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## **The Fighter and the Caregiver: Brands That Help Individuals With Self-Esteem and Social Exclusion Threats**

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Across multiple studies, we show that individuals with self-esteem threats prefer fighter brands, and individuals with social exclusion threats prefer caregiver brands. Additionally, we demonstrate that these brands help individuals engage in coping mechanisms to mitigate these threats. The findings extend the literature on branding and generate actionable managerial practice.

### **[to cite]:**

Aulona Ulqinaku, Gulen Sarial Abi, and Jeffrey Inman (2019) , "The Fighter and the Caregiver: Brands That Help Individuals With Self-Esteem and Social Exclusion Threats", in NA - Advances in Consumer Research Volume 47, eds. Rajesh Bagchi, Lauren Block, and Leonard Lee, Duluth, MN : Association for Consumer Research, Pages: 117-122.

### **[url]:**

<http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/2551062/volumes/v47/NA-47>

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# Self-Conscious Emotions: Characteristics, Coping Strategies, and Consequences

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## **Paper #1: The Self-Conscious Consumer: Understanding and Mitigating Consumer Embarrassment**

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## **Paper #2: To Show Off or To Shy Away: The Effect of Self-Conscious Emotions on Self-Checkout Usage**

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## **Paper #3: The Fighter and the Caregiver: Brands that Help Individuals with Self-Esteem and Social Exclusion Threats**

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## **Paper #4: Attitudes Based on Feelings: Fixed or Fleeting?**

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The third paper by Ulqinaku, Sarial-Abi, and Inman studies how consumers use brands to cope with negative self-conscious emotions. The authors show that individuals with self-esteem threats prefer fighter brands, and individuals with social exclusion threats prefer caregiver brands. Additionally, they found that these brands help individuals engage in problem-focused (i.e., the fighter brand) or emotion-focused (i.e., the caregiver brand) coping to mitigate the effects of these psychological threats.

The last paper by Rocklage and Luttrell shifts gears and focuses on the effect of emotion on attitude stability. The authors found that whereas some consumer attitudes are fixed, others are fleeting. Across six longitudinal studies and linguistic analysis of 80,000 Yelp reviews, the authors found that the more an attitude was based on emotion, the longer-lasting that attitude. Moreover, consumers appear unaware of this connection.

Together, employing different research methods, these four papers present distinct yet synergistic findings that further our understanding of consumers' emotional lives. The topics of the four papers are fundamental to consumers' everyday lives, and this special session should be of great interest not only to marketing researchers, but also to anyone who is interested in the factors and strategies that can improve our understanding and management of consumer emotions.

## **SESSION OVERVIEW**

Emotions are an integral part of the human condition. A substantial body of work has established the central role that moods and feelings play in consumers' everyday lives, from how consumers think and decide, to the way they comprehend the world around them. In particular, self-conscious emotions (such as pride and embarrassment) differ from more basic emotions (such as joy and sadness) in that they cannot be described solely by facial expressions, but rather, require cognitive self-reflections—particularly self-awareness and self-representation—for their elicitation (Lewis 2007; Tracy and Robbins 2007).

This special session brings together four papers that explore different facets of emotions, examining their essential characteristics, their consequences for both consumers and marketing managers, and how consumers cope with them and how managers may help consumers better manage them. Each of the papers asks an interesting question, takes a unique methodological approach, and provides exciting findings that could spur future research.

The first paper by Herd, Aydinoglu, and Krishna examines factors affecting felt and anticipated embarrassment. It studies how cognitive resources and deliberation influence self-appraisal and resulting embarrassment. The authors find that, while high level of deliberation increases the feeling of embarrassment induced by purchasing embarrassing products, this feeling can be effectively mitigated by cognitive load and distraction.

