Please Don’t Praise It: How Compliments on Identity Signals Result in Embarrassment

Lisa A. Cavanaugh, University of Southern California, USA
Joseph C. Nunes, University of Southern California, USA
Young Jee Han, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea

Four studies show that receiving a compliment related to an identity signal often results in embarrassment, an arguably unforeseen and generally unwelcome self-conscious emotion. Consumer embarrassment depends on the conspicuousness of the signal as well as the extent to which the signal and one’s beliefs about oneself are incongruent.

[to cite]:

[url]:
http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/1021685/volumes/v44/NA-44

[copyright notice]:
This work is copyrighted by The Association for Consumer Research. For permission to copy or use this work in whole or in part, please contact the Copyright Clearance Center at http://www.copyright.com/.
My Heart on my Sleeve: Emotion as Information in a Social World

Chair: Yimin Cheng, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, China

Paper #1: Please Don’t Praise It: How Compliments on Identity Signals Result in Embarrassment
Lisa A. Cavanaugh, University of Southern California, USA
Joseph C. Nunes, University of Southern California, USA
Young Jee Han, Sungkyunkwan University, Korea

Paper #2: The Effects of Power on Emotional Responses to Self-Failure
Derek D. Rucker, Northwestern University, USA
Adam Duhachek, Indiana University, USA
Claire Heeryung Kim, Indiana, USA
DaHee Han, McGill University, Canada

Paper #3: Fun Signals Intrinsic Motivation: Observers Infer Motivation from Expressed Emotion
Yimin Cheng, Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, China
Anirban Mukhopadhyay, , Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, China
Patti Williams, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Paper #4: The Two Faces of Innovation Adoption: How Envy Affects Consumers’ Evaluation of Innovative Products
Jaeyeon Chung, Columbia University, USA
Leonard Lee, National University of Singapore, Singapore

SESSION OVERVIEW

Most early research on the informational value of emotion focused on its intrapersonal aspects. However, researchers have, of late, been looking more closely at its interpersonal aspects (Andrade and Ho 2009, Keltner and Haidt 1999, Van Kleef 2009). As Van Kleef et al. (2011) pointed out, “...if emotions were only functional at the individual level, why would they show on our faces?” The current symposium proposal highlights the social nature of emotions, and presents four papers that shed light on this important area from different angles. Two papers examine embarrassment and envy, two self-conscious emotions that are inherently social. The other two papers study anger and displayed enjoyment, which are not apparently social but have significant interpersonal implications.

In the first paper, Cavanaugh, Nunes, and Han study identity signals on products (e.g., brand prominence). Although such signals are usually meant to impress others, Cavanaugh et al. find that receiving a compliment related to an identity signal often results in embarrassment, an unforeseen negative consequence. A field study and controlled experiments establish this effect and find that it is mediated by heightened self-awareness.

Just as being complimented may not always be good, being in power may similarly have a counterintuitive downside. In the second paper, Rucker, Duhachek, Kim, and Han find that individuals having high (vs. low) power are more likely to feel angry after a failure experience, probably due to a heightened approach orientation. This effect is amplified in a group (vs. individual) setting, thereby highlighting the social nature of the effect.

Someone who approaches a given activity due to internal drives is usually enjoying that activity. Such displayed enjoyment can signal the approach motivation to observers. In the third paper, Cheng, Mukhopadhyay and Williams find that when people engaging in an activity display large smiles (vs. small smiles or neutral expressions), observers infer that they have greater levels of intrinsic motivation towards the activity. The converse is also true—people given a goal to signal intrinsic (vs. extrinsic or control) motivation strategically display larger smiles to potential observers.

These informational effects of emotions may at times be highly sensitive to metacognitive effects. In the fourth paper, Chung and Lee study the effects of paying attention to one’s feelings, and find that the consequence of even a prominent interpersonal emotion such as envy can be reversed when one pays attention to feelings. They show that envious consumers who are more inclined to attend to their feelings (vs. cognition) exhibit more positive (vs. negative) attitudes toward innovative products, due to stronger self-enhancement motives and lower concern of perceived risk.

This session discusses emotion from a social/interpersonal perspective. Bringing together researchers from five countries, this session proposal raises a lens to the interplay between emotions and their informational effects in social contexts, in domains that are new to emotion research, such as identity signaling, intrinsic motivation, and innovation adoption. We therefore believe that this session has the potential to be well-attended, and to raise interesting questions for debate and discussion.

