivered *successfully*, i.e., the cab reached the airport within stipulated drive-time, if the consumer is late to arrive, s/he (may) feel dissatisfied with the service provider (SP). In such situations of consumer created exigency, although technically the service might not fail, the consumers might *fail* to achieve their end goal of availing the service. We term this as *consumer failure*, and by extension, when the consumer is able to reach on time, i.e., is able to achieve the end goal of availing the service, as consumer success.

During exigency, the SP is exposed to anxiety and job stress (e.g., Vroom 1964) while pacifying a troubled customer. This results in performance pressure, withdrawal symptoms, and even blatantly deny out-of-the-way consumer requests. Customers on the other hand might be either elated with the SP in case they attain their desired goal and succeed, or (may) hand over adverse evaluation to SP in case they fail.

In such exigency situations, it is important to understand the role of emotions, because as a state variable, they can be easily altered in the short-run. Therefore, emotions can act as a key to managerial intervention into the management of overall evaluations of the SP by the consumer (Tsai and Huang 2002). Expertise is the SP's competence, knowledge, qualifications, or skill (Aharony and Strasser 1993) and it indicates the SP's ability to adhere to high standards of service. Expertise attains heightened salience in a situation of exigency due to the challenges posed before the consumer in the achievement of the end-goal.

Across three studies we examine the role of SP's expertise and positive display of emotion (hope) in the overall consumer evaluation. We further investigate the effect of outcome (consumer success versus failure) on the overall consumer evaluation, and provide a mechanism to safeguard the SP from adverse evaluation of the consumer using reorientation of attribution. In this study, we focus on satisfaction with a SP as the dependent variable (henceforth, simply consumer satisfaction), defined as the consumers' emotional feeling directed towards the SP.

In Study 1A (N=90), we examine the role of expertise and the outcome on the overall consumer evaluation, and then subsequently in Study 1B (N=87) we extend these tests to include the positive emotions using the constructs of SP's hope and the consumer hopefulness. Study 2 (N=68) was developed using a different scenario. The scenarios manipulated both SP Expertise and SP displayed Hope. The measures of satisfaction and hopefulness were the same as used in study 1. In Study 3 we illustrate how the relationships tested in study 1 and 2 changes once the consumer is primed with one of the four types of attributions (Universality, Unique, Globality, and Internal).

All the studies used online scenario-based experiment. For study 1 and 3, a three-part instrument on exigency at a printing situation was presented sequentially. The first part measured the demographic details and the mood of the respondent. The second part described a scenario that required the participant to use the centralized printing facility at the institute. The facility has plausible points of process breakdown, which is typically resolved with assistance from the IT personnel on duty. Due to heavy rush for printing, the problem escalates further towards the last hours of an impending deadline. We stimulate a situation of exigency by stating - "you have an important assignment due at 6PM, you could not complete the assignment till 5:45PM, and by the time you arrived at the printing facility there was a lot of rush..." Further, the SP's expertise during the interaction was manipulated at two levels (low/high). In the third part, the actual outcome (consumer success/failure) was disclosed and satisfaction was measured. The scenario for Study 2 represented a time urgency in a taxi travel to the airport. The process followed was exactly similar to the earlier study but the sample used was different.

Study 1 shows that consumers are likely to commit fundamental attribution error and attribute their failure to the SP, exhibiting low level of satisfaction with the SP. The display of expertise by the SP reduces such effect, indicating that while firms need to proactively make an effort to highlight the expertise of their employees even in the provision of routine services. Furthermore, this study also shows that exigency situations defy the effect of emotional contagion, and SP's display of hope did not make a distressed consumer feel more hopeful. However, consumer hopefulness influences consumer satisfaction, indicating the need for firm's to create tenable and credible sources of eliciting consumer hope.

These results were further validated in Study 2 using a new sample and a different scenario. Study 3 uses the priming of different types of attributions and evaluates the efficacy of four important types of attributions, namely, universality attribution, unique attribution, globality attribution, and self-attribution. We found that universality and unique attributions are able to influence the effect of final outcome and consumer hopefulness on satisfaction.

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Consumer Subjectivity and the Anthropomorphization of Advertising Trade-Characters

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Anthropomorphization has been studied extensively in the marketing literature, and is generally interpreted as “projecting the human onto the nonhuman” (Boyer 1996, 89). To date, consumer behavior studies largely examine anthropomorphization as a manipulated variable in experiments, rather than as attributions consumers make in the context of their lives. Our research is the first to investigate how consumers subjectively anthropomorphize marketplace entities as a result of their identities and lived experiences with advertising and brands (Mick and Buhl 1992). We employ the three-factor theory of anthropomorphism from social psychology (Epley, Waytz, and Cacioppo 2007) as a theoretical lens to help explain the ways consumer anthropomorphism emerges through the context of consumers’ narratives about advertising trade-characters.

Trade-characters like Tony the Tiger and the Pillsbury Doughboy have endorsed brands for decades. Our research recognizes these entities as cultural symbols whose meanings are shaped by unique consumer perceptions (McCracken 1986) that may incite anthropomorphism. Previous studies present these icons as examples of practitioners’ “most explicit attempts to incite anthropomorphism” (Delbaere, McQuarrie, and Phillips 2011, 122). Additionally, brand relationship theory limits trade-characters to an “anthropomorphization of the brand object itself.” This assumes consumers always bestow what we term *agentic anthropomorphism* to trade-characters—which automatically transfers to enliven brands as reciprocating partners (Fournier 1998, 345). These assumptions have not been empirically tested to date, leaving a gap in our theoretical understanding of the ways consumer anthropomorphism occurs, and how it fits in the range of meanings individuals may ascribe to marketing symbols. The research question that guides our study asks: in what ways do consumers anthropomorphize trade-characters as a result of their identities and lived experiences?

Literature across diverse disciplines explores two central types of anthropomorphization, which we term passive and agentic anthropomorphization. Passive anthropomorphization focuses on “the attribution of human characteristics to nonhuman things or events” (Guthrie 1993, 3) and largely involves descriptions of observable traits and behaviors. Alternatively, agentic anthropomorphization involves attributing “a humanlike mind to non-humans” (Waytz, Cacioppo, and Epley 2010, 220). This entails bestowing nonhuman entities with higher-order motivations, feelings, and rationality (Epley and Waytz 2010).

Thus far, the marketing literature focuses on the *consequences* of anthropomorphization of products (Aggarwal and McGill 2007; Chandler and Schwarz 2010; Landwehr, McGill, and Herrmann 2011) and brands (Aggarwal and McGill 2012; Puzakova, Hyokjin, and Rocereto 2013). Extant experimental research in consumer behavior (Kim and McGill 2011; May and Monga 2014) typically examines how one key personality attribute (e.g. a consumer’s need for control) influences anthropomorphization, but does not explore the broad array of life experiences and identity projects that shape consumers’ perceptions and the subsequent ways in which they anthropomorphize marketing symbols.

The first author conducted depth interviews with 57 informants, which generated 54 hours of audio-taped dialogue and 391 single-spaced pages of transcribed text. Each semi-structured interview be-

gan with a phenomenological approach (Thompson, Locander, and Pollio 1989) and transitioned into a more structured discussion of individual trade-characters. This allowed us to explore both consumers’ broad descriptions of marketing, brands, and advertising within the context of their lives, and also the detailed meanings they shared about trade-characters.

To our knowledge, our research is the first to apply and extend Epley et al’s (2007) three-factor theory of anthropomorphism to understand the ways consumers anthropomorphize marketplace entities. Our data uncovers that these three factors influence *both* agentic and passive anthropomorphization—social psychology thus far has only investigated the agentic form. Additionally, each of Epley and colleagues’ (2007) three factors corresponds to a differentiated trope (Spiggle 1994) that emerged from our empirical analysis: relatable self-identification, managing offense, and fostering social connections. These tropes encompass the diverse ways consumers agentially and passively anthropomorphize trade-characters.

Additionally, our research finds that when consumers anthropomorphize, they do not passively accept the meanings and/or traits that marketers attempt to convey in trade-characters, as previous studies assume (Connell, Brucks, and Nielsen 2014; Garretson and Niedrich 2004). Rather, consumers’ perceptions of trade-characters emanate from the intersection of their personal contexts, experiences, and identities (Belk 1988). In fact, we find that when informants anthropomorphize trade-characters to manage offense, it often results in what we term *negative anthropomorphism*. This construct involves consumers passing derogatory judgments and possibly even rejecting anthropomorphized trade-characters that violate their expectations or standards. Thus, characters like the Burger King that are purposefully created with offensive or strange characteristics may prove counterproductive to practitioners’ equity building goals.

In conclusion, our research advances an understanding of advertising trade-characters as symbols that are interpreted by consumers, whose meanings may incite anthropomorphization. This conceptualization moves beyond the prevailing assumptions that trade-character meanings are under the control of practitioners, merely to be absorbed by consumers. Furthermore, our findings advance anthropomorphism in the consumer behavior literature as subjective attributions grounded in consumers’ personal contexts and perceptions of advertising and brands.

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Shop Different: Impulsivity, Sequential Decision Making, and Motivations for Unplanned Purchases

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Unplanned purchasing accounts for over 50% of consumer decisions and recent papers have investigated the factors that influence unplanned purchasing (e.g., Hui et al. 2013). Despite the increasing attention to unplanned purchasing, many important issues merit investigation. First, we need to develop a better understanding of the underlying reasons that shoppers make unplanned purchases. Second, more research needs to investigate unplanned purchasing within the context of a complete shopping trip (Hui et al. 2013). We address these research gaps by developing and testing a model of shoppers' motivations to make unplanned purchases within a sequential decision making framework.

The primary distinction between the sources of motivation for action is between intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation (Deci and Ryan 1985). In the context of buying behavior, intrinsic motivation refers to a purchase that is internally controlled and rewarding in itself irrespective of external influences (Van Trijp, Hoyer, and Inman 1996). On the other hand, extrinsically motivated purchases are externally controlled and perceived as instrumental in the attainment or avoidance of separable goals. For example, intrinsic motivations for unplanned purchases include "wanting" or "liking" a product whereas extrinsic motivations include choosing a product because it is the cheapest, most practical, or decided by a significant other (Hoyer 1984).

We propose that impulsive, as opposed to prudent, shoppers are more likely have intrinsic motivations for unplanned purchases when they begin shopping (Rook and Fisher 1995). Then, building on the literature on motivation balancing, we predict that shoppers' motivations change as they spend more time in store, or as trip progress increases. We expect impulsive shoppers' intrinsic motivations to decrease over time, whereas prudent shoppers' intrinsic motivations will increase over time. Finally, we expect that this balancing pattern will be strongest when shoppers have larger shopping budgets because financial constraints might undermine intrinsic motivations (Dhar and Simonson 1999).

The main dependent variable in our studies are shoppers' self-reported motivations for their unplanned purchases. The motivations were coded for intrinsic (0/1) and extrinsic (0/1) motivations by trained coders. Inter-coder agreement scores were above 90%. Since our dependent variables are binary and there can be multiple observations per participants, all analyses use a logistic regression and treat the participant as a repeated variable. In addition, we include category hedonicity (Wakefield and Inman 2003) as a covariate. The analyses with intrinsic motivation are presented here; the results with extrinsic motivation are significant and substantially unchanged.

Study one tests our hypotheses in a real grocery shopping setting. Two-hundred and fifty shoppers at a medium-sized grocery store completed an entrance and exit survey and wore a portable video camera while shopping. Our dataset is comprised of the 355 unplanned purchases for which participants indicated a reason for purchase in the exit survey. We regressed intrinsic motivation on impulsivity, trip progress, shopping budget, and all interactions between these variables. Trip progress was operationalized as the time at which the unplanned purchase occurred. Shopping budget is the dollar value of the participant's mental budget from the entrance survey. Consistent with our hypotheses, the three-way interaction be-

tween impulsivity, trip progress, and shopping budget is significant ($\beta = -0.002$, $Z(266) = -2.27$, $p = .02$) and strongest when participants have a large budget ($\beta = -0.12$, $Z(266) = -2.65$, $p = .01$) as opposed to when they have a small budget ($\beta = 0.02$, $Z(266) = 0.55$, $p = .58$). Overall, impulsive shoppers initially have strong intrinsic motivations that decrease with trip progress and the opposite pattern for prudent shoppers. As expected, shopping budget is a boundary condition for the balancing pattern.

Study two addresses issues of internal validity and tests our theory in an ecommerce setting. Seventy-five undergraduate participants were provided with a shopping budget (small vs. large) and a short shopping list. The store mimicked popular online grocery retailers (e.g., www.instacart.com). Participants saw one category at a time and were free to navigate between 19 pretested categories. After shopping, participants reported their motivations for the non-list purchases and their buying impulsivity. Category presentation order and motivation solicitation order were randomized. Trip progress was the order that the categories appeared to the participant. The study was incentive aligned using a random lottery to win the baskets. Consistent with our hypotheses, the three-way interaction between impulsivity, trip progress, and shopping budget is significant ($\beta = -1.85$, $Z(174) = -2.51$, $p = .01$). The directions of the effects were identical to study one.

Study three was conducted to better understand the effect of impulsivity. We manipulated whether the shopping task was presented as fun or work (Laran and Janiszewski 2011). The expectation is that participants in the fun condition will behave similarly to highly impulsive shoppers. The only other differences from study two were that all participants were in the high budget condition and the study was not incentive aligned. We recruited sixty-seven participants with Amazon Mechanical Turk. The interaction between impulsivity and trip progress was significant ($\beta = -1.92$, $Z(250) = -2.24$, $p = .03$). Within the fun condition, there was a significant negative effect of trip progress on intrinsic motivations ($\beta = -0.93$, $Z(250) = -1.97$, $p = .05$). Within the work condition, there was a moderately significant positive effect of trip progress on intrinsic motivations ($\beta = -1.92$, $Z(250) = -2.24$, $p = .06$). This study provides evidence the construal of shopping as fun might underlie the effect of impulsivity on motivations.

Our research contributes to our knowledge of unplanned purchasing and builds new connections between literatures on motivation, self-control, and multiple goal pursuit. Discriminating between types of unplanned purchases uncovered the relationship between impulsivity and intrinsic motivation. Furthermore, shoppers' tendency to balance motivations would never have been discovered if we had aggregated across all types of unplanned purchases. From a consumer welfare standpoint, shoppers' motivations for unplanned purchases have implications for self-regulation and purchase satisfaction. Practically, the burgeoning industries of shopper marketing, mobile marketing, and ecommerce can use our framework to better understand the in-store path-to-purchase.

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Stack it up or Spread it out? The Effects of Vertical Versus Horizontal Plating on Calorie Estimates and Consumption Decisions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The way that food is presented on a plate not only influences aesthetic evaluations related to the way the food looks, it can also influence taste evaluations (Michel et al. 2014), preferences (Zampollo et al. 2012) and even the amount consumers are willing to pay for the dish (Michel et al. 2014). In light of the effects that food presentation can have on consumers' judgments and decisions, companies invest a significant amount of time and resources in perfecting the presentation of food items on plates that will be displayed on packages, menus, restaurant patron's tables and in display cases (Deroy et al. 2014; Spence et al. 2014). Some companies even use plating as a strategic tool. For instance, Red Lobster recently changed the way many of their menu items are plated with a focus on vertical food presentation. This research investigates an unintended consequence of food plating in terms of influencing consumers' portion size perceptions and serving size choices. We ask: would presenting a portion of food vertically (i.e., stacked up on a plate) versus horizontally (i.e., spread out on the plate) influence consumers' portion size perceptions? And, how might vertical (vs. horizontal) plating influence consumers' serving size choices?

We draw on prior research related to size perceptions which shows that when evaluating the size of a container or product, consumers typically base their judgment on the size of one or two salient dimensions without accurately adjusting for the remaining dimensions (Krider et al. 2001; Krishna 2006; Raghuram and Krishna 1999), and link it with work which demonstrates in typical consumption situations consumers have a downward viewing angle. Building on these ideas, we propose that when looking down at a plate of food the length and width of the food portion will be relatively more salient than the height dimension leading consumers to perceive portions of food that are presented horizontally (vs. vertically) as larger.

Given that we propose that portions of food will be perceived as larger when they are presented horizontally (vs. vertically) on a plate, an important follow up question becomes: how will food presentation influence consumers' serving size choices? We argue that when choosing between different sizes of free snacks individuals will choose larger sizes when the items are presented horizontally (vs. vertically) since the difference in portion size would be more apparent. However, if actual serving size information is available there should be no difference in portion size choice based on product presentation.

Across four experimental studies we examine the effect of vertical (vs. horizontal) plating on consumers' portion size perceptions and serving size choices. In Study 1A we have participants view equal size portions of mashed potatoes that are either presented vertically or horizontally. We find that consumers perceive the portion of food as larger when it is presented horizontally on the plate. In Study 1B we rule out a potential alternative explanation for the effects of food presentation of portion size perceptions in terms of perceptual contrast between the food and the edge of the plate. Specifically, prior research shows that the distance between the edge of the plate and the food can lead to perceptual biases whereby greater distance leads food portions to be perceived as smaller (Van Ittersum and Wansink 2012). In Study 1B we vary the presentation of the food (horizontal vs. vertical) as well as the size of the plate the food is presented on

and show that perceptual contrasts between the plate and the food are not driving our results.

Then, in Study 2 we provide direct evidence for our proposed process related to the length and width being relatively more salient than the height when viewing a plate of food from a top view. Specifically, we show that the effect of food presentation on portion size perceptions holds when individuals view the food from the top view but is attenuated when individuals view the food from a side view (i.e., straight on).

Finally, in Study 3 we examine a downstream effect of food presentation in terms of serving size choices. Additionally, we examine a boundary condition to the effect of food presentation in terms of displaying actual serving size information (i.e., product weight). That is, Study 3 varies both food presentation and the presence of serving size information. The results show that in the absence of serving size information, consumers choose larger portions of free snacks when the snacks are presented horizontally (vs. vertically). However, when serving size information is present there is no difference in serving size choices based on product information.

Collectively, the results of four studies show that food presentation can systematically influence consumers' portion size perceptions and serving size choices. This effect appears to be driven by consumers' tendency to base portion size evaluations on the length and width dimensions of the food since these dimensions would be relatively more salient than the height dimension when looking down at a plate of food on a table. These findings are important from both a practical perspective as well as from a conceptual perspective. From a practical perspective, marketers and restaurant managers have considerable flexibility in manipulating the way food is presented on a plate. Therefore, managers might be able to strategically present food vertically or horizontally to influence consumers' portion size perceptions and choices. From a conceptual perspective, prior research related to size perceptions shows that the height dimension of containers and packages tends to dominate size evaluations (Krishna 2006; Raghuram and Krishna 1999). However, our findings suggest that when evaluating the size of portions of food displayed on a plate the length and width dimension might have a greater influence on size perceptions.

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The Process of Numerical Information Judgment and The Scale Range Effect

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A two-stage processing model is proposed to conceptualize how people make judgments of the numerical information about a stimulus whose rating score is described along a bounded scale. For example, a product's satisfaction rating is 8 of 10. In this case, we assume that individuals spontaneously arrive at a subjective impression of the score and judge it as "high" or "low" depending on whether it is nearer to the bottom or upper scale endpoint. If the object has an extreme value and clearly exemplifies the initial judgment, this judgment would directly lead to the final evaluation of the object without engaging in further processing. If, on the other hand, the concept applicability is not clear, people typically compute the numerical discrepancy of the score's position along the scale from the nearest scale endpoint and modify their initial impression based on the magnitude of this discrepancy.

This model implies the influences of scale range on judgments. A bunch of previous researches have identified the scale range effect (Yamagishi 1997; Price and Matthews 2009; Wertenbroch et al. 2007; Pandelaere et al. 2011). All of them base on the premise that people have a general tendency to judge the quantity on the basis of the number of units without considering the scale or the size of these units, named as a "numerosity" heuristic (Pelham et al. 1994). Regarding a piece of singular numerical information about an object whose score is described along a bounded scale, our model suggests that if people step into the second processing stage, they estimate the discrepancy with the nearest endpoint to be larger when the scale range is large than when it is small. Thus, they judge a stimulus with a moderately high position along the scale to be less favorable, and a stimulus with a moderately low position to be more favorable, when the scale range is large than when it is small. However, when the score is extreme or neutral, implying a certain initial impression, the scale range should not influence judgments because the second-stage discrepancy comparison will not be made.

Employing a 2 (scale range: small-10 vs. large-100) x 5 (score level: 10%, 30%, 50%, 70%, 90%) between-subjects design, Experiment 1 tested the above propositions. 300 participants rated their evaluations of a novel based on its general satisfaction rating as 1 out of 10 [or 10 out of 100, etc.]. The results showed that large scale range increased product evaluation at a moderately low score level (i.e., 30%; $M_{\text{large}} = 2.71$ vs. $M_{\text{small}} = 1.80$; $F(1, 290) = 5.03$, $p < .05$), whereas decreased evaluation at a moderately high score level (i.e., 70%; $M_{\text{large}} = 5.56$ vs. $M_{\text{small}} = 7.09$; $F(1, 290) = 12.79$, $p < .01$), but had no influences at extreme score levels (i.e., 10%, 90%) or neutral score level (i.e., 50%). Moreover, perceived distance between the score with its nearest endpoint mediated the scale range effect.

The two-stage process we assume takes cognitive effort. Therefore, regarding individual differences of need for cognition (Cacioppo and Petty 1982), we propose that the second stage processing would be more likely to occur among individuals with high NFC than those with low NFC. Experiment 2 provided evidence for this. 114 participants evaluated the teacher of a course they considered to take based on the teacher's teaching evaluation score of either 8 out of 10 or 80 out of 100. Participant's NFC was measured lastly (Cacioppo et al. 1984). The results showed that evaluations based on 80 out of 100 were lower than those based on 8 out of 10 ($M_{\text{large}} = 4.46$ vs. $M_{\text{small}} = 5.02$; $F(1, 112) = 12.53$, $p = .001$). Further spotlight analyses indicated that this scale range effect showed up only

for participants whose NFC level was one SD above the mean (4.38 vs. 5.28, respectively; $\beta = -.51$, $t(109) = -4.07$, $p < .001$), but not for those whose NFC level was one SD below the mean (4.49 vs. 4.76, respectively; $\beta = -.15$, $t(109) = -1.23$, $p > .20$).

Finally, manipulating regulatory focus could motivate individuals to consider more of the positive or negative implications of the score (Higgins, 1997, 1998; Pham and Higgins 2005). Therefore, we assume that regardless of the ambiguity of the initial impression formed in the first stage, promotion-focus individuals tend to consider the discrepancy between the score and the lowest endpoint, whereas prevention-focused individuals tend to consider the discrepancy with the highest endpoint. If this is so, we propose that promotion-focused individuals will judge an object's score more favorably if its reporting scale range is large than if it is small. Prevention-focused individuals, however, will judge the object less favorably in the former case. Experiment 3 tested this proposition at the scores of extreme levels (Experiment 3a) and of a neutral level (Experiment 3b).

Experiment 3a applied a 2 (score level: 10% vs. 90%) x 2 (scale range: small - 10 vs. large - 100) x 3 (regulatory focus: promotion vs. prevention vs. control) between-subjects design. The context of teaching evaluation was the same as that used in Experiment 2. Before performing the judgment task, however, participants in the promotion and prevention focus conditions were required to write down either two goals they would like to achieve, or two obligations and responsibilities they had to take (Higgins et al. 1994). The results revealed significant two-way interaction of regulatory focus and scale range ($F(2, 329) = 6.89$, $p = .001$). Specifically, the scale range effect showed positively under promotion focus conditions, whereas negatively under prevention focus conditions, but did not show under control conditions. Similar findings were found in Experiment 3b that employed a presidential election scenario in which participants indicated their voting likelihood to a president candidate based on the potential supporting rate at a level of near 50%.

In summary, this model we proposed provides insights of how people process numerical information, and provides implications for the scale range effects.

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Fragile Products and Conspicuous Conscientiousness

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Durability refers to “the amount of use one gets from a product before it physically deteriorates” (Garvin 1984a, p. 31) and is widely regarded as a desirable product characteristic (Cooper, 2004; Garvin, 1984a; Verbeek and Kockelkoren, 1998). Consequently, durability has been classified as an essential component of product quality (Reeves and Bednar, 1994; Juran, 1992, p. 10) and products that are capable of resisting wear and breakage are viewed as offering both long term benefits for consumers and strategic value for producers (Tellis and Wernerfelt, 1987; Garvin, 1984b). Furthermore, conventional wisdom holds that if consumers spend their limited resources on a product, they should not want that product to break. In sum, there is no shortage of research to suggest that consumers value durability and that firms should thus strive to produce products that are increasingly durable.

Despite the high value placed on durability, consumers nevertheless purchase products that are known to be frail or fragile. Even when it comes to functional products such as smartphones, where durability is invested in and sought after (Panzarino, 2013; Hachman, 2014; Gardiner, 2012), consumers continue to purchase products that are easily damaged. For example, Apple Inc. has been noted as producing some of the most breakable consumer electronics on the market (Sparkes, 2014). Despite this, Apple continues to report record-setting revenues and profits (Apple, 2015).

A simple explanation for this is that fragility communicates social status and, more specifically, wealth. By owning something that can easily break, a consumer may be signaling to others that the costs associated with replacing the fragile product are of little concern to them. Furthermore, consumers infer that delicate products are expensive (Orth and Malkewitz 2008), suggesting a correlation between high-end, luxury products and fragility. However, the products people consume disclose far more about them than their access to financial resources (Holt, 1998; Berger and Ward, 2010; Wang and Griskevicius, 2014). Miller (2009) speculated that consumers may purchase fragile products as an act of conspicuous conscientiousness. Consistent with Miller’s initial conceptualization, we define conspicuous conscientiousness as the act of consuming for the purpose of signaling an ability to effectively care for and/or maintain one’s personal property. Although this concept has yet to be empirically demonstrated, the proposition is noteworthy because it suggests that fragility may be desirable in everyday products, not only in expensive luxury goods.

Using costly signaling theory (Smith and Bird 2000; Zahavi and Zahavi 1997), we test and find support for the premise that owning fragile everyday products represents a costly signal of conscientiousness. In study 1, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (product: fragile/durable) \times 2 (context: public/private) between-subjects factorial design. Participants imagined buying a vase for either a public context (their dinner party) or a private context (their home work space). They then viewed an advertisement for a \$34.95 vase that was noted as being either delicate or durable (the image was constant). Participants then stated their willingness to pay for the vase and completed wealth and status signaling confound check items and a manipulation check. When the vase was fragile, willingness to pay was significantly higher in the public context relative to the private context. However, willingness to pay did not dif-

fer between contexts when the vase was durable. An analysis of the confound checks suggest that the preference for fragility cannot be explained by perceptions that the fragile vase would signal that one is wealthy or of high social status.

In study 2, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (motive: mating/control) \times 2 (product: fragile/durable) between subjects factorial design. Participants were randomly assigned to read either a mating motive prime or a control story taken directly from Griskevicius, Cialdini, and Kenrick (2006). As part of an ostensibly separate study participants evaluated an advertisement for a smartphone that was noted as being either delicate or unbreakable due to being made of a fictional material called Xilex. Participants rated how desirable they felt the smartphone was (Griskevicius, Shiota, et al., 2010) and completed the same confound check and manipulation check items as in study 1. Our results indicate that in the mating motive condition, the fragile smartphone was more desirable relative to the durable smartphone. However, in the control condition, the durable and fragile smartphones did not differ in terms of their desirability.

Study 3 examined how signal recipients interpret the signal in order to gain insights into what exactly is being conveyed. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions in a between subjects main effect design. Participants read a short vignette about an individual who recently purchased a few vintage cameras which were either durable or delicate. In the control condition, no mention was made of durability or fragility. All participants then rated the target individual using the 20-item Mini-IPIP five factor personality scale (Donnellan, Oswald, Baird, and Lucas, 2006). Participants then rated the status signaling, wealth signaling, and fragility of the cameras using the same measures as in the previous studies. The target individual was perceived to be more conscientious when the cameras were fragile compared to when they were durable and also compared to the control condition. Perceived conscientiousness did not differ between the durable and control condition. Furthermore, the confound checks supported our previous findings that fragility does not signal wealth or high social status.

In this work, we make several theoretical contributions. Most importantly, our findings suggest that consumers value fragility when it can serve as a costly signal of conscientiousness. Although some firms strive to make their products progressively more durable (Rubin, 2014), our findings suggest that this effort may be contrary to what consumers actually want. However, further research is required to investigate boundary conditions to our findings. More specifically, our studies did not explore whether certain categories are incapable of signaling conscientiousness by way of fragility. For example, fragility may never be appealing in non-signaling categories such as tools.

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Persuasive Experts do it with Disclosure!

The Perverse Impact of Conflict of Interest Disclosures in Consumer Blogs

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers are frequently faced with information that discloses something that they might otherwise overlook as they make their consumption decisions. Recently, in the domain of social and digital media, the U.S. Federal Trade Commission has mandated that bloggers should explicitly disclose any potential conflicts-of-interests (COIs), including incentives or payments to review a product or service, on their blogs. The rationale is that disclosure will alert readers to the potential COI and allow them to adjust for any biasing influence.

Empirical evidence of the effect of disclosure of COI reveals outcomes that deviate from these expectations. A growing body of research has so far documented two reliable effects – one on the advice-giver and the other on the advice-recipient. Disclosure of COI has been shown to lead advisors to give more biased advice, which is especially dangerous since advisees do not sufficiently adjust for the bias (Cain, Loewenstein, & Moore, 2005; Loewenstein, Sah, & Cain, 2012).

Research on the effect of disclosure of COI on advice-recipients has documented that disclosure reduces trust in the advisor (Kesselheim et al., 2012; Sah & Feiler, 2014), although it can also increase pressure on the recipient to comply with the advice when the disclosure comes directly from the advisor (Sah, Loewenstein & Cain, 2013, 2014).

In the current paper, we document another novel effect of disclosure on the recipients of information and advice. Specifically, in the domain of online blogging, we find that disclosure of COI can increase (rather than decrease) trust in the advice giver, increasing persuasion. Trust can be enhanced because knowing that a blogger is sponsored by a company signals expertise of the blogger as someone who has relevant and valuable information about the product. It also can provide a peripheral cue that the blogger is respected and established in his/her domain. Recent findings suggest that it is possible that COI disclosures boost perceived trust. For example, Carl (2008) reports correlational evidence from surveys with word-of-mouth agents (e.g., brand ambassadors) and their conversational partners that agents who explicitly disclose partnerships with brands are more trusted.

In three experiments, we test whether disclosing that a blog's post was sponsored by a particular company or brand, compared to the absence of such disclosure, increases the persuasiveness of the blogger's recommendation, making readers more likely to share the blog, increasing trust and liking of the blogger. We test whether this positive effect of disclosures on blogger's persuasiveness is mediated by perceived trust in the blogger, in particular by perceptions of blogger's expertise. In addition, we explore three potential moderators that can attenuate the effect of disclosures: the location of the disclosure in the blog post (in the beginning vs. at the end of the post), consumers' individual differences in trust propensity, and consumers' deliberation on the content of the disclosure.

Across all three studies, participants were directed to a blog and asked to provide their overall impressions of the blogger and the posted content. In the disclosure condition, the blogger included a disclosure stating that the post was sponsored by a specific company.

In the nondisclosure condition, no such disclosure of post sponsorship was presented.

In study 1, 261 participants from Mturk were randomly assigned to one of five conditions: 2 (placement of disclosure statement: beginning vs. end of the blog) x 2 (disclosure type: implicit vs. explicit) plus a nondisclosure condition. We varied the disclosure statement to read either "This posting was sponsored by Apartment Guide" (implicit disclosure) or "This posting was sponsored by Apartment Guide which means I was paid to review their website in my blog" (explicit disclosure). As predicted, disclosure, both implicit (47.5%) and explicit (57.9%), increased readers' willingness to share the post compared to nondisclosure (32.1%). The difference between implicit and explicit disclosures was not significant. Also as predicted, we found that early disclosure attenuated the positive effect of disclosure on readers' willingness to share the blog from 59.3% (late disclosure) to 45.6% (early disclosure).

In study 2, 155 undergraduate students were assigned to one of the three conditions (nondisclosure vs. implicit disclosure vs. explicit disclosure) using the same stimuli and procedures from study 1. In this study, disclosures appeared at the end of the blog. Again, the presence of disclosure increased willingness to share the blog from 38.5% (nondisclosure) to 50.9% (explicit disclosure) to 54.0% (implicit disclosure). Explicit disclosure also significantly enhanced perception on all three dimensions of trust: expertise, benevolence, and integrity, but only perceived expertise mediated the effect of disclosure on willingness to share the blog and liking of the blogger.

Finally, in study 3, we recruited 161 participants from Mturk to explore the effects of deliberation in a 3 cell between-subjects design: control vs. explicit disclosure vs. explicit disclosure with deliberation. The control and explicit disclosure conditions were the same as in the previous experiments. In the deliberation condition, after participants read the target post they were asked to write down all thoughts that came to mind when they read the disclosure information. Results showed that explicit disclosure increased willingness to share the blog. However, disclosure-plus-deliberation about the disclosure mitigated the positive effect of disclosure, but only for consumers who scored low on trust propensity.

Taken together, our studies contribute to the literature on COI disclosures by investigating the effects of disclosures in a different context of advice giving: online blogging. Our findings are in direct contrast to earlier research on disclosure of COI in medical and financial decision-making domains that demonstrated that advice recipients are likely to lose trust in advice givers with disclosure. We show that in the domain of online blogging, disclosures make the advisor (i.e., blogger) appear less biased and more of an expert. Additional research is needed to understand the factors that may explain such different effects across medical and financial decision-making versus online blogging domains.

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Your 15 Minutes of Fame: How Public Recognition Boosts Psychological Ownership in Reward-Based Crowdfunding

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Managers of crowdfunding projects often use public (e.g. public appreciation on the project initiator's website) or private recognition (e.g. personal thank you by the initiator) as a way to turn consumers into investors (Gerber, Hui, and Kuo 2012; Ordanini et al. 2011). This form of appreciation generates a "we're all in this together"-mentality among supporters and may make them feel as though the project is also "theirs", i.e. elicit psychological ownership (PO), which is a powerful concept that has been associated with a number of desirable consumer-related outcomes (Feuchtl and Kamleitner 2009; Fuchs, Prandelli, and Schreier 2010; Peck and Shu 2009; Pierce, Kostova, and Dirks 2003). While it seems intuitive to use recognition as a strategy to increase PO and encourage positive crowdfunding behavior, evidence in the field of charitable giving implies otherwise (Winterich, Mittal, and Aquino 2013; Wymer and Samu 2002).

