SELF-OTHER CONNECTEDNESS IN CONSUMER
AFFECT, JUDGMENTS, AND ACTION

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This dissertation consists of three essays that examine the effects of consumers’ identities and connections to others on their behaviors. In the first essay I examine the notion that consumers have multiple identities that interact to influence charitable judgments and behaviors. In the first study, I examine the effect of internal moral identity and gender on adult volunteers’ donation allocations to terrorist victims in London or Afghanistan. In studies 2 and 3, I explore the effect of these identities on judgments of relief efforts and donation intentions for terrorist victims in London and Iraq. The pattern in these studies indicate that males give more to ingroups (i.e., London) than to outgroups (i.e., Afghanistan or Iraq) when they have high internal moral identity whereas females with high internal moral identity give equally to both the ingroup and outgroup. Study 4 examines how self-construal moderates the effect of these identities on donation likelihood to victims of natural disasters. I show that consumers have multiple identities that interact to influence judgments, rather than a single salient identity that influences behavior.

In my second essay I explore the role of closeness to others and domain relevance, using the self-evaluation maintenance model, on consumer regret. In the first study, I show that closeness to others moderates the effect of performance on regret in entrée choice. In two additional studies, I show that relevance moderates the effect of closeness and performance on regret such that consumers experience more regret when they compare to a friend than to a stranger for high relevance domains with the reverse effect occurring for low relevance domains. Jealousy mediates this interactive effect on regret.

Finally, in my third essay I explore the effect of special promotions on purchase intentions. I consider when special promotions such as extended employee discounts or birthday discounts increase consumers’ intentions to purchase. Self-construal, or one’s view of him or herself as connected to or distinct from others, moderates the effect of these inclusively- and exclusively-framed promotions on purchase intentions. Furthermore, I explore the role of feelings of brand connectedness in the effect of self-construal and promotion type on purchase intentions.
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PREFACE

As I conclude this step in my academic life and prepare for all that is yet to come, I find myself filled with gratitude for those whom without this accomplishment would not have been possible. I have been blessed to receive invaluable support and guidance from many individuals, both professional and personal, along this journey.

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*I can no other answer make, but, thanks, and thanks.*

~William Shakespeare
1.0 INTRODUCTION

“Society does not consist of individuals but expresses the sum of interrelations, the relations within which these individuals stand.”

~ Karl Marx

For some time, social psychology and consumer behavior theories were based on the “lone ranger” view of the self (Gardner, Gabriel, and Hochschild 2002; Markus and Kitayama 1991). However, this focus of the self as one individual has gradually been changing to recognize the complex, multifaceted self (Geertz 1975; Reed 2004; Tajfel and Turner 1979). In understanding the complex self, the role of others must be recognized. Do the same feelings occur when one experiences a situation with a loved one as those when the situation is experienced with a stranger? Do we make the same choices regardless of the group that will benefit? Clearly not. Among others, I recognize that there are multiple facets of the self, and that these facets instantiate a connectedness to others, i.e., self-other connectedness. As explained next, the “other” in self-other connectedness is not limited merely to another individual or group but also to possessions and brands (Fournier 1998; Richins 1994).

What is self-other connectedness? According to Escalas and Bettman (2003), self-other connectedness is the extent to which individuals incorporate others into their self-concept.
Stated differently, self-other connectedness is concerned with one’s relationships with others, including groups, individuals, and brands.

The importance of self-other connectedness at the group level can be understood by recognizing the existence of multiple social identities (Forehand and Deshpandé 2001; Forehand, Deshpandé, and Reed 2002). Social identity is defined as “the individual’s knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership” (Tajfel 1972, 31). This social identity then results in one having a larger psychological view of the self at the level of ingroup versus outgroup. Rather than thinking of the self as “Me” versus “S/he,” the self is viewed at the level of “Us” versus “Them.”

Activation of a social identity can trigger different levels of self-group connectedness, which, in turn, can result in intergroup differentiation. Gramzow and Gaertner (2005, 801) state, “By and large, people favor groups to which they belong (ingroups) over groups to which they do not belong (outgroups).” For instance, Newman et al. (1997) found that when black women had their ethnic identity activated they had stronger perceptions of O.J. Simpson’s innocence. Similarly, individuals have been found to differentiate their own group from relevant outgroups by allocating more money to the ingroup than to outgroups (Jetten, Spears, and Manstead 1996, 1998). Further, at any given time, consumers may feel different levels of connectedness to different groups. To what extent do multiple identities interactively determine one’s connectedness to other groups? Does this self-group connectedness, based on multiple identities, impact individuals’ judgments and actions? This is an interesting research issue and I investigate it in essay 1. Specifically, I examine the joint impact of internal moral identity, defined as an
individual’s connection to others through a set of moral associations (Aquino and Reed 2002), and gender as well as self-construal on charitable judgments and donation allocations.

In essay 2, I recognize that persons may have various levels of connectedness to other individuals: spouse, friend, acquaintance, stranger, etc. These various levels of connectedness influence the way in which we view our self in comparison to others and ultimately our affect, evaluations, and choices. I use Tesser’s (1988) self-evaluation maintenance (SEM) model to examine how the level of self-expansion in social comparison can differentially impact regret.

The role of relevance, a key aspect of Tesser’s (1988) SEM model, provides unique insights into regret. Tesser (1988) states that a category is relevant to the extent to which an individual strives for competence in that dimension, describes him or herself in terms of the dimension, or freely chooses to engage in tasks that are related to the dimension. Naturally, different categories have different levels of importance or relevance for consumers (Festinger 1954). The relevance of a choice domain to an individual’s self-definition impacts the resulting self-evaluation as well as the impact of social comparisons to close or distant others. These issues are investigated in essay 2 where I consider the role of closeness and relevance as moderators of the effect of performance on regret.

In addition to one’s self-connectedness to groups and individuals, consumers can also build relationships with brands (Fournier 1998). Research indicates that relationships consumers build with possessions and brands develop over time, aiding consumers in constructing and maintaining their identity (Belk 1988; Escalas and Bettman 2003; Richins 1994). This role of brands in consumers’ construction of their self-definition is reflective of self-brand connectedness. This role of self-brand connectedness is explored in my third essay as I examine the effect of self-construal on the impact of promotions on purchase intentions. Specifically, I
examine how matching consumers’ self-construal, defined as one’s view of him or herself as connected to or distinct from others (Markus and Kitayama 1991), with either inclusively- or exclusively-framed promotions can enhance purchase intentions. Consumers’ thoughts of brand connectedness are examined as a mediator of the effect of self-construal and promotion type on purchase intentions.

1.1 OVERVIEW OF ESSAYS

Building on these ideas, my dissertation consists of three essays that examine the impact of self-other connectedness on substantive marketing phenomena. As shown in Figure 1.1, I use three types of self-other connectedness to examine consumer affect, judgments, and actions.

In my first essay I ask the question: How do multiple identities influence charitable giving to ingroups and outgroups? Consumers hold multiple social identities (Reed 2004) and I argue that these multiple social identities interact to jointly affect consumer donation to ingroups versus outgroups. I examine two specific chronic identities—moral identity and gender identity, finding that consumers’ moral identity, a psychological expansiveness or psychological boundary of ingroups (Aquino and Reed 2002), and gender, measured as biological sex, interact to jointly influence judgments and donations to such groups. Building on this, I also show that the impact of these chronic identities is contingent on the giver’s activated interdependent or independent self-construal (Markus and Kitayama 1991; Singelis 1994). This essay consists of four studies.

Study 1 surveys volunteers from various organizations, examining their allocation of monetary donations to terrorist victims in numerous countries. Results from this mixed design
indicate that individuals’ gender and moral identity jointly impact their donations to ingroups and outgroups (i.e., London and Afghanistan, respectively). The pattern of the joint effect of gender and moral identity is replicated in Study 2 using a between-subjects design. This study examines judgments of relief efforts for the ingroup (London) and the outgroup (Iraq). In Study 3, I address a limitation of studies 1 and 2 by manipulating rather than measuring internal moral identity and replicate the findings with activated moral identity. Study 4 extends these findings to account for a third variable, activated self-construal. In this between-subjects design, the effect of internal moral identity, gender, and activated self-construal, which are similar, yet distinct identities that are sometimes in conflict, is examined. Findings suggest that the activated self-construal moderates how internal moral identity and gender identity influence donation likelihood. Examining the role of these multiple social identities, I find that self-group connectedness impacts donation likelihood and this relationship is partially mediated by expansive thoughts. These results not only have substantive theoretical implications for the effects of multiple, and sometimes conflicting, social identities, but also for practical implications for fundraising efforts and public policy issues.

My second essay raises the question of the impact of closeness and relevance on regret rather than performance alone. Previous regret literature has focused on individual comparisons to any alternative that was not selected (Inman, Dyer, and Jia 1997; Tsiros 1998), yet findings suggest that social comparisons play an important role in feelings and decisions (Hoelzl and Loewenstein 2005; Kumar 2004). This essay draws on research on the Self-Evaluation Maintenance (SEM) model (Tesser 1988) to consider the effect of self-other connectedness and relevance on regret. This essay consists of three studies.
Study 1 surveys MBA students using a between-subjects experimental design to indicate that closeness to the individual who chose the forgone alternative moderates regret in hypothetical entrée choice. Study 2 provides a complete test of the SEM model to examine the impact of both closeness and relevance on the effect of performance on regret in investment outcomes. Study 3 examines this effect by manipulating relevance. Additionally, the mediating role of jealousy on the joint effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret is examined in studies 2 and 3. This essay clearly demonstrates that consumer regret is significantly influenced by connectedness to the other individuals and domain relevance rather than by performance alone.

In my third essay I consider the mixed findings regarding the effectiveness of promotional discounts on brand sales and brand equity (Gupta 1988; Palazón-Vidal and Delgado-Ballester 2005). Additionally, I recognize recent research that indicates consumers can feel connected to brands that aid in defining their identity (Fournier 1998). Given this, I ask when can promotions simultaneously increase purchase intentions and self-brand connectedness. Positing self-construal as a moderator of the effectiveness of promotions, I conduct three studies.

Study 1 examines the effect of a recent trend in price promotions—extension of employee discounts—and the moderating role of interdependence on purchase intentions. This study finds that an employee discount results in more thoughts of brand connectedness and higher purchase intentions for individuals with high interdependence than regular price discounts or employee discounts for those with low interdependence. Study 2 examines matching self-construal with promotion type such that inclusively-framed promotions match with interdependent self-construal and exclusively-framed promotions match with independent self-construal. This study finds an interaction of self-construal and promotion type on purchase
intentions. This effect is examined in Study 3 for a different product category with an adult consumer panel. Collectively, these studies suggest individual differences such as self-construal can impact the effect of special promotions on purchase intentions as well as feelings of brand connectedness.

1.2 OVERALL CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Findings from these three essays provide important contributions to prominent social-psychology and relationship theories regarding self-other connectedness to consumer phenomena. This dissertation makes a significant theoretical contribution by recognizing the role of multiple identities, social comparisons, and brand connections on consumer behaviors. Furthermore, the findings presented in these essays have numerous implications for marketers, both in profit and not-for-profit organizations, as well as for consumers who can manage their feelings and judgments by recognizing the important role of self-other connectedness.

Figure 1.1. Self-other Connectedness on Consumer Affect, Judgments, and Action
2.0 ESSAY 1: CONFLICTING IDENTITIES: THE EFFECT OF GENDER AND INTERNAL MORAL IDENTITY ON CHARITABLE GIVING

Every year American consumers donate billions of dollars and thousands of hours of time to charitable causes (Independent Sector 2001; Leavitt 2005). Organizations such as United Way and Red Cross, in particular, raise money to help causes that benefit people internationally. For instance, one year after the Indian Ocean Tsunami, the American Red Cross received $570.1 million in recovery funds (American 2006b). Yet, only several months after Hurricane Katrina, the American Red Cross received $2.07 billion in pledges and gifts for hurricane relief (American 2006a). With efforts to raise money for both national and international disasters, why would donations be greater to Hurricane Katrina than to the Indian Ocean Tsunami?