Please Don’t Praise It: How Compliments on Identity Signals Result in Embarrassment

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

As social beings, consumers seek approval from others and therefore frequently make an effort to communicate aspects of their identity, actual or ideal, with the intention of impressing those around them. In consumption, individuals regularly use possessions and brands to signal aspects of their identities (e.g., being athletic, stylish, or sexy) to others (e.g., Escalas 2004; Fournier 1998; Belk 1988; McCracken 1989). Consumers expect observers to make certain inferences about their identities based on which possessions and brands they choose to display and how they display them (Belk, Bahn, and Mayer 1982; Richins 1994a, 1994b). Consumers often anticipate the signal will be seen and understood by others. What consumers are less likely to anticipate is how they themselves might respond to feedback on their signals. In this research, we focus on the signaler’s emotional response to a positive acknowledgment of an identity signal, i.e. a compliment. By focusing on interactions between individuals and the emotional consequences of compliments, this work links the literature on identity signaling in marketing with the literature on self-conscious emotions (Dahl, Manchanda, Argo 2001; Keltner and Buswell 1996; Parrott and Smith 1991; Tangney et al. 1996; Tracy and Robins 2004).

We show that compliments on identity signals often cause consumer embarrassment owing to heightened public self-awareness. We also show that the extent to which the signaler feels embarrassed by a compliment depends on characteristics of both the signal and the signaler. We observe a similar pattern of effects using a field study (study 1) and controlled experiments examining the effects of the signal and the signaler’s self-beliefs using both deception (study 2) and self-identified gaps (studies 3 and 4), using both self-reported (studies 2–4) and observed measures of embarrassment (studies 1 and 2), as well as in studies in which consumers both self-selected (studies 1, 3, and 4) and were randomly assigned (study 2) their identity signal.

**Study 1.** In a field study, we tested the prediction that a signaler utilizing a self-chosen loud (vs. quiet) signal will experience more embarrassment. Participants carrying handbags were interviewed...
advances in consumer research (volume 44) / 71

and recorded with a digital voice recorder at a local mall under the auspices of a shopping survey. The researcher first asked generic questions and later delivered the same compliment to all participants: “I really like your bag. It is very nice.” Finally, the researcher photographed the handbag, which was later rated by independent judges for brand prominence (Han et al. 2010). To measure embarrassment, each participant’s voice recording was analyzed using Layered Voice Analysis. We found that consumers carrying louder signals exhibited greater embarrassment in response to the compliment (β = .49, p < .01); no such differences were found for any of the other emotions (i.e., happiness, sadness, anger).

Study 2. In a multi-confederate aided lab study, we tested if and how consumers’ self-beliefs about an aspect of their identity—sexiness—would impact the level of embarrassment experienced in response to a compliment on a loud vs. quiet signal. Participants (N=53) were recruited under the auspices of a Victoria’s Secret event, in which they received an individual consultation concerning first impressions and provided product feedback. After completing questionnaires and tasks, a specialist provided false feedback to manipulate participants’ self-beliefs about sexiness. Next, they completed a product evaluation where self-beliefs were measured and actual product trial of Victoria’s Secret signature line of “Very Sexy” lotion and perfume occurred. Each participant received a Victoria Secret goodie bag, which was branded quietly or loudly; at this point the event was ostensibly complete. During a final computerized assessment of overall session experience, an attractive male student (another confederate) paid the participant the following compliment: “Wow, I really like your perfume. Is that what you’re wearing?” We found a Signal Strength X Self-Belief interaction (p<.05). Those in the loud condition were embarrassed regardless of Self-Belief. In the quiet condition, embarrassment in response to the compliment decreased as sexiness Self-Belief increased (β = -.62, p < .01). Additionally, we found a significant indirect effect (β= -6.726, 95% CI= 1.863, 1.2812), providing evidence of moderated mediation by public self-awareness.

Studies 3 and 4 examined a broader range of self-selected identities displayed in a gender-neutral category (clothing). We held the loud signal strength constant while systematically varying the source of the compliment and type of remark made. In both studies, participants received a list of identities (e.g., athletic, smart, funny, rugged) and rated how important each was to them. They then selected one identity where a gap existed between their ideal and actual perceptions of self-identity at present; this identity was used in the compliment scenario. All participants viewed a navy blue t-shirt with the self-selected identity printed on it followed by a compliment scenario.