Across three studies, we therefore look at how different levels of recognition in crowdfunding (either chosen or randomly assigned) influence PO and consumers' behavioral intentions and uncover conditions under which recognition is most effective.

In study 1, 160 participants were first exposed to two crowdfunding projects and subsequently shown six potential crowdfunding rewards from which they had to choose one in exchange for their support. Rewards were tangible and intangible merchandise items such as concert tickets and included either public (public listing of the name on the website) or private (personal thank-you note) recognition as a bonus. As in all future studies, we measured PO for the project with three items from Van Dyne and Pierce (2004). We further assessed participants' willingness to pay (WTP) and their word-of-mouth intentions (WOM). We find evidence that choosing public over private recognition increases PO ($M_{private}=2.90$, $M_{public}=3.37$, $F(1,156)=6.458$, $p=.012$) and WTP ($M_{private}=29.30$, $M_{public}=41.14$, $F(1,156)=10.952$, $p=.001$) but fails to impact WOM. We then tested whether PO mediates the relationship between public recognition and our behavioral outcomes and as expected find a positive indirect effect on WOM ($R^2=.163$, $b=.417$, $CI_{95}(.0920, .4232)$) and WTP ($R^2=.076$, $b=.204$, $CI_{95}(.8959, 9.0702)$).

In study 2 we focused on PO as the crucial outcome variable and show that the effect of public recognition on PO is not universal but contingent on an individual's level of public self-consciousness, i.e. how occupied a person is with his public persona. Prior to the actual study, we thus measured individuals' public self-consciousness with seven items taken from Scheier and Carver (1985) ($\alpha=.73$). 256 participants were then provided with detailed descriptions of three pretested crowdfunding projects and had to indicate which of these they were most likely to fund. Subsequent questions addressed their preferred project. They were then asked to pick a reward with either public, private or no recognition or alternatively opt-out of funding at all. We measured PO both before and after choice. Prior to choice, there was no significant difference in perceptions of ownership. After the choice has been made we do, however, find a direct positive effect of public and private recognition ($M_{no\ recognition}=3.00$, $M_{private}=3.64$, $M_{public}=4.38$, $F(2,188)=7.497$, $p=.001$), which supports our hypothesis that public recognition (and to a lesser extent private recognition) indeed boosts PO rather than vice versa. Further, our results reveal a two-way interaction and we find that those high in public self-consciousness receive an additional ownership boost ex-

clusively from public recognition ($M_{no\ recognition}=3.60$, $M_{private}=3.51$, $M_{public}=4.58$, $F(2,110)=3.901$, $p=.023$), while those low in public self-consciousness are equally affected by public and private recognition relative to no recognition ($M_{no\ recognition}=2.29$, $M_{private}=3.84$, $M_{public}=4.05$, $F(2,75)=7.631$, $p=.001$).

Study 3 was identical to study 2 except that instead of choosing between different types of recognition, participants were randomly assigned to either the public, private or no recognition condition. In addition to PO, and to once more demonstrate its behavioral relevance, we measured WOM, loyalty and intentions to support future projects, all of which are consumer responses of particular interest in crowdfunding. Again, we find a highly significant two-way interaction ($F(2,109)=5.333$, $p=.006$). For individuals who are low in public self-consciousness, neither public nor private recognition causes a boost in PO. However, those who rated high on public self-consciousness and were given public recognition as a bonus, experience a boost in PO even if they had nothing to compare it with. In the private recognition condition no such boost compared to the no recognition condition was observed ($M_{no\ recognition}=3.12$, $M_{private}=3.55$, $M_{public}=4.46$, $F(2,56)=3.533$, $p=.036$). Further, we find a significant interaction effect on loyalty ($F(2,109)=3.380$, $p=.038$) and future support ($F(2,109)=3.149$, $p=.047$), but not on WOM. Moderated mediation using bootstrapping, however, reveals a significant conditional indirect effect of public recognition on WOM intentions ($R^2=.240$, $b=.447$, $CI_{95\ high\ public\ self-consciousness}(.0430, .8784)$), loyalty, ($R^2=.185$, $b=.388$, $CI_{95\ high\ public\ self-consciousness}(.0335, .7701)$) and future support ($R^2=.139$, $b=.346$, $CI_{95\ high\ public\ self-consciousness}(.0442, .7038)$), i.e. the indirect effect of public recognition via PO is only significant at high levels of public self-consciousness.

In sum, our paper contributes to a better understanding of recognition and its role in crowdfunding. We show that in particular public recognition increases psychological ownership, which subsequently elicits approach behavior. We find evidence that choosing public over private recognition elevates consumers' sense of ownership, their WTP as well as their WOM intentions. We further uncover the contingent nature of public and private recognition as a boost of PO and positive consumer responses - once if self-chosen, once if assigned. We introduce public self-consciousness as a moderator of the effect and show that public recognition boosts PO only for individuals who rate high on public self-consciousness, i.e. those who attach great importance to their public self (Scheier and Carver 1985). Finally, we demonstrate that the direct comparison (vs. isolated evaluation) of recognition levels may magnify this boost, because the perceived additional benefit that individuals derive from public recognition becomes more salient.

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Click to Share if You Dare:

The Impact of the Mere Presence of Social Media Share Icons on Product Evaluation

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Online retailers (e.g. Amazon and Target) display on product pages buttons for sharing on social media, offering consumers the ability to instantly announce their interest or purchase of a product to their social media network via Facebook, Twitter, or Instagram. Applications are readily available allowing any online merchant to easily add this feature to their website (e.g. apps.shopify.com). Prior academic work offers numerous reasons why this type of sharing benefits the brand's relationship with both the sharer and his social media network. However, most consumers do not engage in this sharing behavior. Thus, it is worth considering how the mere presence of such icons on a webpage may influence consumer behavior, in a manner apart from their intended use.

Research shows that "we are what we post"; consumers use the web as a conspicuous form of self-presentation (Schau and Gilly 2003; Wilcox and Stephen 2013). Because conversation via social media is written and thus more asynchronous than oral conversation, it offers greater opportunity to selectively self-present (Walther 2007, 2011). Moreover, this has been shown to have an impact on the products people discuss, with self-presentation having a greater impact online than offline (Berger and Iyengar 2013). On some level consumers are aware of the self-presentational nature of social media. Our prediction is that the mere presence of social media share buttons on a product description page may change the salience of self-presentation and thus product evaluation. Specifically, if the social media environment is one highly associated with self-presentation, then the presence of share buttons may put consumers in a more self-presentation-focused frame of mind. In other words, consumers may feel more publicly self-conscious or aware of how one is viewed by others (Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss 1975). We predict this increased focus on presentation to others will influence product valuation and related behavior. Indeed, prior work has found that increasing the public nature of a setting influences consumer behavior (Ariely and Levav 2000; Ratner and Kahn 2002). Moreover, there is work revealing that embarrassment influences purchase behavior (e.g. coupon use, Bonnici, et al. 1996), that purchase, alone, can elicit embarrassment (Lau-Gesk and Drolet 2008) and that public self-consciousness influences purchase behavior with respect to embarrassing products (Blair and Rose 2013). Thus, we predict that depending on whether the product is one the consumer would be proud of or embarrassed to have others see him use, the presence of social media icons may benefit or harm product evaluation.

Study 1 tested the hypothesis that adding social media icons to a product page would either increase or decrease product response depending on whether the product is one consumers would (athletic pants, popular body spray deodorant) or would not (compression shaper underwear, acne cream) be proud to show others. Participants were presented with the product based on condition on a screen mimicking popular online shopping sites. For participants in the social media icons present condition, there were Facebook and Twitter share icons at the bottom of the screen. An analysis of three product interest measures ($\alpha(3) = .90$) revealed no main effect of the presence of icons ($M_{\text{present}} = 2.0$, $SE = .13$, $M_{\text{absent}} = 2.1$, $SE = .12$, $F(1, 142) = .16$, $p = .69$) a marginal effect of presentation desirability ($M_{\text{desirable}} = 2.2$, $SE = .12$, $M_{\text{undesirable}} = 1.9$, $SE = .13$, $F(1, 142) = 3.1$, $p = .08$), and a significant two-way interaction of iconsXdesirability $F(1, 142) =$

5.77 , $p = .02$). Estimated marginal means reveals that for products for which social display is desirable, the presence of social media icons only directionally increased interest ($M_{\text{present}} = 2.4$, $SE = .18$, $M_{\text{absent}} = 2.0$, $SE = .16$, $F(1, 142) = 2.2$, $p = .14$). However, for products for which social display is undesirable, the presence of social media icons significantly decreased interest ($M_{\text{present}} = 1.6$, $SE = .18$, $M_{\text{absent}} = 2.1$, $SE = .19$, $F(1, 142) = 3.64$, $p = .059$). This supports our prediction. Additionally, in support of the automatic nature of this effect, we found the effect held regardless of whether people recall seeing the icons or not.

Study 2 replicated these results (interaction of iconsXdesirability $F(1, 434) = 8.46$, $p = .004$) with a different subject population, a different dependent measure of product valuation, and revealed moderated mediation. Specifically public self-consciousness (Scheier and Carver 1985) mediated the relationship between the presence of icons and valuation. Then the type of product, whether desirable or undesirable for display, moderated this effect. The effect of increased self-consciousness on product valuation was positive with products where presentation is desirable (1.65; 95% CI: .79 to 2.85) and negative with products where presentation is undesirable (-.84; 95% CI: -1.96 to -.24).

Study 3 controlled for all aspects of the product while manipulating whether it was one consumers would or would not want others to see them use. Specifically, the product was a book about personal finance, described as targeting an aspirational group, those who are financially well off, or an embarrassing group, those who are bankrupt. Again the results replicated (interaction of iconsXdesirability $F(1, 204) = 4.51$, $p = .04$) and again we found moderated mediation.

This research makes several contributions. First, by identifying how the mere presence of icons can influence behavior, our findings reveal the strong inherent meaning of social media in our culture – how the ubiquity of social media has increased focus on self-presentation and decreased privacy. Second, prior research considering social media's influence on consumer behavior has focused primarily on how consumers use social media. In contrast, in these studies we consider how social media icons influence behavior outside of the context of Facebook, Twitter, etc. and even without engagement. Third, prior work on self-presentation online has focused on product engagement, we find a stronger effect for product avoidance. Fourth, our findings offer an unexpected warning to managers, that the presence of social media icons may not always benefit a brand. Thus this research draws connections between theory around self-presentation, the practice of online marketing, and consumers.

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Aesthetic Forecasting: Buying Beauty for the Long Run

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Design elements, such as product color and pattern, are an increasingly important component of the consumer product choice decision (Hoegg and Alba 2008, Patrick and Peracchio 2010). Given that many products are purchased for use over an extended period of time, consumers must not only identify their current preferences, but also predict if and how these preferences may change in the future (Kahneman and Snell 1992). Thus, an important question is whether consumers can accurately predict satiation with different product design elements.

Previous research suggests that consumers are not very adept at predicting future hedonic value (Wilson and Gilbert 2003, 2005) and often have erroneous beliefs about how hedonic value changes after repeat consumption (Snell, Gibbs, and Varey 1995). For example participants failed to anticipate that repeated consumption would increase tastiness of an unpalatable yogurt and overestimated how quickly they would tire of music over time (Kahneman and Snell 1992).

While it is clear that consumers have difficulty predicting hedonic value, little is known about how consumers predict perceptual satiation and how this might influence consumer decision-making. Furthermore, research comparing predicted and actual liking has not systematically manipulated stimuli characteristics and examined how these influence predicted and experienced hedonic value over time.

We focus on two common product design elements: color and pattern. Both color and pattern are aesthetic characteristics that have been shown to influence complexity and arousal such that intense colors and the presence of patterns lead to greater perceived complexity and higher arousal (Berlyne 1970; Küller, Mikellides, and Janssens 2008; Walters, Apter, and Svebak 1982). Past research in other sensory consumption domains has shown that people believe that high arousal stimuli, such as loud noises, will become increasingly irritating over time (Nelson and Meyvis 2008). We therefore posit that consumers believe they will tire from high arousal product designs more quickly than from low arousal product designs. As a result, they will be more likely to avoid intense product designs when the product is intended for long-term use. Specifically we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 1: Usage length (short-term versus long-term) will influence preferences for high arousal design elements of a product such that preference for high arousal design elements (strong colors or patterns) will decrease as predicted usage length increases.

This intuition however, may be misguided. Berlyne (1970) suggested that satiation effects depend on the arousal potential of the stimuli. Consumers experience the greatest hedonic value when arousal potential is at a moderate level (Wundt 1974). While people tire quickly from stimuli with low arousal potential, stimuli with high arousal potential only reach this optimal moderate arousal potential after repeated exposure, thus slowing satiation (Zajonc, et al. 1972).

The broad implication for product preference is that arousing design elements might not be as tiring as consumers expect, but in-

stead yield continued hedonic value. Specifically, we hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 2: Consumers overestimate satiation from high arousal design elements, leading to errors in predicted utility.

In three studies we investigate how consumers predict satiation to product design elements of different arousal potentials over time and how this influences purchase decisions. In addition, we compare predicted and actual liking to examine the accuracy of consumers' predictions.

Study 1 tested Hypothesis 1 by varying the expected product usage period and examining its effect on product design choice. Participants were assigned to either a short-term or a long-term use condition. They were asked to imagine they had decided to purchase paper cups for use over one weekend (short-term condition) or over the coming year (long-term condition). They were then presented with a choice between two cups, a low arousal cup (a white cup) and a high arousal cup (one of seven high arousal variations: solid bright green, solid bright orange, solid bright blue, green stitch, blue dots, black zig-zags or red checkered). Confirming Hypothesis 1, participants in the long-term use condition were more likely to choose the low arousal cup than participants in the short-term usage condition.

Study 2 tested whether the preference for low arousal design elements when making decision about long term use results from consumer predicting faster satiation with high arousal design elements. Participants predicted how much they would like one of two products (bedding or plates) with either low or high arousal product design (low arousal [plain white], high arousal pattern [white/striped or white/abstract], high arousal colored [strong green or strong orange]) at various points in the future (ranging from one week to four years). Results revealed that participants expected to grow tired more quickly from high arousal than from low arousal product designs. The pattern was observed for both of the high arousal design elements, color and pattern.

Study 3 tested whether consumers' predicted satiation patterns observed in Study 2 are accurate. The study involved the use of nameplates in class that had either a high or low arousal design (Low [plain white or pale green], high [abstract pattern or bright green]). At the beginning of the semester a group of "forecasters" were told to imagine they were using one of the four nameplates in a class and asked to predict how much they would like it at three times during the semester. Then separately, at these three points in time during the semester, a different group of "experiencers" rated their liking of these nameplates they were actually using in class. Supporting Hypothesis 2, consumers overestimated satiation from high arousal design elements, leading to errors in predicted utility. Specifically, forecasters underestimated how much they would like the intense nameplates at the midpoint of the semester and at the end of the semester.

In conclusion, we identify a systematic error in consumer preference for aesthetics. We show that consumers are more likely to choose simple (vs. intense) product design elements for long-term use than short-term use because consumers predict they will satiate more quickly on intense product design elements than simple ones. We also show that product design decisions for long-term product

use may be misguided and that consumers overestimate satiation with intense product design elements.

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The Intensification Effect of Quantity Specificity on Consumption Experience over Time

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

George is snacking on a bowl of honey roasted cashew nuts and his wife, Ann, takes the bowl away after George has eaten 10 cashew nuts. How will George's enjoyment change if Ann tells him *in advance* his ration of cashew nuts? What if Ann asks George to eat some broccoli that he dislikes? Will specifying consumption quantity in advance help George adapt to this negative experience or exacerbate it?

To understand how quantity specificity influences people's consumption experience, we need to consider how subjective experiences change over time. When exposed to the same stimulus repetitively, people's minds often drift away, causing them to enjoy positive experiences less or become numb to negative experiences, a process termed hedonic adaptation (Wilson and Gilbert 2008). One way to reduce hedonic adaptation is to increase attention to the focal event because affective reaction toward an external stimulus intensifies when people pay more attention to it (Kahneman et al. 2004; Kahneman and Thaler 2006; Zhao and Tsai 2011). Drawing on these findings, we propose that quantity specificity can intensify end experiences by increasing attention during consumption. Because endings drive global evaluations (Fredrickson and Kahneman 1993), positive experiences would become more enjoyable overall. By contrast, quantity specificity will exacerbate, rather than improve, negative experiences because the heightened attention driven by quantity specificity will intensify negative reactions.

We tested this hypothesis in study 1 ($N = 85$) with a 2 (quantity information: specified vs. unspecified) \times 2 (stimulus valence: positive vs. negative) between-subjects design. Prior to the sampling session, half the participants were told the specific consumption quantity (three servings of orange juice), whereas the other half were told they would have several servings of orange juice. Participants sampled either sweet juice (positive condition) or sour juice (negative condition). Consistent with our hypothesis, a two-way ANOVA showed that knowing the specific consumption quantity prior to sampling increased the enjoyment for the sweet juice ($M_{\text{specified}} = 8.05$ vs. $M_{\text{unspecified}} = 6.74$, $F(1, 81) = 4.31$, $p = .04$) and decreased the enjoyment for the sour juice ($M_{\text{specified}} = 3.35$ vs. $M_{\text{unspecified}} = 5.14$, $F(1, 81) = 5.99$, $p = .01$). The main effect of valence ($F(1, 81) = 42.47$, $p < .001$) and the two-way interaction were significant ($F(1, 81) = 10.30$, $p = .002$). To address a potential concern about expectations, we asked participants to report the number of servings they had expected to sample prior to the study. Participants' expectations did not differ from the actual number of servings offered ($M = 3.21$, $t < 1$, $p > .46$).

In a follow-up study ($N = 134$), we replicated the results of study 1 using a different product category. Specifically, participants were told they would sample either "three" or "several" potato chips. The chips were either curry-flavored (positive condition) or ginger-flavored (negative condition). As in study 1, a two-way ANOVA revealed a significant interaction of quantity specificity and stimulus valence ($F(1, 130) = 10.74$, $p = .001$) and significant simple effects of quantity specificity for the curry and ginger chips respectively (both $p < .05$). The results of these two studies showed that quantity specificity enhanced positive experiences, consistent with prior research on positivity bias toward end experiences (Ersner-Hershfield et al. 2008; O'Brien and Ellsworth 2012). However, for negative events,

quantity specificity actually worsened the experiences, supporting our attention account.

We accomplished several goals in study 2 ($N = 117$). First, we further tested the attention account by manipulating attention directly. Second, we demonstrated that quantity specificity reduced hedonic adaptation *during* consumption by measuring momentary experiences. Third, we included behavioral measures to show that the effect was real and consequential. Because our goal was to explore the role of attention rather than to demonstrate again the intensifying effect of quantity specificity, we manipulated attention rather than stimulus valence in study 2.

Study 2 employed a 2 (quantity information: specified vs. unspecified) \times 2 (cognitive load: high vs. low) between-subjects design. All participants sampled eight curry-flavored potato chips in this study. To reduce attention during the sampling experience, we increased cognitive load by asking half the participants to imagine having a Gummy bear of their chosen flavor while sampling the chips (high-load condition). They were told the Gummy bear would be offered when they finished the potato chips. The remaining half did not receive these instructions (low-load condition). To measure momentary experiences, we asked participants to report their enjoyment immediately after the first chip and every two chips thereafter.

Results of study 2 supported our hypothesis. A two-way ANOVA revealed a significant interaction of quantity specificity and cognitive load in the overall enjoyment ($F(1, 113) = 8.37$, $p < .01$). In the low-load conditions, quantity specificity increased overall enjoyment, consistent with study 1 and the follow-up study ($M_{\text{specified/low-load}} = 7.76$, $SD = 1.80$ vs. $M_{\text{unspecified/low-load}} = 6.32$; $F(1, 113) = 6.36$, $p = .01$). However, when we imposed high cognitive load on participants, the effect of quantity specificity was attenuated ($M_{\text{specified/high-load}} = 6.04$ vs. $M_{\text{unspecified/high-load}} = 7.07$; $F(1, 113) = 2.63$, $p = .11$). Similar patterns of the results were found in the behavioral measures (purchase intent and repeat consumption). The momentary experiences were submitted to a 2 (quantity specificity) \times 2 (cognitive load) \times 4 (trial) mixed repeated-measures ANOVA. The interaction of the two between-subjects variables was significant ($F(1, 103) = 4.90$, $p = .02$), confirming that quantity specificity reduced hedonic adaptation during consumption.

In sum, data support our hypothesis across different sensory experiences with different measures including retrospective evaluation, real-time evaluations, and actual consumption. Our work expands prior research on positivity bias for end experiences. Consistent with this line of work, we showed that quantity specificity enhances positive experiences. Further, we explored an alternative psychological mechanism—attention—and showed a reversal effect on negative experiences. That is, quantity specificity worsens, rather than improves, negative experiences. Our research also contributes to studies on hedonic adaptation by identifying an unexplored contextual variable—quantity specificity—that can decelerate hedonic adaptation.

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The Informational Value of Dissimilarity in Interpersonal Influence

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Decision makers often seek advice from other people. Whether choosing a holiday destination, a new phone or a movie to see in the weekend, the opinion of other consumers is frequently sought, and consumers increasingly consult the opinions of strangers online. Yet, even in such impoverished relational contexts, consumers are nevertheless inclined to draw inferences about the advisor in order to value the advice more accurately (Hamilton, Vohs, and McGill 2014). One prominent inference is whether the advisor is similar or dissimilar to oneself, and previous research extensively documents the positive impact of perceived similarity (e.g., Gino, Shang, and Croson 2009; Naylor, Poynor, and Norton 2011). However, the question of whether and how *dissimilar* advisors influence the opinions and decisions of the advisee has received far less attention. Ever since Festinger (1954) argued that the influence of advisors on advisees decreases with increasing dissimilarity and that the impact of dissimilar advisors can be ignored, this notion has dominated the literature.

Based on the vast literature documenting the impact of a wide variety of (objectively irrelevant) contextual cues on preferences and decision making, we propose that perceptions of dissimilarity are not always discounted but will be used as informational cues in the preference formation process. Specifically, we argue that perceptions of dissimilarity in one domain will be used to infer more general dissimilarity, including in domains that are unrelated to the initial domain in which dissimilarity was perceived. These perceptions of dissimilarity are used to infer that one's own preference is likely distinct from the advisor's opinion. Consequently, we propose that advisees do use the advice received from dissimilar advisors, but as information about what they *do not* want instead of what they want. This results in a development of their preferences in a direction opposite of the advice received – the differentiation account.

We argue that the notion of advice discounting has dominated the literature because many research findings are in line with this theory. However, the discounting account provides a valid alternative explanation for these findings as it predicts the exact same outcomes within the research contexts that are typically used. A more positive attitude after a positive recommendation from a similar versus a dissimilar advisor is consistent with the discounting account, but equally consistent with predictions we would make based on the differentiation account. We identify two settings that allow us to distinguish between both accounts. In the first two studies ($N_{study1} = 160$; $N_{study2} = 240$), we examine participants' preferences after a recommendation from a similar versus dissimilar advisor in a fixed choice context – participants could choose between two different research tasks. While the discounting account would predict preference indifference for the recommended versus non-recommended option, the differentiation account predicts preference reversals as a consequence of dissimilarity of the advisor. Similarity was manipulated within the attitudinal domain (among others based on either similar or different preferences for jokes and paintings), with a procedure adopted from Ames (2012). Indeed, participants were more likely to choose the recommended research task when the advisor was similar (65% choose the recommended task), but their preferences reversed when the advisor was dissimilar and they were more likely to choose the *non-recommended* research task (60%, $\chi^2_{study1}(1) = 8.31, p = .004$;

$\chi^2_{study2}(1) = 12.96, p < .001$). Mediation analyses show that this effect is driven by a difference in perceived similarity and not by differences in liking.

People predominantly use (irrelevant) contextual cues in their decision making when they lack more objective information, and we expect this to moderate the impact of dissimilarity on preferences. In Study 2, we manipulate whether the recommendation contains objective information (about the content of the research task) and find that the tendency for preference reversals as a consequence of dissimilarity diminishes when the recommendation itself is perceived as relatively more informative. Finally, in Study 3 we examine the impact of dissimilarity in another setting that allows us to discriminate between the differentiation and the discounting account – positive versus negative recommendations for holiday destinations. While the discounting account predicts relatively minor differences in attitudes after a positive versus negative recommendation from a dissimilar advisor, we propose and find that people are actually more positive ($M = 5.72, SD = 1.35$) after a negative as compared to after a positive recommendation ($M = 4.84, SD = 1.60$) from a dissimilar advisor, $F(1,65) = 7.61, p < .01$. Further, the idea that people will use dissimilarity as information in their preference formation based on which they infer what they *do not* want implies that this requires a relative intense cognitive process. People have to mentally reverse the information received from the dissimilar advisor in order to infer their own (opposite) preferences, which requires intense processing (Gilbert, Tafarodi, and Malone 1993). This implies that the preference reversal should occur predominantly when people are in an analytical mindset, but diminish when people are in a more superficial processing mindset, focused on intuition and feelings. Study 3 provides evidence for this moderation by processing mindset, $F(1,65) = 5.67, p = .02$. Finding stronger differentiation effects when people are in an analytical (versus an emotional) mindset also further confirms that this differentiation is not driven by more affective or motivational processes (Hilmert, Kulik, and Christenfeld 2006).

Our results contradict the notion of advice discounting and show that people use the opinion of dissimilar advisors as information in their preference formation. Rather than following the recommendation, people infer that their preferences in the recommendation domain are opposite as well. We provide evidence for the underlying process and show that these effects are not driven by motivational processes or differences in liking. The current findings have important implications. Theoretically, they point at the (to date overlooked) importance of dissimilarity in persuasion and provide a valid alternative explanation for many research findings that have been interpreted as consistent with the discounting account. Practically, they show that perceptions of dissimilarity can unintentionally have adverse consequences for persuasion effectiveness.

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Building Brand Equity through Bundling: The Effect of Cross-Brand Promotions on Perceptions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Introduction

Most research on brand alliances have assumed a positive effect of such alliances. Whether one brand is an ingredient in the other (Vaidyanathan and Aggarwal 2000) or two brands with complementary associations choose to collaborate on a joint brand (Erdem and Swait 1998), the explanatory mechanism for the benefits of a brand alliance is that the associations consumers have with one brand flow to the other as an outcome of associative network models of memory (Cunha, Forehand, and Angle 2015) or signaling (Erdem and Swait 1998).

Recently several grocery stores in the United States have offered Buy-One-Get-One free (BOGO) deals for complementary product bundles that pair a national brand with a store brand, with the goal of linking the two brands together in a way that communicates a brand alliance. No actual partnership between the manufacturers is necessary and the retailer controls the association between the two brands simply by selling them together in a bundle.

The present research was designed to address the question of whether such retail-level associations – bundling a lesser-known and a well-known brand as part of a retail promotional offer – can result in a transfer of positive associations as with traditional brand alliances. Three studies examined the impact of such offers on consumer perceptions of the brands.

Study 1

Forty students at a Midwestern US University participated for course credit. Subjects saw one of two versions of an advertisement that offered a promotional bundle where subjects could buy a bag of chips for \$3.99 and get a bottle of salsa (valued at \$3.99) for free. The advertised chips were either a well-known national brand (Tostitos) or an unknown brand (Poco Loco - identified in the ad as a store brand). The salsa advertised was always the unknown brand (Poco Loco).

The attitude towards the unknown salsa brand was significantly different depending on whether it was bundled with the national vs. the unknown store brand (3.96 versus 4.61; $p < .05$). Unexpectedly, pairing the unknown brand with the national brand resulted in lower brand attitude towards the unknown brand.

An alternate explanation is that evaluations of the unknown brand of salsa were enhanced in the “unknown chips” condition due to a brand matching effect (Rahinel and Redden 2013).

Study 2

The procedure and measures were identical to study 1. The only difference was that the target brand (salsa) was clearly branded with the identity of a well-known grocery store. Secondly, the “store brand” chips used an unknown store brand (“President’s Choice”) that was different from the brand of salsa.

Forty-eight students participated in the study. The deal with the national brand chips and store brand salsa was seen as significantly better value than the unknown brand chips and store brand salsa (5.70 v. 5.06; $p = .017$). However, there was no statistically significant difference in the attitude towards the store brand salsa across the conditions (4.16 v. 4.02; $p = .69$). The preference for the national brand chips did not transfer over to the store brand salsa bundled with the chips. Debriefing respondents suggested that this may have been due

to strong pre-existing attitudes towards the store brand used for the salsa. To rule out the explanation that preexisting attitudes towards the familiar store brand attenuated any transfer of brand equity from the national brand chips, an additional study was conducted.

Study 3A and 3B

Study 3 used a simple BOGO offer with a single product category – salsa. In study 3A, subjects could buy either a known brand (Tostitos) or an unknown brand (Arriba!) of salsa and get an unknown brand (Amigos) for free. In Study 3B, the salsa being purchased was the unknown brand (Amigos) in both versions of the ad. The salsa being offered for free was either the known brand or the unknown brand.

Subjects had a significantly more negative attitude towards the unknown brand of salsa (4.03 vs. 4.67; $p < .05$) and were less willing to buy the target (unknown) salsa (3.2 vs. 4.2; $p < .01$) when they saw it bundled with a well-known brand compared to when they saw it bundled with an unknown brand.

In study 3B also, subjects had a lower attitude towards the unknown target brand (Amigos) (4.1 vs. 4.6; $p < .05$) and lower willingness to buy (3.42 vs. 4.01; $p < .05$) when it was paired with a well-known brand compared to an unknown brand.

Together, irrespective of the focal (paid for) brand, when an unknown brand is bundled with a well-known brand, consumers perceive it less favorably. Rather than the positive associations of the stronger brand flowing to the weaker brand, the positive associations of the stronger brand lowers attitude towards and willingness to buy the unknown brand.

General Discussion

When brands are bundled together by a retailer, the association between the brands is not an explicit partnership, but an implicit pairing. This study explored whether a weak brand can leverage the equity of a strong brand merely by having both brands bundled together as part of a promotion, a phenomenon which has increasingly been observed among US grocery stores.

Contrary to expectations, linking an unknown brand with a well-known brand (vs. another unknown brand) in a promotional bundle hurts the unknown brand, resulting in lowered attitude and willingness to buy.

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Number Sharpness in the Communication of Nutritional Information

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The communication of nutritional information has become more important in recent years, as preventable health conditions relating to poor diet and exercise have continued to rise (Macera, 2010), even though healthy options are increasingly available to consumers. While researchers have addressed such important topics as utilizing technology to provide consumers with nutritional information (Lowe, de Souza-Monteiro, & Fraser 2013), an important question is how consumers process and are influenced by numerical nutritional information displayed on food packages. For example, a stroll down the grocery aisle shows that both “round” (e.g., 10g fat) and “sharp” (e.g., 9.5g fat) numbers are commonly displayed on food packages. While some authors have examined the role of round vs. sharp numbers in prices (Thomas, Simon, & Kadiyali, 2010), researchers have yet to examine whether consumers process round and sharp numbers differently in the context of nutritional information, and whether consumers’ evaluations of food products will be influenced by the use of sharp vs. round numbers in the specification of nutritional information. The present research addresses these questions.

Drawing from previous research showing that sharp numbers are perceived as providing more specific and concrete information (Janiszewski & Uy 2008; Zhang & Schwarz 2013), while round numbers are easy to process and provide more abstract information (Thomas et al., 2010), we propose that when people are more concerned about nutritional ingredients, their desire for precise and concrete information will be stronger, and consequently they will favor sharp numbers over round numbers. In contrast, when people are less concerned about nutritional ingredients, the advantage of round numbers (processing ease) and the disadvantage of sharp numbers (processing difficulty) will stand out; consequently people will be more likely to favor round numbers over sharp numbers. We tested this general proposition in three studies and find consistent support.

Study 1 tested our proposition by examining an individual-difference variable that influences individuals’ concern about nutritional information: dieting status. Participants were asked to imagine that they were shopping for canned soup in a supermarket and came upon a brand of canned soup. They were shown a can of “Progresso” soup, on which a banner near the center of the package displayed a piece of nutritional information. We manipulated a) whether the number was round (10) or sharp (9, 9.5, 10.5, or 11), and b) whether the nutritional ingredient was healthy (grams of protein) or unhealthy (grams of fat). For the dependent measure, participants were asked to indicate how much they were willing to pay for a can of the soup. At the end of the study, participants indicated whether or not they were currently on a diet. We reasoned that dieters would be more concerned about nutritional information than would non-dieters. An ANOVA on WTP found a significant dieting x number sharpness two-way interaction (the four sharp numbers were combined into a single sharp-number condition). The pattern was in accord with our proposition: Dieters indicated significantly higher WTP in the sharp-number condition than in the round-number condition, whereas non-dieters indicated slightly higher WTP in the round-number condition than the sharp-number condition. Ingredient valence did not influence this two-way interaction or have a main effect on WTP. The findings of Study 1 suggest a general tendency of consumers to favor sharp numbers when they are more concerned about nutritional information.

Study 2 extended these findings by examining how positioning a product explicitly as a healthy option moderates this basic pattern. We reasoned that the presence of a “healthy” label would lower dieters’ concern about and decrease their attentiveness to nutritional information, consequently decreasing their preference for sharp numbers. To shed light on the underlying process, we measured participants’ satisfaction with the amount of nutritional information provided. The product was the same as that in Study 1, though only the negative-ingredient condition (fat) was included; we also employed a different set of numbers (round: 10.0; sharp: 9.5, 9.7, 10.3, or 10.5). Half of the participants were told that the soup was part of a health-conscious line of low-fat soups; the other half were not given this information. Results revealed a significant three-way interaction. When the low-fat frame was absent, we found a significant two-way interaction, replicating the results from Study 1. When the low-fat frame was present, however, there were no significant main effects or interactions. Analysis of the satisfaction measure revealed a significant three-way interaction, the pattern of which was similar to that found for WTP. When the low-fat frame was absent (present), dieters were more satisfied with the amount of nutritional information in the sharp-number (round-number) condition. Furthermore, mediation analysis showed that the indirect effect of the 3-way interaction on WTP through satisfaction with the amount of information was significant.