Recent research shows that factors such as internal moral identity (Aquino and Reed 2002) and gender (Independent Sector 2001; Sublet 1993) influence donation behaviors. Internal moral identity is the extent to which one’s private self has expanded psychological boundaries of ingroups (Aquino and Reed 2002). Empirical research shows that individuals with a high internal moral identity donate more to an outgroup than individuals with low internal moral identity (Reed and Aquino 2003). Additionally, research also shows females are more likely to volunteer than males (Independent Sector 2001). From these findings, can we conclude that females with high internal moral identity will donate more to outgroups than males with low internal moral identity? We show that this is not necessarily the case, discussing the distinct
characteristics of each identity and the interactive effects when these identities are in conflict. Moreover, will this relationship differ based on whether people are primed for an independent or interdependent self-construal? Self-construal influences one’s view of the self in relationships with others, which may either complement or conflict with one’s moral and/or gender identity.

The joint influence of these different identities is not known, even though research shows that during a decision individuals are characterized by multiple identities (Mandel 2003; Reed 2004). Further, one’s multiple identities may be in conflict and the identities that are activated at any given time may be context dependent (Briley and Wyer 2001). Issues such as the following remain unexplored: Will one’s gender override the influence of internal moral identity? How will activated self-construal affect the interplay between gender and internal moral identity in influencing donations? This paper investigates such issues. In four studies we show that it is not a single identity that influences charitableness. Rather, gender identity, internal moral identity, and activated self-construal jointly determine judgment of relief efforts and donations. We also analyze cognitive response data and explicate the underlying processes determining donation likelihood.

This research also has substantial value, particularly for nonprofit organizations. With a predilection for researching goods and services for personal use, we have overlooked that consumers donate a significant portion of their income to charitable organizations. In 2004, U.S. citizens donated $248.5 billion (Charity Navigator 2005) with a choice of over one million charitable organizations to allocate their donations (Network for Good 2005). These donations exceed the $100 billion Americans were estimated to spend in 2003 on new technology gadgets (i.e., digital cameras, DVD players, etc.) (Hermida 2003). Hence, there is a need to closely examine this important behavior. In doing so, we answer Cermak, File, and Prince’s (1994) call
to examine factors that motivate ordinary consumers to make charitable donations. Similarly, Kottasz (2004) acknowledges that we do not fully understand factors that drive donations by ordinary individuals. Our findings should enable fund-raising agencies to better understand the motivations of their donor base. Currently, fundraisers may segment donors on demographics like gender as females are more likely to volunteer than males (Independent Sector 2001). This research can enable us to understand factors that may moderate donations by males or females. Recognizing the joint effect of multiple identities on charitableness may allow fundraisers to more effectively target their donors by activating particular identities similar to past research which has found that identity activation influences response to persuasive messages and advertisements (e.g., Forehand et al. 2002; Grier and Deshpandé 2001).

By examining the joint impact of multiple identities—internal moral identity, gender, and activated self-construal, we move away from past research in donation behavior that assumes that a single factor influences donations. More generally, we note that past research in consumer behavior has focused on the role of moral identity (Aquino and Reed 2002; Reed and Aquino 2003), gender (Andreoni and Vesterlund 2001), or self-construal (Voronov and Singer 2002), no study—to our knowledge—has examined them together. Theoretically, this is an important issue because on the surface these identities seem to be quite similar, at least in terms of charitable behaviors. For instance, based on past research examining these constructs separately one may be tempted to predict that females with high internal moral identity and an activated interdependent self-construal would donate the most. Yet, as we show later on, this may not be case.

We start by discussing three specific identities: internal moral identity, gender, and self-construal. Though conceptually similar, we clarify how they are theoretically distinct—as they
relate to donation behavior. Then four studies are presented to demonstrate the collective effect of these multiple social identities, along with a discussion of the results.

2.1 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Research shows that donations, often considered a self-less act of giving, are motivated by reasons beyond pure altruism. Individuals donate because of social and psychological goals (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991) or to mitigate feelings of sadness (Cialdini et al. 1987). Cermak et al. (1994) indicate that 44% of donors are affiliators—people who donate based on social ties and humanitarian factors. Donating to organizations to which one has strong affiliations is consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel et al. 1971; Tajfel and Turner 1979), which would predict that individuals are motivated to evaluate in-group members higher than out-group members. How will different identities affect such evaluations and eventually donating behavior? Two identities that have prominently been shown to affect donation behavior are internal moral identity (Reed and Aquino 2003) and gender identity (Andreoni and Vesterlund 2001; Sublet 1993). We consider these two social identities as they are based on individuals’ relations with and psychological views of others.

2.1.1 Internal Moral Identity

Moral identity is a self-regulating construct that connects the individual to others through a set of moral associations that define the moral self (Aquino and Reed 2002). While earlier research described moral identity as a mechanism that motivates moral action (Blasi 1984; Hart,
Atkins, and Ford 1998), Aquino and Reed (2002) showed that it constitutes one of individuals’ numerous social identities. They find that moral identity not only predicts individuals’ moral judgments and behaviors, but that it is also of high importance to individuals’ self-definitions. Specifically, one’s moral identity influences one’s expansiveness or psychological boundary of ingroups, impacting beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (Aquino and Reed 2002). That is, one that is characterized by a high moral identity may extend their moral regard beyond that of family or close friends to more distant ingroups, with an extreme case being the extension of the ingroup boundary to all of humanity. Indeed, individuals for whom moral identity is of high self-importance were less likely to demonstrate in-group favoritism in times of intergroup conflict (Reed and Aquino 2003).

The construct of moral identity is based on two dimensions: internal and symbolic. The internalization dimension represents the private self and represents an individual’s connection to others through a set of moral associations that define the moral self. In contrast, the symbolization dimension represents the public self and appears to indicate one’s sensitivity to the moral self as a social object. While these two dimensions are similar, only internal moral identity has been found to be predictive of one’s actual donation of money to the outgroup (Aquino and Reed 2002; Reed and Aquino 2003). Therefore, we focus on internal moral identity and propose that internal moral identity will impact the evaluation and donation behaviors to in-group versus out-group members.

The expansive psychological boundary toward outgroups that is associated with high internal moral identity has been thought to be coupled with females’ identities that focus on relational values (Kashima et al. 1995). Given the similarities of moral identity with females’ identities, some research would suggest that females consistently have higher moral identities.
Specifically, Gilligan (1982) argues there is a fundamental difference in moral reasoning between males and females: males reason with a justice perspective whereas females reason with a care perspective. Though this theory has been much discussed, it is not empirically supported. A meta-analysis on gender differences in moral orientation by Jaffee and Hyde (2000) finds small differences for the justice orientation favoring males and the care orientation favoring females with contextual moderators explaining a large portion of the variance in these orientations. Empirical research also shows that while one’s moral identity significantly predicts expansiveness toward outgroups, gender does not have a significant effect on expansiveness (Reed and Aquino 2003). Hence, we assert that moral identity is conceptually distinct from the value priorities characteristic of females versus males.

2.1.2 Gender Identity

A considerable amount of research suggests that males and females behave differently in numerous domains. Byrnes, Miller, and Schafer (1999) examine gender differences in areas such as framing, drinking and drug abuse, driving, sexual activities, smoking behavior, physical activities, gambling, and intellectual activities, finding that decisions differ such that men are more risk taking than women (Barsky et al. 1997; Sunden and Surette 1998). Furthermore, there are gender differences in behaviors such as tipping and charitable donations with the demand for altruism being less formulaic for males than females (Andreoni and Vesterlund 2001). For example in tipping, men may leave a $2 tip for a $3 drink, but leave less than 15% on a $200 dinner bill (Blake 2005). This behavior is also found in giving. Specifically, women tend to give more as their income increases whereas men give less as the cost of giving increases (Andreoni and Vesterlund 2001).
Various reasons for these gender differences in decision making have been articulated. Some research indicates differences in information processing strategies such that females utilize detailed processing and are responsive to both self- and other-oriented information in product evaluations whereas males apply a schema-based strategy and are only sensitive to self-oriented information (Meyers-Levy 1988; Meyers-Levy and Maheswaran 1991). A second explanation for these gender differences is based on socialization where females are socialized as caretakers and males are socialized to be providers (Suziedelis and Potvin 1981). To build on this socialization explanation, fundamental differences have been found between genders in value priorities. Generally, males are characterized by assertiveness and are focused on personal achievement for ego enhancement whereas females are characterized by nurturing and are focused on relationships and social goals indicating more concern and responsibility for the well-being of others (Beutel and Marini 1995; Schwartz 1992). Specifically, universalism and benevolence, which are representative of an individual’s social orientation, are consistently rated more important by females than males (Ryckman and Houston 2003; Schwartz 1992; Schwartz and Rubel 2005). In contrast, males rate power and achievement as more important than females (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz and Rubel 2005).

Given that females are on average more concerned for the well-being of others and males on average are concerned with ego-enhancement, we posit that these differences in gender will be crucial in donation behaviors. In summary, first we assert that gender differences in males and females are distinct from one’s moral identity (Jaffée and Hyde 2000). Second, we posit that evaluations and behaviors will be jointly influenced by one’s gender and morality. Next we develop our hypotheses in this regard.
2.2 GENDER IDENTITY, INTERNAL MORAL IDENTITY, AND DONATION BEHAVIOR: HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Research has indicated that internal moral identity influences giving to ingroups versus outgroups whereas Supphellen and Nelson (2001) find that value congruity is one of the most influential factors of attitudes toward charities. Social identity theory would predict that consumers will donate to the group with which they identify. What happens when there is more than one social identity at play: internal moral identity and gender? We posit that these two identities will interact to influence charitableness in both evaluations and behaviors. Specifically, we argue that the effect of the expanded psychological boundary of moral identity will be influenced by one’s value priorities of concern for the welfare of others or ego-enhancement. We propose these joint effects of identities focusing on individuals in the United States. The characteristic relational views of individuals on each of these dimensions are summarized in Table 2.1.

Individuals who have a high internalized moral identity are likely to give equally to ingroups and to outgroups. This equality in giving is likely to occur because psychological boundaries that define in-group versus out-group members for individuals with high internalized moral identity are less restrained. Specifically, as Reed and Aquino (2003, 1270) state, “when moral identity assumes high self-importance—the self/other relation should be characterized by a more expansive conception of the ingroup toward which a person feels obligated to exhibit moral regard.” When individuals with high internal moral identity are considering a moral action, they are less likely to define groups in terms of in-group versus out-group associations. In contrast, individuals who do not have a high internalized moral identity have less expansive psychological boundaries, defining individuals in terms of ingroups and outgroups.
How will this psychological expansiveness be influenced by one’s value priorities based on gender? Females have a chronic social orientation to focus on the welfare of others and value benevolence, which regards those to whom they have close relationships. Thus, females are expected to give more to the ingroup based on their concern particularly for those which they are closest. This is evident in the nurturing behaviors of females in aiding friends and family members. Yet, some females may be characterized not just by their social orientation but also by internal moral identity.

When females identify with the expansive psychological boundaries associated with high internal moral identity, we expect the tendency to give more to one’s ingroup than to one’s outgroup to be minimized. Specifically, females with high internal moral identity are focusing not just on the ingroup but on all others. As such giving to in-group and out-group members is equal and females with high internal moral identity will be equally charitable to the ingroup and the outgroup.

In contrast, females, characterized by benevolence and the concern for the welfare of others, will be more charitable to the ingroup than the outgroup when they have a low internal moral identity. This differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroup will occur because females with low internal moral identity are focusing on the others to which they associate rather than all others, which occurs only with high internal moral identity. Thus, we posit that for females with low internal moral identity, the difference between groups will be enhanced such that they will be more charitable to the ingroup than the outgroup.