In Study 3 (N=228; 44% male), participants were randomly assigned to a 2(Source: friend/stranger) X 3(Remark: compliment/ comment/ unrelated question) design. They imagined wearing the shirt pictured and encountering a person “who looks at you, smiles, and says “I like your shirt. Is it new? [Is your shirt black or blue? / Do you know if it is still light outside?]”. They then completed multi-item emotion and self-awareness measures. We found a main effect for Remark (p=.006); neither the effect of Source or the interaction were significant (F<1). Compliments produced significantly more embarrassment and anxiety than either comments or unrelated questions (all p<.05). We also found evidence that the mediational path predicting embarrassment from a compliment is explained by public self-awareness. Thus, compliments elicit these effects, whereas identical social interactions involving other feedback do not.

In Study 4 (N=153; 51% male), participants received one of four different types of compliments (person/product/identity-explicit product/ control) and completed the same dependent measures. We found that product compliments (implied or explicit) produced significantly more embarrassment, anxiety, and public self-awareness than unrelated questions (all p<.02) and marginally more embarrassment and anxiety than person compliments (i.e., one’s haircut; all p<.10). Product compliments also produced significantly less pride and happiness than person compliments (all p<.001). We found additional evidence that public self-awareness mediates the relationship between product-related compliments and embarrassment.

The Effects of Power on Emotional Responses to Self-Failure

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Previous research suggests that power influences one’s expression and experience of emotions (Berdahl and Martorana 2006; Keltner et al. 2003; Van Kleef et al. 2006). Specifically, high power results in increased positive emotions whereas, low power leads to elevated negative emotions. However, scant research has examined how power influences the experience of specific negative. To fill this gap, the current research finds a context, in which power actually influences discrete negative emotion with a focus on anger and suggests that high power leads to greater anger when individuals encounter self-failure. The current research focuses on anger because previous literature on anger in the context of self-failure suggests two competing predictions. Thus, the current research aims at resolving these competing predictions. Importantly, this research suggests these emotional differences elicited by different levels of power are contingent on whether the task is done individually versus as a group.

According to cognitive-appraisal theories of emotion (Lerner and Keltner 2001; Smith and Ellsworth 1985), individuals feel angry when they believe that others are responsible for negative outcomes or have high control over negative events (Averill 1983). Given that individuals in high power positions (i.e., leaders) feel more responsible for and control over a task than those in low power positions (i.e., employees, Anderson and Berdahl 2002), one may predict that high power will lead to reduced anger in the face of self-failure. However, given that increased power activates approach-related tendencies due to increased rewards and freedom whereas decreased power activates inhibition-related tendencies due to elevated threat, punishment, and social constraint (Keltner et al. 2003) and that anger is associated with an approach orientation (Labroo and Rucker 2010), one may posit that individuals in high power will feel greater anger when encountering self-failure. To resolve these two opposite predictions, the current research empirically examines the effect of power on anger in the self-failure contexts.

Furthermore, since individuals working as a group have a chance to blame other group members whereas individuals working individually do not, anger which is activated when perceiving other’s responsibility over the negative outcome (Lerner and Keltner 2001; Smith and Ellsworth 1985) might be amplified. Based on these findings, we posit that in the group task failure context, the impact of power on anger will be strengthened. Across two studies, we demonstrate that individuals in high (vs. low) power are more likely to experience anger in the face of self failure. In addition, we reveal that this effect is exaggerated when individuals fail the task in a group context.