Study 3 aimed to generalize the findings of Study 2 by examining another individual-difference variable that influences motivation to process nutritional information—objective knowledge about nutrition. We reasoned that more knowledgeable individuals would be more attentive to the quantitative nutritional information on the soup than would less knowledgeable individuals. The design of Study 3 was similar to that of Study 2, except that we measured participants’ nutritional knowledge using the scale from Andrews, Netemeyer, and Burton (2009), rather than dieting status. To show that our findings generalize to other dependent measures, we used ratings of purchase likelihood as the dependent variable. The results replicated the three-way interaction found in Study 2, such that more (less) knowledgeable participants showed the same pattern of results as the dieters (non-dieters) in Study 2 on both purchase likelihood and satisfaction with the amount of information. Mediation analysis of the 3-way interaction was also replicated.

Together, these studies show that both the type of product under consideration and consumer characteristics affect how round vs. sharp numbers are evaluated, contributing to our knowledge of numerical processing and the communication of nutritional information. Moreover, due to the increasing importance of nutritional information and the ubiquity of numbers in the marketplace, these results have important implications for both the effective marketing of food products and consumer welfare.

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Transnational Religious Connections through Digital Media: Seeking Halal Food in Non-Muslim Majority Regions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

With spiritual lifestyles being increasingly supported via digital media, a need exists to increase understanding of how social media platforms intercede in the relationship between religion and markets. This study investigates the role of social media tools in connecting and mediating transnational religious communities and markets, using the search for halal food as a focal point. This research uses netnographic analysis to seek answers to the following question: What are the paths through which social media interactions mediate religion and markets to enable faith-based consumption experiences? In our exploration of this question, we find that Internet-based interactions not only directly affect the religious market, but have broader influences. In particular, this research aims to explore the types of interactions that may have occurred among the Muslims on social media that lead to community interactions.

Food and eating serves a vital role in virtually all religious traditions and practices, through both formal and informal means, including feasting, fasting, sharing, taboos, offerings, sacrifices, consumption of symbolic foods, and dietetic regimens (Anderson 2005). Above all, food codes serve to bind groups across time and space (Durkheim 1915/1965). Religiously-defined food patterns are seldom static, interacting with place and time to inspire adoptions, compromises, and innovations in food practices (Finch 2010). Consequently, within single religious traditions, including Islam, there are often diverse, and even conflicting, interpretations of eating rules (Kraemer 2010).

The growth of Muslim residents in the U.S. (Pew Research Center 2011), combined with a growing Muslim tourist market (Jafari and Scott 2014), has led to an increasing demand in the U.S. for halal food. Halal food—i.e. food that is permissible under Islamic law—not only is mandated by religion, but is perceived by many Muslims to be healthier, tastier, and more hygienic (Regenstein, Chaudry, and Regenstein 2003). Obtaining halal food in the U.S. can be onerous and, even in places where halal food can be easily purchased, regulation is not uniform, meaning that assurance of standards can be shrouded in uncertainty. Further complicating the search process, the standards of what makes meat “halal” can differ widely (Robinson 2014; Wilson 2014). In short, a number of factors can make procuring halal food a challenge in geographic regions that are not majority Muslim.

This study analyzes the content from three well-known websites that offer sub-sites specifically devoted to the review of halal food retailers and are widely used by both local residents and tourists or travelers. These websites were chosen based on the open interactions among users, global participation, and availability of basic demographics of the reviewers. Key threads and posts were selected from each website based on keywords that were frequently used when searching for halal food (e.g. *Halal food/ Halal Restaurants/ Halal Burger in a city, Halal certification, Halal meat/ chicken, Zabihah etc.*) Altogether, a total of 2,064 reviews were collected and analyzed.

The findings highlight the challenges that Muslims in non-Muslim minority regions often face in locating reliable sources of halal food and the benefits that social media tools can provide in over-

coming obstacles. Three major types of community dynamics were identified: *linking, protecting, and defending communities*. First, a common lament by halal seekers on the social media websites relates to a lack of reliable sources where they are currently living, or when traveling to tourism destinations. In the face of this challenge, many halal seekers take responsibility for helping others in identifying good sources through social media postings. The communities that develop provide a vital service in informing members of their options as they navigate the line between “purism” and “pragmatism” (Fischer 2008). Next, a notable feature of reviews of halal restaurants is the protector and educator roles that some social media participants acquire in evaluating the authenticity of halal products. Some halal seekers assume a responsibility to verify halal status of food when they eat out, not only for themselves, but as a service to the Muslim social media community and the wider community at large. Third, an active minority of reviewers assert a leadership role in calling upon fellow community members to unite to alter marketplace dynamics. Commenters may suggest that others join forces in boycotting a restaurant they believe is misleading the community; to request certain products or services (e. g. Zabihah); or simply to consistently ask for proof of halal status. Debates spawned in the process offer forums for individuals to clarify their own understandings related to halal-haram status. The very process of interacting—either actively or passively—on a social media site serves to shape religious practices and ideologies in ways that are likely to alter the marketplace. Further, community interaction involves adaptive dynamics, through which communities function fluidly in both the cyber-world and the “real world” (Putnam 2012).

As our results show, digital media not only provides a valuable tool for religious practitioners who are searching for and evaluating religious product and services but has the potential to transform the relationship between religion and the market in a number of important ways. At the most basic level, digital media can function as a conduit between businesses and religious segments with unmet needs, providing market-based solutions to geographically dispersed individuals. As a by-product of this process, digital tools link sub-communities with a diversity of allegiances to religious practices, potentially altering standards of what is acceptable to buy and eat, and, concordantly, what it means to be faithful (Mittelstaedt 2002).

Linking sub-communities through social media can serve to overcome the “marginalization” that can be associated with being a member of a minority religion (El-Bassiouny 2014) and serve a vital role in identity construction (Sandikci and Ger 2010). In the process of providing a means to unite communities, social media platforms can also stimulate dialogues that expose and deepen factions in the community. As such, the information shared by social media participants addresses not only “what can I buy?” but “what SHOULD I buy?” Altogether, social media platforms are increasingly playing a prominent role in mediating the market and religion to interpret and alter consumption patterns and, for some, support an identity-affirming life.

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Goal Specificity, Subjective Impact, and the Dynamics of Consumer Motivation

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers often adopt and pursue goals that lack specific objectives. This lack of specificity does not make such goals unimportant: a consumer with a financial goal to waste as little money as possible is no less concerned about his finances than one who sets a precise budget. In a pilot survey we found that non-specific personal goals were as common as specific goals and goal specificity was uncorrelated with how important the goal was to the individual. This indicates that non-specific goals are as prevalent and important as specific goals in consumers' lives.

The present research looks at how the dynamics of motivation differ for non-specific versus specific goals. Whereas past work has examined the effects of goal specificity on goal commitment (Wright and Kacmar 1994; Naylor and Ilgen 1984), perceived difficulty (Ulukumen and Cheema 2011), and goal achievement (Locke et al. 1989), we consider how goal specificity alters the effects of progress on subsequent motivation. Building on a framework of goals as reference points (Heath, Larrick and Wu 1999), we explore how consumers evaluate goal progress without a salient end-state reference point. We argue that, in such cases, individuals are likely to compare their progress along the goal dimension to the initial-state reference point (Koo and Fishbach 2008, 2012; Wiebenga and Fennis 2014). This change in monitoring should make incremental steps of progress seem less impactful as progress along the goal dimension accumulates, undermining subsequent motivation (Bonezzi, Brendl and DeAngelis 2011). This is remarkably different from the dynamics of specific goals, where a large body of literature has shown generally positive effects of progress on subsequent motivation (e.g., Kivetz, Urminsky and Zheng 2006).

We tested the predicted effects of goal specificity and progress in three empirical studies. Studies 1 and 2 demonstrated that specificity moderates the effect of progress on motivation during goal pursuit, and that progress decreases subsequent motivation for consumers with non-specific goals. Study 1 assigned participants either a specific or a maximizing goal for an effortful lab game and found that those with a maximizing goal felt significantly less motivated after completing more rounds of the game, whereas those with a specific goal did not. Study 2 conceptually replicated this finding by asking participants to imagine pursuing a specific or a maximizing weight loss goal. Participants with a maximizing goal reported that they would feel significantly less motivated after losing a larger amount of weight, whereas those with a specific weight loss goal did not.

Study 3 tested the underlying mechanism of subjective impact, and also examined the effects of progress in the domain of personal budgeting, where consumers seek to restrain their progress along the goal dimension (i.e., dollars spent). Participants who read about a scenario in which they had a non-specific budget for holiday gifts (i.e., minimizing goal) showed significantly less preference for an inexpensive purchase option (vs. a premium option) after having spent relatively more money so far, whereas those with a specific goal showed the opposite effect. This change was mediated by a decline in subjective impact: participants with a non-specific goal reported that the price difference between purchase options seemed less impactful when they had spent relatively more money already.

Together, these three studies demonstrate that consumers with non-specific goals react to progress in a manner very different from consumers with specific goals. As they move further from their initial

reference point along the goal dimension, consumers see incremental steps of progress as less impactful and therefore they become less motivated. This occurs both when progress along the goal dimension is desirable (e.g., pounds lost) and when it is undesirable (e.g., dollars spent).

Our work offers an important theoretical contribution by connecting prior work on goal specificity (Locke et al. 1989; Wright and Kacmar 1994; Ulukumen and Cheema 2011) with the growing literature on the role of reference points and subjective impact in goal pursuit (Heath et al. 1999; Bonezzi et al. 2011; Koo and Fishbach 2012). In doing so, we identify a novel effect of specificity on the dynamics of motivation and shed new light on the psychology of non-specific consumer goals.

These findings also have several implications for marketers and consumers. Most notably, whereas marketers can encourage consumers to work toward specific consumption-related goals (e.g., loyalty program rewards, product collections) by emphasizing progress or even endowing progress (Nunes and Dreze 2006; Kivetz et al. 2006), these strategies are liable to backfire in the context of non-specific goals. Such issues are also likely to arise for group goals, as past research suggests that people attend to much of the same information when pursuing group goals as they do when pursuing personal goals (Koo and Fishbach 2008; Huang and Zhang 2011). Consequently, marketing communications aimed at encouraging participation in group goals (e.g., fundraising drives, petitions) should be framed differently for non-specific versus specific goals. Once a fair amount of progress has accumulated for non-specific group goals, consumers will feel that their contribution has very little impact on the overall goal and therefore be less likely to participate. Marketers may be able to overcome this problem by directly bolstering the subjective impact of consumers' individual contributions, or by encouraging comparisons to more proximal reference points (e.g., social comparisons, subgoals, prior performance) rather than the initial-state reference point.

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How Does Cultural Self-Construal Influence Coupon Proneness?: Evidence from Laboratory, Field Study, and Secondary Datasets

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The recent economic slowdown as well as rising food and energy prices have increased consumers' use of coupons as a means to stretch their dollar. For instance, \$470 billion worth of coupons were issued by consumer package goods marketers in 2011, a 26% increase over the previous five years. The total coupons redeemed in 2011 resulted in savings of \$4.6 billion, which is 12.2% higher than in 2010, and 58.6% higher than the pre-recession period of 2007 (NCH Marketing Services 2012). In this paper, we pose the question: does coupon usage depend on consumers' cultural values? We examine whether consumers of different self-construals and cultural backgrounds differ in their propensity to use coupons (henceforth, "coupon proneness") and their actual coupon usage.

Why and how may cultural self-construal influence the tendency to use coupons? We propose that consumers with an interdependent self-construal are more likely to be coupon prone and to actually use coupons than those with an independent self-construal. These tendencies can be traced to self-construal differences in self-regulation, which fosters the use of coupons. Previous research suggests that interdependents (vs. independents) are more likely to exercise self-restraint to maintain harmony with others and to promote social cohesion (Kacen and Lee 2002; Zhang and Shrum 2009). These constraints compel interdependents to be vigilant and cautious, and to self-regulate their behavior, even in non-social domains (Seeley and Gardner 2003). We suggest that consumers who do (vs. do not) engage in self-regulation are more likely to be coupon prone because the use of coupons entails multi-step processes requiring effort and energy.

A multi-method approach was used to establish reliability and generalizability across four studies. All the key variables including coupon proneness, self-construal, and self-regulatory tendencies were assessed using a variety of measures and manipulations. In study 1a, we used 7 different consumer panel datasets collected by A.C. Nielsen. Each dataset included purchase information of 40,000-60,000 U.S. households. Using logistic regressions, we analyzed all 7 datasets separately using three different dependent variables focusing on whether Caucasians and Asians differed 1) in their coupon use, 2) in the dollar amount saved by using a coupon, and 3) in the percentage of the total price saved by using the coupon. Previous research (e.g., Aaker and Williams 1998; Escalas and Bettman 2005) provides extensive evidence that Caucasians (vs. Asians) tend to be more independent and less interdependent. Accordingly, we found that Asians and Hispanics (interdependents) were more likely to use coupons, saved more money—both in dollars and percent terms—using coupons, compared to Caucasians (independents).

In study 1b, we examined the relationship between self-construal and coupon proneness via a field study in which participants were given a real coupon to redeem at a local store. We also ascertained the generalizability of our results using a managerially actionable operationalization of self-construal (i.e., via priming), and ruled out the role of price sensitivity and other demographic variables. A logistic regression with coupon redemption as the dependent variable and self-construal prime, demographics and price sensitivity as independent variables revealed significant effects of self-construal prime ($\beta(1) = 2.19$, $\text{Exp}(\beta) = 8.92$, $\text{Wald} = 6.26$, $p < .02$) and gender ($\beta(1) = 2.65$, $\text{Exp}(\beta) = 14.13$, $\text{Wald} = 5.35$, $p < .03$). The effects of all other

variables were non-significant (p 's ranged from .11 to .50). Hence, study 1b revealed that consumers primed with interdependence (vs. independence) were significantly more likely to redeem coupons after controlling for price sensitivity and the demographic variables.

In study 2, we examined the mechanism underlying these findings. Specifically, we tested the hypothesis that the relationship between self-construal and coupon proneness is mediated by self-regulation. Moreover, we operationalized coupon proneness using a different and realistic variable for generalizability purposes—the actual number of coupons used in the last three months (as recalled by participants). A linear regression with recalled actual coupon usage as the dependent measure and interdependence, independence, and all other control variables as the independent variables revealed a significant effect of interdependence ($\beta = .19$, $t(93) = 2.10$, $p < .05$) and price sensitivity ($\beta = .41$, $t(93) = 4.64$, $p < .001$). The effects of independence ($\beta = .08$, $t(93) = .79$, $p > .42$) and other control variables were not significant (p 's ranged from .42 to .92). The mediation hypothesis was supported by a bootstrapping procedure with 10000 iterations [the 95% confidence interval excluded zero (.01 to .18)]; Zhao, Lynch, and Chen 2010).

In study 3, we examined the effects of constraining participants' self-regulatory tendencies. We predicted usurping participants' self-regulatory resources should attenuate the self-construal-coupon-proneness link. A linear regression on coupon proneness revealed non-significant effects of interdependence, independence, depletion condition, or control variables, and a significant interaction between the two ($\beta = .23$, $t(116) = 2.53$, $p < .05$). Next, we conducted separate regression analyses in the depletion and non-depletion conditions and included all the control variables. In the non-depletion condition, the beta coefficient for interdependence was positive ($\beta = .36$, $t(52) = 2.75$, $p < .05$), replicating the results of the previous studies wherein participants were not depleted. However, this coefficient was non-significant in the depletion condition ($\beta = -.1$, $t(56) = -.79$, $p > .43$), supporting our hypotheses.

Collectively, our studies provide converging and robust evidence for the role of self-construal in coupon proneness. This research offers several theoretical and managerial contributions. We provide novel insights on the coupon prone consumer and uncover the role of culture and self-regulation in the tendency to use coupons. We also shed light on the underlying mechanism by showing that the path from self-construal to coupon proneness runs through self-regulation, and uncover a boundary condition based on resource depletion. The findings have implications for fine-tuning marketers' segmentation and targeting endeavors.

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The Present is not the Present: How Processing the Present Progressive Brings Future Events and Promotional Deadlines Closer

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When expressing present actions in the English language, several options are possible of which the present progressive and the simple present are the two most common. While linguistically most verbs are classed to either embrace (so called perfectives) or refuse (so called imperfectives) the present progressive, advertisements messages in line with recent developments in linguistics often use both forms “interchangeably”. An example is McDonald’s famous marketing slogan “I am loving it”, which uses the present progressive versus the more common simple present for the verb (to) love (e.g. the city of New York’s slogan “I love New York”). However when looking at how the famous slogan is translated into other languages, we see that McDonalds uses the simple present even in languages, for which a progressive tense exists (German slogan: “Ich liebe es” instead of “Ich bin es am Lieben”). This suggests that companies may have the assumption that tense doesn’t have an impact on consumers.

However, verb tenses as linguistic inducers have been shown to prime a particular mode of processing that continues to be engaged even after language is no longer in use (Wolff and Holmes 2011). Based on the tense-specific characteristics of the progressive expressing an (1) incomplete action or state in progress 2) that is realistically accomplishable (with no exact duration of the temporal frame) 3) at a specific time around the now, and 4) that implies a subjective sense of immediacy to the speaker (Jespersen 1932, Langacker 2001) and previous work in cognitive linguistics (e.g., Athanasopoulos et al. 2015), we hypothesize that more attentional resources are allocated to an action described in present progressive (compared to one in simple present). The action stated in present progressive is on-going and vividly imagined which captures attentive resources (Madden and Zwaan 2003). The heightened attentional focus in turn speeds up time passage (Block, Hancock, and Zakay 2010). When time goes by faster, the future starts sooner and future events move temporally closer (Maglio and Hershfield 2014). We thus derive the hypothesis that:

Hypothesis: Processing statements in present progressive (versus simple present) moves future events temporally closer.

Across six studies, we show the described effect as well as the related process. More precisely, we show that the present progressive moves promoted events (e.g., a marathon event, studies 1-5) and promotional deadlines (e.g., coupon deadlines, study 6) that lie in the future temporally closer. We provide evidence for the process being related to more attention being paid to a statement made in present progressive and show that when cognitive load is introduced, the effect can be attenuated (study 1). We rule out two relevant alternative explanations: differences in frequency of using the present progressive (studies 2-5) and differences in construal level activated by different verb tenses (study 3 and 4). We use English-Dutch and English-Spanish samples (as in Dutch and Spanish expressing actions in progress in simple present is more common than in English) to replicate that the present progressive condition moves a future event closer, even when accounting for differences in fluency. In study 3 and 4 we also rule out the alternative explanation that using or processing the present progressive activates a lower-level

of construal and show that our manipulation does not affect time-dependent preference that have been shown to react to differences in construal such as job-preferences with differently interesting training and job periods. It even produces reverse effects on event probability compared to what would be predicted by construal level theory. The reason is that when processing the present progressive, attentional resources are allocated to the ongoing, described activity stated in present progressive. If for example one reads “John is reading a book”, he/she will vividly imagine the action of someone reading a book. While this speeds up time and makes the future start closer (and with it brings future events closer), the focus of attention remains on the action of “reading a book”. When evaluating the probability of any action/event but “reading the book”, attentive resources are occupied which makes any other action/event to be perceived as less probable. We further support our reasoning that time passes when participants process present progressive and use a classical measure to show a faster perceived time passage, namely video duration estimates. Those in the present progressive condition perceive the video duration as significantly shorter than those in the simple present condition and as significantly shorter than the objectively correct video length in seconds (study 4). In the last two studies, we show that the bias created by the present progressive has important effects on marketing and can be used strategically. We show that if an event is perceived to happen sooner, people will feel a greater need to “get ready” for the event which positively affects purchase intentions for event-related products. Those in the present progressive condition show a greater willingness-to-pay for event-related products (e.g., running gear for a marathon event in study 5) than those in the simple present condition. We also collect field data and show that the present progressive can be used to move coupon redemption deadlines perceptually closer and therewith increase redemption numbers (study 6). A coupon deadline that is perceived as closer increases coupon redemption numbers as people redeem the coupon before forgetting about it or losing it.

To sum up, we introduce a new cognitive linguistic effect by examine how present progressive versus simple present affect time-based consumer decisions. We show that processing the present progressive makes time go by faster and thereby makes the future start sooner. With the future starting sooner, events that lie in the future move temporally closer (e.g., a sponsored marathon or promotional deadlines). This has important marketing-relevant effects as it increases willingness-to-pay for event-related products (e.g., sport goods) and increases coupon redemption rates. We contribute to the consumer behavior literature by being first to examine the effects of changes in verb tense.

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A Cautious Pursuit of Risk in Online Word-of-Mouth: The Effect of Truncated Distribution on Consumer Decisions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Understanding how consumers respond to risk in a word-of-mouth (WOM) setting has become more important than ever—modern day consumers often evaluate products based on others' WOM (e.g., product reviews on Amazon.com). Because the same product may receive positive and negative WOM from different reviewers, decision makers need to integrate different potential outcomes and handle risk. While there is growing interest in the influences of WOM on consumer decisions in general (Chevalier and Mayzlin 2006; Tang, Fang, and Wang 2014; Yadav and Pavlou 2014), few scholars have examined how consumers react to risk in the WOM setting.

Unlike risk studied in prior research, risk embedded in consumer WOM is unique in three important aspects. First, consumer WOM is typically characterized by multiple outcomes while choice options used in traditional risk studies mostly involve only two or three different outcomes (Kahneman and Tversky 1979; Thaler 1985). In order to collect and display consumer WOM, online retailers ubiquitously adopt a star-rating review system that captures at least five different potential outcomes of product experience (e.g., 1-5 stars on Yelp.com, 1-10 stars on IMDB.com, with more stars reflecting greater satisfaction). Since there are more outcomes to consider, the decision-making process becomes more cognitively challenging. Consequently, people may resort to certain information cues in order to reduce cognitive effort (Payne, Bettman, and Johnson 1993).

Second, consumers who rely on WOM often evaluate a product by interpreting risk from a WOM frequency distribution. Information technology adopted by online retailers and social media gives consumers easy access to abundant WOM. Due to their sheer volume, product reviews are often summarized in graphical forms, highlighting the distribution of WOM. Despite of being important topics, risk perception of frequency distribution and its influence on consumer decisions have received little attention.

Third, consumers do not have information regarding outcomes and probabilities of product performance, but have to draw inferences from others' consumption experience conveyed in WOM. Since people who provide WOM may share very different tastes, consumers may attribute variation in WOM to taste dissimilarity instead of risks in product performances. In contrast to past investigations on this specific issue (Chen and Lurie 2013; He and Bond 2015a), our research will hold reviewer taste constant and assume that WOM variation is largely attributed to uncertainty in product performances.

Drawing on research on WOM dispersion (Clemons, Gao, and Hitt 2006; West and Broniarczyk 1998) and visualization (Lurie and Mason 2007; Wedel and Pieters 2007), we propose that consumers would use visual cues when evaluating a product review. The use of such visual cues will trigger elongation bias (Raghubir and Krishna 1999; Wansink and Ittersum 2003) such that longest bars in a graphical WOM distribution will get more attention. Therefore, a product will look more appealing if its WOM distribution is truncated at the positive part and less appealing if its WOM distribution is truncated at the negative part. As a result, the interaction effect between WOM average and WOM dispersion on consumer choices predicted by prospect theory will be attenuated for truncated WOM distribution.

Four studies are designed to test these ideas. Analysis of field data collected from Amazon.com (Study 1) and a controlled lab experiment (Study 2) show that contrary to prospect theory predictions, a high-variance product is preferred as average rating increases.

Study 3 extends study 2 by purposefully manipulating the truncated feature of extreme and non-extreme WOM distribution. Our results show that when the WOM average is extreme but the WOM distribution is non-truncated, the choice pattern for a high-dispersion option is consistent with prospect theory. However, when the WOM average is non-extreme but the WOM distribution is truncated, the opposite choice pattern is revealed.

Study 4 provides further evidence for the findings from studies 1-3 by directly manipulating truncation of WOM distribution. Our findings suggest that truncation feature of a WOM distribution can exaggerate consumers' perception on the most salient bars (i.e., elongation bias)—depending on it occurs at the lower or higher end of a scale—so that they may either underestimate or overestimate the rating of the choice option. Accordingly, this misperception can affect their choices for high-dispersion options negatively or positively.

Our research offers several contributions. First, this paper helps reconcile long-standing mixed findings in the research of consumers' preference for WOM dispersion (Clemons et al. 2006; Moe and Trusov 2011), in which WOM dispersion is found to lead to positive, negative, or unclear consumer responses. Our research aims to consolidate these findings by taking into account the role of WOM distribution feature and suggests that whether WOM dispersion is preferable as the average rating of WOM increases depending on the truncated feature of WOM distribution. Second, this research adds important nuance into the reference-dependent approach (e.g., prospect theory) by factoring in visual cues in the decision-making process, which enriches our understanding of decisions made with graphical display of risks. Managerially, our research provides important insights for online retailers and web designers who seek ways to harness the power of WOM and to put their business on the fast track in social media.

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The 'Even-Odd Effect' in Consumers' Reactions to Prices:

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The purpose of this project is to contribute to understanding of consumers' reactions to different price-endings. Considerable behavioral research has been devoted to the impacts of zero- and nine- price endings. Among the findings are that prices ending in zero are associated with "higher quality," while those ending in nine are associated with "lower cost." However, consumers often encounter the other eight digits as price endings as well: it has been estimated that 43% of consumer prices in the U.S. end in one of the other digits (Schindler and Kirby 1997). How do consumers respond to these? Are there systematic responses that relate to those for zero and nine?

Recent psychological research shows systematic distinctions in automatic responses to odd versus even numbers (Wilkie and Bodenhausen 2012; 2015): building on spreading activation theory (Rumelhart, Hinton, and McClelland 1986), we propose that digits sharing 'even-odd' properties will demonstrate similar consumer price-ending impacts to zero and nine. In the present context, this means that representations of numbers that share the feature of oddness, for example, will overlap in memory. Representations of '9' will partially overlap with the representation of all other odd numbers. By virtue of this cognitive connection, meanings associated with one odd number can come to be shared with the other odd numbers. In this case, we propose that as zero-ending (nine-ending) prices have been associated with higher quality (lower cost) (Schindler and Kibarian 2001), similar perceptions of higher quality should extend to other (non-zero) even-ending prices, given the strong associative links in memory among all numbers sharing the property of evenness. Based on this reasoning, we hypothesize that prices ending in 2, 4, 6, and 8 will be associated with higher expense and higher quality perceptions than prices ending in 1, 3, 5, or 7.

The paper reports a series of three experiments in which we test the following hypotheses (note that we avoid using zero or nine as price-endings, thus providing more conservative tests of even vs. odd pricing):

Hypothesis 1: Consumers associate even-ending prices with higher expense (H1a) and higher quality (H1b) than odd-ending prices

Hypothesis 2: Consumers who wish to expend as little money as possible respond more favorably to stores with odd-ending prices (H2a), while those seeking higher quality respond more favorably to stores with even-ending prices (H2b).

Studies 1a and 1b used the Implicit Association Test (IAT), a widely used method for measuring relative strength of automatic associations in memory. 100 U.S. consumers were recruited to participate in each study via Amazon MTurk. Using standardized IAT procedures, participants were asked (Study 1a) to categorize words as being either "Good Quality" or "Bad Quality" and prices as either "Even Prices" or "Odd Prices" (Study 1b used "Expensive" or "Cheap" and "Even Prices" or "Odd Prices"). Seven trial blocks (practice and test) were undertaken in each study, with counterbalanced stimuli. Strength of association is determined by

participants' reaction times to different pairings: Greenwald, Nosek, and Banaji's (2003) improved scoring algorithm was used to create an IAT D-score for each participant, ranging from -2 to +2, here with positive direction and size reflecting stronger associations.

For study 1a, as predicted, the mean IAT D-score was +.79 (sd = .33), $t(87) = 22.25$, $p < .001$. This shows that consumers do associate prices ending in 2, 4, 6, or 8 with "higher quality" than prices ending in 1, 3, 5, or 7. For study 1b, the mean IAT D-score was .23 (sd = .47), $t(80) = 4.26$, $p < .001$, indicating that consumers do associate prices ending in 2, 4, 6, or 8 with greater expense than prices ending in 1, 3, 5, or 7.

Study 2 extended analyses to price-ending impacts on consumer predispositions, incorporating purchase motivation as a moderator. H2a proposes that consumers trying to spend as little as possible will respond more favorably to odd-ending prices, while H2b proposes that consumers seeking higher quality will respond more favorably to even-ending prices.

A 2 (price endings: odd, even) x 2 (shopping motivation: low expense, high quality) between-subjects design was employed, with 200 undergraduate participants told to imagine being in the market to buy a new car, currently gathering information, without a preference yet, and seeking to purchase a high quality/low expense automobile. Analysis of the shopping motivation manipulation indicated success, with each condition's consumers reflecting the differential goals of the instructions. Participants were then shown an automobile dealership advertisement displaying nine cars, with prices all even-ending (2, 4, 6, or 8) or odd-ending (1, 3, 5, or 7), and completed an array of responses.

First, a univariate ANOVA test for price affect for the dealer revealed the expected interaction between price-ending and shopper motivation, ($F(1,180) = 8.09$, $p < .01$). Consumers in the low price motivation condition evaluated the dealer's prices more favorably when seeing odd-ending prices than even-ending prices ($t(179) = 2.11$, $p = .02$), while consumers in the high quality condition evaluated the store's pricing more favorably when seeing even-ending prices than odd-ending prices ($t(179) = -1.90$, $p = .03$).

Would this price-specific reaction spread to the store overall? Consumers' affect toward the dealership was examined, with a univariate ANOVA yielding the anticipated interaction ($F(1,184) = 8.89$, $p < .01$). Consumers in the low expense condition were more positive about the dealership when seeing odd-ending prices than even-ending prices ($t(184) = 2.43$, $p < .01$), while consumers in the high quality condition were more positive about the even-priced dealership than the odd-ending price dealership ($t(184) = -1.78$, $p = .04$).

Moving to intentions, consumers' likelihood of patronizing the dealership supported the above results ($F(1,180) = 6.06$, $p = .02$). Within the low price condition, patronage intentions were higher for those who had seen odd-ending versus even-ending prices ($t(186) = 1.71$, $p = .04$), while in the high quality condition intentions were higher following exposure to even-ending than odd-ending prices ($t(186) = -1.77$, $p = .04$).

This research adds understanding to prior research on nine and zero price-endings, while also extending coverage to the other eight digits that consumers encounter in marketplace prices. It also

supports previous psychological research on people's qualitatively distinct themes for even and odd numbers. And, with respect to pricing, it introduces a new behavioral pricing phenomena; the "even-odd price-ending effect".

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Consumers Expect Favorable Evaluations and Generate More WOM When Buying on Deal

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers wrestle multiple motives when making purchases. Not only are they concerned about whether products will settle their needs, but they also worry about how others will view them based on what they purchase. On the one hand, they want to showcase their wealth and status through conspicuous consumption (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996; Nunes, Drèze and Han 2009; Ordabayeva and Chandon 2011), and on the other hand, they want to save money. The present research highlights a specific instance when consumers can have the best of both worlds; they can buy on deal, thus saving money, but also boost their status by highlighting their competence. We propose that because people expect to be evaluated favorably for purchasing on deal, they are more likely to engage in word of mouth (WOM) behavior for a deal purchase than the same purchase at full-price.

While research on conspicuous consumption suggests people want to show off their wealth to increase their status (Scott, Mende, and Bolton 2013; Veblen 1899/1994), and therefore may not want to advertise when they save money on purchases, other work finds that receiving price discounts can lead to positive self-perceptions and can generate smart-shopper feelings (Chandon et al. 2000; Darke and Freedman 1995; Schindler 1998). To the extent that people expect others to see them as competent for buying on deal, we argue consumers will be more likely to engage in WOM about deal, in comparison to full-price, purchases. We test this prediction in 6 studies.

Our first study examines whether consumers prefer to tell others about deals than full-price purchases. Consumers listed a friend they frequently talk to and generated two purchases (one full-price and one deal-price) they made within the past month. They were then assigned to choose one of these purchases to describe in writing (no imagined audience) or to describe to a friend (imagined audience). We find a marginal effect of sharing platform (writing vs. friend) on purchase (deal vs. full-price; $\chi^2(1, N = 366) = 3.67, p = .055$). Participants imagining sharing with an audience choose the deal purchase more often (62.1%; $p < .001$), with no difference when there was no imagined audience ($p = .61$).

Study 2 tests whether people are more likely to choose a deal purchase over a full-price purchase, controlling for the item bought. Participants made two purchases; one between two nutrition bars (both full-price, \$1.00) and the other between two other nutrition bars (one full-price, \$1.00; one deal-price, \$0.50). Participants then imagined telling a friend about one of the purchases they made. A majority of people chose the item on sale to tell their friend about (74.5%, $N = 76$), $\chi^2(1, N = 102) = 24.51, p < .001$.

Study 3 examines real WOM behavior, where participants engaged in a face-to-face conversation with a stranger. Participants were more likely to choose to tell their partner about a purchase they bought on deal (57.9%, $N = 117$) than at full-price (40.1%, $N = 81$), $(\chi^2(1, N = 198) = 6.55, p = .011)$. Additionally, people expected their partner to see them as more competent for talking about a deal purchase than a full-price purchase ($t(198) = 6.68, p < .001$).

Study 4 looked at consumers' expected evaluations when purchasing a product in a more controlled environment. All participants imagined purchasing a fleece jacket, either for \$45 (low-price),

\$90 (high-price) or \$45 marked down from \$90 (deal-price). Participants indicated they expected to be seen as more competent when buying the jacket on deal than at a low or high-price ($F(2,239) = 15.31, p < .001$) and they were also more likely to tell others about the purchase and the price paid when buying on deal compared with at a low or high-price ($F(2,239) = 25.54, p < .001$).

Not only do consumers expect to be evaluated as more competent when buying on deal (Studies 3-4), but they are actually seen as more competent (Study 5). In this study, participants learned about a friend buying a vacation package or flat screen TV for \$2,900 (high price) or for \$1,800 marked down from \$2,900 (deal-price). Participants imagining their friend made a deal purchase thought their friend should tell others about the purchase more than participants imagining their friend paid full-price ($F(1,196) = 22.48, p < .001$). They also evaluated their friend buying on deal as more competent ($F(1,196) = 18.56, p < .001$), warmer ($F(1,196) = 4.28, p = .04$), less materialistic ($F(1,196) = 13.47, p < .001$) and cheaper ($F(1,196) = 12.54, p < .001$) than buying at full-price, although only evaluations of competency mediated the effect of price on WOM behavior ($\beta = .13, SE = .06; 95\% CI = .03, .28$).