The second paper and the third paper study the coping strategies consumers adopt to manage self-conscious emotions. The second paper by Lee, Lee, Li, Zhang, and Chong explores the effects of self-conscious feelings on grocery shopping, focusing on one negative (embarrassment) and one positive emotion (pride). The research finds that, when buying embarrassing products, consumers coped with the embarrassment by using self-checkout (vs. human cashiers). An opposite pattern was observed when consumers purchased products that elicited pride.

## **The Self-Conscious Consumer: Understanding and Mitigating Consumer Embarrassment**

### **EXTENDED ABSTRACT**

Previous research distinguishes between more spontaneous, hedonic emotions and more deliberative, self-conscious emotions (Giner-Sorolla 2001; Leary 2007). Hedonic emotions, such as excitement, joy, and sadness, are immediate in nature and elicited spontaneously without much cognitive elaboration. In contrast, self-conscious emotions, such as embarrassment, guilt, pride, and shame, are more deliberative in nature (Leary 2007). They are characterized by an awareness of the emotional state, cognitive elaboration, and self-reflection (Pham et al. 2001).

Embarrassment, in particular, is a pervasive emotion in the marketplace. People can go to great lengths to avoid feeling embarrassed or can engage in compensatory behavior to cope with embarrassment (Miller 1996). While researchers and practitioners alike recognize the adverse implications of embarrassment in consumption, research on embarrassment is still surprisingly sparse in the consumer psychology literatures (Krishna et al. 2019). Across three studies, we examine how cognitive resources and deliberation influence self-appraisal and resulting embarrassment, and suggest strategies for marketers to mitigate or manage consumer embarrassment.

In the first study ( $N = 203$ , 46.5% female;  $M_{age} = 37.5$ ), we test whether encouraging consumers to deliberate on their experience increases embarrassment. We also examine a managerially relevant dependent variable: likelihood to recommend a product. We used a 2 x 2 between-subjects design with product (embarrassing vs. not embarrassing) and deliberation (high vs. low) as the two independent factors. Participants were told to imagine searching for and purchasing a hair regrowth treatment or a shampoo. Those in the deliberation condition were also instructed to take a moment to think about the scenario and elaborate on what they would be thinking (Gale et al.

1972). Next, all participants reported the intensity of embarrassment they would feel if they personally had this experience (embarrassed, uncomfortable, and ridiculous; Krishna et al. 2015;  $\alpha = .95$ ) and their recommendation likelihood. Across all studies we included gender and familiarity as covariates consistent with prior research, (Dahl et al. 2001). Five participants were removed due to reading checks.

An ANCOVA with embarrassment as the dependent variable showed a significant main effect for product ( $F(1, 192) = 38.44; p < .001$ ), a non-significant effect of deliberation ( $F < 1$ ) and a significant interaction ( $F(1, 192) = 4.11; p < .05$ ). For the embarrassing product purchase scenario, participants reported greater embarrassment when they deliberated ( $M_{\text{Embarrassing,HighDeliberation}} = 3.60, M_{\text{Embarrassing,LowDeliberation}} = 2.89; p < .05$ ); however, there was no difference for the non-embarrassing product purchase ( $F < 1$ ). An ANCOVA with recommendation likelihood revealed a similar effect, with participants seeing the embarrassing product *less* likely to recommend when they had deliberated ( $M_{\text{Embarrassing,HighDeliberation}} = 3.63, M_{\text{Embarrassing,LowDeliberation}} = 4.62; p < .05$ ), but showing no difference for the non-embarrassing product ( $F < 1$ ).

Per our conceptualization, embarrassment ensues following deliberation and self-appraisal in relation to a trigger incident. Therefore, limiting cognitive resources should lower self-appraisal, and ultimately, felt embarrassment. We tested this proposition in a second study ( $N = 214, 45\%$  female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 24.2$ ), using a  $2 \times 2$  between-subjects design with product (embarrassing vs. not embarrassing) and cognitive load (high vs. low) as the two independent factors. Participants were involved in a purchase scenario similar to study 1 with a new set of products (incontinence vs. headache medication). Cognitive load was manipulated with an external memory task (Gilbert et al. 1995). We used the same embarrassment scale as in study 1; and also collected a 2-item measure of the extent to which participants consciously engaged in self-appraisal (e.g., “I would judge myself for this action”);  $r = .85; p < .01$ ). In addition to gender and familiarity, we also included measures of need for cognition due to the cognitive nature of the task. Four participants were removed due to reading checks.