Study 1 examined the effects of power on anger when encountering the individual task failure to resolve the competing hypotheses. We predict that individuals in high (vs. low) power will be more likely to exhibit anger in the context of failure in the individual task. Although low (vs. high) power results in greater negative mood, we
argue that high power may amplify experience of anger when coupled with self-failure. It is because individuals in high power would be motivated to solve the problem of the negative events whereas those in low power would be less motivated (Keltner et al. 2003), and anger might help to solve the problem since it facilitates an effort to overcome the violation of what ought to be (Fischer and Roseman 2007). Participants were assigned to either the high or low power condition. We manipulated high (low) power by asking them to imagine to be a boss (employee) at a company. They read about the role and were instructed to vividly imagine that what it would be like to be in this role (Rucker, Dubois, and Galinsky 2011). After then, all participants were asked to solve five insight problems and were informed that their score would be reported to them after completion. After 30 seconds of completion, all participants read that they failed the test. Next, participants indicated the degree to which they felt angry after learning about their test results (frustrated, angry, and irritated; Richins 1997). A one-way ANOVA with power as the independent variable and anger as the dependent variable revealed that participants in the high power condition felt angry to a greater extent than did those in the low power condition ($p < .05$).

Study 2 investigated whether findings from study 1 would be amplified when participants experienced failure in a group task. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (Power: high vs. low) x 2 (Task: group vs. individual) between-participants design. The power manipulation was identical to that in study 1. Next, in the group task condition, participants were assigned to a group of three members. Then, they were asked to come up with a fictitious brand’s branding ideas for 10 minutes using the paper and pencil. In the individual task condition, participants performed the task individually. Upon completion, a proctor collected the idea sheets and told participants that judges would evaluate the ideas and provide the feedback after five minutes. While participants were asked to complete filler questions, confederates wrote negative comments on all idea sheets. After five minutes, participants received the feedback and indicated the degree to which they felt angry after learning about the result using the same scale used in study 1. A two-way ANOVA as power and task type as the independent variables and anger as the dependent variable revealed significant main effects of power and task type as well as a significant interaction ($ps < .05$). Simple contrasts revealed that in the high power condition, participants in the group (vs. individual) condition reported anger to a greater extent ($p < .05$). However, in the low power condition, there was no difference across group and individual task conditions ($p > .1$). In both the group and individual task conditions, participants in the high (vs. low) power condition reported greater anger ($ps < .05$).

Overall, our findings contribute to the consumer literature by providing evidence to understand the relationship between power and consumer’s emotional responses to failure in a task as a function of a group size.

**Fun Signals Intrinsic Motivation: Observers Infer Motivation from Expressed Emotion**

**EXTENDED ABSTRACT**

Intrinsic motivation means doing something because it is inherently rewarding, whereas extrinsic motivation means doing something to achieve a separable outcome, such as money or fame (Deci, Benware and Landy 1974, Ryan and Deci 2000a). People value intrinsic motivation more because it indicates behavioral commitment or because it is authentic and morally desirable (Kasser 2002). Therefore, the nature of a person’s motivation to engage in an activity can be useful information in a social context. However, it is often difficult to tell what a person’s motivation is, because a given behavior (e.g., getting married) often looks exactly the same to an observer, regardless of whether the motivation is intrinsic (e.g., for love) or extrinsic (e.g., for the person’s wealth). Moreover, verbal claims related to motivation may simply be cheap talk.

Intrinsic motivation arises from basic psychological needs for competence, autonomy and relatedness, which are principal sources of enjoyment and vitality throughout life (Ryan and Deci 2000b). Deci (1975) argues that if an activity is internally rewarding, the end state should be positive affect. Indeed, intrinsic motivation is sometimes defined as doing something for its inherent enjoyment or satisfaction (Ryan and Deci 2000a). Therefore, we suggest that people may use a person’s displayed enjoyment as a signal to infer his/her intrinsic motivation. Particularly, we focus on the facial expression of enjoyment because it is readily visible to other people and the “leakage” in facial expressions is often more diagnostic than verbally claimed emotions (Ekman 1993). We hypothesize that observers may infer stronger intrinsic motivation if they see a person who has engaged in an activity displaying a large smile, as opposed to a small smile or neutral expression (H1). Observers may also anticipate better long-term outcomes of an activity if people engaging in the activity display larger smiles, and this effect should be mediated by inferences of stronger intrinsic motivation (H2). Thirdly, smiling should be a diagnostic signal of intrinsic motivation only if the smile is a consequence of engaging in the intrinsically motivated activity. Hence, the proposed effects (i.e., H1 and H2) should be attenuated if the smile is observed before rather than after the focal activity (H3).