Our last study compares simple deal promotions with deals that "work-the-system" (Sela, Simonson, and Kivetz 2013) by highlighting consumers' knowledge and agency. We expect purchases where consumers have "worked-the-system" to be a special instance of purchasing on deal that can increase feelings of competency and thus generate greater WOM above and beyond simple deal promotions. In this study, we compare buying on deal with working-the-system by manipulating knowledge and agency in getting the deal, holding purchased item and discount constant. We find when making a deal purchase leads consumers to feel like they worked-the-system, they generate more WOM compared with purchasing at full-price ($t(297) = 5.51, p < .001$) or simple deal-price ($t(297) = 2.35, p = .02$). Working-the-system also increased expected evaluations of competency compared with full-price ($t(297) = 5.35, p < .001$) and simple deal-price purchases ($t(297) = 2.11, p = .036$).

Overall, we find consumers buying on deal expect others will evaluate them more competently and thus are more likely to tell others about their purchase compared with consumers buying at full-price. We find purchases involving agency and knowledge, where consumers "worked-the-system," are especially likely to increase expected evaluations of competency and WOM. These results point to important implications for marketers: consumers may be more likely to talk about products they buy on deal than at full-price.

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The Effects of Omitting-Then-Revealing Product Attribute Information: An Information Revelation Effect

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

When evaluating products, consumers frequently rely on presented information and neglect vital missing or unknown information; thus, increasing the likelihood of forming biased and resistant judgments (Sanbonmatsu et al., 1991). The present research investigates the effectiveness of a supposed debiasing technique designed to increase sensitivity to omissions. Specifically, we test the hypothesis that revealing previously omitted information: (1) increases sensitivity to the missing information, and (2) leads to overweighing and thus overcorrection.

This hypothesis is based on research demonstrating that consumers place greater weight on highly salient information (Gardner, 1983). Revealing a previously omitted attribute should increase its salience. According to Veitch and Griffitt (1976), when individuals process novel information that is positively (negatively) valenced they experience positive (negative) affect, subsequently affecting judgment. That is, the more individuals weigh a positive (negative) attribute, the more positivity (negativity) they should feel about the product.

Research shows that consumers vary in their willingness to consider new information (Oreg, 2003), and those unwilling to re-evaluate the product (i.e., those highly resistant to change) should not even attempt to correct for the revealed information.

Study 1

Study 1 served to demonstrate the information revelation effect. We hypothesized that omitting positive attribute information at initial evaluation and then revealing the information would increase purchase intentions, whereas revealing previously omitted, negative attribute information would decrease purchase intentions (H1).

Participants ($N = 220$) were randomly assigned to conditions in a 2 (Information Presentation: Omit-then-reveal or Never Omit) \times 2 (Information Valence: Positive or Negative) between-subjects design.

Participants formed two separate evaluations of the same product (a vacation package). Across conditions, the description of the vacation featured the same information about six product attributes. Three additional attributes were also presented, though the valence of this information was intentionally varied and pretested. After viewing the product, participants indicated their anticipated satisfaction with the product on 7-point scales anchored from 1 (very unhappy/unsatisfied) to 7 (very happy/satisfied) ($\alpha = .93$).

In the never omit condition, the omitted information was presented alongside the other six attributes. Whereas, in the omit-then-reveal condition, the information was revealed after participants had completed their initial evaluation of the vacation. Following the initial evaluation, participants indicated how much their purchase intentions had changed on three 11-point scales anchored at *much worse—much better*, *more unfavorable—more favorable*, and *less positive—more positive* ($\alpha = .98$).

All analyses were submitted to the same two-way ANOVAs. An ANOVA of initial evaluations revealed no significant main or interactive effects (all $ps > .4$), thus initial evaluations did not vary according to condition. By contrast, an ANOVA on perceived change in purchase intentions revealed a main effect of information valence

($F(1, 219) = 57.33, p < .001$), and the expected two-way interaction effect ($F(1, 219) = 42.55, p < .001$). In support of H1, in the positive valence condition, participants demonstrated a significant increase in purchase intentions when the calorie information was omitted-then-revealed relative to when it was never omitted ($t(112) = 4.89, p < .001$). In the negative valence condition, participants demonstrated a significant decrease in purchase intentions when the calorie information was omitted-then-revealed relative to when it was never omitted ($t(104) = -4.35, p < .001$).

Study 2

Study 2 sought to offer insight into the process underlying this information revelation effect. Specifically, we proposed that consumers would perceive revealed information as more diagnostic, and diagnosticity will drive the evaluative differences observed in Study 1 (H2). The same Study 1 design, procedure, and measures were used. The only difference is that participants indicated the perceived value of the omitted information on 9-point scales anchored at *not at all helpful—very helpful*, *not at all useful—very useful*, *not at all valuable—very valuable*, and *not at all beneficial—very beneficial* ($\alpha = .98$).

In support of H1, the results of an ANOVA on change in purchase intentions replicated the effects observed in Study 1. To determine whether this effect is mediated by affect, a mediated moderation analysis was conducted (Hayes 2012). As hypothesized (H2), the perceived diagnosticity of the omitted attribute explained why participants provided higher intentions to purchase the product when a negatively valenced attribute was omitted-then-revealed (95% CI: $-.38, -.03$), and when a positively valenced attribute was omitted-then-revealed (95% CI: $.15, .62$).

Study 3

Study 3 sought to explore whether the information revelation effect is bounded to those open (versus closed) to re-evaluate their decision (H3). This study implemented the same procedure, design, and stimuli as described in Study 1. The only differences are that a different product was used, and dispositional resistance to change was assessed using the individual difference measure developed by Oreg (2003).

The results of a linear regression showed a significant main effect of information presentation ($\beta = -.55, t = -3.5, p = .001$), along with the predicted two-way interaction between information revelation and information valence ($\beta = .8, t = 3.59, p < .001$). Most importantly, however, the analysis revealed a significant three-way interaction between the factors ($\beta = -.49, t = -2.2, p = .03$).

A spotlight analysis revealed that when resistance to change was low, the results replicated the findings reported in Studies 1 and 2, as there was a significant interaction between information presentation and information valence ($\beta = 1.28, t = 4.06, p < .001$). By contrast, when resistance to change was high, there was no longer a significant interaction between information presentation and information valence ($\beta = .31, t = .98, p = .33$).

Discussion

Considered together, the results of three experiments provide strong evidence for the information revelation effect, and identify information diagnosticity as the mechanism and resistance to change as an important boundary condition. These findings are important because prior research shows that consumers are frequently insensitive to omissions and are often unable to fully appreciate the implications of missing information even when it is detected (Sanbonmatsu et al. 1991). For example, the overlooked information used in this investigation included important nutritional details for a breakfast cereal and the fees associated with a vacation package. In a broader sense, given the alarming rates of obesity and financial debt around the world and their negative consequences, techniques that can enhance the attention and weight given to such information in subsequent decision-making have strong implications for consumers and policy-makers.

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Creating a Culture of Perpetual Fear and Crisis through Mandatory Consumption

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Museum of Barbarism displays the bloody clothes and photos of displaced teeth of a Turkish family murdered in Cyprus in 1963. In-depth interviews show the Museum heightens tensions and sense of crisis between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots. Culture of fear and crisis is institutionalized through schools by way of mandatory consumption. Ethnic and national tensions exist amongst many people groups, whether it is the Chinese Nanjing population's enduring aversion to the Japanese after the pillage of Nanjing in World War II (He 2007); the UK Independence Party's distaste for immigrants entering the UK (Mason 2014), or the racial and religious tensions between Sunni and Shia Muslims in the Middle East (Nasr 2006). However, the notion that these tensions are exacerbated by marketing and communication tools to create a culture of perpetual fear and crisis amongst a people group is not well understood in the marketing, consumption and tourism literatures.

In this research we look at the way in which the so-called Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC henceforth) purposefully target young citizens to socially engineer a culture of perpetual fear and loathing of non-Turkish Cypriots. We focus on way in which the TRNC forces Turkish Cypriots schoolchildren to visit the Museum of Barbarism and consume the dark heritage site. Dark tourism production exists in a variety of social, cultural, geographical, and political contexts (e.g. Veresiou 2012). This Museum acts as a tool for social engineering by creating, perpetuating and marketing a culture of separation, fear and crisis. We show that the Museum of Barbarism, as a site of early intervention, works to heighten national tensions and an enduring sense of crisis between people groups in Cyprus, hindering any efforts that may relieve tensions between the Turkish and non-Turkish Cypriot populations.

Fear as Heritage and the Marketing of War as a Fearful Idea

Fear lies between worry and dread, and terror and panic (Scruton, 1986) and is embedded in a number of related concepts such as threat, danger, vulnerability, risk and violence (ibid). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, p.7) describes heritage as "a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past," as a specific way of interpreting and utilizing bygone times that links individuals with a larger collective. Furthermore, the idea of a war is promoted constantly as an event that must be prevented at all costs, which the status quo can purportedly achieve: War is linked to fear and the consent is manufactured (Herman and Chomsky 2010) through promoting the idea of "preventing future wars" by using the imagery of war daily. The twice daily broadcasting of army band songs, visuals from the war, and heavy featuring of the Cyprus conflict in the news on national television, in line with literature on how media images socially construct reality (e.g. Gamson et al. 1992), serves this purpose. Overall, the holders of political power use marketing to tell a particular story.

Museum as Vehicle for Governmentality

We argue, based on the informants' accounts, that it is the quality of fear marketed as heritage that contributes to the museum's position as a tool for governmentality. Bennett (1990) argues that the trajectory in museum's development is the opposite of the emergence of the prison, the asylum, and the clinic: while the latter spaces look

to divide and sequester, the museum's original aim was to mix and intermingle publics. We argue that here, this particular kind of dark museum's disciplinary power and its status as a site of control does not arise from its ability to mix and intermingle, but from its ability to create a culture of perpetual crisis through facilitating the mandatory consumption of fear, and therefore, it divides and hinders the peace process on the macro level. This is sustained by way of the marketing of war through the media. We observe an institutionalized culture of crisis - the one that the USA and Europe is moving towards as exemplified by recent issues such as the Ebola outbreak, debates on measles vaccinations, and anticipation of terror attacks. Here, the culture of crisis is institutionalized through the marketing and mandatory consumption of the Museum of Barbarism.

Findings

The informants' accounts focused on irrational fear, contested temple of truth, becoming desensitized to macabre imagery, avoiding museums, and feeling abused. Cultivating irrational fear through imagery and the positioning of the museum as the imposed holy grail of historical truth serve the purpose of governmentality, echoing Foucault (1991). This is achieved through active marketing of fear and fear of war. These, in turn, contribute to the cultivation of a culture of perpetual crisis. This governmentality is made possible by imposing the consumption of the Museum of Barbarism as a mandatory visit site of dark heritage and through marketing the idea of a war in conjunction. One informant explains:

"I went. Tiny shoes soaked in blood...I say no more...Not to a particular person, but I have developed a consciousness of danger that any human being can ordinarily contain because of that museum" (Derya, 40, news editor).

Having mandatorily seen the museum and having been subject to the marketing of fear and war, people develop certain preferences in their future consumption:

"I don't like museums. If it is a museum about ancient things then ok or Van Gogh museum in Amsterdam was nice but when I think of museums I always remember the blood. I will not go out of my way to visit a museum." (Yeliz, 34, biologist)

Referring to BRTK, the national TV/radio channel in the north of Cyprus which used to be one of the only 3 broadcasted channels until late 1990s, an informant suggests the consumables such as thrillers (movies or books) have no added value as such:

"why pay to see or read thrillers, we have seen it all on BRT. Guns, mass shootings, murders, it is all here" (Aren, 32, NGO)

Thus having mandatorily consumed the Museum of Barbarism figures in future consumption of objects/experiences featuring dark and macabre, and of museums. The next stage of this research will collect data from those few who have not visited the museum so as to further examine the differences in belief systems that might be attributable to the propaganda imposed by the political and the social system. Future interviews will further probe how the early manda-

tory consumption affect the students' later consumption practices, especially of museums and other artefacts such as movies and books on conflicts.

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Sharing is Dubious, It Won't Work! Exploring the Barriers Towards Collaborative Consumption of Free Floating Car Sharing.

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

"The end of car culture" states The New York Times in one of their articles in 2013 (Rosenthal 2013). It describes the cool-down of private car ownership in the USA. This trend is not only recognised in the world's largest car market, but also in several European countries and especially Germany (Heymann 2013). For several years now, car ownership has been losing importance in this context. Crowded streets, scarce parking spaces and rising costs have triggered a rethinking in car use and more and more people are losing interest in owning a car and are looking for alternatives today (Shaheen and Cohen 2013). One business that especially profits from this trend is car-sharing. This trend is part of a global consumption phenomenon, in which people generally attach greater value to access than to ownership of goods. In the so-called sharing economy collaborative consumption allows people to benefit from resources without owning them.

Extant research strongly focuses on actual users of car-sharing services, their behaviour, motives and benefits. One important aspect, however, is still missed out in the literature – the barriers for potential customers that prevent them from using car-sharing. Calls for an investigation of this topic can also be found in current literature (Schaefers, 2013). Thus it fits well with the conference theme of 'Advancing Connections', between the innovation literature and the collaborative consumption literature to further our understanding of the sharing economy, and also further extending the impact to practitioners.

Although this development in consumer markets has become an important trend, research and knowledge about these emerging alternative modes of consumption still remain limited. However, in the last decade, they have gained increasing attention and popularity. The literature mainly focuses on the origins of sharing and on when and why it might be preferred to owning (e.g., Belk 1988, 2007, 2010, 2014; Botsman and Rogers 2011; Lamberton and Rose 2012; Moeller and Wittkowski 2010) as well as on sharing behaviour, the motivation for sharing and sense of ownership (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012).

The research looks at barriers towards car-sharing adoption, thus will review barriers towards the adoption of innovations in general before focusing on barriers towards car-sharing specifically. According to Rogers (1995, p.12), an innovation can be defined as "an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption". However, the level of innovativeness depends on one's subjective perception based on the individual's background knowledge (Saaksjarvi 2003). Innovative products and services often encounter resistance and take some time until they get adopted and diffuse into the market. The intensity with which customers refuse to adopt an innovation ranges from passive resistance or inertia through a deferral of the adoption decision to active resistance (Ram and Sheth 1989).

From the literature, the gap poses these research questions of this study are: (1) What do potential car-sharing users perceive as obstacles towards using car-sharing services? (2) How do current car-sharing users view these barriers and how do they deal with them? (3) What can car-sharing companies do to remove these barriers? The context lies on the large-scale free-floating car-sharing services operating in major German cities.

Having social constructivism ontology, the study was based on three rounds of qualitative in-depth interviews resulting in interviewing 33 participants. Through convenience and snowball sampling, a first round of interviews were conducted. Potential car-sharing users were asked about reasons that have kept them from becoming users. In the second round, the researcher interviewed current car-sharing users, the users either confirmed the non-users' concerns or dispelled their doubts stating why a particular perceived obstacle was no reason for them to reject car-sharing. The goal was to get a different viewpoint on the arisen topics, to learn how users see these issues and which opportunities for improvement they can think of for the service. In the third and last round, a country manager from a major German car-sharing company was interviewed to gain insights into the challenges from a corporate perspective.

Data analysis was undertaken to make sense out of the collected data (Creswell 2009; Saunders et al. 2012). The data was evaluated by content analysis in order to categorise and classify to describe the form or nature of any social phenomena (Ritchie et al., 2003).

Non-user barriers to adopting car sharing were found to be subsumed in five larger adoption barrier categories – namely information issues, low cost efficiency, perceived risks, convenience issues and negative attitude. This was then used to see how actual users perceive these barriers that non-users face and how they cope with them. Finally, one country manager of a major carsharing company was interviewed to gain insight into the identified issues from a corporate perspective.

Different forms of promotion is advised to increase promotion and awareness, positioning of the cars is recommended to increase the perception of usefulness to the non-users. The use of mobile applications is encouraged to calculate other transportation alternatives may lead to non-users using car-sharing when it is feasible to do so. Companies could try different framing of the pricing and offer different pricing packages e.g. flat fee, the decision of using the service would be easier as the perceived pain of payment does not occur with every single use of the service. Internet registration and centralised areas for licence checks is encouraged for the non-user to overcome inertia and lessen the procrastination of registering. These are some examples discussed and provided for managerial implications.

Using the theories within innovation as a lens to look at collaborative consumption, the study contributes to a holistic understanding of the barriers towards adopting collaborative consumption in the context of car sharing. Through the use of a 3-step interview process, the responses of the interviewees were used to guide further interviews of a different sample to guide discussion and practical implications.

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Disparaging Ethical Others: When and Why Willfully Ignorant Consumers Negatively Judge Others who Seek Out Ethical Product Information

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Consumers often remain “willfully ignorant” about ethical product attributes (Ehrich and Irwin 2005) in order to limit the amount of negative affect that arises when choosing products (Luce 1998). However, in today’s interconnected society, a consumer may learn that others sought out and based their purchase decisions on the same ethical information he or she chose to ignore. In this research, we explore how the willfully ignorant respond to those who are not willfully ignorant (i.e., “ethical others”), as well as the consequences of choosing to be willfully ignorant when others are not.

Some prior research suggests that observing someone perform a moral act might lead to “moral elevation” of the ethical other, motivating a consumer to act similarly in the future (Haidt 2003). However, in these studies, participants focused on moral acts that were not directly related to an act that they failed to complete. In contrast, willfully ignorant consumers are able to directly compare others’ ethical behavior to their own lack of the same behavior. We predict, based on social comparison theory (Festinger 1954), that the contrast of ethical others’ actions to one’s own behavior should instead create a sense of threat among willfully ignorant consumers that leads to denigration of ethical others.

Social comparisons can reveal information that is threatening to the self (Taylor and Lobel 1989; Tesser, Millar and Moore 1988), especially if made to someone who is superior on relevant qualities (Lockwood and Kunda 1997) or if the task being compared is relevant to the self (Tesser et al. 1988). In order to recover from the threat stemming from comparing oneself to more desirable individuals in a given arena (Collins 1996), consumers often denigrate others (Fein and Spencer 1997; Wills 1981). We therefore hypothesize that willfully ignorant consumers will negatively judge ethical others due to the self-threat they feel from the comparison to ethical others’ actions. Further, we predict that while denigrating ethical others protects against self-threat, it also undermines commitment to ethical values, reducing likelihood of future ethical behavior.

To test our central hypothesis, participants in study 1 were shown jeans that differed on four attributes. The fourth attribute was either ethical (i.e., whether the company used child labor) or not (i.e., delivery time), depending on condition. Participants then picked two attributes to view in order to choose among the jeans. We were interested only in the responses of individuals who did not view ethical information. Participants who chose to view ethical information were therefore excluded from analyses in all studies. After choosing, participants were asked to rate a consumer who had viewed the attribute they ignored (either labor practices or delivery time) on positive and negative traits, purportedly for segmentation purposes. The analysis (using positive minus negative traits as the dependent variable) revealed that participants in the ethical attribute condition evaluated the ethical others significantly more negatively ($M = -2.65$) than participants in the delivery time condition evaluated others who viewed delivery time ($M = 1.28$; $F(1, 121) = 10.21, p < .01$). Study 1 therefore demonstrates that consumers only denigrate others who are more ethical than themselves. In study 2, we test this process by giving consumers another opportunity to behave ethically after choosing to be willfully ignorant. Doing so should reduce negative social comparisons and the desire to denigrate ethical others.

In study 2, all participants ($n = 134$) willfully ignored the ethical attribute. After choosing jeans and before rating the ethical others, half of the participants were first directed to clicktogive.com, where they could donate to charity by simply clicking on links. The remaining participants did not make donations. Participants who did not donate rated the ethical others significantly more negatively than participants who did donate ($M_{\text{no donations}} = -8.53$ vs. $M_{\text{donations}} = -5.95$; $F(1, 132) = 4.11, p < .05$). Thus, consumers do not feel as strong of a need to denigrate ethical others when the discrepancy in behavior is first resolved via another opportunity to behave ethically after being willfully ignorant.

Study 3 ($n = 118$) explored a boundary condition using a different product (backpacks) and ethical attribute (recycled material). We predict that consumers will not denigrate ethical others when (1) they are not willfully ignorant of the ethical attribute or (2) ignoring the ethical attribute is easy to justify. The study employed a 3(number of attributes viewed: one, two, four) \times 2(rated ethical others: yes, no) between-subjects design. In the one-attribute condition, ignoring the ethical information is easy to justify because a more informative attribute like price is expected to be viewed. In the four-attribute condition, no consumers remain willfully ignorant since they view all attributes. Planned contrasts showed that, among participants who had the chance to denigrate, participants who viewed two attributes evaluated the ethical others significantly more negatively ($M = -7.58$) than did participants in the other two conditions ($M_{\text{one-attribute}} = -4.13$ and $M_{\text{four-attributes}} = -3.16$; $F(1, 72) = 4.06, p < .05$). No difference emerged in the latter two conditions ($F(1, 72) = .02, ns$).

Results also revealed a two-way interaction on participants’ willingness to take an eco-friendly pledge ($F(1, 166) = 6.59, p < .05$) at the end of the study. Among participants who had the chance to denigrate the ethical others, those who viewed two attributes were significantly less likely to take the pledge ($M = 5.05$) than were participants who viewed either one or four attributes ($M_{\text{one-attribute}} = 5.83$ and $M_{\text{four-attributes}} = 6.96$; $t(166) = -2.15, p < .05$). There was no effect of the number of attributes viewed when participants did not have a chance to denigrate the ethical others ($M_{\text{two-attributes}} = 6.32$ vs. $M_{\text{one-attribute}} = 4.97$ and $M_{\text{four-attributes}} = 6.29$; $t(166) = 1.42, ns$). Overall study 3 demonstrates that denigrating ethical others when it is feasible to do so might protect against self-threat, but also makes consumers less likely to commit future ethical actions.

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Paying for a Chance to Save Money: Participation Fees in Name-Your-Own-Price Selling

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Name-your-own-price (NYOP) selling continues to thrive in the marketplace, both on Priceline.com for hotels and flights, and on several newer websites that sell diverse products ranging from restaurant vouchers (chiching.com) to designer handbags (nyopoly.com).

NYOP retailer's problem and current theoretical solution

What can NYOP retailers do to increase their profit? One idea, based on a recent development in marketing theory, is to charge an upfront non-refundable participation fee: using game-theoretic analytical modeling, Spann, Zeithammer, and Häubl (2010 and 2015, hereafter SZH) predict that a NYOP retailer facing risk-neutral consumers should benefit from charging an upfront non-refundable participation fee. Similar to a two-part tariff, this strategy turns some low-valuation consumers away, but collects enough money from high-valuation consumers to more than make up for the reduced volume of sales.

Experimental design and data

This study is the first controlled laboratory test of the profitability of participation fees in the NYOP setting discussed in the previous paragraph. We test the real-world viability of such participation fees using an incentive-compatible experiment on 96 subjects under the experimental economics paradigm. The products are virtual tokens with induced value, allowing us to abstract from specific product categories and vary and control consumer valuation (Smith, 1976). Subjects are assigned the role of consumers and bid against computerized retailers called "stores" in a session involving multiple periods. The data provides us both with a direct managerially relevant test of the profitability of participation fees, and with a rich dataset on which we can estimate and test (at the individual level) behaviorally enriched models of entry and bidding in NYOP settings. Such behaviorally enriched models bridge the gap between existing economic theory and actual consumer behavior. The estimation of behaviorally enriched models creates a connection between auction econometrics and psychological theories of consumer behavior.

Possible extensions of the existing theory

Actual consumers may have an apriori decision rule (Amir and Ariely 2007) against paying such non-refundable fees – a preference we call fee aversion. Risk-averse consumers may have a lower willingness to pay such fees as a result of the risk involved in bidding (Shapiro 2011). Both types of aversion may diminish or even reverse the benefit of participation fees suggested by the existing theory. We extend the economic theory to risk-averse consumers, and design our laboratory experiment to explicitly test for both fee aversion (by comparing very small fees to zero fees) and risk aversion (by collecting bidding data at different levels of consumer valuation).

Summary of results

Confirming the main prediction of SZH, retailers charging participation fees make more profit than retailers charging no fees. One reason participation fees are profitable for our simulated retailer is that we find no evidence of fee-aversion: a retailer charging no fees

does not attract fewer consumers and ends up making more money than a retailer charging a very small economically negligible fee. Consistent with risk-aversion, the optimal fee level is lower and the observed consumer bids are higher than the level that would be optimal under consumer risk-neutrality. However, risk-aversion is not sufficient to completely explain our data: we find that for intermediate fee levels, the retailer makes a higher expected profit than predicted by the model with arbitrarily heterogeneous risk-aversion. At least two behavioral phenomena contribute to this discrepancy: First, the consumers who can afford the outside posted price bid too high to be consistent with any level of risk-aversion. Second, our consumers enter more often than even risk-neutral consumers should when they cannot afford the outside option, but they enter less when they can afford the outside option.

Behaviorally-enriched model with partial myopia of outside options and mental assigning a part of the fee as payment for entertainment

To capture the two phenomena introduced in the previous paragraph, we propose and estimate (at the individual level) a behaviorally enriched model of consumer preferences. Our proposed model is enriched in two ways: first, we allow each bidder to be partially myopic regarding the option value of buying from the posted-price retailer should her bid be rejected. Second, we allow each bidder to discount the disutility of the participation fee to capture the idea that bidding in NYOP has some entertainment value. While the enriched model fits the data better than a model with only risk-aversion, it does not capture the observed entry-pattern well. As a result, even the enriched model cannot explain the pattern of NYOP retailer profits we find. To further enrich the model, we invoke cumulative prospect theory with a probability-weighting function (Tversky and Kahneman 1992).

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By Brand or By Category?

The Effect of Display Context in Evaluating Incongruent Brand Extensions

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

To grow the business organically is one of the most important objectives of CMO. According to a Spencer Stuart survey of 200 U.S.-based marketing executives, CMOs are expected to play a more prominent role in driving product innovations. One of the most common ways of introducing new products in the marketplace is to extend to new product categories by leveraging existing brands in the portfolio. Typically, 80 to 90 percent of new products introduced in any one year are brand extensions (Keller, Parameswaran, and Jacob 2008). A most robust finding in the literature is that extensions that have high fit with the parent brand are more favorable than those have low fit (Aaker and Keller 1990; Park et al. 1991). However, many of the new growth opportunities may not be in the categories that are regarded as high fit with the typical categories. A question naturally arises how companies can introduce new products that have low fit with the parent brand.

Consumers often encounter such brand extensions in stores. Most research on evaluation of extensions does not take into account how products are displayed in retail environments. The current research explores the impact of store context by examining how consumers' evaluations of brand extensions are affected by the format in which the extensions are displayed. Two common display formats are investigated: by-brand display, where different products of a same brand are placed together, such that extensions are presented next to typical product categories of the parent brand, and by-category display, where similar products of different brands are placed side-by-side, such that extensions are presented adjacent to competing brands in the same category. To illustrate, consider Samsung binoculars, a real and relatively low fit product within Samsung's electronics category. A retailer could either display Samsung binoculars together with Samsung cellphones and other electronic products (e.g., in a Samsung brand section), or display it next to other binocular brands like Tasco (e.g., in a binoculars category section). The purpose of our research is to explore the effect of such a display decision on consumers' evaluations of incongruent brand extensions.

Building on recent research that finds brand extension evaluation is susceptible to decision contexts (e.g., Meyvis, Goldsmith, and Dhar 2012; Milberg, Sinn, and Goodstein 2010) and the information accessibility literature (Feldman and Lynch 1988; Tversky and Kahneman 1974), we hypothesize that consumers evaluate a low fit extension of a high quality brand more favorably when it is displayed by category than by brand. We propose that this differing evaluation of the same extension product arises because the context shaped by display format shifts the relative accessibility of parent brand quality and brand-extension fit. Relative to a by-category display context, a by-brand context decreases the salience of shared information: brand quality, but highlights the incongruence between the parent brand and the extension category. On the contrary, brand quality information is more accessible and brand-extension fit is de-emphasized in a by-category context as opposed to a by-brand context. Taking Samsung binoculars as an example, we predict that the presence of competing binocular brands (Tasco, Bushnell, Nikon, etc.) will increase consumers' liking for Samsung binoculars, compared to the presence of Samsung electronic products (cellphones, TVs, computers, etc.).

We tested this prediction in six studies. In study 1a, we presented Canon electric razor either together with Canon cameras or with razors of other brands. The results showed that Canon razor was more favorably evaluated when displayed with competing razor brands than with Canon cameras. Study 1b replicated the result of study 1a using Nike razor and Toyota microwave oven. Study 2 demonstrated that the display context effect only influenced evaluation for low fit brand extensions, but not for high fit extension. Study 3 created an online shopping scenario of Canon razor and tested the underlying mechanism. It was indicated that consumers thought more about product category fit when Canon razor was displayed with Canon cameras, whereas they mentioned more about the benefits that Canon could bring about (e.g., quality, trustworthy, reputation) when Canon razor was next to other razor brands. Furthermore, we showed that this beneficial effect of by-category display over by-brand display held only when Canon was highly regarded. Study 4 explored the moderating role of consumer characteristics: need for cognition. We presented Evian microwave popcorn either next to Evian spring water or next to popcorns in different brands. Then we measured consumer's need for cognition. Results suggested that display context effect only occurred among consumers low in need for cognition, because these people are more likely to rely on contextual cues to make judgment. Study 5 further replicated the display context effect in the lab and showed that the display context not only influenced predicted consumption experience, but also exerted impact on actual consumption experience. In other words, even consumers have actual experience of the extension product, their evaluation was distorted by the display contexts.

In conclusion, the current research sheds light on how display context influence consumers preference for incongruent brand extensions. Results from five studies support our prediction that by-category display context highlights the brand benefit association, and de-emphasizes the category incongruence perception, which in turn increase brand extension evaluation. On the contrary, by-brand display context facilitates the negative influence of category incongruence information, which leads to lower preference for incongruent brand extensions. Furthermore, we demonstrate that the effect is more prominent for consumers low in need for cognition. Finally, we demonstrate that display context not only influence predicted preference, but also shape actual consumption experience.

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Film Festival 2015

Street Corner Compromises

Baptiste Cléret, University of Rouen, France

Spaces and places are socially produced and the theater of power struggles. These social dialectics take place between different worlds and create compromises. This videography aims at showing how the street can represent a place of compromises, between a street guitarist and his sociocultural environment. Vimeo link : <https://vimeo.com/120585193> password: SCCACR2015

Paradoxes in Postmodern Consumption

Alain Decrop, University of Namur, Belgium

Postmodernity has brought new consumption trends juxtaposing opposites. This film presents a number of such paradoxes of postmodern consumers, including alone and together, real and virtual, nomadic and sedentary, etc. We show how a bunch of products and activities have developed around these paradoxes. Latest version: <https://vimeo.com/123622732> Password: Neworleans2015

Sunday at the Car Boot Sale

Aurélie Dehling, SKEMA Business School, France

Baptiste Cléret, University of Rouen, France

This research aims to explore the second-hand realm through the eyes of used item consumers. Six consumers have revealed to us their motivations, practices, and know-how. One element attracted our attention: the presence of an underlying tension between discourse and practice that is more divergent than convergent. <https://vimeo.com/120704392> password : sundayACR2015

Fanatic Consumption - An Exploratory Analysis in Genre Film Festivals

João Pedro dos Santos Fleck, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil

Carlos Alberto Vargas Rossi, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil

Nicolas Isao Tonsho, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil

Paulo Dalpian, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil

An analysis of the consumption of genre film festivals in South America and North America. Several similarities were found: the audience prepare with high anticipation, they enjoy intensely the shared experience with other fans and filmmakers, have feelings of belongingness and consider the festivals as something special in their lives. <https://vimeo.com/120680743> password: fantaspoa

Contests as a Serious Leisure- A Qualitative Study on Gymkhanas

Amanda Dreger, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Bianca M. Ricci, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Graziele Kemmerich, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Ioná Bolzan, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Stefânia Ordovás de Almeida, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

João Pedro Dos S. Fleck, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

A videography about the phenomenon of the Gymkhana in the small city of São Jerônimo, in the south of Brazil. The interviews indicate how involved the participants of this event are, having a feeling of belongingness and showing the serious leisure aspects of the gymkhana. <https://vimeo.com/120502469> password: fantaspoa

Monstrous Organizing: The Dubstep Electronic Music Scene

Joel Hietanen, Stockholm University, Sweden

Joonas Rokka, Neoma Business School, France

Risto Roman, Helsinki University, Finland

Alisa Smirnova, Stockholm University, Sweden

Monstrous Organizing: The Dubstep Electronic Music Scene is a cross-disciplinary videography bridging consumer research and organization theory. It highlights inherent the instability and ephemerality of organizing in scenes or 'taste regimes' and how such cultural scenes have become melancholic in the throws of cultural acceleration. <https://vimeo.com/117644344>

Have You Ever Eaten Horsemeat? Illustrating Paradoxes of Horsemeat Consumption in Finland

Minna-Maarit Jaskari, University of Vaasa, Finland
Hanna Leipämaa-Leskinen, University of Vaasa, Finland
Henna Syrjälä, University of Vaasa, Finland

Horsemeat scandal exposed that several meat products contained traces of horsemeat. The scandal uncovered crimes in meat markets and maltreatment of animals. Consumers felt furious and betrayed. The scandal demonstrated how the consumption of horsemeat involves more than meets the eye in the first place. Have you ever eaten horsemeat? Vimeo:<https://vimeo.com/120572747> Password:horsemeat

Experiencing Contemporary Arts: A Reexamination of Fun, Feeling and Fantasy

Christine Petr, Sciences Po Rennes, Crape-France

How are contemporary arts experienced by occasional attendance? As the film shows, the experiential paradigm about “fun, feeling and fantasy” (“3F”) in consumption should be adapted to contemporary art experience. Occasional spectators struggle to experience fun. Also, the feelings experienced are not systematically positive or hedonistic. And, faced with the artist’s fantasy, spectators labor to understand the creative motives and often question the value of such imaginative artistic processes. Consequently, the alternative tryptic to describe contemporary art experience by occasional attendance is “Strangeness, Stress and Stupidity”. The film ends with staging that cultural mediation strategy can help occasional visitors to experiment the reversal from the initial and unpleasant “3 S” to the enjoyable “3 F”.