This joint effect of gender value priorities and internal moral identity on charitableness is expected to be reversed for males. Males with high internal moral identity are also characterized by an expanded psychological boundary. However, males have different values than females.
Males are characterized by valuing ego-enhancement such that males focus on the self. When males are also characterized by high internal moral identity, their psychological boundary will be expanded to include those to which they can associate. We predict that this expansion will cause males with high internal moral identity to be more charitable to the ingroup than the outgroup.

On the other hand, males with low internal moral identity will not be characterized by this expanded psychological boundary that is characteristic of high internal moral identity. These males will be focused solely on the self as an individual, being characterized by values such as power and achievement (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz and Rubel 2005). This focus on the self rather than any relational focus will cause there to be no differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroup in charitableness. Specifically, we propose that males with low internal moral identity are expected to be equally charitable to the ingroup and the outgroup. These arguments are proposed in the following hypotheses:

**H1a:** Gender will moderate the joint effect of group membership (ingroup vs. outgroup) and internal moral identity on charitableness (i.e., a three-way interaction). Specifically, there will be a two-way interaction of group membership and internal moral identity for males such that males with high internal moral identity will be significantly more charitable to the ingroup than the outgroup. In contrast, males with low internal moral identity will be equally charitable to the ingroup and the outgroup.

**H1b:** Conversely, there will be a two-way interaction of group membership and internal moral identity for females such that females with high internal
moral identity will be equally charitable to the ingroup and the outgroup. In contrast, females with low internal moral identity will be more charitable to the ingroup than to the outgroup.

2.3 STUDY 1

This study examines the joint effects of gender, internal moral identity, and group membership (ingroup vs. outgroup) on international charitable monetary donation allocation via a survey. Based on terrorist attacks in various countries and the war on terror, the ingroup is based on London as a U.S. ally and group member versus the out-group country, Afghanistan. The results of a manipulation check, presented later, confirm this membership assignment.

2.3.1 Method

Participants. The survey was completed by a total of 85 volunteers from various local organizations (e.g. Home and School Association, Animal Rescue, Local Library). Their organization received a $3 donation as compensation for their participation. The sample consisted of 65% females, and participants’ ages ranged from 18 to 74 with an average age of 40.97 years (SD = 13.76). Eighty-one participants are White and two are African American. Two participants indicated “other” and none are Asian or Latino/Hispanic. Both gender and race were dummy-coded in the analysis (0 = male, 1 = female; 0 = White, 1 = non-White).
Design and Procedure. The study is a 2 (Group Membership: Afghanistan vs. London) X 2 (Internal moral identity: low vs. high (measured)) X 2 (Gender: male vs. female) design with group membership a within-subjects factor, and internal moral identity and gender measured variables. The survey was conducted as part of a larger survey, and participants filled out two separate surveys, which were counterbalanced. The moral identity scale and all background information was collected together on one survey. On a separate survey, participants were asked to allocate $100 to funds to aid victims of terrorist attacks in eight different countries. After participants completed the survey, they returned them to their respective organization and then they were returned to the researchers. The surveys took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Moral identity. Moral identity was measured using Aquino and Reed’s (2002) 10-item Self-Importance of Moral Identity scale. The scale lists nine traits and then asks participants to respond to 10 items regarding the traits on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree). Items for the internalization dimension and symbolization dimension were averaged and had a Cronbach’s alpha of .81 and .82 and means of 4.66 (SD = 0.40) and 3.59 (SD = 0.68) for internalization and symbolization, respectively. These are similar to those values obtained by Aquino and Reed (2002). Note that for this study we use only the five scale items for internal moral identity.

Covariates. Numerous control variables were measured to account for individual differences in donation allocation. Participants indicated the number of hours they volunteer at charitable/religious organizations in an average month. Responses were categorized into two groups (0 = 5 hours or less; 1 = 6 or more hours) and 42% of respondents indicated they volunteered six or more hours in an average month. Participants were asked to indicate the amount they donated to charitable/religious organizations in the last year. Responses were
categorized into two groups (0 = $0-99; 1 = $100 or more) with 69% donating $100 or more in the last year. Annual pretax household income was categorized as “0” for less than $15,000 and “1” for $15,000 or more. Five percent of participants had income less than $15,000.

**Monetary Donation.** Participants read the directions regarding fund allocation and then allocated $100 among the various funds presented (please refer to Appendix A). This study is concerned with donations to the U.S. in-group country (London) versus the U.S. out-group country (Afghanistan). The mean donations were 10.55 (SD = 8.69) and 24.87 (SD = 22.21) to Afghanistan and London, respectively.

### 2.3.2 Results

**Manipulation Check.** To verify that participants viewed London as an in-group member and Afghanistan as an out-group member, participants responded to the following two items: “Please indicate how close you feel to the people in the following areas,” and “Please indicate how similar people in the following areas are to you.” Participants indicated their response to each of these statements for people in each country. The responses were on a seven-point scale (1 = Not at all Close [Similar] to 7 = Extremely Close [Similar]). These two items were correlated ($r = .59$) and averaged for London and Afghanistan. Results indicated that participants felt significantly closer to the people of London than to the people of Afghanistan ($M = 3.51$ vs. $1.99; t = 6.83; p < .05$). To determine if the in-group and out-group membership was unaffected by other variables, a repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for the manipulation check of group membership. The main effect of group membership was significant ($F(1, 153) = 47.51, p < .01$). Importantly, gender ($F(1, 153) = 4.09, p < .05$) and the interaction of gender and internal moral identity ($F(1, 153) = 5.26, p < .05$) also
significantly predicted the manipulation check for closeness to group. This indicates that perceptions of group membership are also impacted by gender and the interaction of gender and internal moral identity, which can be expected as these are measured variables. Due to the positive correlation of the measured variables, they are not completely orthogonal.

**Monetary Donations.** A repeated-measures ANOVA was performed with monetary donation as the dependent variable and group membership (London vs. Afghanistan), internal moral identity (continuous variable), and gender as independent variables. The results of the analysis with main effects, all possible interactions, and covariates are presented in Table 2.2. Importantly, results indicated a significant three-way interaction of group membership, internal moral identity, and gender ($F(1, 153) = 14.41, p < .01)$.

To further study these results, we separately examine the two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for males and females. A median-split of internal moral identity is conducted to visually examine the results (Median = 4.80). The two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for males is significant ($F(1, 51) = 6.91; p < .05$). Males with high internal moral identity allocate more donations to London than to Afghanistan ($M_{London} = $37.39 vs. $M_{Afghanistan} = $10.09; $t = 4.40, p < .01$). Conversely, males with low internal moral identity do not allocate more donations to London than Afghanistan ($M_{London} = $17.18 vs. $M_{Afghanistan} = $13.07; $t = 0.69, p = NS$). These results support hypothesis 1a.

For females, the two-way interaction of group membership (London vs. Afghanistan) and internal moral identity is significant ($F(1, 105) = 10.93; p < .05$). Females with high internal moral identity allocate more donations to London than Afghanistan ($M_{London} = $17.73 vs. $M_{Afghanistan} = $8.75; $t = 2.54, p < .05$). Females with low internal moral identity also allocate
more donations to London than Afghanistan ($M_{\text{London}} = $34.71 vs. $M_{\text{Afghanistan}} = $3.38; $t = 5.30, p < .01$). While females with high internal moral identity donated significantly more to London than Afghanistan, the difference in donations to London versus Afghanistan is not as large for females with high internal moral identity ($8.98$) as that for females with low internal moral identity ($31.33$). These results support hypothesis 1b and are presented in Figure 2.1.

Discussion. Study 1 examines the joint effect of internal moral identity and gender on the impact of group membership on donation allocations. Donation allocations to groups were made within-subjects, establishing this effect for charitable behaviors, but not for charitable evaluations or when the choice between groups is less explicit via a between-subjects design. Judgments of charitable efforts may have significant effects on political affiliations and decisions as to which organizations one will support. To conclusively establish the joint effect of these identities on charitableness, we ran study 2 with a between-subjects design for judgments.

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1 One concern may be that these results are due to the fact that allocations could be made to six other countries in addition to London and Afghanistan. To focus solely on donations made to Afghanistan and London, we ran the analysis with the percentage of the donation to Afghanistan (London) out of the total donation to Afghanistan and London as the dependent variable. Importantly, the three-way interaction of group membership, internal moral identity, and gender was significant ($F(1, 149) = 11.88; p < .05$). The pattern of donation allocations for males and females is consistent with those reported earlier.

Additionally, we examined the effect of this three-way interaction of gender, internal moral identity, and group membership for the ingroup London and the outgroup France. The three-way interaction for London versus France is significant ($F(1, 153) = 12.68; p < .05$) with the pattern of results replicating those for donation allocations to London versus Afghanistan that are presented. Furthermore, the three-way interaction is significant for the other outgroups (Iraq, Iran, Israel, Palestine, and Turkey), each with a similar pattern of results as those presented here. Therefore, this effect does not appear to depend on the specific outgroup as the pattern of results is consistent for various outgroups paired with London, the ingroup. The manipulation checks for these categorizations are presented in Table 2b. Additional results are available upon request.
2.4 STUDY 2

The goal of this study was to test the moderating role of gender on the joint effect of internal moral identity and group membership on judgments of relief efforts. Furthermore, this study uses a between-subjects factor to manipulate group membership rather than within-subjects used in examining donation allocations in the first study.

2.4.1 Method

Participants. The survey was completed by a total of 151 participants. Participants were undergraduate students at a large middle Atlantic university and were entered in a raffle to receive gift cards to a local restaurant for their participation. The sample consisted of 53% females, and participants’ ages ranged from 20 to 39 with an average age of 22.36 years (SD = 2.31). One-hundred thirty-three participants are White, nine are Asian, six are African-American, one is Latino/Hispanic, and two indicated “other.”

Design and Procedure. The study is a 2 (Group Membership: Iraq vs. London) X 2 (Internal moral identity: low vs. high) X 2 (Gender: male vs. female) between-subjects design with both internal moral identity and gender as measured variables. Participants were first asked to read the following description adapted from Reed and Aquino (2003).

The United Nations Population Fund (UNPF) is mounting its largest-ever humanitarian operation to aid the victims of terrorist attacks in London (Iraq). These efforts will support the families of those who have been killed or injured by a terrorist attack.
UNPF is pre-positioning emergency relief supplies in other countries in order to provide victims and their families with the necessary health care and housing. The Fund is asking international donors for $4.5 million to support the effort.

They then responded to a series of statements regarding their judgments of the relief efforts described next. Last, they completed the identity scales, manipulation checks, and all background information. The survey took approximately 15 minutes and was completed in class.

Measures of internal moral identity and covariates were the same as study 1. For internal moral identity, Cronbach’s alpha is .78 and the mean is 4.48 (SD = 0.51). Fifty-three percent of respondents indicated they volunteered one or more hours in an average month. Fifty-seven percent of respondents indicated they donated $11 or more in the last year. Thirty percent of participants had incomes of less than $15,000. Additionally, American identity, a four item scale used by Reed and Aquino (2003), was measured on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree) and averaged ($\alpha = .89$) to form a single measure of American identity ($M = 4.03$).

*Judgments of Relief Efforts.* The five items developed by Reed and Aquino (2003) were used to assess judgments of perceived worthiness of United Nation’s relief efforts to either London or Iraq. The items were measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree) and were averaged to form a scale ($\alpha = .70$), which is similar to Reed and Aquino (2003). The average was 4.04 (SD = 1.07).
2.4.2 Results

Manipulation Check. To verify that participants viewed London as an ingroup and Iraq as an outgroup, participants were asked to respond to two statements, “I feel extremely close to people in London (Iraq)” and “I feel extremely similar to people in London (Iraq).” Responses were indicated on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree). These two items were correlated ($r = .68$) and averaged for London and Iraq. As expected, results indicated that participants felt significantly closer to the people of London than the people of Iraq ($M = 2.37$ vs. $1.91$; $t = 3.41$; $p < .05$). To determine if the in-group and out-group membership was unaffected by other variables, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for the manipulation check of group membership. The main effect of group membership was significant ($F(1, 150) = 8.55$, $p < .01$). Importantly, none of the other independent variables or interactions were significant ($p$’s > .05), indicating that the manipulation worked successfully and there was no confounding with other measured independent variables.