An ANCOVA with embarrassment as the dependent variable showed a significant main effect for product ( $F(1, 203) = 85.47; p < .01$ ). The main effect of cognitive load and effects including gender were not significant ( $p$ 's  $> .1$ ). The two-way interaction between product and cognitive load was significant ( $F(1, 203) = 6.54; p < .05$ ). Participants reported lower embarrassment under high (vs. low) cognitive load when purchasing the embarrassing product ( $M_{\text{Embarrassing-LowLoad}} = 4.67, M_{\text{Embarrassing-HighLoad}} = 4.01; F(1, 203) = 6.73; p < .05$ ). However, there was no difference between the load conditions for the non-embarrassing product purchase ( $p > .3$ ). We then tested the full moderated mediation model with Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro with self-appraisal as the proposed mediator. As expected, we found a significant indirect effect of cognitive load on embarrassment through self-appraisal only when purchasing an embarrassing product (CI:  $-.014$  to  $-.64$ ), and not when the product was non-embarrassing (CI:  $-.06$  to  $.45$ ).

In study 3, we tested whether the choice task itself could act as a mental distraction when appraising a potentially embarrassing experience. Study 3 ( $N = 182, 40.3\%$  female;  $M_{\text{age}} = 40.03$ ) utilized one-way design of choice complexity (simple/dominant choice vs. simple/non-dominant choice vs. complex/non-dominant choice). We predicted that the more complex task would result in greater embarrassment. After indicating their product choice, participants completed the embarrassment and control measures. Three participants were removed due to reading checks.

An ANCOVA with embarrassment as the dependent variable showed a significant main effect for complexity ( $F(1,173) = 3.89; p < .05$ ). Participants in both the simple/non-dominant ( $M = 3.18; t(1,173) = 1.96; p = .05$ ), and the complex/non-dominant choice conditions ( $M = 2.96; t(1,173) = 2.73; p < .01$ ) reported lower embarrassment compared to participants who saw the dominant superior option ( $M = 3.86$ ). These results showed support for our prediction that a mentally taxing evaluation process lowered cognitive resources and resulted in lower embarrassment.

Embarrassment is clearly an important emotion to understand, with much impact on everyday motivations and consumer behavior. Our work integrates extant research from psychology and more recent work from consumer behavior to better understand the processes triggering consumer embarrassment. Our results demonstrate ways of mitigating the negative consequences of consumer embarrassment through constraining deliberation on the experience, without losing from careful product evaluation.

### To Show Off or To Shy Away: The Effect of Self-Conscious Emotions on Self-Checkout Usage

#### EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Purchasing certain products may threaten consumers' self-image, resulting in negative self-conscious emotions such as embarrassment. For instance, buying products such as condoms might elicit a strong feeling of embarrassment, especially when the purchase is made in the presence of others (Dahl, Manchanda, and Argo 2001). The emotion of embarrassment has been linked to a variety of consumer behavior, such as brand switching (Romani, Grappi, and Dalli 2012) and complaining about service failures (Wan 2013). To lower the overall anticipated embarrassment, shoppers put more non-embarrassing items into their shopping baskets to cover up embarrassing purchases or to balance the basket (Blair and Roese 2013; Brackett 2004).

Recent innovations such as self-checkout technologies allow shoppers in physical stores to checkout without having to interact directly with a human cashier. Consequently, the option of self-service checkout may provide consumers with a means to avert others' attention, hence reducing their feelings of embarrassment.