Feeding America: The Challenges of SNAP

Sharon Schembri, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, USA
Lauro Zuniga, University of Texas - Pan American, USA

The Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program (SNAP) otherwise known as the food stamp program, serves 46.6 million Americans. A visual ethnographic research design combines shadow shopping and indepth interviewing and documents the consumer experience of SNAP. This research highlights the challenges associated with SNAP both for consumers and public policy makers. Essentially, this short film shows that SNAP benefits are simply not enough. LINK: <https://vimeo.com/134903929>

My Army Training Week

Stefan Szugalski, Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden
Magnus Söderlund, Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden
Sofie Sagfossen, Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden
Jonas Colliander, Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden

Why do people pay for extreme experiences? Why do people pay for getting screamed at while exercising? What motivates them to start exercising at 6 am? I, a consumer behaviour researcher, signed up for Army Training, join the experience in My Army Training Week! <https://vimeo.com/119382952> Password: handels

New-Age Elderly & Techonology

Fernanda Trindade Deyl, Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil
Letícia Rocha Stocker, Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil
Rafael Bittencourt, Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil
Stefânia Ordoús de Almeida, Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil
João Pedro Dos S. Fleck, Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Brazil

A new segment of consumers is gaining attention: the new-age elderly. They are interested in new experiences and challenges. They are not classified by age, but by their behavior. The goal of this study is to understand the relationship between the new-age elderly and technology, focusing on the female gender. <https://vimeo.com/120577280> password: fantaspoa

Last Night a Hacker Saved my Life

Alexandra Vignolles, INSEEC Business School, France

Those we call hackers have been well aware of the political and economic issues at stakes behind our screens for a long time now. They know about the hopes and risks of the cyberspace, this videography presents a certain vision of their past and current role in our world. Vimeo link: <https://vimeo.com/120583337> password: acr2015

Dialectical Dildo: Why Women's Erotic Consumption Is Not a Threat to Men

Luciana Walther, UFSJ Federal University of Sao Joao del Rei, Brazil

This ethnography investigates Brazilian women's erotic consumption with a dialectical approach. From the comparison between the extremes of the particular and the universal, a counterintuitive finding emerges. Aspects of this particular phenomenon suggest the refutation of a universal assumption: that erotic products may replace men. Link: <https://vimeo.com/130615936> Password: polaris2015

Contesting Space

Philipp Wegerer, University of Innsbruck, Austria

Verena Stoeckl, University of Innsbruck, Austria

Sabria Gabl, University of Innsbruck, Austria

We study how bicycling transforms urban space in the Austrian city of Innsbruck. Drawing on the work of Lefebvre (1991) we study public modes of dominating urban space and collective practices of resistance in which consumers engage to re-appropriate urban space for bicycling. We find that authorities create and control bicycling space by the use of boundaries and by mimicking automobile space. In contrast we find that cyclists reclaim space through misusing artifacts, signs and space for riding and parking. We argue that this two processes form a dialectical tension that gradually transforms urban space. Link: <https://vimeo.com/130737047> Kennwort: neworleans

Roundtable Summaries

ROUNDTABLE

The Tipping Point: Going from Adaptive to Maladaptive Consumption Behavior Patterns

Chairs:

Ingrid Martin, California State University, Long Beach, USA
Marlys Mason, Oklahoma State University, USA
Maura Scott, Florida State University, USA

Participants:

Soren Askegaard, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark
Darrell Bartholomew, Rider University, USA
Maia Beruchashvili, California State University, Northridge, USA
Lauren Block, Baruch University, USA
Wendy Boland, American University, USA
Paul Connell, Stony Brook University, USA
David Crockett, University of South Carolina, USA
James Cronin, University of Lancaster, UK
Jenna Drenten, Loyola University Chicago, USA
Stacey Finkelstein, Baruch University, USA
Meryl Gardner, University of Delaware, USA
Sonya Grier, American University, USA
Michael Kamins, Stony Brook University, USA
Corinne Kelley, Florida State University, USA
Lauren Maynor, Baruch University, USA
Risto Moisio, California State University, Long Beach, USA
Hieu Nguyen, California State University, Long Beach, USA
Maria Piacentini, University of Lancaster, UK
Kristin Scott, Minnesota State University, USA
Beth Vallen, Villanova University
Kathleen Vohs, University of Minnesota, USA
Sara Williamson, Baruch University, USA

We examine the role of various factors that move seemingly benign consumption behaviors (e.g., eating, online communication/gaming, texting, exercising) from adaptive consumption to maladaptive consumption. We examine theoretical underpinnings of the factors that “tip” consumers into maladaptive-consumption and how consumers can return to adaptive consumption behavior.

ROUNDTABLE
Who Are You? Exploring Consumer Authenticity

Chair:

Katherine M. Crain, Duke University, USA

Participants:

Alixandra Barasch, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Jonah Berger, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Jonathan Z. Berman, London Business School, UK
Jim Bettman, Duke University, USA
Amit Bhattacharjee, Erasmus University, Netherlands
Jennifer Edson Escalas, Vanderbilt University, USA
Kent Grayson, Northwestern University, USA
Kirk Kristofferson, Arizona State University, USA
Brent McFerran, Simon Fraser University, Canada
George E. Newman, Yale University, USA
Colbey Emmerson Reid, North Carolina State University, USA
Avni M. Shah, University of Toronto, Canada
Oleg Urminsky, University of Chicago, USA
Caleb Warren, Texas A & M University, USA
Hillary J. D. Wiener, Duke University, USA

Although past research has explored identity-signaling consumption, less research has explored whether or not these signals are perceived by both the consumer and observers as authentic. This roundtable discussion focused on (1) defining consumer authenticity, (2) antecedents of consumer authenticity, and (3) consequences of consumer authenticity.

ROUNDTABLE

**Consumer Experience in the Connected World:
How Emerging Technologies are Poised to Revolutionize Consumer Behavior Research**

Chairs:

Donna Hoffman, George Washington University, USA
Thomas Novak, George Washington University, USA

Participants:

Russell Belk, York University, Canada
Noah Castelo, Columbia University, USA
Nicholas Fitz, University of British Columbia, Canada
Anindya Ghose, New York University, USA
Hyunjin Kang, George Washington University, USA
Robert Kozinets, York University, Canada
William Rand, University of Maryland, USA
Aric Rindfleisch, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA
Alladi Venkatesh, University of California Irvine, USA

Three transformational technologies, including digital technologies, the Internet of Things, and human-machine technologies, are poised to radically transform how consumers behave. We will explore new consumer behaviors that are likely to emerge from such technologies, along with new conceptual models and methodologies that may be most appropriate for studying them.

ROUNDTABLE

**Institutional Policies, Social Norms and Coping in Academia:
Exploring the Strategies that Students and Professors of Color Employ as Academic Consumers**

Chairs:

Lenita Davis, University of Arkansas, USA
Jerome Williams, Rutgers University, USA
Stephanie Dellande, Menlo College, USA

Participants:

Geraldine Henderson, Loyola University, USA
Breagin Riley, Syracuse University, USA
Vanessa Perry, Georgetown University, USA
Robert Harrison, Western Michigan University, USA
Takisha Toler, Stevenson University, USA
Eric Rhiney, Webster University, USA
Andrea Scott, Pepperdine University, USA
David Crockett, University of South Carolina, USA
Corliss Thornton, Georgia State University, USA
Jessica Matais, University of Texas at Austin, USA
Kevin Thomas, University of Texas at Austin, USA
Aronte Bennet, Villanova University, USA
Tracy Kizer, University of Dayton, USA
Dante Pirouz, Western University, Canada
Akon Ekbo, Rutgers University, USA

The purpose of this roundtable is to determine how public policy in higher education can be changed to address institutional racism. The session has a two-fold purpose 1) collect data on the nature of institutional racism in higher education 2) obtain feedback on the mechanisms that prevent institutional change.

ROUNDTABLE

Affective, Experiential and Performative Impacts of Consumption Spaces

Chairs:

Andrea Lucarelli, Stockholm University, Sweden
Andreas Chatzidakis, University of London - Royal Holloway, UK
Massimo Giovanardi, Leicester University, UK
Pauline Maclaran, University of London - Royal Holloway, UK
Morven G. McEachern, University of Salford, UK

Participants:

Olga Kravets, Bilkent University, Turkey
Luca Massimiliano Visconti, ESCP Europe, France
Robin Canniford, University of Melbourne, Australia
Zeynep Arsel, Concordia University, Canada
John F. Sherry Jr., University of Notre Dame, USA
Tonya Bradford, University of Notre Dame, USA
Emma Banister, University of Manchester, UK
Jonhatan Bean, Bucknell University, USA
Rodrigo B. Castilhos, Unisinos, Brazil
Aurelie Broeckerhoff, Coventry University, UK
Mikael Andréhn, Aalto University, Finland
Alexandros Skandalis, University of Manchester, UK
Tim Hill, University of Melbourne, Australia
Liz Parsons, University of Liverpool, UK

The aim of the roundtable is to instigate more creative and innovative approaches to conceptualising and empirically exploring the affective, performative and experiential dimensions of consumption in space. This is performed in an interactive fashion where all participants are reflecting on methodology for researching the intersection of consumption and place.

ROUNDTABLE
Why Your Next Project Should use Automated Textual Analysis

Chairs:

Jonah Berger, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Ashlee Humphreys, Northwestern University - Medill, USA

Participants:

John Lynch, University of Colorado, USA
Rob Kozinets, York University, Canada
Jim Bettman, Duke University, USA
Page Moreau, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA
Kathleen Vohs, University of Minnesota, USA
Nick Lurie, University of Connecticut, USA
Cassie Mogilner, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Sarah Moore, University of Alberta, Canada
Aner Sela, University of Florida, USA
Grant Packard, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada
Ann Kronrod, Michigan State University, USA
Zoey Chen, University of Miami, USA

Consumer researchers now have access to a variety of data sources (e.g., Facebook status updates, online reviews, and blogs). But pulling out psychological and cultural insights requires the right tools. This roundtable reviews automated textual analysis, its value, and how it can help people study a variety of research questions.

ROUNDTABLE
Fostering Conceptual/Methods/and Interdisciplinary Papers at JCR

Chairs:

Darren Dahl, University of British Columbia, Canada
Gita Johar, Columbia University, USA

Participants:

Vicki Morwitz, New York University, USA
Eileen Fisher, York University, Canada
Russ Belk, York University, Canada
Craig Thompsen, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA
Stephen Spiller, University of California Los Angeles, USA
Olivia Toubia, Columbia University, USA
Tom Meyvis, New York University, USA
Praveen Kopalle, Dartmouth College, USA
Rob Kozinets, York University, Canada
Simona Botti, London Business School, UK
Jonathan Levav, Stanford University, USA
Debbie MacInnis, University of Southern California, USA

This roundtable will foster discussion on how to better encourage conceptual, methods, and interdisciplinary/multi-method papers at the Journal of Consumer Research. The discussion will center on how both the authors and the journal (its Editors/AEs/Reviewers) can be more effective in bringing work of this type to publication.

ROUNDTABLE
Advancing Connections Between Neuromarketing Academics and Industry

Chairs:

William Hedgcock, University of Iowa, USA
Manuel Garcia-Garcia, New York University, USA
Ming Hsu, University of California Berkeley, USA

Participants:

Michael Smith, Nielsen, USA
Peter Hartzbech, iMotions, USA
Jason Rogers, Noldus, USA
Amanda Hammill, Tobii Pro, USA
Ale Smidts, Erasmus University Rotterdam, The Netherlands
Hilke Plassmann, INSEAD, France
Uma Karmarkar, Harvard Business School, USA
Moran Cerf, Northwestern University, USA
Martin Reimann, University of Arizona, USA
Baba Shiv, Stanford University, USA
Angelika Dimoka, Temple University, USA
Carolyn Yoon, University of Michigan, USA
Milica Mormann, University of Miami, USA
Vinod Venkatraman, Temple University
Joel Gough, Tobii Pro, USA
Abbe Macbeth, Noldus, USA

The goal of this roundtable is to advance connections between neuromarketing academics and industry practitioners. Attendees include industry representatives from companies such as Nielsen, Innerscope, Noldus, iMotions, and Tobii as well as academics from a wide range of schools and backgrounds. We'll discuss and develop opportunities for industry-academic partnerships.

ROUNDTABLE

**Advancing Connections Between Consumption and the Elderly:
Consumer Research Issues, Opportunities and Challenges**

Chairs:

Lisa Peñaloza, KEDGE Business School, France
Aimee Drolet Rossi, University of California, Los Angeles, USA

Participants:

Carolyn Yoon, University of Michigan, USA
Raphaelle Lambert-Pandraud, ESCP, France
Catherine Cole, University of Iowa, USA
Margaret Hogg, University of Lancaster, UK
Raquel Castaño, EGADE Business School, Tecnológico de Monterrey, México
Michelle Barnhart, Oregon State University, USA
Gilles Laurent, INSEEC Business School, France
Mary Gilly, University of California Irvine, USA
Hope Schau, University of Arizona, USA
Nancy Ridgway, University of Richmond, USA
Jing (Alice) Wang, University of Iowa, USA
Jerome Williams, Rutgers University, USA
Shona Bettany, University of Westminster, UK
Dianne Dean, University of Hull, UK
Anu Helkkula, Hanken School of Economics, Finland

Roundtable participants co-created a future research agenda focusing on: 1) Identity Work and Cultural framings of Old Age 2) The Importance of situating elderly consumption in various contexts 3) Implications for marketers. Outcomes comprise international collaborations, conference special sessions, and journal special issues with multiple research groups including Public Policy and Marketing, CCT, and TCR.

Forums Summaries

PERSPECTIVES SESSION

Connecting Theory with Practice

Chairs:

Donald Lehmann, Columbia University, USA

Punam Keller, Dartmouth College, USA

John Lynch, University of Colorado, USA

Linda Price, University of Arizona, USA

Building on the conference theme of Advancing Connections, the purpose of this perspectives session is to encourage stronger connections between theory and practice by bringing together three researchers who have sought to make academic research more relevant for solving real-world problems. Punam Keller will discuss her work on designing and implementing theory-based health communication tools. John Lynch will discuss why consumers are so financially illiterate and how “just in time” financial education can improve financial behavior. Linda Price will discuss how the vast availability of data and algorithms for readily sorting and analyzing data has changed the nature and process of theory building and theory testing in our field and propose some simple, time-tested tools for reasserting theorizing as a research practice in this complex, data-rich, insight-poor world.

PERSPECTIVES SESSION

Journal of Association for Consumer Research

Chair:

Joel Huber, Duke University, USA

The Journal of the Association for Consumer Research (J-ACR) is a new journal devoted to thematic explorations of topics relevant to consumer research. In this session, the journal’s editor, Joel Huber, will announce the four new issues for which he will start processing submissions in January 2016 and introduce the editors of the four issues.

PERSPECTIVES SESSION

Modeling Consumer Behavior

Chairs:

Preyas Desai, Duke University, USA

Hans Baumgartner, Pennsylvania State University, USA

J. Jeffrey Inman, University of Pittsburgh, USA

Robert Meyer, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Praveen Kopalle, Dartmouth College, USA

This session will highlight modeling approaches to understanding consumer behavior. Panelists who are well-versed in both modeling and experimental research will talk about the insights that can be gained from reading literature that crosses methodologies and using multiple methods. Despite increasing specialization within the field, there are many substantive topics – such as decision making, online word of mouth, variety seeking and loyalty programs – that interest researchers who use a variety of methods. We hope this session will encourage consumer researchers to identify possible synergies across methodological approaches.

WORKSHOP

Eye Tracking Methods, Measures and Models for Consumer Research

Chairs:

J. Wesley Hutchinson, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Yan Liu Huang, Drexel University, USA
Joy Lu, University of Pennsylvania, USA
Evan Weingarten, University of Pennsylvania, USA

This workshop will introduce participants to different methods for collecting eye tracking data and the output they produce. The session will include demos of both stationary eye trackers used in a lab setting and eye tracking glasses. Panelists will describe standard lab studies measuring attention to well-defined areas of interest, analyzed using traditional ANOVAs as well as studies using eye tracking glasses in field settings, which provide more external validity but require more advanced analytical techniques.

WORKSHOP

How and When to Ask the Turk: Tips for Using Amazon's Mechanical Turk to Conduct Consumer Research

Chairs:

Joseph Goodman, Washington University in St. Louis, USA
Cynthia Cryder, Washington University in St. Louis, USA
Thomas Novak, George Washington University, USA
Gabriele Paolacci, Erasmus University, The Netherlands
Kathryn Sharpe, University of Virginia, USA

Use of Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) by consumer behavior researchers has increased dramatically over the past several years. The panelists for this session will leverage their experience with MTurk and expertise in online consumer research to address critical questions, such as when it is appropriate to use MTurk and how to use MTurk effectively. In this interactive session, they look forward to discussing current issues and challenges faced by researchers and taking questions from the audience.

WORKSHOP

Choosing the Right Analysis Approach for Your Data

Chairs:

Derek Rucker, Northwestern University, USA
Blakeley McShane, Northwestern University, USA
Stephen Spiller, University of California – Los Angeles, USA

Have you ever collected data and then wondered which analysis approach was most appropriate? Statistical analysis packages like SPSS and SAS offer a dizzying array of options to researchers. The goal of this workshop is to help researchers choose the right analysis method based on factors such as whether the dependent variable is binary, categorical or continuous, whether the data varies between subjects, within subjects or both, and whether the researcher would like to test mediation, moderation or both. The expert panelists in this sessions will help researchers create a decision tree to choose among approaches, and they look forward to discussing examples with the audience and taking questions.

WORKSHOP

How to Write a Great Review: Advice from JCR's Editorial Team

Chairs:

Robert Kozinets, York University, Canada
Sharon Shavitt, University of Illinois, USA

This workshop session is designed for anyone who would like to learn more about the process of reviewing for journals and writing effective reviews. JCR's editors and associate editors will discuss the characteristics of reviews that are most helpful to authors and editors and provide insight into the process by which reviewers are selected and how reviews inform editorial decisions. Reviewing is a valued form of professional service and can help scholars build networks within the field; attend this session to learn more about the review process.

SPECIAL SYMPOSIUM

Advances in Memory Research

Chair:

Carolyn Yoon, University of Michigan, USA

Attention Regulation and Distraction

Lynn Hasher, University of Toronto, Canada

Attention regulation plays a critical role in performance on a wide range of cognitive tasks from implicit learning to creativity. When attention regulation is efficient, as it frequently is for healthy young adults, it permits rapid learning of goal relevant information and rapid and accurate retrieval of goal relevant information. When attention regulation is not efficient, as it frequently is for older adults, performance patterns are quite different from those of young adults and, critical to this talk, non-goal relevant information (i.e., distraction) will play a larger role than is otherwise the case. In fact, distraction is a double-edged sword in the mental lives of older adults: It can be disruptive, slowing responses, increasing errors, reducing retrieval. Distraction can also be facilitative, resulting in greater learning of information (including both relevant targets and irrelevant distraction), greater binding of information, and, perhaps most surprisingly, greater retrieval. We presume that the underlying mechanism that determines these patterns is inhibition and our work and that of others has shown that inhibition is reduced in older adults and is reduced for everyone functioning at their off peak time of day. My talk focuses on the upside of reduced inhibitory functioning. I'll share evidence that older adults encode the meaning of distraction which young adults ignore and evidence that distraction can even serve as a rehearsal device for older adults, actually eliminating forgetting. I will also share evidence that distraction can serve as a learning device, helping older adults in this instance, to learn the names of new faces. Taken together, the work suggests that reduced inhibition (and attendant control over attention) enables a broader window of encoding which can under some circumstances actually help the cognitive functioning of older adults.

The Future of Memory: Remembering the Past and Imagining the Future

Donna Addis Rose, The University of Auckland, New Zealand

Recently, traditional theories of episodic memory have been extended to consider the role of memory in future thinking. In particular, patient and neuroimaging research suggests that episodic memory and associated neural structures such as the hippocampus may play a critical role not only in remembering but also in imagining. I will describe studies that examine how flexible and constructive memory processes, supported by the hippocampus and associated networks, allow us to construct detailed simulations that serve to guide and enhance our future behaviors.

Selective Memory Benefits Conveyed by Positive and Negative Emotion

Elizabeth Kensinger, Boston College, USA

It is widely believed that memory is better for events that evoke an emotional reaction. In this talk, I will present evidence that these memory benefits are selective: Only some elements of an emotional event are remembered well. I will present additional evidence that sleep-dependent processes may play an important role in this selectivity, protecting memory for only the most salient details of an emotional event. I will then discuss how the effects of positive and negative emotional reactions can affect the resolution of a memory, with negative reactions leading to the retention of more precise details than positive reactions.

AWARD SESSION

ACR Distinguished Service Award Session: Donald Lehmann

Chair:

John Deighton, Harvard University, USA

Presenters:

Donald Lehmann, Columbia University, USA
Barbara Kahn, University of Pennsylvania, USA
John Lynch, University of Colorado, USA
Andrew Stephen, Oxford University, UK

This session is in honor of Don Lehmann who is the recipient of the Distinguished Service Award of the Association for Consumer Research. The award “recognizes the dedication and the devotion of a member who has served the organization with energy and generosity beyond the call of duty. This award expresses our highest gratitude to one who has helped its members in ways that have built a stronger community of scientists and scholars in consumer research.” In this session, John Deighton will first introduce Don Lehmann. Don will then talk about his perspective on the role of service in academia. This will be followed by presentations by Barbara Kahn, John Lynch, and Andrew Stephen, who will offer their own perspectives on the role of service.

What (is) Service?

Donald Lehmann, Columbia University, USA

INITIAL REACTION

When it was announced at the ACR lunch in 2014 that I was being awarded the ACR Long-Term Service Award, I was shocked (partly because like many attendees, I was paying only partial attention to what was being said). This surprise was only magnified by the large number of people who attended the special session in New Orleans this year.

My next thought was “why me?” – I’m no Keith Hunt, someone who kept the organization running for years (as Rajiv Vaidyanathan is doing now). Nor am I a Joel Cohen who put the conference expenses on his personal credit card to keep it going, a Bill Wilkie who bridged the gap to public policy, or the many members who served as conference chairs. The year I was president, Kim Corfman and John Lynch did all the work while I a) presided at a board meeting and b) gave a talk to a conscripted group of lunch attendees (there was no free lunch) using the “elegant” visuals of hand-drawn stick figures on overhead transparencies, created the night before the conference. (Unfortunately, they made it into the proceedings.)

Neither have I done work for the greater good on the scale of, for example, Ron Hill’s work with prisoners, José Rosa’s work with subsistence entrepreneurs in South America, or Punam Keller’s work with the Centers for Disease Control; I stand in awe of what they do.

Rather, to the best of my recollection, what I have done is made suggestions to some people about their research, done some manual labor for a few colleagues, had the pleasure of working with PhD students, done a fair amount of reviewing and editing (which unfortunately means giving more bad news to people than good), and served on committees, etc. mainly because I have a hard time saying no. The best things about this award are a) it suggests that at least I haven’t done too much harm and b) that it in some way honors the many who serve others. Nonetheless, I share the ambivalence so eloquently described years ago by Russ Belk about “prizes” in our profession.

Importantly, I also thought of all the people who have helped me: family, teachers, PhD students, colleagues, friends, and neighbors. To recall a much-maligned comment by President Obama, “None of us got where we are on our own.”

My next thought was “is this a hint?” As a non-millennial or whatever group comes next, I am no longer the young upstart I fancied myself being. At present, however, I’m still not taking the hint.

WHAT IS SERVICE?

When I get past the initial surprise and reactions, I began to ask myself what is service? The word is appended to a plethora of others: community, military, foreign, church, public (although currently there is a hint of self-serving as well), and self. There is a service-dominant logic, SERVQUAL, the service economy, and the mundane service station. Succumbing to the trend to use Google to find stuff, I found the following simple but perhaps more instructive definition: “the action of helping or doing work for someone (else).” It does feel good to be associated, if only tenuously, with that.

There are also several interesting perspectives on service in literature (which, being the limited scholar that I am, I found using *Bartlett’s Quotations*). These include “they also serve who stand and wait” (Milton), which suggests just being there (having someone’s back) matters. In other words, service need not be active. Simple acts also matter as suggested by Wordsworth: “Small service is true service while it lasts.” Importantly service is not the same as philanthropy: “As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens, and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the state is not far from fall” (Rousseau). And of course there is the classic view of service as required reciprocity: “To whom much is given, much is required” (the Apostle Luke, Kennedy).

Why perform service? One reason is a sense of duty to others instilled by culture and training. Another is gratitude. It is comforting to know that Adam Smith, of the invisible hand fame, also

wrote in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* that “the sentiment which most immediately and directly prompts us to reward is gratitude.” Of course there is also a selfish reason to provide service: it (hopefully) makes most of us feel better. The saying that especially when things are going badly, the best way to feel better is to help someone else is true. It also helps explain why I (who am certainly selfish and have been described by Punam Keller as the most competitive person she knows) provide some service.

Our profession has commonly suggested avoiding service, especially to young faculty members. While avoiding committees is generally sound advice, avoiding service makes it harder for everyone else. Thus, ironically, those who preach selfishness are (apparently unwittingly) making their own lives more difficult.

A better question is why not perform some service? Much of what we do is writing articles and trying to publish them in journals with impact factors of 2 (as in, only two people bother to cite them, much less are influenced by them). I have several such articles which prompted Punam Keller to gleefully show me the number of cites to several of my papers: 3, 4, 1, and the ever-popular 0. Clearly most of us are not curing cancer, ending poverty, or creating world peace. Nor did our parents have dreams of us growing up to be consumer behavior researchers. It is sobering (albeit also comforting in the sense of “first do no harm”) to realize that 100 years ago they didn’t know (prophesize) our coming and 100 years from now they won’t know we were here (or cite our work). Put differently, we just aren’t that important and the world isn’t ego-centric (even if we tend to be). Given that, performing service (which can have a multiplier effect) seems like as good a way to spend time as any other.

WHERE IS SERVICE (OTHERS’ WELFARE) IN THE UTILITY FUNCTION?

I had thought that utility was (and supposed to be) about what’s in it for me. That began to change a) when I had children and b) when Kim Corfman did her dissertation on “Others’ Welfare.” Three articles later (the most recent in 2001 in *IJRM*), I realize I was indeed wrong.

The simplest form that captures this is:

My Utility = W_1 (What’s in it for me) + W_2 (What’s in it for others/you)

What’s in it for me or you is generally a concave function; i.e., we have diminishing marginal value for most things. The consequence of this is that at some point, I would be happier if you got something than if I did. Thus a “healthy” utility function would be one with $W_1 > W_2 > 0$. Extreme altruism exists if $W_2 > W_1 > 0$. While not necessarily a stable situation, numerous examples of this exist (e.g., parents and children, firemen running into burning buildings). On the other hand, having extreme jealousy ($W_2 < 0$) is destructive and behind much of the extreme behavior in the world.

One can also expand the formula to include a third term, the product of what Me and You have. This interaction explicitly captures the desire for equity implicit in discussion about income equality.

My Utility = W_1 (Me) + W_2 (You) + W_3 (Me)(You)

In a zero-sum situation where Me + You = 1, taking (geekily) the derivative of this and setting it equal to zero produces the following:

$$\text{Optimal to Me} = (W_1 - W_2 - W_3)/2W_3$$

Of course this becomes more complicated if we take into account diminishing marginal utility by replacing Me and You with, say, $\log(\text{Me})$ and $\log(\text{You})$. Nonetheless it has some implications for bilateral relations. If both parties have the same functions, the Nash equilibrium will be to divide resources equally. Also importantly, if we both put positive values on the other party, we will both be happier. In other words, service can make us individually happier.

WHERE DOES THE WILLINGNESS TO SERVE OTHERS (W_2) COME FROM?

Several sources can drive service. One is guilt over one’s own success. Realistically we are all over-privileged in relation to the vast majority of the rest of the world. Given this, being a little less selfish seems like a small thing to do. It also can come from empathy. Training (at home, in church or school, etc.) also plays a role as does observational learning (which can both encourage and discourage service depending on whom we observe) and social pressure. It may also be partly genetic, a result of evolutionary biology. Since Axelrod showed that bees sacrifice for the good of the species, it should be possible for us to also do so.

If I had to pick the key to providing service, I think it is a combination of two things: humility and confidence. First, we have to be aware that we aren’t that important (nor is most of what we often spend time working on). That doesn’t mean we shouldn’t take our work seriously; we should. In one of my few “speeches” to a football team I help coach, I first tried to remind them why they began playing in the first place: because it was fun. It wasn’t a required activity nor would it cure cancer or solve poverty. So there was no real pressure to perform. On the other hand, of all the things they could be doing in the world, they had decided to be here, doing this. Therefore at least for the next three hours, it was the most important thing in the world to them. Honor your decision. In essence I was saying we can take our work seriously without taking ourselves too seriously (or ignoring others).

The other component is self-confidence. Unless you believe you can help others, you won’t. This doesn’t mean imposing yourself; often the old lady doesn’t want to be helped across the street. It also doesn’t mean doing something the other person could/should be doing themselves, effectively enabling bad behavior. It means serving by standing in wait and acting when the time is right.

SOME RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Having thought a bit about service, a number of research questions have arisen. In fact, examining why people perform service and what influences it seems to be fertile ground for research. As a start, consider the following questions:

- Why do we encourage others to avoid service?
- How does the value one places on service (W_2) evolve and vary by situation?
- Can we encourage a service propensity (and if so, how)?
- Should we encourage a service propensity (and if so, when)?
- Does reluctance to provide service come from myopia?

- If I like providing service, is it still service (does service have to hurt)?
- If I provide service because of benefits I receive from doing so, is it service (i.e., must it be freely given without expectation of gain)?

WHY DO I PERFORM (A LITTLE) SERVICE?

Being competitive as noted earlier, I am not a purely nice person. Nonetheless, family, teachers, and others have instilled a “non-optimal”/misfit utility in me; my W_2 is generally positive. More generally, Adam Smith was right about gratitude and by extension reciprocity and paying it forward. I also see service as the essence of friendship. I derive great pleasure from seeing someone I helped learn (a better description, I think, than taught) and who in turn “taught” me. Whether they be a PhD student (I’ve been blessed to be associated with many of the best), an author, or a high school football player, seeing them use something we worked on and seeing that it works is immensely satisfying.

WORK-SERVICE BALANCE

Two rewards result from service. The first comes from having a positive W_2 , which makes doing a timely review less onerous. Service also provides a sense of relevance; it allows me to ignore the implicit hint in any lifetime award that it must be over. In a way, asking for help is a gift to the person you ask: it makes them feel competent and relevant. (Of course if they are overburdened, it can just make them feel guilty. Rough translation: please don’t everyone send me papers to read by tomorrow.)

FINAL THOUGHTS

I am glad I apparently haven’t done too much harm and have had the opportunity to do a few things others appreciate. I should have/could have and hopefully will do more. If that means I have a mis-fit utility function, the pleasure was/is all mine. Given how fortunate we all are, it would be nice if more people felt they could afford to and did help others.

At this point I will recount a story attributed to Eric Hoffer, a philosopher, longshoreman, etc. who described traveling during the depression of the 1930s through the Dust Bowl in the middle

of the U.S. It is a story I heard a friend and colleague tell about another friend and colleague at his memorial which I subsequently told (much less eloquently) at my mother’s memorial service.

One day, out of work, broke, and hungry as he hitchhiked across the country, he came upon a well picked-over field that had a sign reading: “pick a bushel of peas: 25¢.” While it didn’t look promising, he had no other option so he took a basket and began picking. The day was hot, the sun blazed down, and the pickings were even worse than he thought. Although he worked as hard as he could, his weakened state and the heat forced him to work slower and slower. Finally, just before sundown, he just sat down and gave up.

As he gazed across the field, he noticed a well-dressed man take off his hat and start picking peas. First he became angry – the man was picking “his” peas – and jealous he had the strength to do so. He considered attacking the man, but realized he was too weak to do so. Finally he just sat there and watched.

As the sun was setting, the man with the hat walked up to him, smiled, and emptied his hat into the basket, filling it. Stunned, he blurted out “Why?” The man smiled and said, “Because it looked like you needed them.” He then asked, “What do I owe you?” The man smiled again and said, “You don’t owe me anything. But maybe some day you can give someone else a hat full of peas.”

As I said at my mother’s service: I have a truck full of peas to deliver. It would be wonderful if this award inspired delivery of at least a few more hatfulls.

In closing, I think I have figured out the reason I got the award: beer. I have drunk beer with, and often bought beer for, many of the people on the committee (and in this room). I suppose that is a type of service; whether it is good or bad I am less sure. At this point I think the greatest service I can perform is to stop writing and give any of you who are still reading at this point the gift of time.

Turning back to the award, it is nice to see service recognized. As to the plaques which go with awards in general (which will be thrown out by our children on our demise, if they make it that long), ceremonies, and cash prizes, I would be delighted if the cost were instead donated to those who need it more. Think of how many hats full of peas that would be.

Thank you again.

AWARD SESSION

Sheth Gold Medal Award Session: Gerald Zaltman

Chair:

Linda L. Price, University of Arizona, USA

Presenters:

Gerald Zaltman, Harvard University, USA
Robin Coulter, University of Connecticut, USA
Rohit Deshpande, Harvard University, USA
Debbie MacInnis, University of Southern California, USA
Melanie Wallendorf, University of Arizona, USA

This session is in honor of Gerald Zaltman who is the recipient of the Sheth Gold Medal for enduring and transformational contributions to both marketing scholarship and marketing practice. He is the third recipient of this prestigious award that recognizes lifetime contributions at the intersection of theory and practice. In this session, Linda Price will first introduce Gerald Zaltman who will talk about the role of imagination in enriching consumer theory and practice. This will be followed by presentations by Robin Coulter, Rohit Deshpande, Debbie MacInnis and Melanie Wallendorf who will highlight Jerry's contributions and ongoing relevance to the field of marketing and especially consumer theory and research.

Working Papers

Context Effects of Recommendations are Stronger than Those of Psychological Distance or Direction of Comparison

Shuzo Abe, Yokohama National University, Japan
Yoshiyuki Okuse, Senshu University, Japan
Takashi Ideno, Waseda University, Japan
Yuki Tamari, Waseda University, Japan
Kazuhsa Takemura, Waseda University, Japan

Although the effect of psychological distance and prospect theory has been broadly witnessed in recent consumer research, these effects seem to vanish when comparison takes place in the context of recommendation. This study serves as a warning against an overly optimistic view of the applicability of these popular theories.

Influences of Incidental Vagal Tone on Risk Behavior

Mehmet Yavuz Acikalin, Stanford University, USA
Baba Shiv, Stanford University, USA

Affect influences consumers both psychologically and physiologically. The physiological state of our body successively impacts our experience and behavior. Using breathing techniques to manipulate vagal tone (VT)—a physiological marker of autonomic control—we show that direct changes in physiology prompt variation in consumer risk-seeking behavior.