Judgments of Relief Efforts. An ANCOVA was conducted with judgments of relief efforts as the dependent variable, group membership (London vs. Iraq), internal moral identity (continuous variable), and gender as the independent variables, and age, race, American identity, monthly hours volunteered, annual dollars donated, and household income as covariates. The analysis with main effects, all possible interactions, and covariates is presented in Table 2.3. The overall model is significant ($F(13, 150) = 3.10$; $p < .05$). Importantly, the results indicated that the three-way interaction of group membership, internal moral identity, and gender is significant ($F(1, 150) = 4.16$; $p < .05$).

To further study these results, we examine the two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for each gender. A median-split of internal moral identity is
conducted to visually examine the results (Median = 4.60). The two-way interaction of group membership (London vs. Iraq) and internal moral identity approaches significance for males ($F (1, 70) = 2.26; p = .14$). Examining the cell means, males with high internal moral identity perceive relief efforts for London to be significantly more worthy than those for Iraq ($M_{London} = 4.59$ vs. $M_{Iraq} = 3.79; t = 2.28, p < .05$). Conversely, males with low internal moral identity do not perceive judgments of relief efforts for London to be significantly more worthy than those for Iraq ($M_{London} = 3.85$ vs. $M_{Iraq} = 3.74; t = 0.32, ns$). These results support hypothesis 1a.

The two-way interaction of group membership (London vs. Iraq) and internal moral identity is not significant for females ($F (1, 79) = 1.62; p = .21$). Examining the cell means, females with high internal moral identity do not perceive judgments of relief efforts for London to be significantly more worthy than those for Iraq ($M_{London} = 4.63$ vs. $M_{Iraq} = 4.62; t = 0.02, ns$). Females with low internal moral identity perceive judgments of relief efforts for London to be significantly more worthy than those for Iraq ($M_{London} = 4.69$ vs. $M_{Iraq} = 3.64; t = 2.82, p < .05$). These results support hypothesis 1b and are presented in Figure 2.2.

**Discussion.** Taken together, the results of studies 1 and 2 suggest that neither charitable behaviors nor charitable evaluations are dependent on one specific identity. Rather, and more interestingly, internal moral identity and gender interact to alter the effect of group membership on one’s charitable judgments and behaviors. However, a limitation of these studies is the measurement of internal moral identity, particularly due to the confounding with other measured variables such as gender. One concern of using measured variables is the confounding that may occur when the variables are not completely orthogonal (i.e., study 1) and measured variables such as gender and internal moral identity also impact in-group and out-group membership. To address this concern, we manipulate internal moral identity in the next study. While the self-
importance of internal moral identity is developed as an identity that is more important to some individuals that others, it is also possible to activate identities that may or may not be of permanent salience for individuals otherwise (Forehand et al. 2002; Reed 2004). In the next study, we prime moral identity rather than measuring it.

2.5 STUDY 3

2.5.1 Method

Participants. The survey was completed by a total of 107 participants. Participants were undergraduate students at a large middle Atlantic university and received either course credit or $2 cash for their participation. Incentive type did not have an effect and will not be discussed further. The sample consisted of 44% females, and participants’ ages ranged from 19 to 56 with an average age of 22.95 years (SD = 5.09). Ninety-three participants are White, six are Asian, four are African-American, three are Latino/Hispanic, and one indicated “other.” Covariates were the same as those used in studies 1 and 2A. Forty-one percent of respondents indicated they volunteered one or more hours in an average month. Fifty-three percent of respondents indicated they donated $11 or more in the last year. Twenty-nine percent of participants had incomes of less than $15,000. Statistical descriptions and correlations of all measures are presented in table 6.

Design and Procedure. The study is a 2 (Group Membership: Iraq vs. London) X 2 (Moral identity: low vs. high (manipulated)) X 2 (Gender: male vs. female) between-subjects design with gender as a measured variable. Participants were first asked to complete the moral
identity manipulation that was adapted from that used by Reed, Aquino, and Levy (2007). Then participants read the description adapted from Reed and Aquino (2003) and used in study 2. Participants then indicated the amount they would be willing to donate to this fund, described next. Last, they completed the identity scales, manipulation checks, and all background information. The survey took approximately 15 minutes and was completed in class.

**Moral Identity Prime.** As done by Reed et al. (2007), moral identity was manipulated by asking participants to write each of nine words four times. Then, participants were asked to write a brief story about themselves using each of the nine words at least one time in their story. The low moral identity words were: carefree, compatible, fun, generally, happy, harmless, opinionated, respectable, and picky. The high moral identity words were: caring, compassionate, fair, friendly, generous, helpful, hardworking, and honest. Participants were told that the purpose of these writing tasks was to examine people’s handwriting styles and was separate from the second part of the survey.

**Donation Allocation.** Participants were asked to imagine they had $100 at their disposal and then indicate the amount from this $100 they were willing to donate to this fund. The average donation indicated was $25.60 (SD = $30.90).

### 2.5.2 Results

**Manipulation Checks.** To verify that participants viewed London as an ingroup and Iraq as an outgroup, participants were asked to respond to the same two statements used in study 2. These two items were correlated ($r = .48$) and averaged for London and Iraq. As expected, results indicated that participants felt significantly closer to the people of London than the people of Iraq ($M = 2.67$ vs. $1.73$; $t = 4.95$; $p < .01$).
To verify that the moral identity handwriting manipulation was successful, participants were asked to respond to the question, “To what extent does your story reflect how you see yourself as a moral person?” on a seven-point scale (1 = “To some extent” to 7 = “To a great extent”). Responses indicated that those in the high moral identity condition felt the story was more reflective than those in the low internal moral identity condition (M = 4.90 vs. 4.03, t = 3.09, p < .01). This question was included among six other questions regarding their story writing, none of which differed between conditions (p’s > .10).

Orthogonality Check. To ensure that each manipulation was unaffected by the other manipulation, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for both of the manipulation checks (i.e., moral identity and group membership). For each ANOVA, only the main effect for the appropriate condition was significant (p’s < .01). Additionally, closeness and outcome were not correlated with each other (r = 0.02, p > .80), indicating that the manipulations worked as intended and there was no confounding.

Donation Allocation. An ANCOVA was conducted with donation allocation as the dependent variable and group membership (London vs. Iraq), internal moral identity, and gender as the independent variables. The analysis with main effects, all possible interactions, and covariates is presented in Table 2.4. The overall model is significant (F(12, 107) = 2.64; p < .01). Importantly, the results indicated that the three-way interaction of group membership, internal moral identity, and gender is significant (F(1, 107) = 8.03; p < .01).

To further study these results, we examine the two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for each gender. The two-way interaction of group membership (London vs. Iraq) and internal moral identity is significant for males (F(1, 59) = 5.96; p < .05). Examining the cell means, males in the high internal moral identity condition allocate
significantly more to London than to Iraq ($M_{\text{London}} = 44.59$ vs. $M_{\text{Iraq}} = 14.32$; $t = 2.57, p < .05$). Conversely, males in the low internal moral identity condition do not allocate differently for London than for Iraq ($M_{\text{London}} = 30.68$ vs. $M_{\text{Iraq}} = 36.04$; $t = 0.53, p = \text{NS}$). These results support hypothesis 1a.

The two-way interaction of group membership (London vs. Iraq) and internal moral identity is significant for females ($F(1, 47) = 3.60; p < .07$). Examining the cell means, females in the high internal moral identity condition do not allocate differently between London and Iraq ($M_{\text{London}} = 38.95$ vs. $M_{\text{Iraq}} = 43.00$; $t = 0.35, p = \text{NS}$). Females in the low internal moral identity condition allocate significantly more for London than for Iraq ($M_{\text{London}} = 49.69$ vs. $M_{\text{Iraq}} = 22.09$; $t = 2.13, p < .05$). These results support hypothesis 1b and are presented in Figure 2.3.

Discussion. Taken together, studies 1, 2, and 3 suggest that charitable judgments and intentions are impacted by the interactive effect of internal moral identity and gender. These results present an interesting pattern that occurs with the self-importance of internal moral identity both measured and manipulated. Study 3 makes an important contribution by showing the causal relationship between moral identity and charitableness to ingroups and outgroups, addressing the concern that moral identity is confounded with in-group and out-group membership. Furthermore, this pattern holds in both between-subject designs and within-subject designs, when individuals are visibly choosing one group over another. These results appear to be robust against various dependent measures, such as judgments of relief efforts, donation allocations, and intended donations. A natural question arises as follows: are these the only identities that influence charitableness? We argue that another identity that influences one’s psychological feelings towards others—activated self-construal—will play a role. Moreover, from a theoretical perspective, it is not fully clear if females were simply behaving in a manner
consistent with an interdependent self-construal and males in a manner consistent with an independent self-construal (Cross and Madson 1997). To rule out this possibility, it would be beneficial to prime self-construal for females and males and examine the results.

“Women are not like Asians” (Kashima et al. 1995, 932)

This statement emphasizes that self-construal and gender, although both based on relational views, are qualitatively distinct. Recognizing the crucial role that we conjecture gender differences will play in donation behaviors, it is imperative to differentiate gender from self-construal. These two dimensions are independent and based on orthogonal factors (Kashima et al. 1995). Interdependence may be characterized by “groupiness” based on interpersonal ties to families or other group members, but it is not necessarily the female value on benevolence and universalism. Specifically, an individual with an interdependent self-construal may think of him or herself based on group membership or family roles. In contrast, females who value benevolence and universalism are not specifically viewing themselves as part of a group, but are more concerned with the well-being of other individuals. Overall, interdependence focuses on groups whereas genders differ in relationships at the individual level, regardless of groups.

Given that self-construal influences one’s social views yet is distinct from gender, we examine the construct of self-construal, defined as a “constellation of thoughts, feelings, and actions concerning one’s relationship to others such as the self being distinct from others or connected to others” (Singelis 1994, 581). The independent self is characterized by autonomy and independence and the interdependent self is characterized by obligations to other members of the group (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Research indicates that the same individuals may regard independent values as highly important as well as interdependent values (Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier 2002; Ryckman and Houston 2003). Furthermore, the active self-
construal depends on situational cues and can be activated through priming (Agrawal and Maheswaran 2005; Triandis 1995).

Given the differentiation of self-construal and gender identity, we argue that the joint influence of internal moral identity and gender on the effect of group membership on donations may be further influenced by situational activation of self-construal. Hinkle and Brown (1990) suggest that the activated self-construal will alter the impact of one’s other social identities on thoughts and behaviors. The relational views of individuals characterized by these variables are summarized in Table 2.5.

Studying chronically independent-focused individuals and activating their independent self-construal, patterns of donation likelihood based on internal moral identity and gender should be similar to that found in studies 1 and 2. In contrast, individuals who have a chronically independent self-construal but have an activated interdependent self-construal may find their chronic self-construal dominated by their situationally activated interdependent construal of self.

For males, an interdependent self-construal is expected to shift their focus on the self to their groups as the focus has shifted from the individual to the thoughts and concerns of others. Collectively, an interdependent self-construal and males’ values of achievement and power will result in a focus on ego-enhancement based on the group. Given this, we expect that interdependently-focused males with high internal moral identity will be equally likely to donate to ingroups and to outgroups. In contrast, males with low internal moral identity will not have the expanded psychological boundary that leads to concerns for all others. Instead, these males will focus on groups with which they are associated because of their value on ego-enhancement (Schwartz 1992; Schwartz and Rubel 2005). Thus, we posit that interdependently-focused males
with low internal moral identity will have a significantly greater likelihood to donate to ingroups than to outgroups.