When a shopper buys a product that s/he deems embarrassing and chooses whether to pay at a human counter or at a self-checkout counter, the motivation to avoid social contact (e.g., interacting with a cashier) will be stronger when the embarrassing product is more salient. Because the degree of salience of the embarrassing purchase is reduced by an increase in basket size—the total number of items in a basket, people should be less motivated to use self-checkout when the basket size becomes large. The tendency of using self-checkout for larger baskets would be further reduced by the greater effort required to scan all purchases at a self-service machine. Thus, we predict that consumers who purchase embarrassing products are more likely to choose self-checkout over a human cashier, but this preference would be more pronounced for smaller baskets and attenuated for larger baskets.

In contrast with embarrassing products that potentially threaten one's self-image, some purchases may project a positive self-image. For example, buying organic products is typically associated with being health-conscious or wealthy. People in general have a desire to portray a positive self-image (Tepper 1994). If self-image considerations indeed influence shoppers' preference of checkout options, shoppers with organic products in their baskets would show an opposite pattern to those who purchase embarrassing products. That is, shoppers who purchase organic products would prefer human

checkout. We also expect shoppers' preference for human checkout when buying organic products to attenuate when they have larger baskets, because the salience of the organic item(s) would decline with a larger basket.

To test our hypotheses, we analyzed a panel dataset from a supermarket chain with both human checkout and self-service checkout counters. This dataset includes seven weeks of receipt-level transaction information at three different stores, with a total of 223,585 transactions. We found that baskets with embarrassing products contained on average 0.7 more items ( $M = 5.01$ ,  $SD = 6.59$ , excluding the embarrassing item(s)) than non-embarrassing baskets ( $M = 4.32$ ,  $SD = 5.14$ ,  $t(223,580) = 2.21$ ,  $p = .02685$ ). This result is consistent with past research showing that consumers buy more items to cover up their purchase of embarrassing products (Brackett 2004; Lewittes and Simmons 1975).

Next, we conducted logistic regressions with the choice between self-service checkout and human checkout as the dependent variable. We focused our analysis on transactions paid with credit or debit cards (126,144 transactions) because the self-service checkout machines could not accept cash. The key predictors included whether a basket contained condoms (an embarrassment dummy = 1 for baskets containing condoms, and = 0 otherwise). Further, the choice of checkout counters could also be driven by convenience (human cashier provides service) and time-saving (due to store traffic) considerations; therefore, we controlled for these and other competing factors. Thus, we included control variables such as the week, the day of the week, the hour, the store, whether a membership card was swiped, the number of open human counters at the time of the transaction, and basket size.

Our model also included a threshold dummy for salience – the number of items in a shopping basket beyond which our proposed effects of condom or organic purchases are no longer observed. The dummy was coded as 1 when the basket size was smaller than the threshold, and 0 otherwise. To determine the threshold, we varied the threshold from 1 to 10 and picked the value (five) that offered the best fit to the data.

The logistic regression using five as the threshold reveals that for baskets with condoms, shoppers were more likely to select self-service checkout compared to those who did not purchase condoms, such that the odds of choosing self-service checkout was about 1.81 times higher if a shopper bought condoms than if s/he did not buy condoms ( $b = 0.5943$ ,  $t = 2.3527$ ,  $p = .0186$ ). When the baskets with condoms contained five or more items, the effect of buying condom was significantly reduced ( $b = -1.0799$ ,  $t = -3.1067$ ,  $p = .0019$ ).

Using whether a basket contained organic products (a positive-image dummy = 1 for baskets containing organic products, and = 0 otherwise) as the key predictor, we found that shoppers with one or more organic products in their baskets were *less* likely to choose self-service checkout compared with shoppers who did not buy any organic products ( $b = -.1748$ ,  $t = -3.5251$ ,  $p = .0004$ , odds ratio was only 0.84 times of the odds ratio for purchases not including organic items). However, this preference for human checkout (vs. self-service checkout) was reduced when the baskets contained five or more items ( $b = .1491$ ,  $t = 2.4303$ ,  $p = 0.0151$ ), mirroring the results for baskets containing condoms. This pattern is consistent with our argument that with a larger basket, the organic product(s) would be less salient and thus less likely to communicate a positive image, resulting in shoppers' lower motivation to "show off."