Study 1 tested H1 and H3. MTurkers (N=242) read a description of Karate and examined a group photo of a Karate Club. The photo featured 30 club members standing together, dressed in karategi. Participants randomly saw either a fun photo or a neutral photo that differed in the expressed facial emotions, such that the club members were either smiling (fun), or not smiling (neutral). We manipulated the timing of emotion display by saying that this photo was taken either before or after the Karate training. Participants then completed a 23-item scale adapted from the Sport Motivation Scale (Pelletier et al. 1995), which measured their inferences regarding the club members’ intrinsic and extrinsic motivations for practicing Karate. The results showed a significant interaction of displayed emotion and timing of emotion, such that if they thought the photo was taken after the training, participants inferred higher intrinsic motivation if the club members displayed smiling rather than neutral expressions. The effect disappeared if the photo was purportedly taken before the training, because the fun is then less likely to be a consequence of practicing Karate.

Study 2 tested H1, H2 and H3 in a different context. College students (N=164) read about a newly married couple – the groom being a successful businessman and the bride a famous columnist – and saw a photo of them embracing, with either big smiles or small smiles. The photo was purportedly taken either on the day before or the day after their wedding day. After viewing the photo, participants answered 14 questions that measured the motivations they ascribed to this couple regarding their marriage, and four questions that measured the anticipated long-term quality of the marriage. When the photo was supposedly taken after the wedding, participants inferred stronger intrinsic motivation, and anticipated the marriage would be more successful, if the couple displayed large (vs. small) smiles. The effect disappeared if the photo was supposedly taken before the wedding. Inferred intrinsic motivation mediated the interactive effect of smile size and timing on anticipated long-term marriage quality.

Having investigated the inferences people make about smiling as communicating intrinsic motivation, we now turn to the question
of whether they proactively use smiling in their own non-verbal communication. As observers, people use smiles to infer intrinsic motivation, and hence as actors may strategically display larger smiles if they want to signal intrinsic motivation to potential observers (H4). We test this hypothesis in study 3.

University students (N=170) imagined that a real estate agent who once helped them find an apartment was soliciting previous clients’ photos to promote her business. Participants imagined that they agreed to send a photo to the agent (control condition), and they wanted potential clients who would see their photo to believe that they really wanted to endorse this agent and had no reservation in doing so (intrinsic motivation condition), or felt an obligation to endorse her (extrinsic motivation condition). Participants used the built-in cameras in the lab computers to take headshot pictures. They were free to take as many pictures as they wanted, but could only send one. Two coders who were blind to the hypothesis and conditions coded the facial expressions in the chosen selfies. The results showed that participants proactively displayed bigger smiles when they were given a goal to communicate intrinsic motivation than to communicate extrinsic motivation or no specific goal.

Much past research has shown that affect can be used as information about the self (Schwarz and Clore 1983), and recent research suggests that emotion can be used as social information (Van Kleef 2009). Echoing the social-functional approach to emotion research (Keltner and Haidt 1999), the present research shows that people infer intrinsic motivation from another person’s displayed smile that occurs after an activity. We also show that people use this signal strategically and display bigger smiles to communicate intrinsic motivation to potential observers.

**The Two Faces of Innovation Adoption: How Envy Affects Consumers’ Evaluation of Innovative Products**

**EXTENDED ABSTRACT**

Innovative products can be highly appealing but also aversive to consumers. On the one hand, innovation adoption is associated with a number of positive symbolic qualities that are psychologically rewarding; it signals leadership, a sense of superiority, and a higher group status (Fisher and Price 1992). On the other hand, innovation adoption may also expose consumers to unanticipated risks, such as performance uncertainty, physical perils, and financial risks (Ram 1989).

In this research, we aim to examine which of these two aspects carry more weight in consumers’ minds, particularly when consumers experience feelings of envy that arise from social comparison (Cohen-Charash 2008). While envious individuals may focus on the positive aspects of innovation as it allows them to repair their threatened self-image, they might also become more alert toward any risks that can further harm their already threatened self-image.

To understand whether envious individuals are driven by a compensatory self-enhancement motive or a precautionary self-protection motive, we draw upon research on dual-system models (Evans 2003). While people who attend to their feelings tend to process information more holistically and automatically, those who attend to their cognition tend to process information more analytically and deliberatively. Based on these characteristic differences between the affective system and the cognitive system, we predict that envious individuals who attend to their affect are more motivated to repair their negative emotions and are more likely to perceive innovation adoption as an opportunity for compensatory self-enhancement. In contrast, envious individuals who attend to their cognition are driven by a greater self-protection motive; they are thus more likely to recognize the potential risks of innovative products and respond to these products more negatively.