Finally we consider the effect of an interdependent self-construal on females whose values are centered on benevolence and universalism. The interdependent self-construal joined with female values will result in a general concern for society at large. In this case, the expanded psychological boundary that is characteristic of high internal moral identity should not result in different donation behaviors due to the already expanded view of the self based on gender and self-construal. Therefore, we propose that females with high internal moral identity and low internal moral identity will have an equal likelihood to donate to relief efforts for ingroups and outgroups. The interaction of these variables—activated self-construal, gender, and internal moral identity—with group membership is hypothesized as follows:

**H2a:** Activated self-construal will interact with gender, internal moral identity, and group membership to affect donation likelihood (i.e., a four-way interaction). Specifically, there will be a two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for independently-focused males such that males with high internal moral identity will be more likely to donate to the ingroup than to the outgroup whereas males with low internal moral identity will have equal likelihood of donating to the ingroup and the outgroup. Conversely, there will be a two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for interdependently-focused males such that males with high internal moral identity will be equally likely to donate to the ingroup and to the outgroup whereas males with low internal moral identity will be more likely to donate to the ingroup than to the outgroup.

**H2b:** There will be a two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for independently-focused females such that females with high internal moral identity will be equally likely to donate to the ingroup and to
the outgroup whereas females with low internal moral identity will be more likely to donate to the ingroup than to the outgroup. Conversely, for interdependently-focused females, both those with high internal moral identity and low internal moral identity will donate equally to the ingroup and the outgroup.

2.6 STUDY 4

The goal of this study was to test the effect of the activated self-construal in addition to the joint effect of gender and internal moral identity on the effect of group membership on donation likelihood by manipulating self-construal. Furthermore, this study examines donation likelihood to Hurricane Katrina victims in New Orleans, a U.S. ingroup, versus Tsunami victims in Indonesia, a U.S. outgroup. In doing so, we also extend the generalizability of results from studies 1, 2, and 3. Those studies focus on terrorist victims whereas this study focuses on victims of natural disasters.

2.6.1 Method

Participants. The survey was completed by a total of 329 participants. Participants were undergraduate students at a large middle Atlantic university and received either $2 cash or extra credit in exchange for their participation. The sample consisted of 46% females, and participants’ ages ranged from 18 to 37 with an average age of 20.84 years (SD = 1.84). Three-hundred and one participants are White, 13 are Asian, 11 are Black/African-American, one is
Latino/Hispanic, and three indicated “other.” Incentive type did not have an effect and will not be discussed further.

**Design and Procedure.** The study is a 2 (Self-construal Prime: independent vs. interdependent) x 2 (Group Membership: New Orleans vs. Indonesia) X 2 (Internal moral identity: low vs. high) X 2 (Gender: male vs. female) between-subjects design with both internal moral identity and gender as measured variables. Participants were first asked to complete the self-construal prime and the self-construal manipulation check. Next, they read the following description adapted from Reed and Aquino (2003).

The United Nations Population Fund (UNPF) is mounting its largest-ever humanitarian operation to aid the victims of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans (Indian Ocean Tsunami in Indonesia). These efforts will support the individuals who are rebuilding their homes and their lives after this natural disaster.

UNPF is pre-positioning relief supplies to provide victims from the following natural disaster with the necessary health care and housing. The Fund is asking donors for $4.5 million to support the effort.

Participants then responded to a statement regarding their likelihood to donate to the fund and provided cognitive response data. Last, they completed the scales, manipulation checks, and all background information. The survey took approximately 15 minutes and was completed in class.

Measures of internal moral identity and covariates were the same as those in study 2. For internal moral identity, Cronbach’s alpha is .77 and the mean is 4.48 (SD = 0.49). American identity (α = .84) had an average of 3.96. Fifty-three percent of respondents indicated they volunteered one or more hours in an average month and 61% indicated they donated $11 or more in the last year. Twenty percent of participants had incomes of less than $15,000. Participants were asked if they had family in either Indonesia or New Orleans, depending on their condition. Responses were coded as “0” if No and “1” if Yes. Seven participants in the Hurricane Katrina...
condition indicated having family in New Orleans and one participant in the Indian Ocean Tsunami condition indicated having family in Indonesia.

*Self-construal prime.* Self-construal was primed using Trafimow, Triandis, and Goto’s (1991) method. Participants were instructed to take five minutes to think about how they are similar to (interdependent) or different from (independent) their friends and family and write down their thoughts on the questionnaire. The results of a manipulation check presented next confirm the manipulation of activated self-construal.

*Self-Group Connectedness.* We measured self-group connectedness through five statements adapted from the self-concept connection items of Fournier’s (1994) brand relationship quality scale. Participants read the following directions: “Thinking about the people in *New Orleans (Indonesia)* who will benefit from your donations to the UNPF Hurricane Katrina (Indian Ocean Tsunami) Relief Fund, please respond to the following statements.” Then they responded to the five statements, adapted as follows: “These people and I have a lot in common,” “The image of these people and my self image are similar in a lot of ways,” “These people say a lot about the kind of person I am or want to be,” “These people remind me of who I am,” and “These people are a part of me.” Responses were indicated on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree ad 5 = Strongly Agree). The items were averaged (\( \alpha = .89 \)) to form a measure of self-group connectedness (\( M = 2.35 \)).

*Donation Likelihood.* One item was used from the judgments of relief efforts scale to determine participants’ likelihood to donate to the relief funds for Hurricane Katrina victims in New Orleans or Indian Ocean Tsunami victims in Indonesia. Participants responded to the following statement: “If given the opportunity, I would donate to this effort.” Responses were
indicated on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree) with a mean value of 4.73 (SD = 1.67).

2.6.2 Results

Manipulation Checks. To check the primed self-construal, we use the Kuhn and McPartland (1954) statement test where participants complete ten statements beginning with “I am.” Each statement was coded as either independent or interdependent. Independent items include a personal description, attitude, or belief (e.g., I am intelligent). Interdependent items refer to either a demographic group or category to which the participant belongs (e.g., I am a Catholic) or a relationship or sensitivity to others (e.g., I am a sister). Any items that did not relate to either of these two categories (e.g., I am almost done with this survey) were classified as other and excluded from the analysis. The results indicate that participants in the independent prime condition wrote more individualistic sentences than those in the interdependent prime condition ($M_{\text{independent}} = 6.00$, $M_{\text{interdependent}} = 5.10$; $F(1, 326) = 3.20$, $p < .05$), and those in the interdependent prime condition wrote more collectivistic sentences than those in the independent prime condition ($M_{\text{interdependent}} = 3.34$, $M_{\text{independent}} = 2.70$; $F(1, 326) = 2.61$, $p < .05$), indicating successful self-construal priming.

Group membership manipulation check items were the same as those used in studies 2 and 3 ($r = .76$). Results indicated that participants felt significantly closer to the people of New Orleans than to the people of Indonesia ($M = 2.07$ vs. 1.83; $t = 2.75$; $p < .05$).

Orthogonality Check. To determine if the manipulation checks were unaffected by other variables, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for both the self-construal manipulation checks (i.e., number of independent thoughts and number of interdependent
thoughts) and group membership with self-construal condition, internal moral identity, gender, group membership and all interactions. For each ANOVA, the corresponding main effect was significant ($p’s < .05$). However, gender and the interaction of gender, internal moral identity, and self-construal are also significant predictors of the number of interdependent thoughts. Also, internal moral identity and the interaction of group membership and internal moral identity are significant predictors of the manipulation check for group membership, indicating that the manipulation checks are also influenced by measured variables. This is expected due to the positive correlation of the measured variables, which are not completely orthogonal.

*Donation Likelihood.* An ANCOVA was performed with donation likelihood as the dependent variable and group membership (New Orleans vs. Indonesia), self-construal prime (independent vs. interdependent), internal moral identity (continuous variable), and gender as the independent variables. The analysis with the main effects, all possible interactions, and covariates is presented in Table 2.6. The overall model was significant ($F (22, 328) = 5.38; p < .05$). Importantly, the results indicated that the four-way interaction of group membership, internal moral identity, gender, and activated self-construal was significant ($F (1, 328) = 8.60; p < .05$).

To further study these results, we examine the two-way interaction of internal moral identity and group membership for each gender and activated self-construal. A median-split of internal moral identity is conducted to visually examine the results (Median = 4.60). The two-way interaction of group membership (New Orleans vs. Indonesia) and internal moral identity is significant for males with an independently-primed self-construal ($F (1, 91) = 4.68; p < .05$). Examining the cell means, independently-primed males with high internal moral identity are more likely to donate to relief funds for people in New Orleans than for people in Indonesia.
\(M_{\text{New Orleans}} = 5.41 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Indonesia}} = 4.10; t = 2.83, p < .05\). Conversely, independently-primed males with low internal moral identity are equally likely to donate to relief funds for people in New Orleans and for those in Indonesia \(M_{\text{New Orleans}} = 4.18 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Indonesia}} = 3.81; t = 0.82, \text{ns}\).

The two-way interaction of group membership (New Orleans vs. Indonesia) and internal moral identity is also significant for males with an interdependently-primed self-construal \(F(1, 86) = 5.47; p < .05\). Examining the cell means, interdependently-primed males with high internal moral identity are equally likely to donate to relief funds for people in New Orleans and for those in Indonesia \(M_{\text{New Orleans}} = 5.07 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Indonesia}} = 4.93; t = 0.30, \text{ns}\). Conversely, interdependently-primed males with low internal moral identity are more likely to donate to relief funds for people in New Orleans than for people in Indonesia \(M_{\text{New Orleans}} = 5.02 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Indonesia}} = 3.46; t = 3.39, p < .05\). These results support hypothesis 2a.

For females activated with an interdependent self-construal, we find that the two-way interaction of group membership (New Orleans vs. Indonesia) and internal moral identity is not significant \(F(1, 75) = 0.21; p = .65\). Examining the cell means, interdependently-primed females with high internal moral identity are equally likely to donate to relief funds for people in New Orleans and for those in Indonesia \(M_{\text{New Orleans}} = 5.22 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Indonesia}} = 4.15; t = 1.81, p = .07\).

For females activated with an interdependent self-construal, we find that the two-way interaction of group membership (New Orleans vs. Indonesia) and internal moral identity is not significant \(F(1, 75) = 0.21; p = .65\). Examining the cell means, interdependently-primed females with high internal moral identity are equally likely to donate to relief funds for people in New Orleans and for those in Indonesia \(M_{\text{New Orleans}} = 5.55 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Indonesia}} = 5.45; t = 0.23, \text{ns}\).
Similarly, interdependently-primed females with low internal moral identity are equally likely to donate to relief funds for people in New Orleans and for those in Indonesia ($M_{\text{New Orleans}} = 5.55$ vs. $M_{\text{Indonesia}} = 5.14$; $t = 0.67, ns$). These results, presented in Figure 2.4, support hypothesis 2b.

In summary, our findings indicate that independently-primed males with high internal moral identity donate more to the ingroup than to the outgroup while those with low internal moral identity donate equally, but at a lower level. Interdependently-primed males with high internal moral identity donate equally, but at a higher level, to both the ingroup and the outgroup, whereas those with low internal moral identity donate more to the ingroup than to the outgroup. For independently-primed females, those with high internal moral identity donate equally, at a higher level, to both the ingroup and outgroup, and those with low internal moral identity donate more to the ingroup than to the outgroup. Interdependently-primed females donate equally, at a higher level, regardless of internal moral identity.

*Analysis of Cognitive Responses and Self-Group Connectedness.* To gain insight into the underlying processes, we examine participants’ cognitive responses and their self-group connectedness. Cognitive responses were obtained from the respondents after they indicated their donation likelihood. From these, the number of expansive-focused thoughts was coded. Examples of these thoughts include: “We should all feel some obligation or desire to help out” and “I feel that everyone should contribute to helping others.” First, we seek to examine the role of internal moral identity and group membership on self-group connectedness as one’s psychological expansiveness of groups based on internal moral identity would be expected to influence the extent of self-group connectedness which may ultimately influence donation likelihood. Second, we consider the mediating role of expansive thoughts on the relationship

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2 Responses were also coded as self-focused, ingroup-focused, and outgroup-focused, but analysis of these categories did not provide additional insight and are not discussed further.
between self-group connectedness and donation likelihood. We posit that individuals who have a greater sense of self-group connectedness will make a larger number of expansive thoughts, mediating the effect of self-group connectedness on donation likelihood.