Reversal of the Compromise Effect: The Case of Negative Goods

Nükhet Agar, Koc University, Turkey
Baler Bilgin, Koc University, Turkey

We demonstrate that compromise effect may be one manifestation of the more overarching hedonic maximization principle, first put forth by Thaler (1985). Accordingly, we find a reversal for the effect in negative domains, where middle options (i.e., segregated losses) provide higher disutility to consumers than extreme options (i.e., integrated losses).

A Hesperhodos Sweeter than a Rose: Are Ten-Dollar Words Really Worth More?

Joanna Arnold, University of Houston, USA
Vanessa Patrick, University of Houston, USA

Processing fluency theory would suggest that common language will be more effective than uncommon language in advertising. This research counterintuitively hypothesizes that using rare or unusual language can increase perceptual fluency, perceptions of luxury and willingness to pay.

Attainment Goals and Maintenance Goals: The Appeal of Approach versus Avoidance Framed Strategies

Gizem Atav, Binghamton University, USA
Kalpesh K. Desai, University of Missouri-Kansas City, USA

Despite important findings on self-regulation and appropriate strategies during goal pursuit, most past research focuses on goal attainment. We explore differences between attainment and maintenance goals and how they influence inclinations towards approach and avoidance framed strategies. We find that during maintenance (attainment), approach (avoidance) framed strategies are more appealing.

It Would Happen Because I'm Watching it: The Effect of Watching an Uncertain Event on Overestimating Subjective Probability

Amin Attari, University of Kansas, USA
Promothes Chatterjee, University of Kansas, USA

We investigate how watching an uncertain event can affect the probability estimation of that event. We propose that consumers overestimate the likelihood of an uncertain outcome, when they watch the unfolding event in front of them. This situational aspect of probability estimation has not been estimated in prior research.

The Role of Peer Identification in Shaping the Healthy-Eating Beliefs of Children

Kafia Ayadi, NEOMA Business School, France
Adilson Borges, NEOMA Business School, France

This research investigates how peers influence children's beliefs about healthy food. Results show that children modify their beliefs according to the identity that is activated: a consistent social identity with that of their peers helps children avoid group exclusion. These identities influence the way children process information about healthy food.

The Impact of the Intrinsic Construal Level of Unhealthy Behaviors on the Effectiveness of Warning Messages: The Role of Unitosity and Numerosity

Cristobal Barra, University of Chile, Chile
Mitch Murdock, University of South Carolina, USA

This research investigates how unhealthy behaviors highlighted in warning messages can induce different mindsets. Two studies demonstrate that when a warning message highlights a concrete (abstract) unhealthy behavior, framing the message in terms of numbers (units) is more effective. Effects are explained by the potential match with numerosity/unitosity effects.

Price Framing and Choice Order Effects in Bundle Customization Decisions

Johannes Christian Bauer, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Tim Michael Böttger, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

This research demonstrates that consumers' satisfaction with a customizable bundle depends on (1) whether the choice options for the bundle components are presented simultaneously or sequentially and (2) whether (or not) detailed segregated prices for all choice options are provided in addition to the total price of the bundle configuration.

Interest-Free Financing Deals: How Different Labels Impact Consumers' Preferences for Pre- versus Postpayment

Johannes C. Bauer, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Vicki G. Morwitz, New York University, USA

Research has shown that people prefer to prepay for certain products even if there were no financing charges. We demonstrate that labeling an interest-free financing offer as a 0% APR special financing promotion can increase consumers' demand for credit and that this "labeling" effect is particularly strong for experiential goods.

Negative Mood and Goal Achievement: The Role of Mindset Congruency in Goal Pursuit

Carlos Bauer, The University of Texas at San Antonio, USA
Rajesh Bargave, The University of Texas at San Antonio, USA

This study investigates how negative mood influences consumers' goal pursuit. I propose that the influence of negative mood during the preactional goal phase facilitates the formation of concrete goal-related plans. A concrete mindset, which is congruent with the mindset required during the preactional goal phase, would facilitate goal pursuit.

The Role of Social Distance and Message Framing on Charitable Giving

Kara Bentley, University of South Carolina, USA
Mitch Murdock, University of South Carolina, USA
Katina Kulow, University of Louisville, USA

Two studies illustrate that positively-framed charitable appeals generate more donations than negatively-framed charitable appeals when victims are seen as socially distant. Additional evidence suggests that this effect is mediated by empathy.

Fair Enough: Individuals' Perceptions of Altruism of CSR Activities and Their Effect on Authenticity of Heritage Sites

Alessandro Biraglia, Leeds University Business School, University of Leeds, UK
Maximilian Gerrath, Leeds University Business School, University of Leeds, UK
Bryan Usrey, Leeds University Business School, University of Leeds, UK

Despite CSR's importance as a tool for branding exposure, its impact on authenticity has yet to be examined. This study shows that firm involvement in heritage site restoration may decrease the authenticity of the site and consumer visiting intentions if the CSR agreement is perceived as non-altruistic and unfair.

Eating Fast, Risking More: Fast Food Priming and Preference for Risky Options

Alessandro Biraglia, Leeds University Business School, University of Leeds, UK
Irene Bisignano, University of Rome "La Sapienza", Italy
Lucia Mannetti, University of Rome "La Sapienza", Italy
J. Joško Brakus, Leeds University Business School, University of Leeds, UK

In two experiments we investigate how exposure to fast food priming influences impulsiveness in choices not related to the eating domain. Study 1 examines how respondents recalling their experiences in a fast food prefer immediate (but smaller) monetary gains. Study 2 extends the effect to diverse and more risky choices.

Wax Spinning, Turning Knobs, Blasting Speakers: An Actor-Network Theory Approach to Understanding Consumer Experience in Night Clubs

Hedon Blakaj, Aalto University, Finland

Drawing on ethnography and Actor-Network Theory, this work aims at exploring the relationship between pre-cognition and materiality in understanding consumer experiences in night clubs.

Ethical Private Label Brands: Understanding the Role of Extrinsic Quality Cues

H. Onur Bodur, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada
Maryam Tofghi, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada
Bianca Grohmann, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada

Two experiments show that ethical attributes enhance consumer evaluations of retailers' private label brands in the presence of extrinsic cues signaling high quality (high price or high retailer reputation). In contrast, they hurt brand evaluations in the context of extrinsic cues signaling low quality, (low price or low retailer reputation).

How to Inspire Experts: A Goal-Systemic Perspective on Inspiration

Tim Boettger, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

This research merges the conceptualization of inspiration with goal systems theory to analyze the effect of novelty on inspiration for experts and non-experts in the context of physical exercising. The results indicate that the effect of novelty depends on the interplay of the content (goals vs. means) with participants' expertise.

To be Simple is to be Eaten: The Effects of Brand Logo Complexity on Preference and Consumption - A Processing Fluency Perspective

Vera Bossel, Maastricht University, The Netherlands
Kelly Geyskens, Maastricht University, The Netherlands
Caroline Goukens, Maastricht University, The Netherlands

An investigation of the effects of logo complexity on consumer preference has shown that consumers prefer simple and clean logos over more complex ones and that processing fluency drives this effect. Moreover, processing fluency stemming from a simple logo design results in an increased consumption of a snack food item.

Cashing in on Control: Low Control Increases Preference for Prepayment When Financial Resources are Plentiful

Daniel Brannon, Arizona State University, USA
Adriana Samper, Arizona State University, USA

We find that threats to personal control increase consumers' preference for prepayment options (e.g. cash and debit cards) as opposed to debt payment options (e.g. credit cards). We argue that by immediately closing newly opened mental accounts associated with a purchase, prepayment options restore feelings of control.

The Effects of Negative Information on Copycat Brand Evaluation

Dominique Braxton, University of California Irvine, USA
Darrel Muehling, Washington State University, USA
Jeff Joireman, Washington State University, USA

Recent literature has challenged the prevailing belief about the benefits of a copycat strategy by demonstrating conditions under which a blatant copycat strategy will result in a disadvantage. The current investigation demonstrates the moderating effects of whether the national leading brand is perceived positively or negatively.

Free Does Not Equal Free: The Differential Effects of “Freebie” Methods

Denise Buhrau, Stony Brook University, USA
Ethan Pew, Stony Brook University, USA

We test the effects of various “freebie” methods (e.g., “free,” 100% off) on valuation and intentions. Offers framed as “free” lead to devaluation due to negative inferences about motives. Offers framed as “100% off” are not devalued because of increased judgmental difficulty, which reduces the impact of inferences about motives.

The Influence of Shopping Lists on Visual Distraction

Oliver Büttner, Zeppelin University, Germany
Markus Kempinski, University of Vienna, Austria
Benjamin Serfas, University of Vienna, Austria
Arnd Florack, University of Vienna, Austria
Kathleen Vohs, University of Minnesota, USA

This research examines how shopping lists influence consumers' susceptibility to impulsive purchases. We argue that making a shopping list activates an implemental mindset, which reduces the distraction by task-irrelevant products already at the level of visual attention. Results from an eye-tracking experiment support this hypothesis.

Probability-Based Loyalty Programs Increase Motivation

Adrian Camilleri, RMIT University, Australia
Jin Liyin, Fudan University, China
Ying Zhang, Peking University, China

We demonstrate and then discuss why consumers are less motivated in a traditional loyalty program (where a certain number of actions must be completed before the reward is obtained) than a probability-based loyalty program (where there is some non-zero probability of obtaining the reward after every action).

A Harmony of the Senses: The Interaction of Sound and Smell in Consumer Memory and Choice

Marina Carnevale, Fordham University, USA
Rhonda Hadi, Oxford University, UK
David Luna, Baruch College, CUNY, USA

Research has documented the influence of modality-specific sensations (e.g., auditory and olfactory cues) on consumer preferences. However, we argue that consumers exposed to incongruent sensory stimuli will discount subsequent sensory information from other modalities. Specifically, we find that incongruent brand-names reduce the impact of scent on consumer memory and choice.

When Enhancing Human Traits is Dehumanizing, and What to do About It

Noah Castelo, Columbia University, USA
Nicholas Fitz, University of British Columbia, Canada
Bernd Schmitt, Columbia University, USA
Miklos Sarvary, Columbia University, USA

Consumers who use a brain-enhancing device (tDCS) are perceived as less human than consumers who enhance the same traits using non-technological means, even when the enhanced traits are central to human nature. We explore the marketing implications of this dehumanization effect and show how it can be reversed.

Cowgirls: A Gendered Western Lifestyle

Mary Celsi, California State University Long Beach, USA
Doan Nguyen, California State University Long Beach, USA
Sayantani Mukherjee, Central Washington University, USA

Ownership and mastery of a horse are the central narrative elements that connect horsewomen who self-identify as cowgirls to Wild West mythology. Our research describes how Western mythology, long-term experience with horses, and the microculture of Western horse sports, create a crucible where traditionally masculine and feminine qualities – tough and tender – can be fully integrated into feminine identities.

Real or Counterfeit? Drivers, Deterrents and Coping Mechanisms Against Online Consumer Deception

Ludovica Cesareo, Sapienza University of Rome, Italy
Barbara Stoettinger, WU Vienna, Austria
Alberto Pastore, Sapienza University of Rome, Italy

Merchandise deception is the most common type of online fraud. This study joins evidences from consumers' experience with deceptive counterfeits online with the reference literature on perceived risks, e-trust and online deception to develop a causal model linking determinants, deterrents and coping mechanisms of consumers exposed to online merchandise deception.

“Our” Brand’s Failure Leads to Out-Group Product Derogation

Boyoun (Grace) Chae, Temple University, USA
Darren Dahl, University of British Columbia, Canada
Juliet Zhu, Cheung Kong Graduate School of Business, China

How would Toyota’s massive recall change Japanese’ attitudes toward foreign products? We find that negative information of brands can threaten the group members’ social identity, which subsequently result in derogation of out-group products. Importantly, we show that the communication source of the negative information moderates the effect.

Consumer Reactions to Brand Moral Failures: The Mediating Role of Shame

Hua Chang, Philadelphia University, USA
Lingling Zhang, Towson University, USA

This research examines the role of brand ownership in consumers’ reactions to brand failures. We find that consumers who have a strong brand ownership have more negative brand evaluations towards brand moral failures, but not towards product failures. We show the mediating role of feelings of shame in the relationship.

Balancing Nostalgia With Novelty in Managing Brand Revivals

Subimal Chatterjee, School of Management, Binghamton University, USA
M. Deniz Dalman, Graduate School of Management, Saint Petersburg State University, Russia

Our research addresses how best manager can balance comfort and novelty when harnessing nostalgia to revive old brands. One laboratory study and one empirical study (box-office of film remakes) suggest that comfort matters more than novelty for older rather than newer revivals and consumers experience personal rather than historical nostalgia.

What I Wish I Had Done in The Past is Not What I Think I Will do in The Future – The Asymmetric Effect of Temporal Horizon on Our Preferences for Vice and Virtue

Subimal Chatterjee, School of Management, Binghamton University, USA
Zecong (Herman) Ma, School of Management, Binghamton University, USA
Yilong (Eric) Zheng, School of Management, Binghamton University, USA

We show that consumers prefer a vice over a virtue when asked how they would have chosen in the past, but the virtue over the vice when asked how they will choose in the future. Such asymmetric thinking can serve as a self-control mechanism to prevent excessive indulgence in vices.

Sugarfree Chocolate is Not a Chocolate: How Contextual Goal Salience Influences Choice of Healthful Indulgences

Chamrong Cheam, Grenoble Ecole de Management, France
Carolina O.C. Werle, Grenoble Ecole de Management, France
Olivier Trendel, Grenoble Ecole de Management, France

Although healthful indulgences embody improved versions of hedonic foods, they encounter little success in the marketplace inconsistently with prior literature. This research provided support to a three-variable model highlighting a new suppressor variable effect likely to explain consumers’ reluctance to choose the healthful indulgences.

Movie-Induced Tourism- Dual-Route Promotion of Destination

Annie Chen, University of Westminster, UK
Norman Peng, University of Salford, UK
Kuang-peng Hung, Ming Chuan University, Taiwan

The purpose of this research is to examine movie-induced tourism participation behavior. A total of 152 Taiwanese movie viewers were recruited. The results show that idolatry and attitudes toward movies can both affect attitudes toward the destinations featured in the movies, which, in turn, will affect movie viewers' participation behavior.

The Eyes of Consumers Differ From Those of Designers

Yu-Shan Athena Chen, Department of Business Administration, National Chengchi University, Taiwan
Wei-Ken Hung, Department of Industrial Design, National United University, Taiwan
Lien-Ti Bei, Department of Business Administration, National Chengchi University, Taiwan
Lin-Lin Chen, Department of Industrial and Commercial Design, National Taiwan University of Science and Technology, Taiwan

This study explored the relationship between novelty and aesthetic preference in commercial designs. The results of two studies indicated that the inverse U functions according to MAYA principle were found in nondesigners rather than designers. The difference may be due to processing information systematically or heuristically.

My Imperfection Only Keeping within Myself – the Self Negatively-Accepted Bias

Yin-Hui Cheng, National Taichung University of Education, Taiwan
Annie P. Yu, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan
Shih-Chieh Chuang, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan
Chao-Feng Lee, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

This research probes the effect of self negatively-accepted bias by examining different sources of negative-evaluation, self-judgment versus others-judgment. That is, how others perceived us negatively can influence the way how we perceived our own defect. Findings of three studies suggest that social distance moderates the effect of self negatively-accepted bias.

Mixing Mountains and Molehills: The Influence of Ambiguous Sustainability Disclosures on Evaluation and Choice

Yoon-Na Cho, Villanova University, USA
Robin Soster, University of Arkansas, USA
Scot Burton, University of Arkansas, USA

Ceteris paribus, consumers should prefer and choose the most sustainable brand offered in a product category; however, prior research reveals this is not always the case. We propose that the influence of sustainability level on consumer evaluation and choice is mediated by information ambiguity, supporting this proposition with two experiments.

Her Beauty Results in Your Sorrow: The Effects of Envy toward Attractive Spokespersons in Advertising

Hsuan-Yi Chou, Institute of Marketing Communication, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan
Shu-Shan Chen, Institute of Marketing Communication, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan

This research explores the effects of possible determinants of female consumers' degree of social comparison toward highly attractive female spokespersons. It also examines the moderators of envy types and the ad effects of different envy emotions. The findings make theoretical contributions to social comparison, envy theory, and spokesperson research.

Consumer Responses towards Limited-Time vs Limited-Quantity Scarcity Messages in Price Promotions

Hsuan-Yi Chou, Institute of Marketing Communication, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan
Hsin-Hsien Liu, Department of Asia-Pacific Industrial and Business Management, National University of Kaohsiung, Taiwan
Shao-Hua Chen, Institute of Marketing Communication, National Sun Yat-sen University, Taiwan

This study investigates the relative effects of limited-time versus limited-quantity scarcity messages in price promotions on consumers' behavioral intentions and brand evaluations, and examines possible internal mechanisms. The moderating effects of product types and consumer regulatory focus are also explored. The findings contribute to restricted promotion research and practices.

The Concept of Found Time

Jaeyeon Chung, Columbia University, USA
Claire Tsai, University of Toronto, Canada
Leonard Lee, National University of Singapore, Singapore
Donald Lehmann, Columbia University, USA

This paper proposes a conceptual framework of found time and its multiple antecedents (e.g., source, timeframe, and characteristics), consequences (e.g., choices, self-perception, behaviors, and emotions), and moderators (e.g., individual differences, temporal distance, and personal goals). We discuss some of our empirical findings to illustrate the complex nature of found time.

How Consumers Use Found Time

Jaeyeon Chung, Columbia University, USA
Leonard Lee, National University of Singapore, Singapore
Claire Tsai, University of Toronto, Canada
Donald Lehmann, Columbia University, USA

Compared to windfall money, people prefer to spend small gains of time for experience-driven hedonic purposes. This is shown in their likelihood to use the time for non-utilitarian activities and for volunteering. We show that, however, people's tendency to spend it for utilitarian purposes increases when the gain is larger.

Where are all the Black Women? A Look Inside the Misrepresentation and Underrepresentation of Black Women in Modern Marketing Campaigns

Alexandria Clark, Claffin University, USA
Na Xiao, Laurentian University, Canada

Black women have been misrepresented and underrepresented in marketing campaigns, advertisements, and agendas. The objective of this research is to analyze the roots and causes of this phenomenon and how can this lack of representation be corrected. A focus group study was conducted.

Not Opening the Envelope: The Role of Emotions and Information Avoidance in Debt Management

Anna Custers, Saïd Business School, University of Oxford

Consumer indebtedness is a growing concern. A puzzle observed in debt management strategies is that a large portion of consumers ignore or avoid part of their debt. Using a cross-sectional dataset of over-indebted individuals, this research provides preliminary evidence for a theoretical framework in which higher levels of problem debt increase information avoidance, through negative emotions such as unhappiness, anxiety or stress associated with that problem debt.

How and Why Restricting Product Returns and Varying Product Return Policies Impact Consumers

Lynn Dailey, Capital University, USA

The restrictiveness of product return policies (PRPs) vary between retailers and often within a retailer. Hypotheses were derived from the PRP literature and psychological reactance theory regarding how restrictiveness and variation of restrictiveness impact consumers. An experiment was pretested, and the preliminary results support the hypotheses.

The Work of Mapping and the Mapping of Work: Prosumption, Psychological Ownership, and User Citizenship in Crowdsourced Maps

Aron Darmody, Suffolk University, Boston MA, USA

Mujde Yuksel, Suffolk University, Boston MA, USA

Meera Venkatraman, Suffolk University, Boston MA, USA

Through an in-depth qualitative analysis of a crowdsourced nautical mapping technology we unravel dynamics among prosumer work, psychological ownership, and user citizenship in crowdsourcing. Identifying four user personae, we provide insights into the consumer-producer divide, or lack thereof, in a privatized digital commons.

Why does Animosity Negatively Affect Product Attitudes? Considering the Role of Anticipated Future Regret

Ahmad Daryanto, Lancaster University, UK

Laura Salciuviene, Lancaster University, UK

Chihling Liu, Lancaster University, UK

Although negative effects of animosity on consumer attitudes have been acknowledged, little has been achieved in explaining why those effects occur. This study is the first to consider the role of regret in explaining the negative effect of animosity on foreign product attitudes.

Materialism and Detectably Counterfeited Goods: The Mediating Role of Embarrassment

Alexander Davidson, Concordia University, Canada

Marcelo Nepomuceno, HEC Montreal, Canada

Michel Laroche, Concordia University, Canada

Previous research regarding the relationship between materialism and purchase intentions towards counterfeited goods is inconclusive. In three studies, materialists feel more embarrassment and therefore have reduced purchase intentions when buying counterfeits. However, counterfeits that cannot be detected easily result in less embarrassment and therefore do not drive down purchase intentions.

Pharmaceutical Advertising and the Role of Hope

Marjorie Delbaere, University of Saskatchewan, Canada

Erin Willis, University of Memphis, USA

Half of all DTC advertising money (\$5 billion in 2009) goes toward drugs to treat chronic disease. Results indicate that DTC ads for chronic disease drugs frequently employ an emotional appeal, and that positive emotional appeals are more effective at activating hope in consumers living with a chronic disease.

Revealing and Erasing Consumers' Preference for their Values and Identities

Alexander DePaoli, Stanford University, USA

Itamar Simonson, Stanford University, USA

When making a purchase, consumers must weight and evaluate the features of products. We find that how consumers weight values-based or identity-based features depends on preference elicitation response mode. Consumers greatly value these features in choice (or similar) tasks, but do not value them in willingness-to-pay (or similar) tasks.

Are Consumers Ready for “Made in the World”? Acceptance and Consequence of “Made in the World” Label

Ruby Dholakia, University of Rhode Island, USA
Jingyi Duan, University of Rhode Island, USA
Miao Zhao, Roger Williams University, USA

Today, very few products are designed and manufactured in one country. Nevertheless, laws require “Made in country” labels. World Trade Organization’s “Made in the World” concept attempts to address this issue. This paper investigates conditions that influence consumer acceptance of such a label and its effect on perceived quality.

Psychological Ownership as a Precursor to Sunk Cost Effects

Stephan Dickert, WU Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria
Bernadette Kamleitner, WU Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria
Erdem Geveze, WU Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria
Sophie Süßenbach, WU Vienna University of Economics and Business, Austria

Our research examines the role of psychological ownership as an underlying mechanism in sunk cost effects. A mediation analysis found support for the notion that psychological ownership is a precursor to both feelings related to an object and sunk costs. Our findings suggest that psychological ownership may follow a step-function.

Plush Bear or Metallic Bear? The Effect of Social Exclusion on Consumer Preference for Different Product Textures

Ying Ding, School of Business, Renmin University of China, China
Xiushuang Gong, School of Business, Renmin University of China, China
Lili Wang, School of Management, Zhejiang University, China

The current research investigates the influence of social exclusion on consumer preference for products with different textures. Across three experiments, our findings indicate that socially excluded consumers prefer products with soft texture than the socially included ones. The boundary condition of this effect is documented in this research.

Large Assortments Are a Double-edged Sword: How Perceived Variety and Perceived Choice Difficulty Jointly Predict Consumers’ Satisfaction

Michael Dorn, University of Bern, Switzerland
Adrian Brügger, University of Bern, Switzerland
Claude Messner, University of Bern, Switzerland

High variety assortments are a double-edged sword. On one hand perceiving large variety is attractive, on the other hand choosing from it can cause perceived choice difficulty. Using mass-customizations tools our two studies show how both antipodal processes jointly determine consumers’ satisfaction with the customized product.

Consumers and Their Celebrity Brands: How Narratives Impact Attachment Through Communal Relationship Norms

Bennie Eng, Marshall University, USA
Cheryl Burke Jarvis, Southern Illinois University, USA

Despite pervasive consumer and marketer interest in celebrities, little is known about how they build relationships with consumers. A theoretical model of celebrity brand attachment is developed based on narrative transportation theory. Two experiments demonstrate that various celebrity brand narrative types differentially affect relationship norm communality and, ultimately, consumer attachment.

Don't Surprise Me: The Effects of Social Exclusion on Uncertainty Intolerance

Linying FAN, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong
Yuwei JIANG, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong

Three experiments showed that socially excluded consumers exhibit a less favorable attitude toward product or service options involving uncertainty, compared with consumers who feel socially included. Moreover, this effect of exclusion on uncertainty intolerance is mediated by a need for control.

Banking Happiness

Ali Faraji Rad, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore
Leonard Lee, National University of Singapore, Singapore

We document a phenomenon that we call banking happiness—in anticipation of negative feelings arising from an upcoming event, people take actions to increase momentary happiness to enhance their ability to overcome the anticipated negative feelings. Hence, people view happiness as a currency that can be collected and expended later.

When Disgust Puts You Down: The Effect of Disgust Exposure on Consumers' Identity and Compensatory Consumption

Elena Fumagalli, HEC Paris, France
L. J. Shrum, HEC Paris, France

Disgust has been shown to produce diverse behavioral responses. We examine how different disgust typologies affect consumers' identity and compensatory consumption. We find that all types of disgust reduce feelings of personal power, and that two types (core and moral) increase charitable giving.

When Objects Are Not Contagious: Distinguishing Between Essence, Contagion, and Authenticity

Chelsea Galoni, Northwestern University, USA
Brendan Strojcek, Northwestern University, USA
Kent Grayson, Northwestern University, USA

Predicated on the law of contagion and psychological essentialism, we demonstrate preliminary evidence that a source can only be contagious, thus able to transfer essence, if it is involved in a meaningful process with a target object.

Does Size Matter? Only When They Touch: Package Size and Scale of Contamination

Chelsea Galoni, Northwestern University, USA
Derek Taylor, University of Guelph, Canada
Theodore J. Noseworthy, York University, Canada

Predicated on the law of contagion and research on packaging size inferences, we establish that the magnitude of contamination strengthens as the package size of a target product increases. Our results show that contamination does scale with the size of packaging and offers a new way of confirming contamination manipulations.

Consuming to Make Me Feel Good about Myself: The Effect of Self-Threat on Preferences for Socially Responsible Products

Huachao Gao, University of Texas at San Antonio, USA
Yiren Dong, Nanjing University, China

This research identifies enhancing self-view as a driver for consumer preference for socially responsible products. Based on identity-threat literature, we found that consumers under self-threat (vs. not) are more likely to purchase socially responsible products. In addition, this self-threat effect is further moderated by self-affirmation.

Can Shape Symbolism Be Used to Manage Taste Expectations?

Fei Gao, HEC Paris, France
Tina Lowrey, HEC Paris, France
LJ Shrum, HEC Paris, France

Extant literature on shape symbolism mainly focuses on matching between abstract shapes and tastes. Our research first provides empirical evidence to demonstrate that the appropriate use of shape symbolism on product packaging can induce specific taste expectations and this effect is mainly driven at an implicit or subliminal level.

Does Thematic Advertising Congruence/Incongruence Matter? Insights from a Qualitative and an Experimental Study

Claas Christian Germelmann, University of Bayreuth, Germany
Jean-Luc Herrmann, University of Lorraine, CEREFIGE, France
Matthieu Kacha, University of Lorraine, CEREFIGE, France
Peter Darke, Schulich School of Business, York University, Canada
Johanna Bauer, University of Bayreuth, Germany
Magdalena J. Nowak, University of Bayreuth, Germany

We investigate the level of thematic congruence between advertised products and media under forced versus incidental/ in vivo exposure. Forced exposure was significantly more likely to result in conscious attention towards congruence than incidental/ in vivo exposure. Participants were also more likely to consciously focus incongruence than congruence under incidental/ in vivo exposure. Implications are discussed.

Getting Credit for CSR: When Money Doesn't Talk

Rachel Gershon, Washington University, USA
Cynthia Cryder, Washington University, USA

We hypothesize that people ascribe charitable credit differently for firms versus individuals. In a series of experiments, we find that firms receive less credit for giving money than for giving tangible goods, whereas the opposite is true for individuals. The role of authenticity appears to be key.

Product Curvature Preferences: A Theory of Self-Concept

Tanuka Ghoshal, Indian School of Business, India
Rishtee Batra, Indian School of Business, India
Peter Boatwright, Carnegie Mellon University, USA

We find that when body shape is salient, women who perceive their bodies to be curvy, rate curved products higher. A significant covariate is body image fixation. Evaluation of one's body caused subjects to engage in "defensive coping," leading to a more favorable evaluation of objects perceived similar to oneself.

How Perceived Behavioral Control Can Influence Pro-Environmental Behaviors for Individuals

Marilyn Giroux, Concordia University, Canada
Frank Pons, Laval University, Kedge Business School, France
Lionel Maltese, Kedge Business School, France

Given the detrimental effects of pollution and overuse of non-renewable resources, it is essential that scholars understand both the nature of and how they can impact pro-environmental behavior. This research aims to better understand what motivates consumers to express sustainable intentions and what factors interfere in their decisions.

What it Makes: How Product Outcome Salience Increases Recycling Intentions

Gabriel Gonzales, Pennsylvania State University, USA
Karen Winterich, Pennsylvania State University, USA

Items made from recycled material are commonplace, yet consumers may not make the connection that the items they recycle are used to create new products. The current research suggests that bringing attention to products made from recycled material can increase recycling intentions through increased perceptions of recycling's value.

Effects of Consumer Envy on Attitudes Toward Peers

R. Justin Goss, Colorado State University, Pueblo, USA
David Silvera, University of Texas at San Antonio, USA
Jill Sundie, Virginia Tech, USA

We investigate the relation between envy, self-brand connection, and deservingness by examining the effects of Malicious and Benign Envy on members of brand communities. Results indicate that participants who are connected to a brand show Benign/Malicious Envy toward a higher status target who is deemed worthy/unworthy of good fortune.

Reciprocation Anxiety: On the Development, Validation, and use of the “Reciprocation Anxiety Scale”(RAS)

Li Gu, Sun Yat-sen University, China
Wenwen Xie, Sun Yat-sen University, China
Xinyue Zhou, Sun Yat-sen University, China

This study proposed the construct of reciprocation anxiety and operationalized it along three dimensions: reciprocation sensitivity, reciprocation avoidance, and distress. We described the development of Reciprocation Anxiety Scale and provided experimental evidence that people scored higher on reciprocation anxiety scale tend to return more money in the trust game.

Consumer Reactions to Brand Scandals: The Role of Brand Authenticity

Amélie Guèvremont, École des sciences de la gestion, Université du Québec à Montréal (ESG UQAM), Canada
Bianca Grohmann, John Molson School of Business, Concordia University, Canada

This study looks at the role of brand authenticity in understanding how consumers react to a brand scandal. Results support the commitment hypothesis and indicate that high levels of brand authenticity protect brands from the negative consequences of a scandal manifested through higher behavioral intentions and more positive brand-related perceptions.

The Effectiveness of Deservingness-Based Advertising Messages: The Role of Product Knowledge and Belief in a Just World

Carolyn L. Hafer, Brock University, Canada
Antonia Mantonakis, Brock University, Canada
Regan Fitzgerald, Brock University, Canada
Anthony, F. Bogaert, Brock University, Canada

In 2 experiments, participants viewed a deservingness, hedonic, or utilitarian ad. We assessed ad effectiveness (e.g., ratings, purchase behaviour), belief in a just world (BJW), and product knowledge. BJW and knowledge interacted with ad type to influence ad effectiveness. We also show mediation for the interaction involving BJW.

Willingness to Eat Insects as Food is Predicted by Disgust Sensitivity and Cooking

Eric Hamerman, Iona College, USA

Eating insects is one solution to the problem of feeding an increasing world population. However, Western consumers perceive eating insects as disgusting. Priming consumers to think about the process of cooking as transformative makes people more willing to eat insects, but only for individuals with low sensitivity to animal-reminder disgust.

Decision by Sampling And Better/Worse-Than-Average Effects

John Han, Tepper School of Business, Carnegie Mellon University, USA
Christopher Olivola, Tepper School of Business, Carnegie Mellon University, USA

We offer and test a new account, based on a decision process-level theory called Decision by Sampling, of understanding the psychology underlying people's tendency to believe that their ability to perform a certain task is better [worse] than average on easy [hard] tasks.

Affect- or Others-as-Information? The Influence of Affect on Judgment across Cultures

Lee Hasidim, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel
Hila Riemer, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel

We explore cultural differences in the effects of mood and norms on judgment. Results show that mood influences individualists but not collectivists. In the presence of norms, however, mood influences collectivists but not individualists, and norms influence individualists but not collectivists. We discuss a possible explanation and suggest future directions.

Customer-to-Customer Interaction, Service Satisfaction and Cultural Differences: An Affective Approach

Marloes Heijink, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, China
Yuwei Jiang, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, China
Gerald J. Gorn, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, China

Other customers can lighten up or destroy a service experience. A survey and two experiments show that affect mediates the relationship between relevant customer-to-customer interaction and service satisfaction, and this effect is amplified for other customers having the same cultural background.

Effects of Ego Depletion on Information Search and Product Assessment

José Mauro Hernandez, Centro Universitário da FEI, Brazil
Frank Kardes, University of Cincinnati, USA

Three experimental studies show that depleted individuals make more favorable product evaluations than non-depleted individuals when searched information is negative. Even when alerted of their condition, depleted individuals did not adjust their product evaluations. Perceived information sufficiency was shown to mediate the influence of ego depletion on product evaluation.

Haptic Product Configuration: The Influence of Multi-Touch Devices on Experiential Consumption and Sales

Christian Hildebrand, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Jonathan Levav, Stanford University, USA
Andreas Herrmann, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

Based on a large-scale field study and a series of experiments (in both field and lab settings), we show that the use of multi-touch devices promote the choice of more hedonic, affect-rich product features and renders consumers' product configuration experience as less instrumental and more experiential.

The Influence of Emotional Responses on Service Recovery Efforts

Krista Hill, Bridgewater State University, USA
Jennifer Yule, Northeastern University, USA

This study examines whether the type of service recovery consumers prefer is influenced by their emotional state. Participants were randomly assigned to either a worry or anger condition and subsequently provided with a cognitive or affective recovery. Results revealed worried participants prefer affective recoveries, while angry participants prefer cognitive recoveries.

The Impact of Service Recovery Strategies on Consumer Responses: A Conceptual Model and Meta-Analysis

Krista Hill, Bridgewater State University, USA
Anne Roggeveen, Babson College, USA
Dhruv Grewal, Babson College, USA

This paper provides a comprehensive overview of service recovery research and provides avenues for future research. Using meta-analysis, the research explores the impact of different service recovery strategies (compensation, empathetic response, and information) on consumer responses, as well as moderating factors related to the failure, the firm, and the recovery.