**Experiment 1** was designed to test the basic effect that we hypothesized. Participants (N = 143) either described an individual whom they envied (envy condition) or a person whom they knew (control condition) (Cohen-Charash 2009). Following this envy manipulation, in a purportedly unrelated study, all participants saw an advertisement for the “Smart Body Analyzer,” a smart multi-function, health-tracking scale. Lastly, participants responded to the Attention-to-Feelings scale (Salovey et al. 1995). The findings suggest that envious (vs. non-envious) consumers who are dispositionally inclined to attend to their feelings respond more favorably to innovative products, whereas envious (vs. non-envious) consumers who are inclined to attend to their cognitive thinking respond less favorably to innovative products (p = .009).

**Experiment 2** conceptually replicated the findings in experiment 1 by using a different method to manipulate envy: We asked 103 M-Turk participants to complete a Perceptual Ability Test. Participants were told that the goal of the test was to measure how well they processed visual information, and that people who performed within the top 15% would receive a reward of $10. After completing a series of tasks, half of the participants (enjoy condition) read the following message on the screen: “Another M-Turk participant just before you won $10 award! Your score is now entered into our database and your percentile is being calculated...”; the remaining half of the participants (control condition) only read the second half of this message without any mention of another M-Turk worker’s performance. Subsequently, participants in both conditions were told that they did not win the $10. (The validity of this manipulation was ascertained in a pretest.) In a purportedly unrelated study, all participants then evaluated an innovative multi-function global adapter and completed the Attention-to-Feelings scale. The results again revealed that envious (vs. non-envious) participants who were dispositionally inclined to attend to their feelings rated the global adapter more positively. In contrast, envious (vs. non-envious) participants who attended to their cognitive thoughts rated the product more negatively (p = .024).

Besides further replicating these basic results, the next two experiments provided process evidence for our hypothesized dual-process account. **Experiment 3** employed mediation analysis to show that envious individuals who attend to their cognitive thinking (vs. feelings) are more concerned with the potential risks of innovation adoption, hence resisting against adopting new products. Participants (N = 104) completed the same essay-writing envy-manipulation task from experiment 1 before evaluating an innovative finance-management app, Mint. They also responded to three risk-perception questions (Ram and Sheth 1989), followed by a short filler and the Attention-to-Feelings scale. Analysis revealed that not only were the findings from experiment 1 and 2 replicated (p = .01; Attention-to-feelings floodlight region significant above 5.79 and below 3.80), there was a significant moderated mediation of envy and attention-to-feelings on attitude toward the app through perceived risk (indirect effect β = .18, 95% CI = .04, .37).

**Experiment 4** demonstrated that due to self-enhancement motives, envious individuals who attend to their feelings (vs. cognitive thinking) have a more favorable attitude toward innovative products; by testing a boundary condition where some participants had the chance to self-affirm before the innovative-product evaluation, we showed that these individuals who were self-affirmed of their positive self-image no longer exhibited such a preference for innovative products. Participants (N = 172) were randomly assigned to one of four conditions (Envy: yes/no) × (Affirmation: yes/no). Participants
first engaged in the same essay-writing envy-manipulation task as before. Next, half of the participants (affirmation condition) wrote about their most important life value, while the remaining half of the participants described what a typical AAA battery looked like (no-affirmation condition) (Gao, Wheeler, and Shiv 2009). All participants then evaluated the Smart Body Analyzer (as in Experiment 1) and responded to the Attention-to-Feelings scale. Consistent with our hypothesis, among individuals who were not self-affirmed, we again replicated the crossover interaction from previous experiments (p = .010; Attention-to-Feelings floodlight region significant above 5.28 and below 4.27). Importantly, envious participants who were self-affirmed prior to the innovation-evaluation task no longer showed such a preference (p = .999).

This research contributes to the literature by highlighting the benefits and risks associated with innovative products. More importantly, we add to a limited but growing stream of work that examines how envy influences product consumption by suggesting the latent motives (self-enhancement vs. self-protection) that drive consumers’ product attitudes.

REFERENCES