We analyze the data using seemingly unrelated regression. When the independent variables are the same in each model, seemingly unrelated regression yields identical results as estimating each model separately. However, since we are using different independent variables across models, we use a system of equations to estimate the effects simultaneously. The coefficients of the regressions are presented in Table 2.7 and the proposed underlying process is illustrated in Figure 2.5.

In the first model, we examine the effect of the interaction of internal moral identity and group membership on self-group connectedness. This two-way interaction is a significant predictor of self-group connectedness ($t = 2.12; p < .05$), indicating one’s internal moral identity and group membership collectively influence one’s feelings of self-group connectedness. Does self-group connectedness have a larger role, possibly influencing behaviors such as donation likelihood? In the second model, self-group connectedness is found to be a significant predictor of donation likelihood ($t = 4.58; p < .01$), indicating that one’s feelings of self-group connectedness are not only influenced by the interaction of internal moral identity and group membership, but self-group connectedness predicts one’s likelihood to donate. What is the role of expansive thoughts in this relationship? We propose that the number of expansive thoughts will mediate the relationship between self-group connectedness and donation likelihood.

A mediation analysis described by Baron and Kenny (1986) was performed using seemingly unrelated regression as discussed earlier. Self-group connectedness significantly

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3 We also examined the effect of the four-way interaction of activated self-construal, gender, internal moral identity, and group membership as well as all three-way interactions and two-way interactions, but none were significant.
impacts donation likelihood in the first regression \((t = 4.58; p < .01)\). Self-group connectedness also impacts the number of expansive thoughts in the second regression \((t = 3.46; p < .01)\). In the third regression, the number of expansive thoughts significantly impacts donation likelihood \((t = 4.05; p < .01)\) and the effect of self-group connectedness is reduced \((t = 3.82, p < .01)\). Although the effect of self-group connectedness is still significant, its impact is reduced when the number of expansive thoughts is included, indicating that the number of expansive thoughts partially mediates the effect of self-group connectedness on donation likelihood. A Sobel test (Kenny, Kashy, and Bolger 1998) confirmed the partial mediation of the number of expansive thoughts on the relationship between self-group connectedness and donation likelihood \((Z = 2.63, p < .01)\). In other words, the number of expansive thoughts is a partial, not a full mediator of the relationship between self-group connectedness and donation likelihood. This partial mediation indicates that other factors—aside from the number of expansive thoughts—more than likely impact donation likelihood.

Discussion. This study finds that these three identities (internal moral identity, gender, and self-construal) interact with group membership to influence donation likelihood. It would be no surprise to find that each of these distinct identities have an influence on donation behavior, but the pattern of donation behavior manifested in the four-way interaction of these variables presents new and interesting insights into the role that individuals’ multiple identities have in charitable judgments and behaviors. Furthermore, self-group connectedness and expansive thoughts toward others aid in understanding the processes underlying these results.
This research examines the interactive role of multiple identities in the context of donations. As discussed earlier, consumer research focuses on the role of a single identity. This body of research has built a foundation for the role of social identities in consumer decisions and behaviors. For example, those with high moral identities have a greater regard for outgroups (Reed and Aquino 2003) or males are more power and achievement oriented, focusing on the self (Schwartz and Rubel 2005). Yet, these findings are inconsistent with research that indicates little if any differences in values priorities (Ryckman and Houston 2003) or moral orientation (Jaffee and Hyde 2000) by gender. Our research is one explanation for these conflicting findings.

Our studies are among the first to consider the collective role of seemingly similar, yet conceptually distinct identities—self-construal, gender, and internal moral identity. In three experiments, we show that the role of internal moral identity on the effect of group membership for donation judgments and allocations differs between males and females in the U.S. Thus, not all individuals with high internal moral identity have an expansive regard for outgroups as found in previous studies (Aquino and Reed 2002; Reed and Aquino 2003). Particularly, males with high internal moral identity allocated more donations to the ingroup than the outgroup.

The interplay of three identities is examined in study 4 with activated self-construal. The results indicate that these identities (self-construal, gender, and internal moral identity) interact to collectively impact donation likelihood, which summons the interplay of nature and nurture on gender and self-construal. Women who are primed with an interdependent self-construal show no differentiation between the ingroup and the outgroup, regardless of internal moral identity, while internal moral identity predicts differentiation between the ingroup and outgroup for those
with an independently-primed self-construal. Hence, these identities are accessible and easily activated.

The collective effects of gender and activated self-construal may have implications for previous findings. For example, the contingency of the effects of activated self-construal on gender causes us to speculate if previous studies examining activated self-construal are subject to effects of gender. Yet, few studies report the gender of their participants or examine the potential interaction of gender with the primed self-construal (Agrawal and Maheswaran 2005; Mandel 2003), despite the fact that both gender and culture are believed to influence one’s chronic self-construal (Cross and Madson 1997; Markus and Kitayama 1991). These studies are some of the few that investigate the role of gender and self-construal (Gabriel, Gardner, and Hochschild 2002). We believe that chronic, yet active social identities such as gender and internal moral identity should be included in research, recognizing the collective role that multiple identities can play on an individual’s thoughts and behaviors (Briley and Wyer 2001).

Our research also contributes to donation literature specifically in the context of the choice between in-group and out-group charities. Previous research on charitable donations has been conducted to determine what motivates donors (Cermak et al. 1994; Kottasz 2004), but these studies have not considered the interactive role of multiple identities. This research examines the role of these identities in influencing individuals’ concern for others and, importantly, the expansiveness of this concern, which influences one’s donations to various groups. The interaction of these identities can shift the differentiation of in-groups and out-groups. These results are consistent for within-subject donation allocation in study 1, between-subject judgments in study 2, manipulated moral identity and intended donations in study 3, and, for donation likelihood in study 4.
The substantial value of this research is important to recognize, particularly for charitable organizations. With a predilection for researching goods and services for personal use, marketing scholars have overlooked that consumers donate a significant portion of their income to charitable organizations (Brooks 2006). Our findings should enable fund-raising agencies to better understand the motivations of their donor base. While fundraisers can not change their donors’ identities, they can influence the salience of identities through advertising and fundraising campaigns (Forehand et al. 2002; Grier and Deshpandé 2001). As we show in study 3, the self-importance of moral identity can be primed. Similarly, campaigns could increase the salience of one’s gender identity (Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady 1999) to influence donations. Of course, based on the results presented here, the identities that fundraisers activate should depend on one’s perception of the donation recipient as an in-group or out-group to maximize the amount of donations received.

The construct of moral identity is based on two dimensions: internal and symbolic (Aquino and Reed 2002). In contrast to the internal dimension discussed earlier, the symbolic dimension represents the public self and appears to indicate one’s sensitivity to the moral self as a social object. While both dimensions may influence moral attitudes and behaviors, only internal moral identity has been found to be predictive of one’s actual donation of money to the out-group in past research (Aquino and Reed 2002; Reed and Aquino 2003). The symbolic dimension was not expected to be as predictive of private moral behaviors, which are examined here. Additional analysis of studies 1 and 2 with symbolic moral identity in place of internal moral identity found that symbolic moral identity does not interact with gender and group membership ($p > .10$ for three-way interaction in studies 1 and 2). However, in study 4, the four-way interaction with the symbolic dimension was significant ($p < .05$). Perhaps the
interaction of symbolic moral identity and self-construal result in this significant effect in study 4 that was not found in studies 1 and 2. The symbolic dimension may be more influential on behaviors and attitudes that are subject to public scrutiny, particularly when motivated by social reward or recognition (Kottasz 2004). This is an interesting avenue for future research.
Table 2.1. Characteristic Relational Views Based on Gender and Moral Identity for Chronically Individualistic Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Internal Moral Identity</td>
<td>Ego-enhancement based on self, low concern for all others</td>
<td>Relationships with all others, high concern for ingroups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Internal Moral Identity</td>
<td>Ego-enhancement based on self, high concern for ingroups</td>
<td>Relationships with all others, high concern for all others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: Nelson et al. 2006

Table 2.2. Study 1: Moderating Impact of Gender on the Joint Effect of Internal Moral Identity and Group Membership on International Donation Allocations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>F-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group membership (G)</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal moral identity (IMI)</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X Gender</td>
<td>13.96</td>
<td>&lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMI X Gender</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI X Gender</td>
<td>14.41</td>
<td>&lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly hours volunteered</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual dollars donated</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.3. Study 2: Moderating Impact of Gender on the Joint Effect of Internal Moral Identity and Group Membership on Judgments of Relief Efforts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group Membership (G)</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Moral Identity (IMI)</td>
<td>7.16</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X Gender</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>4.01</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMI X Gender</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI X Gender</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>4.16</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Identity</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly Hours Volunteered</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Dollars Donated</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ F(13, 150) = 3.10, \ p < .05; R^2 = 22.7\% \]

Table 2.4. Study 3: Moderating Impact of Gender on the Joint Effect of Activated Moral Identity and Group Membership on Judgments of Relief Efforts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>F-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group membership (G)</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal moral identity (IMI)</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X gender</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMI X gender</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI X gender</td>
<td>8.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>9.45</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly hours volunteered</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual dollars donated</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ F(12, 107) = 2.64, \ p < .01; R^2 = 25.0\% \]
Table 2.5. Characteristic Relational Views Based on Activated Self-construal, Gender, and Moral Identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Interdependent</th>
<th>Self-Construal</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Internal Moral Identity</td>
<td>Ego-enhancement based on group, high concern for ingroups</td>
<td>Society at large, high concern for all others</td>
<td>Ego-enhancement based on self, low concern for all others</td>
<td>Relationships with all others, high concern for ingroups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Internal Moral Identity</td>
<td>Ego-enhancement based on group, high concern for all others</td>
<td>Society at large, high concern for all others</td>
<td>Ego-enhancement based on self, high concern for ingroups</td>
<td>Relationships with all others, high concern for all others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adapted from: Nelson et al. 2006.

Table 2.6. Study 4: Activated Self-construal and Gender with Joint Effect of Internal Moral Identity and Group Membership (Indonesia vs. New Orleans) on Donation Likelihood

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F-value</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group Membership (G)</td>
<td>3.31</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Moral Identity (IMI)</td>
<td>26.94</td>
<td>12.44</td>
<td>&lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activated Self-Construal (SC)</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X SC</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMI X SC</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI X SC</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X Gender</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMI X Gender</td>
<td>3.11</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI X Gender</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC X Gender</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X SC X Gender</td>
<td>18.56</td>
<td>8.57</td>
<td>&lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMI X SC X Gender</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI X SC X Gender</td>
<td>18.64</td>
<td>8.60</td>
<td>&lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Identity</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly Hours Volunteered</td>
<td>13.01</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Dollars Donated</td>
<td>17.72</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>&lt; 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ F (22, 328) = 5.38, p < .05; R^2 = 27.9\% \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Self-Group Connectedness</th>
<th>Donation Likelihood</th>
<th>Expansive Thoughts</th>
<th>Donation Likelihood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1.89**</td>
<td>-0.68</td>
<td>-0.77</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Group Connectedness</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.51***</td>
<td>0.18***</td>
<td>0.43***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansive Thoughts</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0.48***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Membership (G)^N</td>
<td>-1.33*</td>
<td>2.83*</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>2.55*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Moral Identity (IMI)</td>
<td>0.19*</td>
<td>0.72***</td>
<td>0.26*</td>
<td>0.60***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G X IMI</td>
<td>0.36**</td>
<td>-0.53</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>-0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activated Self-Construal \textsuperscript{N}</td>
<td>0.18**</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.60***</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.64***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Identity</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly Hours Volunteered</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.31*</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.29*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Dollars Donated</td>
<td>0.26***</td>
<td>0.52***</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.50***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household Income</td>
<td>-0.19*</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.53**</td>
<td>0.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ F(12, 324) = 6.10 \quad R^2 = 19.0\% \]
\[ F(13, 324) = 9.19 \quad R^2 = 27.8\% \]
\[ F(13, 324) = 2.89 \quad R^2 = 10.8\% \]
\[ F(14, 324) = 10.13 \quad R^2 = 31.4\% \]