Taken together, our results suggest that self-conscious emotions can exert powerful influences on shopping behavior. Our findings have rich implications for marketing practitioners regarding store-space planning, self-service technology design, product packaging

(e.g., conspicuousness of the enclosed item), and service-process design.

## The Fighter and the Caregiver: Brands that Help Individuals with Self-Esteem and Social Exclusion Threats

### EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Over the last 20 years, top journals in marketing and psychology have published approximately 800 articles on self-esteem (the fear of not being up to one's expectations) and social exclusion (the fear of being socially impaired) threats, establishing the importance of research on this topic. In this paper, we investigate how brands can mitigate these threats.

When self-esteem is threatened, individuals activate a problem-focused coping strategy to mitigate the effects of self-esteem threats (Han, Duhachek, and Rucker 2015). They need someone to fight for them (but not emotionally take care of them; Strelan and Zdaniuk 2015), to combat, to positively change the situation. In a branding context, a fighter brand would be one with a strong sense of justice and loyalty, who is ready to fight for consumers' rights (Hartwell and Chen 2012). In this paper, we expect a fighter brand to mitigate the effects of self-esteem threats:

*Hypothesis 1a* Individuals exposed to self-esteem threats (vs. social exclusion, no-threat) prefer fighter brands.

*Hypothesis 1b* The effect of self-esteem threat on preference for fighter brands is mediated by problem-focused coping.

When individuals experience social exclusion threats, a "caregiving emptiness" is created (Twenge et al. 2007). Consequently, individuals use emotional-coping strategies to cope with social exclusion threats (Han et al. 2015). These individuals need support from others to cope with social exclusion. They need to rely on things that can provide care to them. A person experiencing social exclusion is less likely to approach others or fight and would typically expect a caregiver to provide social support (MacDonald and Leary 2005). In a branding context, a caregiver brand would be one taking care for the consumer, nurturing her, or her wellbeing. In this paper, we expect a caregiver brand to mitigate the effects of social exclusion:

*Hypothesis 2a* Individuals who experience social exclusion threat (vs. self-esteem threat, no-threat) prefer caregiver brands.

*Hypothesis 2b* The effect of social exclusion threat on preference for caregiver brands is mediated by emotion-focused coping.

In **study 1**, we investigated the kind of brands individuals prefer when they are threatened. Initially, we asked participants to think of an event that made them feel psychologically threatened (social exclusion and/or low self-esteem). Next, we asked them to think of a brand that would provide them some kind of psychological relief. We then asked the participants the extent to which a brand should have any of our listed traits to provide them with psychological relief. The results of the exploratory factor analyses suggest two main factors, which we named "the fighter" and "the caregiver".

In **study 2**, we tested H1a and H2a, in a behavioral experiment using real choice situation. Participants were first randomly assigned to self-esteem threat, social exclusion threat, or no threat.

We next told participants that we would like to offer them a pack of tea bags as a reward for their participation, among four new brands: Brand A (positioned as a caregiver), Brand B (positioned as a fighter) and Brand C (mix) and D (none), used as control. We then asked participants to choose one tea bag to take with them.

As predicted, when individuals experienced self-esteem threats, they chose a fighter brand (53.33%) more than a caregiver brand (13.33%;  $z = 6.44, p < .001$ ), or control brands (mix: 23.33%;  $z = 3.89, p < .001$ ; none: 10.00%;  $z = 7.91, p < .001$ ). Individuals who experienced social exclusion threat chose the caregiver brand (54.84%) more than the fighter brand (19.35%;  $z = 5, p < .001$ ), or control brands (mix: 19.35%;  $z = 5, p = .007$ ; none: 6.45%;  $z = 10.97, p < .001$ ).