More Than Words: A Psycholinguistic Perspective on the Properties of Effective Brand Slogans

Brady Hodges, Texas A&M University, USA
Caleb Warren, Texas A&M University, USA
Zachary Estes, Bocconi University, Italy

Effective slogans increase brand awareness and strengthen brand attitude. Taking a psycholinguistic perspective, the authors contribute the first ever analysis on how the unique lexical, semantic, and emotional properties of a slogan's individual words combine to influence slogan recognition and slogan liking.

The Effect of Bicultural Identity on Consumer Preference

JungHwa Hong, University of Texas at Tyler, USA
Chien-Wei Lin, State University of New York at Oneonta, USA

Two studies reveal that biculturals introject (i.e., rely on others' preferences to gauge their own) less than individuals with single identity. Further, such effect is moderated by low (vs. high) cultural identity integration. There is no difference on projection (i.e., rely on own preferences to estimate others).

Affectual Assemblage: Consumption Text and Market Emergence

Gry Høngsmark Knudsen, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark
Dannie Kjeldgaard, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

This paper develops the concept of affectual assemblages to capture the emotional flows that emerge in readings of commercial videos on YouTube. We argue that assemblage affords a realist perspective and support the analysis of contingent aspects of market emergence through its awareness of agentic aspects of texts and technology.

Is Less More for Cause-Related Marketing

Katharine Howie, The University of Mississippi, USA
Lifeng Yang, The University of Mississippi, USA

This research establishes how consumers respond to CRM campaigns with finite promotional periods. A conceptual model, built on the persuasion knowledge model and attribution theory, is tested empirically. We demonstrate the effect of campaign duration on participation intentions is transmitted through the consumer's perception about the company's social responsibility.

Revolt and Redemption: Materialism as an Attempt to Cope with Perceived Injustice

Feifei Huang, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China
Robert S. Wyer, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

Our research provides a framework to examine the interactive effects of two types of injustice, namely retributive injustice and distributive injustice, on materialistic behaviors. We further propose that the desire to boost self-esteem mediates the effect of injustice perception on materialistic behaviors.

Better the Devil You Don't Know: Collective Control Power and Social Comparisons

Li Huang, University of South Carolina, USA
Thomas Kramer, University of California Riverside, USA

Can we rely on high self-control friends to help us control our behaviors? We proposed that low self-control friends could be a better “gate keeper” than high self-control friends when people focused on a collective control system in respond to upward comparison.

Effects of Time Horizons on Perceived Meaningfulness of Purchases: Interaction of Price and the Consumption Types

Hyunjoo Im, University of Minnesota, USA
Jayoung Koo, University of Minnesota, USA
Minjung Park, University of Minnesota, USA

The current study examines how consumers' time horizon perspective affects their perceived meaningfulness of experience and material purchases at two varying price levels. The results showed the time horizon perspectives affect low-price experience purchases the most. Material purchases were unaffected by the time horizon manipulation.

The GroupSolver Method for Quantifying Qualitative Research

Aarti Ivanic, University of San Diego, USA
Claudiu Dimofte, San Diego State, USA
Maros Ivanic, GroupSolver, Inc., USA
Rasto Ivanic, GroupSolver, Inc., USA

To address complaints about qualitative techniques' perceived lack of rigor and reliability, we introduce a novel method of assessing qualitative (i.e., verbal) consumer feedback that we argue provides for a more parsimonious and straightforward way to quantify this feedback in both academic and applied marketing contexts.

Blowing in the Wind: How Wind Direction Influences Agentic Motivation

Anoosha Izadi, University of Houston, USA
Melanie Rudd, University of Houston, USA
Vanessa M. Patrick, University of Houston, USA

Do humans have an innate response to facing upwind (vs. downwind)? In the present research, one online experiment and one laboratory experiment (with actual wind) investigate this question. The results of these experiments demonstrate that facing upwind (vs. downwind) enhances agentic motivation and increases task persistence.

When Parts form the Whole: Memory Conservation leads to Enhanced Attitude

Gaurav Jain, University of Iowa, USA
Sunaina Shrivastava, University of Iowa, USA
Dhananjay Nayakankuppam, University of Iowa, USA
Gary Gaeth, University of Iowa, USA

We show that individuals have enhanced attitude towards a target object, formed as a whole when its individual parts combine, when compared to the attitude towards the whole object in totality. We posit a memory conservation based process for the observed increase in attitude towards the target.

I Am Feeling the Urge to Clean Out My Closet: How the Mere Thought of Change Influences Product Disposal Decisions

Yuwei Jiang, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, China
Leilei Gao, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

Four experiments show that consumers are more willing to dispose of their possessions when the concept of change is activated. This is because thinking about change elicits an action tendency, which in turn results in more product disposal.

The link Between Self-Construal, Environmental Concern and Response to Green Ad Claims – a Cross Cultural Comparison

Pradnya Joshi, Michigan State University, USA

The current research aims at comparing three dominant cultures associated with different types of self-construal: Indian, Chinese, and American culture. Two studies suggest that ad-claims congruent with consumers' self-construal improve attitudes and purchase intention towards the advertised environmental products. Cultures appear to alter the way environmental advertising interacts with self-construal.

When the Quest for the Best Backfires: Maximizing Impairs Self-Control

SungJin Jung, Seoul National University, South Korea

Across three experiments, this research demonstrates that making decisions with a maximizing mind-set results in self-control failure. Specifically, after maximizing, individuals were less likely to study, willing to incur more debt, and less able to delay gratification. This effect on self-control is moderated by implicit theories about willpower.

Antecedents of Consumers' Desire for Unique Products: A Cross-Cultural Comparison

Jae Min Jung, California State Polytechnic University-Pomona, USA
Kawpong Polyorat, Khonkaen University, Thailand
Kyeong Sam Min, University of New Orleans, USA

This research tests the impact of self-construal on the desire for unique consumer products and mediating mechanism through uncertainty-related dimensions and consumer susceptibility to interpersonal influence. Further, using multi-group analysis with mean structures, it reveals paradoxical findings that attest to the cross-cultural differences between cultural values and consumers' actual behaviors.

Employing a Relationship Perspective to Determine Customer Engagement Value in Service Contexts

Velitchka Kaltcheva, Loyola Marymount University, USA
Anthony Patino, University of San Francisco, USA
Dennis Pitta, University of Baltimore, USA
Michael Laric, University of Baltimore, USA

We test whether consumers' relational models for a service firm structure how consumers engage with the firm, thus generating different types of customer engagement value for the firm. Our research is grounded in Alan P. Fiske's (1991) Relational Models Framework and Kumar et al.'s (2010) typology of customer engagement value.

Consumers with Depleted Self-Control Choose Less Variety

Cansu Karaduman, HEC Lausanne, Switzerland
Joseph Lajos, HEC Lausanne, Switzerland

We provide evidence from three online studies that consumers whose self-control is depleted are less variety seeking than those whose self-control is not depleted. We theorize that this effect occurs because consumers with depleted self-control are less able to process the additional information typically associated with making more varied choices.

Playing Video Games as a Consumption Experience

Henri Kempfi, University of Turku, Finland

Conceptualizing the consumption experience in the context of video games requires connecting multiple lines of research across several disciplines. The main theoretical contribution is the inclusion of a more holistic view, where the possible influences of the devices used to consume the game content are also considered.

The Role of Other Customers during Self-service Technology Failure

Seo Young Kim, Seoul National University, South Korea
Youjae Yi, Seoul National University, South Korea

Lack of interpersonal contact is associated with a higher risk of failure of self-service technologies(SST), and thus, participation of other customers is especially meaningful during SST failure. We investigate two antecedents of customer helping during service failures - presence of others and tie strength - and suggest that the motive behind helping is self-centered rather than other-centered.

Nostalgia on Local Consumption Behavior

Young K. Kim, University of Iowa, USA
Jing (Alice) Wang, University of Iowa, USA
Catherine A. Cole, University of Iowa, USA

In two studies, we showed that nostalgia increased consumers' likelihood of visiting local stores and spreading sWOM when they perceived national chains threatened the local stores. In an ongoing study 3, we extend our study by examining whether purchase activism mediates the effect of nostalgia on attitudes toward local brands.

Red Flag! The Effect of Fake Reviews on Consumer Evaluations

James Kim, University of Maryland, USA
Jared Watson, University of Maryland, USA
Amna Kirmani, University of Maryland, USA

Consumer review websites are flagging suspicious reviews to boost website credibility. We investigate the consequences of these flagged reviews on consumer evaluations of the brand and the website. Findings suggest that while consumers compensate for the flag on brand evaluations, such flags may harm website evaluations.

Cyber-Empathic Design: A Framework for Mapping User Perceptions to Design Features via Embedded Sensors

Junghan Kim, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA
Dipanjan Ghosh, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA
Arun Lakshmanan, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA
Andrew Olewnik, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA
Kemper Lewis, State University of New York at Buffalo, USA

We propose a novel product design method – cyber-empathic design – that collects quantitative consumer-product interaction data using digital sensors embedded in products. By combining digital sensor data with methods from behavioral psychology, we provide theoretical insights on the role of actual product usage/interaction in driving user adoption of new products.

Warm Brands as Relationship Partners: Social Exclusion and Consumer-Brand Relationships

Soyoung Kim, University of Alberta, Canada
Sarah Moore, University of Alberta, Canada
Kyle Murray, University of Alberta, Canada

We focus on the social nature of brands by investigating the effect of social exclusion on consumers' consumption and reconsumption of warm brands. We find that socially excluded consumers are more likely to be emotionally attached to warm brands and are more willing to reconsume these brands.

How Consumer Self-Determination Influences Engagement and Future Intention: The Moderating Role of Relatedness

Eunice Kim, University of Florida, USA

The purpose of this research is to explore the mechanism by which consumers' perceptions of social relatedness moderate the influence of self-determination on consumer engagement and future intention. The findings suggest that relatedness may only be effective for individuals who have a low level of self-determination.

The Silver Lining of Feeling Stereotyped: Increasing Saving Behavior among Future-Oriented Young Adults

Jin Myoung Kim, Seoul National University, South Korea
Jinwoo Kim, Seoul National University, South Korea
Kyoungmi Lee, Seoul National University, South Korea

This research investigates the interactive effect of stereotype and future orientation on saving behavior of young adults. We found that when young adults high in future orientation (vs. those low in future orientation) thought about negative (vs. positive) stereotypes regarding their meaningful social groups, they chose to contribute larger proportions of their incomes to their individual retirement accounts (study 1). Moreover, future orientation increased saving (vs. spending) intentions of negatively stereotyped individuals only when the individuals strongly (vs. weakly) identified with the stereotyped groups (study 2).

The Biased Influence of Social Identification and Temporal Framing on Emotions and Partnership Evaluations

Jesse King, Oregon State University, USA
Colleen Bee, Oregon State University, USA

An experiment examines how identification with a group influences emotional responses and evaluations of partners who have supported a group in the past or who pledge continued support in the future. Results indicate that the temporal framing of messages supporting out-group (but not in-group) members must be carefully considered.

How Actors Change Institutions: Institutional Entrepreneurship in Emerging Markets

Marcus Klasson, Lund University, Sweden

Consumers need inspirational liaisons that are co-creating the infrastructures of emerging markets. This ethnographic inquiry develops a better understanding of the process from by which individual consumers become institutional entrepreneurs, and secondly, puts forth the internal contradictions that these individuals have in relation to other stakeholders.

Does Opposite-Gender Pairing of Consumers and Service Employees Mitigate the Negatives in Service Failure Contexts?

Preeti Krishnan Lyndem, Indian Institute of Management Bangalore, India
Tabitha Thomas, University of Otago, New Zealand

Consumers in stressful service contexts, including service failures, report lower (higher) magnitudes of negative (positive) emotions and more favorable attitudes toward the service employee, service experience, and the brand when paired with opposite-gender service employees. Consumers' gender-based expertise bias and perceived treatment meted out by employees are examined as moderators.

Who Said Everyone Likes This Movie? How Tie Strength Impacts the Influence of Consensus Words on Product Perceptions

Ann Kronrod, Michigan State University, USA
Jeff Lee, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA

Two studies suggest that weak ties (casual acquaintances) who use consensus words in product descriptions (e.g. "everyone," "everybody") are more influential than strong ties (close friends) because of perceived generalizability of the product (how many people actually use it). This effect is most expressed in publicly consumed goods.

Paying Memories of Past Kindness Forward: Examining the Impact of Power and Memory on Prosocial Behavior

Katina Kulow, University of Louisville, USA
Kara Bentley, University of South Carolina, USA
Priyali Rajagopal, University of South Carolina, USA

We explore how eliciting altruistic memories among consumers will promote prosocial behavior. Across two studies, we show that when individuals reflect on memories of receiving (vs. giving) help, individuals low in power were more likely to engage in prosocial behavior, particularly in contexts allowing for a potential increase in power.

Brand Image Congruence through Sponsorship of Sporting Events: A Re-inquiry of Gwinner and Eaton (1999)

Eunseon (Penny) Kwon, University of Missouri, USA
S. Ratneshwar, University of Missouri, USA
Eunjin (Anna) Kim, Southern Methodist University, USA

This re-inquiry of Gwinner and Eaton (1999) avoids a major methodological shortcoming of their study. Results confirm that brand sponsorship leads to image congruence between sponsoring brands and sporting events. Further, the results support the moderating role of high (vs. low) functional similarity, but not high (vs. low) image-based similarity.

The Effects of Subjective Probability Estimates on Consumer Evaluation of Advertising Messages from a Construal Level Perspective

Ohyoon Kwon, Department of Advertising and Public Relations, Keimyung University, Korea
Jung-Ah Lee, Department of Psychology, Korea University, Korea
Eunji Lee, Department of Psychology, Korea University, Korea
Jangho Moon, Department of Public Relations & Advertising, Sookmyung Women's University, Korea
Tae Rang Choi, Stan Richards School of Advertising and Public Relations, The University of Texas at Austin, USA

This research investigates the effect of estimated probability on attitudes toward advertisements and behavioral intentions. Results indicate that when individuals estimate that an event is less (more) likely to occur to them, a desirability-focused (feasibility-focused) ad message associated with the event is more persuasive than a feasibility-focused (desirability-focused) ad message.

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Seize the Deal, or Return It Regretting the Gift You Lost: The Effect of Gift-With-Purchase Promotions on Product Return Intentions

Shinhyoung Lee, Seoul National University, Korea
Youjae Yi, Seoul National University, Korea

A gift-with-purchase promotion negatively influences consumers' product return intentions by making people stick to the "good deal." These findings suggest that sales promotions involving free gifts increase attitude toward the deal and hesitation to return a product, and consequently decrease product return intentions.

Investigate the Gender Difference in Customer Relational Bonds and Loyalty

Chi Hsun Lee, professor, Department of Business Management, National United University, Taiwan, R.O.C.
Etta Y. I. Chen, Assistant professor, College of Management, Yuan Ze University, Taiwan, R.O.C.
Jui Lien Su, Doctoral Candidate, College of Management, Yuan Ze University, Taiwan, R.O.C.

This paper discusses how service providers apply the three types of relational bonds (stimulus) to influence customer trust and perceived switching costs (organism) and ultimately promote customer loyalty (response).

The Impact of Large versus Small Menu Size on Calorie Estimation

Yong Kyu Lee, York College, City University of New York, USA
Junghyun Kim, Virginia Tech, USA
Paul Herr, Virginia Tech, USA

In this research, we propose that the number of items on a food menu systematically influence consumers' calorie estimation. We demonstrate that consumers estimate a food item's caloric content as greater when presented in a large (in terms of number of items) menu than in a small menu.

Too Concerned to Commit: The Effect of Privacy Concerns on Consumers' Preference For Flexibility

Jiyoung Lee, University of Texas at Austin, USA
Andrew Gershoff, University of Texas at Austin, USA

We propose that heightened privacy concerns lead consumers to seek flexibility, in an attempt to protect their sense of control. Our studies demonstrate that when consumers have high privacy concerns, they are more likely to prefer flexible options, which gives them control over their future decisions, despite the costs.

Too Busy to See Above: Task Involvement Affects Attention And Memory For Banner Ads

Byung Cheol Lee, Duke University, USA
Jonathan A. Winkle, Duke University, USA
Gavan J. Fitzsimons, Duke University, USA
Scott A. Huettel, Duke University, USA

The present research finds that lower level of task involvement leads to greater processing of certain type of internet advertisements, as evidenced by improved memory performance for top ads but not for side ads. Our research indicates that the best ad location may depend on the search pattern of websites.

Towards a Comprehensive Understanding of Attention Bias in Choice Process

Yi Li, HEC Paris, France
Selin Atalay, Frankfurt School of Finance and Management, Germany

Process tracing research has established an attention bias—the chosen option is looked at more during the choice process with conflicting views on when the attention bias emerges. Using eye tracking methodology, the current project demonstrates when and how the attention bias emerges under a three-stage choice process framework.

Dynamic Bundling: an Alternative Pricing Approach

Wenjing Li, University of Kentucky, USA
David Hardesty, University of Kentucky, USA

Although the dynamic pricing strategy can increase profitability, it also arouses consumers' unfairness perceptions. The current research demonstrates that bundling can be used in combination with a dynamic pricing strategy to create a new strategy, dynamic bundling, to reduce the likelihood of arousing consumers' unfairness perceptions.

Democratization of Fashion: A Study of Co-Creation of Cultural Heritage

Eric Li, University of British Columbia, Canada
Wing-sun Liu, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, China
Viahsta Yuan, University of British Columbia, Canada
Elita Lam, Hong Kong Design Institute, China
Magnum Lam, Technological and Higher Education Institute of Hong Kong, China

This paper examines how fashion designers incorporate cultural heritage in their designs. Through analyzing four Chinese fashion brands we identified three themes that related to the co-creation of heritage and aesthetics, and the democratization of fashion. Our study advances the current understanding of fashion and cultural heritage in the marketplace.

Does Review Structure Matter? How Narrative or Pros-Cons Review Influences Review Content

Chunyu Li, Lingnan University, Hong Kong
Yu-Jen Chen, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

We examine how different product reviewing processes may influence the review content. We suggest that a narrative review process is more likely to induce polarized valence content than a pros-cons review process. We suggest that this is because of the activation of self-enhancement goal under a narrative review process.

Co-Creating a Sustainable Community

Eric Li, University of British Columbia, Canada
Carey Doberstein, University of British Columbia, Canada
Ross Hickey, University of British Columbia, Canada
Sumeet Sekhon, University of British Columbia, Canada
Keith Culver, University of British Columbia, Canada

Urban development is driven by policy makers, market agents, and consumers. This study shows how multiple stakeholders engaged in co-constructing the future of a community. Three emerged themes, sense of empowerment, balance and fit, and envisioning change captured the multiplicity of stakeholders' responses in the development of a sustainable community.

Selfie Me. I am (micro) Celeb!: Understanding the Role of Micro-Celebrity Practice in Selfie Culture

Vimviriya Limkangvanmongkol, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA
Dr. Benet Deberry-Spence, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA
Dr. Akon E. Ekpo, Rutgers University, USA
M. Eda Anlamlier, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA
Lez Trujillo Torres, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA

This research aims to explore the celebrification within social media environment by focusing on the role of microcelebrity practice in selfie culture. Using qualitative methods, selfie photos from highly followed Instagram accounts are analyzed. Preliminary result shows that Instagram microcelebrities do not fall into the model of microcelebrity as previously discussed.

Every Crowd has a Silver Lining: Consuming in Crowds as Micro-organization Strategy for Social Change

Måira Lopes, Stockholm Business School, Stockholm University, Sweden
Mikael Andéhn, Aalto University School of Business, Aalto University, Finland
Anna Felicia Ehnhage, Stockholm Business School, Stockholm University, Sweden

Crowdfunding can be taken to represent a shift from consumption as individual to collective engagement in consumption. Approaching participation in crowdfunding projects through the lens of crowd-level agency, crowdfunding engagement is explored as a potential for constructive countervailing action on the market by using the example of a civic crowdfunding project.

Subtly Disfavored Consumption and Its Impact on Consumer Identity

Lauren Louie, University of California Irvine, USA

This study examines young adult identity in relation to their fast food consumption to understand how such consumption is part of their identity transitions. Using an interpretive study this research studies fast food's cultural factors and the way they let us better understand "subtle disfavor" as an underexplored hedonic response.

Investigating Personal Visual Stimuli and Consumption Behavior

Therese Louie, San Jose State University, USA
Katrina Ng, San Jose State University, USA

Participants who tracked their expenses for three weeks were asked to attempt savings during a second session. In between, they received a self-photo that they simply viewed or increased to retirement age with drawn-in older traits. Results suggest that females' savings rates were particularly influenced by attention to the photo.

Gamification in Marketing: How Games Help to Engage Consumers

Natalia Maehle, Bergen University College, Norway

With diminishing effectiveness of traditional marketing, there is a growing need for innovative marketing approaches to get consumers engaged with brands. The goal of the current study is to explore how companies can employ gamification (i.e., the use of game elements and game design) for addressing different marketing challenges.

The Effects of Credit Card Use on Low-Income Consumers' Indebtedness

Celso Augusto de Matos, Unisinos Business School - University of Vale do Rio dos Sinos- Unisinos, Brazil

Valter Afonso Vieira, Universidade Estadual de Maringá (UEM), Brazil

Kátia Bonfanti, University of Vale do Rio dos Sinos- Unisinos, Brazil

Frederike Monika Budiner Mette, Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing, Espm, Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil; Phd Student at Unisinos, Brazil

This study presents the results from a survey with 2,022 low-income consumers in Brazil. Using a linear regression model, we show that the main factor explaining indebtedness is the use of credit cards borrowed from spouse, relative or friends. Qualitative interviews also supported this practice of borrowing credit cards.

Amplifying the Effects of Ideology on Environmentally-Sustainable Consumption and Conservation: The Role of Individual Differences in Commitment to Beliefs

Matthew Maxwell-Smith, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

Paul Conway, Florida State University, USA

James Olson, University of Western Ontario, Canada

We applied the Commitment to Beliefs (CTB) framework to understand when relevant ideologies are most likely to predict environmentally-conscious consumption and conservation. Across three studies, individuals who endorsed ideologies that support or neglect environmentally-friendly consumption displayed the strongest such intentions and behavior when they also had higher levels of CTB.

Social Networking Sites and Expatriates' Transition: A Key Resource in a Learning Process

Laetitia Mimoun, HEC Paris, France

Tina Lowrey, HEC Paris, France

This research situates social networking sites (SNSs) among other learning modes to distinguish SNSs' as a key resource for expatriates' adjustment. Using qualitative data, it explores how SNSs' characteristics enable both expatriates' learning of cultural, social, and consumer competencies, and expatriate communities playing their teaching role on a larger scale.

Why Did You Take the Road That Leads to Many Different Cities? Cultural Differences in Variety-Seeking

Kyeong Sam Min, University of New Orleans, USA

Jae Min Jung, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, USA

Drew Martin, University of Hawaii, Hilo, USA

Why do some tourists (e.g., East Asians) like to travel to a variety of new destination cities whereas others (e.g., Westerners) prefer to stay only in their favorite destinations? We examine how individuals' self-construal influences their variety-seeking in a product bundling decision.

Service Acculturation in the Financial Context

Alisa Minina, Stockholm University, Sweden
Lisa Peñaloza, Kedge Business School, France

This study is an attempt to bring consumer acculturation to its roots by exploring learning processes that occur when consumers serially relocate. We contribute to consumer acculturation literature by showing how repeated consumer movement initiates the process of consumer multiculturalization, resulting in accumulation of cultural knowledge.

Do Narcissists Post More Self-Promoting Content on Social Media?

Jang Ho Moon, Sookmyung Women's University, Korea
Eunji Lee, Korea University, Korea
Jung-Ah Lee, Korea University, Korea
Yongjun Sung, Korea University, Korea

This study investigates the relationship between narcissism and users' self-promoting behaviors on Instagram such as selfie-related behaviors, profile picture-related behaviors, and general usage. By surveying 212 Instagram users in Korea, this study provided evidence that personality such as narcissism accounted for various self-promoting behaviors on Instagram.

Not All Identities Are Created Equal: The Effect of Identity Origin on Identity-Relevant Behavior

Carter Morgan, University of Miami, USA
Keri Kettle, University of Miami, USA

We examine how the origin of a social identity predictably affects identity-relevant consumption behavior. We demonstrate that consumers have fewer negative associations for chosen than endowed social identities, dislike dissociative out-groups more strongly for chosen than endowed identities, and that identity origin affects conformity and divergence decisions.

Effects of Disfluency versus Fluency of Price Promotions on Product Preference and Choice

Scott Motyka, Northeastern University, USA
Rajneesh Suri, Drexel University, USA
Dhruv Grewal, Babson College, USA
Chiranjeew Kohli, California State University at Fullerton, USA

Literature suggests that fluent information is preferred by consumers, and guides purchases. However processing disfluency literature suggests that increased effort required for disfluent promotions will lead to deeper processing and choice. Six studies (lab and field) demonstrate support for these predictions with disfluency effects enhanced for those with high NFC.

Shifting Regulatory Foci and Consumer Decision-Making

Mehdi Mourali, University of Calgary, Canada
Frank Pons, Euromed Business School, France

Two studies explore the impact of shifting from a promotion to a prevention orientation and vice versa on consumer decision-making. The findings indicate that shifting from promotion to prevention focus leads to an immediate increase in vigilance, whereas shifting from prevention to promotion focus does not immediately reduce vigilance.

Consumers' Emotional and Behavioral Reactions to Personalized Product Recommendations Through Mobile Apps

Liane Nagengast, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Melanie Bassett, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Thomas Rudolph, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

We analyze how mobile apps influence the effects of personalized product recommendations on different outcomes. Personalization elicits stronger positive emotions if communicated through mobile apps (vs. e-mail newsletters). Moreover, the personalization of product recommendations and the use of mobile apps increase customer inspiration and purchase intentions for the recommended product.

The Interplay of Personalized Product Recommendations and Popularity Information

Liane Nagengast, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Marc Linzmajer, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Melanie Bassett, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Thomas Rudolph, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

This research tests the interplay of personalized product recommendations and product popularity information. Although both instruments support consumers in their purchase process and positively affect their attitudes and behaviors, results of a laboratory experiment show a negative interaction. An indication of popularity weakens the positive effects of personalized product recommendations.

How the Facebook Usage of Music Celebrities Impacts Streaming and Sales of Digital Music

Marcelo Nepomuceno, HEC Montreal, Canada
Stephanie Collet, ESCP Europe, France
Luca Visconti, ESCP Europe, France

This study investigates how the Facebook usage of music celebrities impacts streaming and sales of digital music. In particular, we investigate how the posts' content influence streaming, sales and engagement (likes, shares and comments). We found the types of Facebook post that strongly influence engagement, streaming and digital sales.

Do Spacing and Valence influence Brand Evaluations?

Hayden Noel, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA
Robert Arias, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

This paper illuminates how the spacing of stimuli influences affective reactions. The findings indicate that people prefer negative stimuli in massed presentation forms and positive stimuli spaced apart. Two theories may explain this phenomenon: processing fluency and affective habituation. This research enhances understanding of how adjacent ads influence advertisement/brand evaluations.

Paternity Leave in Sweden: Heaven or Hell? Exploring the Linkages Between Gender Ideologies and Consumers' Identity Positions

Jacob Ostberg, Stockholm University, Sweden

This paper uses the empirical example of fathers' parental leave in Sweden to theorize the linkages between state policies on an ideological level and consumers' identity work. By contrasting to North American studies we see how state interventions can simultaneously limit and enable potential subject positions.

Money or Power? Power Promotes Costly Punishment of Unfair Behavior

Jen Heewon Park, New York University, USA
Petra C. Schmid, New York University, USA
David M. Amodio, New York University, USA

The present research examined how manipulated power affects monetary decisions within Ultimatum game. Results showed that high power decreased acceptance rate for slightly unfair offers. We conclude that power may increase a person's willingness to pay a price in order to maintain power and to fulfill the high-power role.

The Reverse Underdog Effect

Kiwan Park, Seoul National University, Korea
Yae Ri Kim, Seoul National University, Korea

The underdog brand positioning may not always work positively. The present research finds that the negative consequence of the underdog effect is more pronounced when ethical transgressions take place as opposed to the functional transgressions. More importantly, perceived betrayal is the underlying process that results in negative attitudes toward brand.

A Brand-Contingent Weighting Model

Hyun Young Park, China Europe International Business School, China
Sue Ryung Chang, University of Georgia, USA

We propose a brand-contingent weighting model in which attribute-importance is contingent upon (1) the competitive position of a brand, and (2) brand familiarity. Using real flight ticket purchase data, our dynamic multi-level model demonstrates that a consumer assigns different weights to the same attribute across brands, within one decision context.

When Repetition Leads to Faster Predicted Adaptation: The Role of Variety and Focalism

Maria Alice Pasdiora, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil
Vinicius Andrade Brei, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil
Leonardo Nicolao, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

This research extends the literature on hedonic adaptation prediction in three ways. First, we show that making usage repetition salient stimulates predictions of diminishing future enjoyment. Second, we demonstrate that focalism mediates the effect of salient repetition on hedonic adaptation prediction. Third, we explore the interaction between repetition and variety.

The Path to Financial Peace: Understanding Cultural Meanings within the Anti-Consumer Debt Subculture

Nicholas Pendarvis, University of South Carolina, USA
Mitch Murdock, University of South Carolina, USA
David Crockett, University of South Carolina, USA

This research uses qualitative methods to examine the sociocultural factors and discursive processes involved as an emerging consumer subculture simultaneously abandons traditional markers of high status in Western society (e.g., large homes, expensive cars) and supplants these consumption objects and their associated meanings with practices that represent "debt-free living."

Agentic and Communal Motivations for Philanthropy

Sara Penner, University of Manitoba, Canada
Kelley Main, University of Manitoba, Canada

This research explores what role agentic and communal orientations play in philanthropic behavior. We found an interaction of the appeal and agentic/communal orientation with simple effects demonstrating that people high on the communal end of the scale gave more when the appeal mentioned accountability.

Consistent or Not? The Role of Product Visibility in Sequential Decisions

Dikla Perez, Tel Aviv University, Israel and Technion University, Israel
Steinhart Yael, Tel Aviv University, Israel
Grinstein Amir, Ben Gurion University, Israel and VU Amsterdam, Netherlands

This research introduces product-visibility as a factor affecting consistency of product-related decisions, in the context of social-self-identities. We show that when a product involved in a first decision is highly visible; the decision-maker's cognitive-rigidity is enhanced, increasing the likelihood of subsequent decision consistency, especially in individuals with high public self-consciousness.

Implicit Transfer of Price Information Between Product Categories

Anne Odile Peschel, Aarhus University, Denmark
Joachim Scholderer, Aarhus University, Denmark
Stephan Zielke, Aarhus University, Denmark

We investigate two simple cognitive mechanisms that can explain the transfer of price information between product categories. The mechanisms are contingent on whether an explicit cognitive representation of the reference price for a target category has been activated before incidental price information from another category is encountered.

The Role of Hubristic and Authentic Pride in Brand Extension Evaluations

Nguyen Pham, Arizona State University, USA
Naomi Mandel, Arizona State University, USA

This research investigates the influence of two facets of pride (hubristic and authentic) on evaluations of brand extensions. We propose and find that hubristic pride (vs. authentic pride) promotes a holistic cognitive processing style, leading to higher perception of brand extension fit and more favorable attitudes toward brand extensions. The effect of hubristic (vs. authentic) pride on brand extensions was more pronounced with far extensions than with close extensions.

... And Here Are Pictures of My Last Vacation! Investigating the Disclosure of Personal Information of Entrepreneurs in Online Marketplaces

Andrea Lynn Phillips, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA
Meike Eilert, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA
James W. Gentry, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, USA

Using grounded theory, we investigate how creator-entrepreneurs disclose personal information to create value and connect with customers via personal branding. We find that these entrepreneurs disclose multiple types of personal information, following five strategies, with the two distinct motivations of promoting their specific products and promoting themselves as individuals.

Understanding Adolescent Smoking in an Emerging Market

Meghan Pierce, La Salle University, USA

Adolescent smoking is influenced by a complex set of interacting conditions, including contextual factors such as peer influence and environment. This study aims to explore the unique experiences of adolescents in an emerging market, where smoking rates are 47.8%. Qualitative techniques are employed to better understand local and cultural context.

The Influence of Life Abundance and Financial Abundance on Higher Order Goals

Ruth Pogacar, University of Cincinnati, USA
Karen Machleit, University of Cincinnati, USA
James Kellaris, University of Cincinnati, USA

Feeling 'Abundant' influences consumers, regardless of objective resources. Subjective feelings of Life Abundance interact with feelings of Financial Abundance, independent of mood, so people are more prosocial when high in Life Abundance but low in Financial Abundance, possibly explaining prosociality differences between higher and lower socioeconomic status individuals.

The Moderating Role of Financial Education on the Relationship Between Materialism and Consumer Credit Default

Mateus Ponchio, Escola Superior de Propaganda e Marketing, Brazil

In this study, we demonstrate the moderating role that financial education plays in the relationship between materialism and consumer credit default. This research contributes to the psychology of materialism and debt and provides evidence that financial education is a promising intervention strategy to improve consumers' financial well-being.

How to Make Everyone Happy: Moderators of Affect Induction Effectiveness

Nancy Puccinelli, Oxford University, UK

Dhruv Grewal, Babson College, USA

Scott Motyka, Northeastern University, USA

Susan Andrzejewski, California State University Channel Islands, USA

This research identifies the most effective techniques for making consumers feel good and bad. This meta-analytic synthesis identifies the best affect induction techniques as well as contextual factors that can limit the effects (e.g., too obvious or irrelevant).

Mentally “Transforming” a Product: How Spatial Imagery Capability and Design of Visual Stimuli Influence Purchase Intentions

Cheng Qiu, Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong

Gerald Gorn, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong

We investigate consumers' ability to mentally manipulate objects in space and how it influences purchase intentions of “transformable” products like a sofa bed. Spatial imagery ability, but not object imagery ability, is found to have interactive effects with type of sofa-bed ad on participants' purchase intentions.

“Me, Myself and I”: When Talking About Yourself Enhances Your Word-of-Mouth

Simon Quaschnig, Ghent University, Belgium

Erlinde Cornelis, San Diego State, USA

The current research investigates how review content – the difference between first-person reviews and impersonal reviews – can affect review helpfulness. Results show that people with a utilitarian goal find first-person reviews more helpful, caused by an increased perceived reviewer similarity. This effect, however, disappears when the consumer's goal is hedonic.