*p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01

\textsuperscript{N} Group Membership: 0 = Indonesia, 1 = New Orleans
Activated Self-Construal: 0 = Independent, 1 = Interdependent

Table 2.7. Study 4: The Influence of Self-Group Connectedness on Donation Likelihood:

The Mediating Effect of Expansive Thoughts
Figure 2.1. Study 1: Moderating Effect of Gender on Joint Effect of Internal Moral Identity and Group Membership (Afghanistan vs. London) on International Monetary Donations
Figure 2.2. Study 2: Moderating Effect of Gender on Joint Effect of Internal Moral Identity and Group Membership (Iraq vs. London) on Judgments of Relief Efforts

Males

Females
Figure 2.3. Study 3: Moderating Effect of Gender on Joint Effect of Activated Moral Identity and Group Membership (Iraq vs. London) on Donations

**Males**

- Low Activated Moral Identity: 14.32
- High Activated Moral Identity: 36.04
- Iraq Allocation: 10
- London Allocation: 44.59

**Females**

- Low Activated Moral Identity: 22.09
- High Activated Moral Identity: 49.69
- Iraq Allocation: 10
- London Allocation: 43.00
Figure 2.4. Study 4: Activated Self-construal and Gender with Joint Effect of Internal Moral Identity and Group Membership (Indonesia vs. New Orleans) on Donation Likelihood
Figure 2.5. Study 4: Proposed Process of the Effect of Internal Moral Identity and Group Membership on Self-Group Connectedness, Expansive Thoughts, and Donation Likelihood
Comparisons form the basis of many consumer evaluations. Consumers not only compare consumed products to forgone alternatives, but they also compare their consumption outcomes to that of other persons. Zeelenberg (1996, 6) defined regret as “a negative, cognitively determined emotion that we experience when realizing or imagining that our present situation would have been better had we acted differently.” Empirically, regret is measured by comparing the performance of the chosen alternative to that of forgone alternatives. When performance of a forgone alternative is perceived to be better than that of the selected option, regret is experienced (Inman, Dyer, and Jia 1997; Tsiros 1998).

Similarly, self-evaluations are impacted by one’s performance in comparison to others (Festinger 1954; Tesser and Campbell 1982). When an individual is outperformed, his or her self-evaluation may be decreased or increased, depending on the evaluation situation. In addition to the critical role of performance on self-evaluation, Tesser’s (1988) self-evaluation maintenance (SEM) model recognizes the impact of closeness and relevance. The SEM model has received much attention for nearly three decades (Tesser and Smith 1980; Tesser, Millar, and Moore 1988; Beach et al. 1998; Crawford 2007), exploring how individuals’ self-evaluations, behaviors, and emotions are affected by performance, closeness, and relevance of the situation.
Surprisingly, the impact of closeness and relevance in addition to performance on regret has not been explored.

While the effect of these factors on regret has not been specifically examined, related research has found inconsistent results, indicating the potential impact of closeness and relevance on regret. For example, Kumar (2004) demonstrates that purchase likelihood for shoes not only depends on whether another individual previously took advantage of an offer, but also whether the other is liked or disliked. Additionally, Connolly, Ordóñez, and Coughlan (1997) find that student’s reported happiness with class assignments is marginally greater when the comparison is to a friend rather than to a stranger. In contrast, Zeelenberg and Pieters (2004) report that regret is greater for the Postcode Lottery than the State Lottery when there is feedback that a neighbor won. These findings indicate that closeness to others impacts affect. Interestingly, one feels better when comparing to a close other in the Connolly et al. (1997) study, but worse when comparing to a close other in the Zeelenberg and Pieters (2004) study. Tesser’s (1988) SEM model predicts that relevance explains these inconsistent findings. Specifically, the SEM model suggests that individuals may feel better when evaluating their outcome to that of a close other in a low relevance domain, but, in contrast, feel worse when evaluating their outcome to that of a close other in a high relevance domain.

We examine whether the relationship of the decision maker to the person who chose the forgone option and the relevance of the choice domain to the decision maker moderates the magnitude of regret experienced. We use Tesser’s (1988) SEM model to develop our theoretical predictions and then test them in three studies. Study 1 examines the moderating role of closeness and performance on regret in entrée choices, an area of low relevance to one’s self-definition. In studies 2 and 3, we also incorporate the role of relevance as well as the mediating
role of jealousy. Taken together these studies not only provide a full test of the SEM model, but also provide novel insights into the antecedents of regret.

Our research is important for a variety of reasons. First, regret, by definition, occurs from comparisons. People, however, do not just compare objects—they engage in social comparisons. Social comparisons can be very informative as a source of self-evaluations (Festinger 1954; Larrick 1993). Gibbons and Buunk (1999) argue that the desire to learn about ourselves via comparison with others is universal. Examining the effect of social comparison as a moderator of regret may provide theoretical insights that would otherwise be concealed by assuming that the identity of the person choosing the forgone alternative is inconsequential for regret.

An individual’s desire to maintain a positive self-evaluation (James 1907) is the basis of the SEM model. According to SEM, the goal of positive, rather than accurate, self-evaluations guides evaluations (Tesser 1988). The SEM model suggests that to enhance self-evaluations, people rely on three factors: performance, closeness, and relevance. These three factors have been found to impact individuals’ behavioral adjustments and evaluations (Beach et al. 1998; Crawford 2007; O’Mahen, Beach, and Tesser 2000; Schmitt, Silvia, and Branscombe 2000). Examining the interactive role of closeness, relevance, and performance on regret will further our understanding of factors that enhance or mitigate regret. The role of relevance, in particular, provides unique insights. Tesser (1988) states that a category is relevant to the extent to which an individual strives for competence in that dimension, describes him or herself in terms of the dimension, or freely chooses to engage in tasks that are related to the dimension. Naturally, different categories have different levels of importance or relevance for consumers (Festinger 1954). Does regret from being outperformed always increase with relevance? If a category is
important to one’s self-definition, is regret higher regardless of closeness? These issues are examined in our research.

A second contribution of our research is that it examines the role of jealousy as an antecedent of regret. Although past research has considered antecedents of regret (Tsiros and Mittal 2000), this research focuses on an antecedent of regret that may recognize the social dimension of regret—jealousy. Jealousy is a fundamental social emotion (DeSteno, Valdesolo, and Bartlett 2006). Some researchers have examined jealousy and envy in the context of the SEM model (DeSteno and Salovey 1996; Rustemeyer and Wilbert 2001; Salovey and Rodin 1991). While frequently examined in romantic relationships, jealousy can be evoked equally via social comparisons (Salovey and Rodin 1986), which we predict will influence regret. Theoretically, the mediating role of jealousy would demonstrate the effect of one emotion on a subsequent emotion, regret.

3.1 THE SELF-EVALUATION MAINTENANCE (SEM) MODEL

Festinger’s social comparison theory (1954) states that relative information about others facilitates a better understanding of one’s self, particularly when objective means are unavailable. Based on such comparisons, individuals strive to gain cognitive clarity by accurately evaluating their skills relative to others. Tesser’s SEM model builds on Festinger’s (1954) social comparison theory but with a critical difference: the goal according to the SEM model is to maintain a positive self-evaluation rather than to produce an accurate evaluation. Tesser (1988) bases his theory on James’ (1907) self-evaluation theory, which argues that
people’s behaviors are motivated by the desire to maintain a positive self-evaluation. It is also fully consistent with Larrick (1993), who posits that decision-makers are concerned not only with outcomes, but also with maintaining a positive self-image.

The SEM model articulates reflection processes and comparison processes as two ways in which individuals accomplish their goal of maintaining positive self-evaluations. However, as discussed later, only one of these two processes is used at any given time. Tesser (1988) explains that, in general, the comparison process is representative of Festinger’s (1954) theory of social comparison processes, discussed earlier, while the reflection process is representative of Cialdini et al.’s work on “Basking in Reflected Glory” or BIRGing (1976). These are explained next.

Comparison Process. Festinger’s (1954) social comparison theory states that individuals strive to gain an accurate understanding of self by comparing themselves to others. This comparison to others allows individuals to accurately evaluate themselves against the skills and performance of others. In the comparison process, two factors impact an individual’s self-evaluation after comparison: closeness and performance. Generally, individuals are likely to choose others who are similar to themselves to make comparisons (Festinger 1954). Comparisons to relatively dissimilar others occur less frequently and generally have less of an impact on an individual’s self-evaluation (Festinger 1954).

A comparison to a similar individual can be positive or negative. If an individual makes a comparison to an other who performs worse, a positive self-evaluation occurs because the individual is better than the other. In this case, the evaluation is both accurate and results in a positive self-evaluation. In contrast, a comparison to an other who has performed better will likely have a negative impact on an individual’s self-evaluation. Though accurate, and consistent with Festinger (1954), it is also contrary to the SEM model’s goal of maintaining a positive self-
evaluation. As postulated by the SEM model, such a negative self-evaluation may not be acceptable to the individual. Therefore, an individual may engage in reflection processes.

Reflection Process. Using the reflection process, an individual can enhance his or her self-evaluation when outperformed by a close other. If the outperforming other is a close one, the person will start reflecting or “basking in the glory” of the close other’s good performance. As Campbell and Tesser (1985) argue, the other must be a close other, either psychologically or physically close, so that individuals can associate themselves with the better performer. Through this association with and reflection of the close other’s performance, an individual can maintain a positive self-evaluation.

In contrast, what will happen for reflecting on the performance of a close other who performed worse? If one were to start reflecting, associating with them, a negative self-evaluation will occur. This may not be conducive for positive self-evaluations. Therefore, the SEM model proposes that in order to maintain positive self-evaluations, either comparison or reflection processes will be used.

Reflection or Comparison. According to SEM, the choice between using comparison or reflection is guided by the overall goal of maintaining a positive self-evaluation. To this end, individuals factor in 1) the performance of the other on the dimension relative to the individual’s own performance, 2) the degree of closeness with the other to whom the reflection or comparison is being made, and 3) the relevance of the comparison dimension to the individual’s self-definition (Tesser 1988). Based on different levels of these factors, individuals choose to engage in a comparative or reflective process. The general framework is outlined in Table 3.1.

When the object of comparison is of low relevance to an individual’s self-definition, individuals reflect the outcomes of close others through association with them (Cialdini et al.
Thus, if a close other performs well, the reflection process results in a positive self-evaluation rather than a negative evaluation. If a comparison process were used, the self-evaluation, though accurate, would be negative and violate the goal of self-maintenance (Tesser 1988). Tesser and Campbell (1982) demonstrate this effect with individual’s perceptions of other’s performance. In a laboratory study, they paired participants with both friends and strangers and gave participants feedback on aesthetic judgment and social sensitivity tasks (i.e., art evaluation or actions in interpersonal situations, respectively). They then asked participants to evaluate how well the other would perform. They found the friend’s performance was perceived more positively than the stranger’s performance when the task was irrelevant. Specifically, if aesthetic judgment was not relevant to the participant, then the participant indicated that their friend would do better in the aesthetic judgment task than a stranger would. This positive rating of their friends’ performance on a low relevance dimension allows the participant to associate herself with the friends’ positive performance and maintain a positive self-evaluation.

In contrast, Tesser (1988) proposes that the performance rating of friends and strangers differs when the domain is of high relevance to an individual. In this case, a comparison process occurs because individuals do not reflect or bask in the performance of others when the area is self-defining. Specifically, an individual’s comparison to a close other’s good performance will result in a negative self-evaluation. Conversely, a comparison to the close other’s poor performance will result in a positive self-evaluation. In the study discussed earlier, Tesser and Campbell (1982) examine the effect of comparison in highly relevant domains. They find that for tasks of high relevance (i.e., either aesthetic judgment or social sensitivity tasks depending on the participant’s identity for these two dimensions), participants evaluate their friend’s performance
more negatively than the stranger’s performance. This negative evaluation of a friend’s performance occurs so that individuals can maintain a positive self-evaluation.