In **study 3**, we tested all hypotheses together. We used a 2 (threat: self-esteem, social exclusion) by 2 (brand: fighter, caregiver) between-subjects design. We next measured the problem-focused and emotion-focused coping scale (Han et al. 2015). Participants were then introduced to a separate study where they indicated their brand preference.

As predicted, when participants were exposed to social exclusion threats, they preferred more caregiver brands ( $M_{\text{social exclusion-caregiver}} = 4.355, SD_{\text{social exclusion-caregiver}} = .717$  vs.  $M_{\text{social exclusion-fighter}} = 3.732, SD_{\text{social exclusion-fighter}} = 1.078; t = 2.606, p = .013$ ). Analogously, when participants were exposed to self-esteem threat, they preferred more fighter brands ( $M_{\text{self-esteem-fighter}} = 4.283, SD_{\text{self-esteem-fighter}} = .906$  vs.  $M_{\text{self-esteem-caregiver}} = 3.648, SD_{\text{self-esteem-caregiver}} = .897; t = 2.606, p = .01$ ).

The mediation analysis results showed a significant effect (CI: 95% = [.062; .414]) of emotion-focused coping on brand preference, moderated by brand positioning as caregiver. Moreover, the mediation analysis results showed a significant effect but only at the 90% level of confidence (CI: 90% = [.097; .492]) of problem-focused coping on brand preference, moderated by brand positioning as fighter.

In **study 4**, we tested all the hypotheses together, using real consumption. We used a 2 (threat: self-esteem threat, social exclusion threat condition as in study 3) by 2 (brand positioning: fit, non-fit, adapted from study 3) between-subjects design.

After being exposed to the threat, participants were asked to consume at least 250 ml of tea (as a separate market test). In the fit brand condition, they read a communication that described the brand as caregiver (vs. fighter or control) if exposed to social exclusion threat, or a communication that described the brand as fighter (vs. caregiver or control) if exposed to self-esteem threat. Next, participants completed the problem-focused and emotion-focused coping scale on how they would have dealt with the threatening situation they described before now (i.e., after the consumption).

As predicted, there was an interaction of the effect of threat (self-esteem vs. social exclusion) and brand positioning (fit, non-fit) on ratings for emotion-focused coping ( $F(1, 111) = 4.951, p = .003$ ) and for problem-focused coping ( $F(1, 111) = 4.321, p = .04$ ).

In this paper, we provide convergent evidence that individuals prefer, express more positive attitudes, and choose different types of brands (i.e., fighter or caregiver) depending on the psychological threat (i.e., social exclusion or self-esteem) they experience.

#### Attitudes Based on Feelings: Fixed or Fleeting?

#### EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Companies measure consumers' opinions so as to predict consumers' judgments and behavior in the future. This is based on the assumption that the attitudes consumers express at any given time

are at all related to their attitudes when making future judgments or purchasing decisions. Indeed, attitudes are often presumed to be relatively consistent across time and the very definition of an attitude is an evaluation that is *stored in memory*, and therefore relatively long-lasting (Fazio 2007). Despite this assumption, research indicates that whereas some attitudes are fixed, others are as fleeting as the time it takes consumers to complete their survey (Schwarz 2007; Tormala and Rucker 2018). How can companies know which attitudes are fixed versus fleeting?

Emerging research suggests that an attitude's longevity may stem partially from whether that attitude is based on consumers' feelings. On the one hand, feelings can be rather ephemeral in nature. They exist in the moment and then disappear. Reflecting this viewpoint, research has shown a nearly singular focus on elaborative – i.e., thoughtful – processes as particularly responsible for generating strong, long-lasting attitudes (e.g., Haugtvedt and Petty 1992). On the other hand, there is growing research that attitudes based on feelings are rather strong: they are quick to come to mind, less dependent on context, and more predictive of behavior (Lavine et al. 1998; Rocklage and Fazio 2016, 2018). This has been shown to be particularly true of positive attitudes. These findings are supported by theorizing that an emotional, feelings-based reaction provides a consumer with a strong signal of his or her attitude, thereby leading to an attitude stored more strongly in memory (Fazio 1995).