The Influence of Implicit Self-theories on Financial Risk Seeking

Dipankar Rai, LeMoyne College, Syracuse-NY, USA

Chien-Wei Lin, SUNY-Oneonta, Oneonta-NY, USA

Magdoleen Ierlan, LeMoyne College, Syracuse-NY, USA

Three studies show that incremental theorists who believe that personality traits are malleable prefer riskier options than entity theorists who believe that they are fixed. This is because incremental (entity) theorists are more promotion focused (prevention focused). This effect is moderated by expert recommendations.

How Does Posture Affect the Behavior of Customers and Salespeople in a Retail Store?

Mukta Ramchandani, NEOMA Business School, Campus Reims, France

Adilson Borges, NEOMA Business School, Campus Reims, France

We conducted two studies to examine how self-posture can influence the behavior of consumers and salesperson in a store. Study 1 found that consumers purchase more when they are standing rather than sitting. Study 2 found that salespeople are happier and more involved in their job when they are sitting rather than standing.

Thawing a Cold Shoulder with a Warm Brand

Suzanne Rath, Queen's University, Canada
Laurence Ashworth, Queen's University, Canada

Can brands provide an alternative source of companionship in the wake of social rejection? Previous literature implies that brands have a relational function; however, the answer to this question still remains unclear. The results of one study provides initial support that individuals prefer and want to purchase brands with warm personalities after recalling a prior socially-threatening experience.

Deliver Warmth with Your Hand: Customers' Responses to Handwriting versus Print Messages

Xingyao Ren, Nankai University, China
Lan Xia, Bentley University, USA
Jiangang Du, Nankai University, China

In this research, we investigate the effect of handwriting in written communication. We show that handwriting delivers higher feeling of warmth than print and subsequently influences behavioral intentions. The effect is due to both perceived effort and psychological closeness. Both theoretical contributions and managerial implications are discussed.

Towards a Broader Understanding of Online Trolling: A Practice Theoretical Perspective

Mathew Rex, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand
Angela Gracia B. Cruz, Monash University, Australia
Yuri Seo, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

Despite growing interest in online consumer community conflict, online trolling and its community effects remain under-theorized. A practice theoretical analysis conceptualizes online trolling as a constellation of learning, assimilating, and transgressing practices. Online trolling further emerges as a practice with both negative and positive community effects.

The Dangers of Grouping Countries into Cultural Clusters: Investigating Between and within Cultural Variations in Information Processing Styles and its Consequences for Advertising

Ann-Kristin Rhode, ESCP Europe, France
Ben Voyer, ESCP Europe, France

Whether and how advertising should be standardized within and across cultures remains an unanswered question. We challenge the assumption of a uniform pan-Asian holistic attentional bias and suggest that advertising strategies for geographic regions rather than countries might be problematic given the effect of language structure on information processing styles.

Shame and Consumption of Counterfeit Products

Pamela Ribeiro, EAESP-FGV, Brazil
Delane Botelho, EAESP-FGV, Brazil

We investigate the relationship between shame and consumption of counterfeit products to test six hypotheses. Initial results show that there is a significant effect from perceived social risk on shame, and the cost-benefit analysis moderates the relationship between anticipation of shame and purchase intention.

Customer Pride - Buy it, Feel it, Tell it!

Julia Römhild, Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf, Germany

Pride is a cornerstone emotion regarding motivation and achievement. Thus, it may also be crucial for consumer behavior, particularly WOM-intentions and advocacy. Using a PLS-path analysis, this working paper provides insight into the construct of customer pride with the aim of advancing the connection between emotion psychology and consumer behavior.

Change in Horizon, Change in Food Attitudes? The Impact of Horizon Positioning in Food Advertising

Gudrun Roose, Ghent University, Belgium
Maggie Geuens, Ghent University, Belgium
Iris Vermeir, Ghent University, Belgium

This study explores whether the positioning of the horizon in panoramic ads affects food attractiveness. We propose that (un)healthy food may benefit from panoramic appeals showing a low (high) horizon because both, a (un)healthy food and a low (high) horizon, induce abstract (concrete) construal and as such generate processing fluency.

What a Delicious Name! Using Oral Movements to Influence Food Perception and Consumption

Patricia Rossi, IESEG School of Management, Catholic University of Lille, France
Felipe Pantoja, NEOMA Business School, France
Adilson Borges, NEOMA Business School, France

Bodily states affect human cognition significantly. Across two studies, we show that oral articulatory movements can drive consumers' food perceptions. More specifically, we found that unobtrusively inducing swallowing (vs. expectoration) oral movements can make people perceive food as less healthy, more desirable and higher in calories.

Bringing the Product Closer: The Effect of Scented Advertising on Perceived Psychological Distance and Product Evaluation

Ruta Ruzeviciute, Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU), Austria
Bernadette Kamleitner, Vienna University of Economics and Business (WU), Austria
Dipayan Biswas, University of South Florida, USA

This paper experimentally investigates the effect of scented advertising on perceived psychological distance and evaluation of the advertised product. The results suggest that scented advertisements make the product more attractive and increase purchase intentions. This is due to the power of scent to increase psychological proximity towards the products.

Materialism and Ethical Consumption: The Moderating Role of Ad Appeal and Product Type

Yuhosua Ryoo, The University of Texas at Austin, USA
Nakyong Hyun, Korea University, South Korea
Yongjun Sung, Korea University, South Korea
Inna Chechelnytska, Korea University, South Korea

Current research investigates the way to increase ethical consumption among materialistic consumers with the moderating role of advertising appeal and product type. The result revealed that consumers with high materialism showed more positive ad attitude and purchase intention to self-benefit advertising appeal for hedonic products than consumers with low materialism.

Engaging Consumer Imagination to Expand Multisensory Experience

Ruby Saine, University of South Florida, USA
Philip Trocchia, University of South Florida St. Petersburg, USA

In the present study, we extend previous research that suggests that engaging consumers' sensory imagination would expand the scope of their shopping and consumption experience and form a more positive product evaluation. We identify a number of trait and contextual boundary conditions that may qualify the effects of imagination on consumer evaluation and choice. In addition, we explore the psychological mechanism underlying the effects.

The Surprising Effect of Store-Branded Credit Cards on Consumers' Purchasing Behaviors

Samer Sarofim, The University of Kansas, USA
Promothesh Chatterjee, The University of Kansas, USA

Contrary to retailers' main objectives, this research provides evidence that store (vs. regular) card users are less willing to pay for future purchases, show less total expenditure in shopping bags, are less engaged in impulsive purchasing, and are less likely to purchase discounted products from the card-issuing store.

The Impact of Physician Advice on Patient Decision Satisfaction

Karen Scherr, Duke University, USA
Mary Frances Luce, Duke University, USA

We examine the impact variations in physician advice on patient decision evaluation. Although advice decreases decision evaluation overall (via decreasing decision ownership), there is a competing pathway whereby advice increases decision evaluation via increasing feelings of emotional support. Physicians should consider these competing pathways when deciding if/how to provide advice.

Does Music Have an Influence on Risk Taking Behavior?

Robert Schorn, University for Health Sciences, Medical Informatics and Technology, Hall in Tyrol, Austria
Alexandra Brunner-Sperdin, University of Applied Sciences, Kufstein, Austria
Dagmar Abfalter, University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, Austria

Consumers continuously take decisions under risk when they purchase products or services. In marketing research, music serves as an atmospheric cue in consumption situations. We found that risk taking behavior is higher for fast tempo compared to slow tempo in minor scale, while tempo had no effect in major music.

Would you like a Bite?: Males' Preferences for Dessert Advertisements with a Bite Mark

Donya Shabgard, University of Manitoba, Canada
Kelley Main, University of Manitoba, Canada

Does the portrayal of food influence our perceptions based on whether the advertisement shows it cut, bitten, or whole? Male participants with no dieting experience and those with previous dieting experience significantly differed on product attitudes, purchase intentions, and expectations of product taste across the pictures whereas women did not.

Nostalgic Reading Practices: An Online Case Study

Lois Shedd, Monash Business School, Monash University, Australia
Jan Brace-Govan, Monash Business School, Monash University, Australia
Colin Jevons, Monash Business School, Monash University, Australia

This paper investigates the role of materiality in nostalgic reading experiences through an exploratory analysis of online consumer reviews of a backlist young adult book series. It finds that although materiality does play a role in consumers' experiences, access to the story contained within the book is their primary concern.

'Having It All' May Not Always Be Good: The Effects of Complementary Traits and Belief in a Just World on Brand Evaluations

Steven Shepherd, Oklahoma State University, USA
Renaud Lunardo, Kedge Business School, France

In two experiments, we provide evidence that non-complementary brands – those whose products have monopoly on many of valued traits – are evaluated more negatively among people who value fairness and justice. Such brands can be seen as unfair and violate consumer's expectations regarding tradeoffs between attributes.

Framing Effects on Individuals' Allocation Behavior

Sunaina Shrivastava, University of Iowa, USA
Gaurav Jain, University of Iowa, USA
Gary Gaeth, University of Iowa, USA
Dhananjay Nayakankuppam, University of Iowa, USA

We investigate how Context and External-focus/Internal-focus framing influences allocation behavior. Individuals allocate more money to others when External-focus framing shifts the focus from themselves to another individual and allocate less when Internal-focus framing reinforces the focus on themselves. These effects are moderated by the 'asymmetry in this self-other salience'.

The Different Impacts of Inter- versus Intra-Personal Comparison Outcomes on Self-Evaluation and Goal Pursuit

Kao Si, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China
Xianchi Dai, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

We propose and show that inter-personal success has greater positive effect on self-evaluation and goal pursuit than intra-personal success whereas intra-personal failure is more devastating on self-evaluation and goal pursuit than inter-personal failure. The strengths of these effects depend on the comparison outcome's implication for goal attainment.

Attitudinal Ambivalence: How Is It Stored In Memory?

Amit S. Singh, Ohio State University, USA
H. Rao Unnava, Ohio State University, USA

An important consideration in addressing ambivalence in consumers is how consumers represent ambivalence in their minds. Two studies show that dominant and conflicting reactions to objects are stored together in people's minds. Two additional planned studies investigate whether retrievability and situational irrelevance of conflicting reactions affect felt ambivalence.

Is it all Relative? The Effect of Number Format on Relative Thinking in Numerical Judgments

Tatiana Sokolova, HEC Paris, France
Manoj Thomas, Cornell University, USA

This paper builds on research in behavioral economics and numerical cognition to examine the role of relative thinking in numerical difference judgments across different number formats. We show that relative thinking is weaker for large multi-digit numbers, and decimals since such numbers are harder to represent intuitively.

Comparison of the Characteristics of Organic Consumers in Korea by Sales Channels

Cheolho Song, Seoul National University, South Korea
Ikhoon Jang, Seoul National University, South Korea
Young Chan Choe, Seoul National University, South Korea
Sung Ho Park, Rural Development Administration, South Korea

Despite the importance of sales channels for understanding consumer behavior, few researches on organic consumers in terms of sales channel were conducted. By using purchase data and conducting a survey asking their socio-demographic factors and food-related motivations, we reveal the different characteristics of Korean organic consumers in each sales channel.

Assembling A Voice of A Generation

Katherine C. Sredl, Loyola University Chicago, USA
Linda Tuncay Zayer, Loyola University Chicago, USA
Catherine A. Coleman, Texas Christian University, USA
Marie-Agnes Parmentier, HEC Montreal, Canada

This research extends theory on single serial brands, audiences at the aggregate level, and brand assemblage, disassemblage, and reassemblage. We ask how fans and non-fans of the HBO show *GIRLS* disassemble the show's brand narrative across social media platforms. Then, we explore how the brand reassembles through incorporating on-line disassembly.

Of Two Minds About Eating: How Thin Human-Like Sculptures Help to Resist Tempting Food

Aline E. Stämpfli, University of Bern, Switzerland
Thomas A. Brunner, Bern University of Applied Sciences, Switzerland
Claude Messner, University of Bern, Switzerland
Sabrina Stöckli, University of Bern, Switzerland

Two studies indicate that a subtle environmental cue, a screensaver showing an artwork with thin human-like figures by Alberto Giacometti, activates a weight-related eating motive and reduces the intake of not only tempting unhealthy, but also healthy food. The cue particularly influences restrained eaters.

How Sense of Power Influences Generation of Online Advice

Inbal Stockheim, Tel Aviv University, Israel
Shai Danziger, Tel Aviv University, Israel
Liat Levontin, Technion University, Israel

Does the internet enable powerful consumers to act pro-socially while satisfying their need for power? In four studies, we demonstrate that sense of power facilitates on-line advice generation, that need for power moderates this effect, and that the availability of others' opinions weakens it.

Communication Strategies for Conveying a Partial Reduction in Negative Product Attributes

Lei Su, Hong Kong Baptist University, China
Chi Wong, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China
Pong Yuen Lam, Chinese University of Hong Kong, China

The results of four experiments show that the communication of partially reduced negativity of a product attribute will lead to higher (lower) product evaluations among consumers who are incremental (entity) theorists. This communication effect is mediated by confidence in the reduced negativity information, and moderated by the framing of the information.

Saving “My” Environment – the Influence of Knowledge on Psychological Ownership

Sophie Süssenbach, Wirtschafts University, Austria
Bernadette Kamleitner, Wirtschafts University, Austria

Feelings of ownership can have powerful consequences. We examine what brings about psychological ownership (PO) for the environment. We focus on the role of knowledge and find that measured (Study 1) and manipulated (Study 2) perceived knowledge predict PO for the environment.

Just Add Seeds: Do Healthy Additives Transform Indulgences Into Health Foods?

Aner Tal, Cornell University, USA
Brian Wansink, Cornell University, USA

Can the health halos of healthy additives affect health judgments of unhealthy foods? An exploratory study examines whether adding healthy additives to indulgent foods can make them appear healthier and less calorie. Seeds (Chia, Flax) appear particularly potent at improving health perceptions. Healthy additives may bias health perceptions, increasing consumption.

Mindless Eating vs. Mindless Serving: Distraction Level Matters with Self-Serving, not with Pre-Plating

Aner Tal, Cornell University, USA
Brian Wansink, Cornell University, USA

We compare the influence of distraction level on food consumption when self-serving and pre-plating. Distraction level increases consumption when consumers serve themselves, not when receiving set portions. This is because mindless eating occurs even under low distraction, whereas serving may be more controlled and so more susceptible to distraction level.

Why or why not? The Influence of Absent Reasons on Accepting Offers

Tao Tao, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong
Robert S. Wyer, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Two experiments investigated the influences of available and absent reasons on decision-making. The results showed that when consumers do not have the ability to generate reasons, intriguing them to think about the reasons of not accepting an offer would ironically lead them to be more likely to accept it.

Extreme Versus Balanced Positions on Controversial Topics: The Role of Need to Stand Out

Vito Tassiello, Luiss University, Italy
Matteo De Angelis, Luiss University, Italy
Michele Costabile, Luiss University, Italy
Cesare Amatulli, Luiss University, Italy

We study the effect of individuals' need to stand out and degree of topic controversy on people's tendency to take more or less extreme positions. We show that for highly (lowly) controversial topics individuals with higher (lower) need to stand out take more extreme positions.

Marketing Exclusion: When Loyalty Programs make Customers Feel Like "Outsiders"

Danna Tevet, Tel Aviv University, Israel
Shai Danziger, Tel Aviv University, Israel
Irit Nitzan, Tel Aviv University, Israel

We demonstrate that loyalty program's preferential treatment to privileged customers causes unprivileged customers to feel meaningless and un-belonging. We term this "marketing exclusion". We show that marketing exclusion decreases customer satisfaction, affects product choice, induces aggressive behavior and increases customer perceptions that the brand is less warm and more elitist.

I Love the Cozy Places: Prospect-Refuge Theory Explains Restaurant Spatial Preferences

Derek Theriault, John Molson School of Business, Concordia University
Gad Saad, John Molson School of Business, Concordia University

Why do consumers prefer certain restaurant layouts, table locations, or seat locations over others? We use Prospect-Refuge theory to show that, all else equal (e.g., food, décor), consumers prefer to maximize prospect (view of entrances) and refuge (adjacent walls), and this effect can be moderated by experiential valence (prior achievement/failure).

“Owning Community: Social Class and Consumption in a New Urban Neighborhood”

Meredith Thomas, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA
Thomas O’Guinn, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA

This study investigates the production and consumption of traditional community in a New Urban neighborhood. We explore the ways in which social stratification may threaten or reinforce the ideal of a neo-traditional community, and the role of conspicuous consumption in influencing consumer perceptions of the collective neighborhood identity.

“Am I Fair and Lovely” Indian Children’s Perceptions of Physical Attractiveness and their Links with Materialism

Tabitha Thomas, University of Otago, New Zealand
Kirsten Robertson, University of Otago, New Zealand
Maree Thyne, University of Otago, New Zealand

We examine Indian children’s perceptions of beauty and their links with materialism. Preliminary findings reveal that children like adults in India associate beauty with being thin, tall, and fair skinned, and perceive that attractive people have more possessions than others. We recommend a social marketing campaign to promote inner beauty to help change beauty stereotypes.

Empowered: The Psychological Effect of Empowerment Messages on Consumers’ Behavioral Intentions in Crowdfunding

Carina Thürridl, Wirtschafts University, Austria
Bernadette Kamleitner, Wirtschafts University, Austria

We explore how project initiators in crowdfunding may use empowerment messages to turn consumers into investors. A 2x5 mixed factorial experiment reveals that empowerment increases psychological ownership, which in turn positively impacts consumers’ willingness to fund. Our findings are equally important for theory and practice and may inspire further research.

Cosplay in Gender Troubles

Alexandre Tiercelin, Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, Reims, France
Marion Garnier, SKEMA Business School - Université de Lille, LSMRC- M.E.R.C.U.R., France

In the early 2000’s, Butler challenged the notion of gender through transsexualism. As the so-called “Gender Theory” echoes in France, this research questions Butler’s work through cosplay. This ongoing study refers to gender studies, geek culture, in the light of CCT and uses netnography and ethnography for data collection.

Mythological Dairy Connections to Nature and Rural Life

Jack S. Tillotson, Aalto University, Finland
Diane M. Martin, Aalto University, Finland

This ethnographic study explores the mythological foundation of dairy consumption in Helsinki, Finland. Implications of the study include the need to recognize the nature/culture binary in westernized urban environments. Understanding other modes of figuration that emerge within society advances consumer research on product and brand attachment.

Social Influences in Consumer Goal Pursuit

Lauren Trabold, Manhattan College, USA
Stephen Gould, Baruch College, USA

In the current research, we examine joint vs. individual goal pursuit. We find that pursuing with a partner increases self-efficacy and goal achievement. However, we find that working with a partner, especially of the opposite sex, negatively influences goal-related product choices and increases willingness to pay.

An Examination of Two Distinct Compliance Dependent Services

Lez Trujillo Torres, University of Illinois at Chicago, USA
Stephanie Dellande, MenloCollege, USA

This examination is of compliance dependent services (CDS); long-term services. Customers participate to create the service during the face-to-face exchange and must comply with the required role once away from the provider. A pilot study was conducted and offers insight into the empirical study of two distinctly different CDS.

Subcultures as a Learning Community and Sites of Education: Subcultural Schooling for Social Change

Emre Ulusoy, Youngstown State University, USA

Subcultures are educational sites for social learning and ideological awakenings, yielding to gradual disjunction from the mainstream. Subcultures offer consumers an exciting, effective, and multi-perspectival learning experience by incorporating aspects of identity construction, social imagination and interaction, critical mindset, presentationality and creativity into this mutual learning process for social change.

Entitlement Can Both Decrease and Increase Consumer Susceptibility to Social Influence

Martine van der Heide, University of Groningen, The Netherlands
Debra Trampe, University of Groningen, The Netherlands
Bob Fennis, University of Groningen, The Netherlands
Koert van Ittersum, University of Groningen, The Netherlands

Two studies indicate that entitlement—a sense that one deserves special treatment and is exempt from normal social demands—can both buffer and boost consumers' proneness to social influence. Specifically, study 1 shows that entitlement reduces susceptibility to consistency appeals. Study 2, however, indicates increased susceptibility to certain scarcity appeals.

The Word of a Power Holders' Mouth

Michelle van Gils, KU Leuven, Belgium
Derek Rucker, Northwestern University, USA
Andrea Weihrauch, KU Leuven, Belgium

Through five studies we provide insights into the relationship between power and word of mouth (WOM) by showing that power moderates people's tendencies to refrain from transmitting negative WOM, and by showing that people value WOM from a power holder more than WOM from people of equal or lower power.

On Second Thought, it is Not So Funny: Gender Differences in Emotional Reactivity and Emotional Regulation in Violent-Humorous Ads

Akshaya Vijayalakshmi, University of South Dakota, USA
Meng-Hsien(Jenny) Lin, California State University, Monterey Bay, USA
Melika Kordrostami, Iowa State University, USA

Previous research has found gender differences in responses to violent-humorous commercials. We find that the varied responses are due to differences in emotional reactivity that genders experience i.e. women experience more negative affect. We recommend two different cognitive appraisal strategies for each gender that up- and down- regulate emotions.

Fighting Fixation and Promoting Exploration: The Influence of Non-Foveal Object Presentation on Consumer Search and Retail Sales

Maik Walter, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Christian Hildebrand, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Andreas Herrmann, University of St. Gallen, Switzerland
Gerald Häubl, University of Alberta, Canada

This research posits that lower proximity among popular objects promotes exploration and reduces fixation effects (i.e., consideration of a limited number of alternatives). Yet, with the ironic effect that larger search effort increases consumer expenses. We provide evidence for this theorizing across various field and lab settings, and assortment formats.

Luxury in the Eyes of the Beholder: Effectiveness of Luxury Appeals and Consumer Segments

Fang Wan, University of Manitoba, Canada
Ray Lavoie, University of Manitoba, Canada
Pingping Qiu, Monash University, Australia

Our work broadens the categories of luxury via our content analysis of luxury brand advertisements. We then tested the effectiveness of the four luxury appeals among different consumer segments.

Exploring the Effects of Consumers' Thinking Styles on Their Reactions to Corporate Strategic Response to a Brand Crisis

Shijian Wang, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China
Liangyan Wang, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, China
Robin Keller, University of California, Irvine, USA

In this research, through two experimental studies, we find that a person's thinking style, specifically holistic versus analytic, and a firm's crisis response apology emphasis (why vs. how) can interactively impact a consumer's perceived efficacy of the firm to respond to the crisis and impression or evaluation of the firm. (This research was funded by the National Natural Science Foundation of China Grant 71072059).

Sense of Power and Message Framing in Conservation Behaviors

Xin Wang, University of Oregon, USA
Jiao Zhang, University of Oregon, USA

This paper explores how individual's sense of power influences the effectiveness of message framing in a conservation context (recycling). When distance is far, loss (gain) frames works better with low (high) power. When distance is close, gain frames works better with low power; frames don't matter for high power.

Service Recovery in the Absence of a Service Failure: When Negative Surprise Has Positive Results

Marcus Wardley, University of Oregon, USA

A generalized service recovery effort involving an apology delivered by mass email can lead to lower purchase intention in consumers who weren't affected by the service failure. However, when the apology is combined with a discount this increases purchase intention and trust. We show that surprise mediates this result.

GREAT, Umm, Eyeroll: Textual Paralanguage and Its Implications for Brand Communications

Andrea Webb, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA
Joann Peck, University of Wisconsin - Madison, USA
Victor Barger, University of Wisconsin - Whitewater, USA

In this research, we investigate the effects of paralanguage, the ancillary meaning- and emotion-laden aspects of speech that are not actual verbal prose, on text-based marketing messages. We develop a typology of textual paralanguage and, using lab and Twitter data, investigate how its use affects consumers' perceptions of brands

Are Avoidable and Unavoidable Dissociative Groups Equally Negative? The Influence of Social Distance from a Dissociative Group on Consumer Choice

Na Wen, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China
Wenxia Guo, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, China

Two experiments demonstrate that consumers are less likely to buy a product that is associated with a near-dissociative group (an "unavoidable" group) than one associated with a distant-dissociative group (an "avoidable" group). This effect is driven by a concrete versus abstract mindset elicited by social distance from a dissociative group.

Thinking "I" vs. "We" Affects Judgments of "Gluten-Free": The Role of Self-Construal in Nutritional Evaluation

Catherine Wiggins, Cornell University, USA

We examine the role of self-construal in a common obstacle to healthy decisions: drawing biased associations among food properties. Three studies demonstrate that interdependents, relative to independents, are more likely to infer a food's compatibility with dieting when labeled with irrelevant health claims, and hold stronger "unhealthy = tasty" intuitions.

Consumer Perceptions of Strategies for Responding to Critical Reviews

Jennifer Wiggins Johnson, Kent State University, USA
Stephen Preece, Wilfrid Laurier University, Canada
Chanho Song, Kent State University, USA
Dharti Trivedi, Kent State University, USA

This paper tests the effectiveness of four strategies of organizations for responding to critical reviews: 1) providing no response, 2) quoting positive aspects of the review, 3) presenting the full text of the review, and 4) inviting consumers to respond to the review, in influencing consumer attitudes and purchase decisions.

Perceived Price Fairness of Targeted Price Promotions

Lan Xia, Bentley University, USA
Kent Monroe, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

Examining from the perspective of consumers who are not targeted for a price promotion, we find that it has a negative effect on fairness perceptions. This effect is mediated by relational identity and moderated by degree of promotion selectivity, effort of the targeted customer, and the basis for the targeting.

The Effect of Corporate Community Supporting Actions on Consumer Support for Nonprofits: The Role of Elevation and Empathy

Chunyan Xie, Stord/Haugesund University College, Norway
Richard P. Bagozzi, University of Michigan, USA

We investigate how corporate community supportive actions impact consumer support for nonprofits through moral elevation. Results showed that felt elevation mediates the impact of corporate community supportive actions on consumer support for nonprofits, after controlling the main effect of empathy on individual helping. Empathy further moderates the elicitation of elevation.

The Effect of Corporate Ethical Actions on Consumer PWOM: The Role of Emotional and Cognitive Processes

Chunyan Xie, Stord/Haugesund University College, Norway
Richard P. Bagozzi, University of Michigan, USA

We investigate emotional and cognitive pathways between corporate ethical actions and consumer PWOM. Results showed that social justice values interact with corporate ethical actions in eliciting awe, gratitude, and elevation; however, only gratitude impacts PWOM. Company evaluation and identification were also significant mediators and were regulated by social justice values.

Chinese Consumers and Their Pets: Pet Consumption in Urban China

Haibo Xue, East China Normal University, China
Guoqun Fu, Peking University, China
Xin Zhao, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Extant research on pet consumption examines relationships between pet owners and their pets in Western cultures. We take a longitudinal perspective and investigate the changing meanings of pet consumption in urban China, where pet ownership has shifted from being stigmatized as a wasteful activity to a desired lifestyle choice.

Rejecting a Job Applicant Can Drive Away a Potential Consumer: Organization Brand Rejection

Wendy Yan, University of Manitoba, Canada
Fang Wan, University of Manitoba, Canada
Amitava Chattopadhyay, INSEAD, Singapore

This paper examines the interaction effect of the organizational rejection and applicants' self-esteem on their product evaluation and WOM intention as consumers. We found that high (vs. low) self-esteem individuals perceived rejection with detailed reasons to be less just, therefore, evaluated the products of the rejecting company more negatively.

My Story Could Be Your Story: Underdog Employees in Services Advertising

Chun-Ming Yang, Ming Chuan University, Taiwan
Yu-Shan Athena Chen, National Chengchi University, Taiwan

Given the importance of employee in services advertising, two studies (one laboratory and one field study) demonstrate that underdog employee stories, just like underdog brand biographies, have positive effects on consumer's brand attitude and actual purchase behavior because consumer has higher identification with the underdog employee. In both studies, we also examined the unexplored moderating effect of personal power distance belief (PDB) in the relationship between employee stories and identification.

Collaborative Consumption in Emerging Economies: Insights from the Egyptian context

Ayat Yehia, Neoma Business School, France
Nacima Ourahmoune, Kedge Business School, France

Collaborative consumption (CC) and sharing concepts are a growing research area. To contribute an original perspective, we investigate a CC phenomenon in an under-researched context, that of emerging economies. The preliminary findings help explain to what degree utilitarian vs. Communal purposes motivates an access-based phenomenon.

Do Response Time Measures of Gambling-Related Cognitions Predict Gambling Behaviour?

Sunghwan Yi, University of Guelph, Canada
Sherry H. Stewart, Dalhousie University, Canada
Melissa Stewart, Dalhousie University, Canada

Implicit measures of cognition are most useful for predicting addictive consumption behaviors that are hard to resist. In this study, we assessed the extent to which response time measures of reward and relief outcome expectancies associated with gambling predict gambling behavior.

Two Facets of Narcissism and Compulsive Buying

Sunghwan Yi, University of Guelph, Canada
Roisin O'Connor, Dalhousie University, Canada

Although recent psychology research indicates that overt and covert narcissism are distinct facets of narcissism, the association between covert narcissism and compulsive buying has not been recognized. In this study, we simultaneously investigated the association between covert narcissism vis-à-vis overt narcissism and compulsive buying.

Fifty Cents or a Greeting Card? The Effects of Monetary and Non-monetary Pre-giving Incentives on Charitable Donation

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Yexin (Jessica) Li, School of Business, University of Kansas, USA
Surendra Singh, School of Business, University of Kansas, USA

Abstract We examined the effects of monetary and non-monetary pre-giving incentives on donations. Small monetary incentives induced higher donation intention but lower donation amounts compared to equal-value non-monetary incentives and no incentives. Results are explored via reciprocation, and communal and exchange relationship due to pre-giving.

Reframing Sustainability: Negotiating Environmental Responsibility in the Food Market

Carl Yngfalk, Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research, Stockholm University, Sweden

While little research has examined tensions related to sustainability in marketing organization, the present study investigates how resistance and disruptions in environmental responsibility are configured in the market and in consumer relationship management. Results from a neo-institutional analysis elucidate commercial rationalities that enact forms of corporate 'legitimate resistance' to incentives of sustainable consumption and production in contemporary food retail.

Responses to Humor in Shame-Inducing Health Issue Advertisements with the Effects of Health Worry Levels

Hye Jin Yoon, Southern Methodist University, USA

Humor effects in shame-inducing health issue advertising is non-existent. Two experimental studies found responses to different levels of humor and shame in health issue prevention messages to be contingent on the individual's health worry levels. The findings provide implications for theoretical as well as practical contributions.

Two Faces of Impulsiveness: Self-Control Failure and Impulsivity in Discounting Models

Haewon Yoon, Carroll School of Management, Boston College, USA

The current study explores different discounting models of intertemporal choice using a new model framework technique that can highlight qualitative properties of discounting models. Our fundamental bias in future time perception may play an important role in why we make untenable plans to wait for the future option.

The Effect of Color Harmony on Creative Cognition and Perceived Innovativeness of Brands

Nara Youn, Hongik University, Seoul, Korea
Chang Yeop Shin, Hongik University, Seoul, Korea
Angela Lee, Northwestern University, USA

Color studies in psychology have focused on the symbolic meanings of each color rather than their interrelations. Color could also impact creativity through the disfluency of moderately disharmonious color combinations. This research demonstrates that using moderate disharmony is more effective in prompting creative thinking than any one color in isolation.

Polarisation effects in Primary versus Secondary Sharing

Sik Chuen Yu, University of Sydney, Australia
Donnel Briley, University of Sydney, Australia
Pennie Frow, University of Sydney, Australia

Users of mainstream social media platforms can either create and share original content (primary sharing) or pass along what has been shared by others (secondary sharing). This research proposes that the likelihood of sharing messages with balanced versus extreme opinions depends on whether the sharing mode is primary or secondary.

Crispy Chips Or Spinach Dips, Which One Do You Crave More? Understanding Consumers' Deep Respect For Their Favorites

Ozge Yucel-Aybat, Pennsylvania State University-Harrisburg, USA
Theodora Avramidis, Pennsylvania State University-Harrisburg, USA

The current research suggests that consumers' long-term orientation may impact their decisions to save the best for last. Results show that, when given the option, long-term oriented consumers may be more likely to be patient and savor their favorite item last, rather than starting with their favorite one.

Construal Level Theory Explains the Occurrence of Choice Overload Effects

Ulku Yuksel, The University of Sydney Business School, Australia
Nguyen T Thai, The University of Sydney Business School, Australia

This research demonstrates how desirability/feasibility mindset explains choice overload effects. Consumers who are exposed to large (small) choice-sets construe impending tasks concretely (abstractly), and weigh desirability attributes less (more) than feasibility attributes. Subsequently, the triggered feasibility mindset decreases the preference for large assortments.

The Nobility of The "Yuck" Response: The Hidden Motivation Underlying Counterhedonic Food Consumption

Zhe Zhang, C. T. Bauer College of Business, University of Houston, USA
Vanessa Patrick, C. T. Bauer College of Business, University of Houston, USA

We propose that consumption of "non-tasty, but beneficial" foods is driven by a counterhedonic (versus homeostatic or hedonic) eating pathway. We showcase the unique emotional transformative experience of moving from disgust to moral nobility that characterizes the counterhedonic consumption process and demonstrate the emergence of a virtuous self post-consumption.

Targeting the Right Age of Children with the Right Package Design

Dan Zhang, City University of New York, USA

This research explores age effects on children's preferences of package design in curvilinearity, figurativeness, and complexity. Analysis of data from 763 children suggests that children's preferences for curved package shapes increase with age. Meanwhile, the subject of figurativeness matters. Finally, preferences for complex package shapes increase with age.

Apology or Denial? How Stability Attribution Affects Consumer Distrust Towards the Firm

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This research explores how social account can mitigate distrust caused by violation. Study 1 shows that apology be better when violation is competence based, and denial be better when violation is integrity based, and perceived stability as the underlying mechanism. Study 2 shows remedial action plan can affect the choice of social accounts.

How Embarrassing For You (And me): The Nature of Vicarious Embarrassment

Alexander Ziegler, University of Kentucky, USA

John Peloza, University of Kentucky, USA

Alexis Allen, University of Kentucky, USA

Lucas Hopkins, Florida State University, USA

Although embarrassment is regarded as a social phenomenon, vicarious embarrassment remains unstudied in consumer research. Vicarious embarrassment is the emotion observers feel when witnessing an embarrassing event. Thus observers cause, but also are affected by, embarrassment. We introduce blame as a causal mechanism behind vicarious embarrassment.

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