Across six longitudinal studies, we examine whether attitudes based on feelings and emotional reactions are longer-lasting. In Studies 1a and 1b, we measured consumers' attitudes toward Christmas gifts. On the day after Christmas in 2016 and 2017, we asked participants to provide the names of three gifts they had just received. We measured the valence and emotionality of their attitudes for each gift using the Evaluative Lexicon (EL; Rocklage and Fazio 2015) both initially and again one month later. Following common practice, we calculated the stability of each attitude as the absolute difference between the valence of their attitude at each timepoint (Luttrell, Petty, and Briñol 2016).

Results are similar across both studies and thus collapsed together. Linear mixed-modeling revealed that the more a consumer's initial attitude was based on emotion, the longer-lasting that attitude was one month after Christmas. In line with past work, this was particularly true of positive attitudes and non-significant for negative. These results held above how extremely positive or negative their initial attitude was, thereby specifying the effect of emotionality per se.

In Studies 2a-2c, we utilized a similar design, but used a large sample of 40 diverse brands that varied greatly in their normative valence as well as hedonic and utilitarian nature. Using the EL, consumers provided their attitudes toward 10 randomly-selected brands both initially and one month (Studies 2a and 2b) or two weeks later (2c). To examine emotionality's unique effect, Studies 2b and 2c also included measures of other constructs associated with attitude strength: subjective ambivalence, certainty, and subjective knowledge (Visser, Bizer, and Krosnick 2006).

Results are similar across studies and thus collapsed together. Linear mixed-modeling revealed that the more an attitude was based on emotional reactions, the longer-lasting it was. This was again particularly true of positive attitudes, and non-significant for negative. These results held above ambivalence, certainty, knowledge, and valence extremity. We also found that although consumers can accurately predict which of their attitudes are longer-lasting, the emotionality of their attitude is unrelated to these predictions – consumers appear unaware of emotionality's effect.

In Study 3, we examined whether the emotion conveyed in consumers' first online review of a business predicted the change in those consumers' evaluation in their later review of that same business. We scraped all Yelp.com restaurant reviews in Chicago, Illinois starting with the very first Yelp review in 2005 up to 2017. Yelp provides consumers the ability to review a restaurant as many times as they visit that restaurant. Thus, we measured both consumers' initial evaluation and its emotionality as well as their evaluation when they wrote an additional review of the same restaurant. There were 75,706 reviews across 18,786 consumers. To quantify consumers' evaluations, we calculated the absolute difference between their initial and additional review's 1) star rating and, separately, 2) valence of the text as quantified by the EL. We followed past research and quantified reviewers' emotionality based on their most emotional positive and negative reactions (Rocklage, Rucker, and Nordgren 2018).

Given the previous effects for positive attitudes, we first examined the extent to which reviewers expressed relatively more positive emotionality (positive minus negative emotionality). Linear mixed-modeling revealed that for both star ratings and text valence, the more positive (vs. negative) emotion consumers had initially, the less their evaluation changed across time. These results held above how extremely positive (vs. negative) their initial evaluation was. These results replicated when entering positive and negative emotionality as separate predictors in each model – positive emotionality was the only consistent predictor of greater longevity.

Across six longitudinal studies, we found that the more an attitude is based on consumers' emotional, feelings-based reactions, the longer-lasting it is – months or even years later. Moreover, consumers appear unaware of emotionality's effect. In sum, not all attitudes are created equal and it would benefit marketers to pay particular attention to those attitudes based more versus less on emotion.

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