What happens when the other is not close (i.e., a distant other)? In this case, reflection cannot occur because the individual does not have any associations with the other to allow them to bask in the reflected glory of the others’ performance (Cialdini et al. 1976). Therefore, regardless of relevance, comparisons are always made to distant others. A distant other’s good performance will result in a negative self-evaluation, while comparison to a distant other’s poor performance will result in a positive self-evaluation.

While we expect each of these three factors—performance, closeness, and relevance—to interact to determine regret, regret research has focused mainly on performance of the forgone alternative (Inman et al. 1997; Inman and Zeelenberg 2002; Tsiros 1998; Zeelenberg 1996) with a limited degree of consideration given to the role of closeness (see Table 3.2). Even among the few studies examining regret in the context of the choice of another individual, the findings, as discussed earlier, have been inconsistent.

To understand the effect of closeness on regret, we begin first by articulating the effects of closeness and performance in a low relevance context. Focusing on the effect of these two factors on regret enables us to examine the moderating effect of closeness on the relationship between performance and regret in the pattern predicted by the SEM model. Specifically, when an individual is outperformed in a domain of low relevance, regret should be higher when the other is a distant other versus a close other. Regret will be lower for close others who are outperformed because individuals are able to reflect the good performances of close others to themselves when the performance area is not highly relevant to their self-definition. Reflecting against a close other’s better performance allows individuals to maintain a positive self-
evaluation. However, individuals cannot associate themselves with distant others, and hence are unable to bask in the reflected glory of the better performance of the distant other. In other words, comparison rather than reflection occurs. Recalling that regret is a negative emotion that occurs when an individual is outperformed, regret should be minimal when an individual outperforms another regardless of the social comparison. Therefore, regret should not differ when an individual outperforms a close other versus a distant other. Thus, we propose the following hypothesis and test it in study 1:

**H1:** Closeness to the other moderates the effect of performance on regret.

Relative to the forgone alternative, when a worse outcome is chosen, regret is lower when a close other receives the forgone alternative than when a distant other receives the forgone alternative for low relevance domains.

### 3.2 STUDY 1

#### 3.2.1 Method

*Pretest.* To ensure that entrée choice is a low relevance domain, we conducted a pretest. The pretest (N = 33) measured self-relevance of various choice domains: entrée choice, vacation location, HDTV, and stock investments. Participants indicated the extent to which each of these areas are relevant to their self-definition on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = “Not at all Relevant” to 7 = “Extremely Relevant”). Entrée choice was of lowest relevance to one’s self-definition (M = 3.21, SD = 2.16). Relevance of entrée choice was also significantly lower than that of vacation
location ($t = 4.16, p < .01$) or stock investments ($t = 3.10, p < .01$). Therefore, we chose entrée choice as a low relevance domain for this study.

**Design and Participants.** Participants were 162 MBA students from a middle Atlantic university. Each participant was randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (closeness: significant other vs. stranger) X 2 (outcome: better vs. worse) factor between-subjects design. Participants had an average age of 29.45 (SD = 5.29) and 67% were male. Neither gender nor age were found to have a significant effect on the results and are not discussed further.

**Procedure.** Each participant was assigned to one of the four experimental conditions. Participants read one of the four versions of a scenario regarding the outcome of their entrée choice at a banquet and spent two minutes imagining themselves in this scenario (please refer to Appendix B for stimuli). After reading the scenario, participants were asked to complete the regret measures. These responses were followed by manipulation checks and demographic information. Upon completion, students were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

**Dependent variable.** Regret was measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly Disagree,” 7 = “Strongly Agree”) with two items adapted from Tsiros and Mittal (2000): “I feel sorry for this dining experience” and “I have regret for this dining experience.” These two items were averaged to create a regret score ($r = 0.68, p < .01$).

### 3.2.2 Manipulation Checks

**Closeness.** The closeness manipulation was assessed by three items on group identity adapted from Reed (2004). On seven-point Likert scales, participants indicated “How well do you identify with your significant other (stranger)” (1 = “Do not identify in any way,” 7 = “Identify completely”), “How much do you admire your significant other (stranger)” (1 = “Do
not admire” 7 = “Really admire”) and “How well does your significant other (stranger) describe you” (1 = “Does not describe me,” 7 = “Describes me completely”). These three items were averaged to create a closeness index (α = 0.92). The mean for the significant other condition was greater than the mean for the stranger condition (5.76 vs. 2.81, t = 15.16, p < .01).

**Outcome.** On a seven-point Likert scale, participants indicated “the extent to which you thought your entrée was better than your significant other’s (stranger’s) entrée” (1 = “Not better at all,” 7 = “Extremely better”). The mean for the better condition was greater than the mean for the worse condition (5.12 vs. 3.49, t = 7.22, p < .01).

**Orthogonality Check.** To ensure that each manipulation was unaffected by the other manipulation, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for both of the manipulation checks. For each ANOVA, only the main effect for the appropriate condition was significant (p’s < .01). Additionally, closeness and outcome were not correlated with each other (r = 0.15, p > .05), indicating that the manipulations worked as intended and there was no confounding.

### 3.2.3 Results

An analysis of variance with closeness, outcome, and the closeness X outcome interaction on regret reveals that the overall model is statistically significant (F(3, 161) = 5.05, p < .01). The closeness manipulation has no main effect (F(1, 161) = 0.95, NS), but the main effect for the outcome manipulation is statistically significant (F(1, 161) = 4.55, p < .05). Importantly, the closeness X outcome interaction is statistically significant (F(1, 161) = 9.41, p < .01).

To further examine the moderating effect of closeness, we examined the simple effects. For participants who received a worse outcome, regret is lower for those in the significant other condition than for those in the stranger condition (2.89 vs. 3.68; t = 2.81, p < .01). For
participants who received a better outcome, regret does not differ between those comparing their entrée against that of a significant other than that of a stranger (3.08 vs. 2.67; \( t = 1.51, p > .10 \)). The cell means are shown in Figure 3.1. The pattern of results is consistent with hypothesis 1.

**Discussion.** When one has a worse outcome, regret is less for those who evaluate against a significant other than for those who are comparing to a stranger in a low relevance domain such as entrée choice. When one has a better outcome, regret is not impacted by the closeness of the other. These findings reinforce the importance of not only examining the forgone alternatives, but also *who* chose the forgone alternative. Examining the effect of closeness and performance on regret, though consistent with prior research in regret, is only a partial test of Tesser’s (1988) SEM model. Therefore, we also consider the joint role of all three factors: performance, closeness, and relevance.

Past research has focused on individuals’ behavioral adjustments on one of these factors to maintain a positive self-evaluation. Tesser and Smith (1980) demonstrated that in a word identification task, individuals gave harder clues to friends when the task was identified as being of high-relevance than of low-relevance. By changing their behavior, participants were able to impact the relative performance of the other in order to maintain a positive self-evaluation. Similarly, Crawford (2007) finds that individuals affiliate with an identity after being outperformed on a non-self-relevant task, but distance from the identity after being outperformed on a self-relevant task. Additional work examines the joint effect of these three factors on evaluations and affect.

In a series of studies by Tesser et al. (1988), participants’ affective responses to comparison and reflection processes were examined via facial expressions. Participants’ facial responses indicated that the affect for comparison versus reflective processes occurred as
expected such that there was more pleasantness in facial responses to friends when outperformed in an area of low relevance and more pleasantness to strangers when outperformed in an area of high relevance. Tesser (1991) finds that arousal, a key dimension of affect (Barrett and Russell 1999), mediates the effect of comparison and reflection on the change in behaviors predicted by the SEM model such that the presence of arousal facilitated the predicted behaviors. Beach et al. (1998) find that when an individual is outperformed by a romantic partner on a dimension of high self-relevance, the affective dimension of pleasantness is lower than when the performance is in an area of low self-relevance. Similarly, individuals liked others who were low performers better than high performers in an interpersonal context (Schmitt et al. 2000). Continuing from this work, we predict that relevance will moderate the effect of performance and closeness on regret and that affect will play a mediating role in the process.

Tesser (1988) states that when the relevance of performance to the individual’s self-definition is minimal, the reflection process will be important compared to the comparison process because self-evaluation can be maintained or enhanced by basking in the reflected glory. Therefore, when relevance is low, individuals will experience lower regret when outperformed by a close other than by a distant other, as found in study 1. However, in areas of high self-relevance, the reflection process will not be used to maintain positive self-evaluations because one cannot bask in the glory of another in an area that is self-defining (Tesser 1988). In these domains of high self-relevance, comparison is used.

According to the SEM model, when relevance is high and the individual is outperformed, self-evaluation will be lower when the comparison is to a close other than to a distant other. For example, Tesser et al. (1988) find that being outperformed by a close other rather than a distant other resulted in greater arousal. Therefore, we expect that being outperformed on a high
relevance dimension will result in more regret when outperformed by a close other than by a distant other. In contrast, because regret occurs when a decision-maker is outperformed, we predict that regret will not be affected by closeness and relevance when the decision-maker outperforms another. Although research has indicated that closeness and relevance impact positive affect when an individual outperforms another (Tesser et al. 1988), we do not expect these effects to occur for regret, a negative emotion that occurs when one is outperformed. Based on the above discussion, the impact of performance, closeness, and relevance on regret is predicted in the following hypothesis:

H2: There will be a three-way interaction of performance, closeness, and relevance on regret. When an individual is outperformed, relevance will moderate the effect of closeness on regret such that regret will be higher when an individual is outperformed by a distant other than by a close other in a domain of low self-relevance. In contrast, regret will be lower when an individual is outperformed by a distant other than by a close other in a domain of high self-relevance.

Mediating Role of Jealousy. As mentioned earlier, Tesser (1991) finds that arousal, a key component of affect, mediates the effect of performance, relevance, and closeness on the change in behaviors predicted by the SEM model. In addition, research has considered the role of the SEM model on jealousy. Bers and Rodin (1984) find that for older children, social comparison jealousy is impacted by the importance of the area to the child’s self-definition. Building on the importance of domain relevance for jealousy, Salovey and Rodin (1991) find that jealousy and
envy were most highly correlated with domains rated as important to the self. Similarly, individuals reported more jealousy when a rival to their relationship was a high achiever on a domain important to the participant (DeSteno and Salovey 1996; Rustemeyer and Wilbert 2001). This research, like much of jealousy research, examines jealousy in the context of romantic relationships, and therefore does not examine the closeness dimension. Nonetheless, Salovey and Rodin (1986) verify that the magnitude of jealousy occurring from non-romantic social comparisons can be equal to or greater than that occurring from romantic relationships.

Importantly, jealousy and envy are qualitatively distinct emotions; however, they are not frequently distinguished by individuals. Salovey (1991), agreeing with prior research (Sullivan 1953), states that 1) envy and jealousy should be distinguished and 2) people frequently fail to do so. Jealousy refers to “the belief or suspicion that what has been promoted is in danger of being lost” (Salovey and Rodin 1986, 1100). Envy refers to the “displeasure one feels at the perception of another’s superiority, in particular, a superior advantage that one would like to have for oneself” (Salovey and Rodin 1991, 395). While envy and jealousy are theoretically distinct, the importance of social comparison failure to both envy and jealousy (DeSteno et al. 2006; Salovey 1991) is the focus in this research. Therefore, we do not distinguish between jealousy and envy, similar to past research (Bers and Rodin 1984; Sabini and Silver 1982; Salovey and Rodin 1984, 1991) and everyday usage of these emotions (Haslam and Bornstein 1996; Salovey 1991).

We argue that jealousy, a specific emotion arising from social comparison, will mediate the effect of the SEM variables on regret. While both jealousy and regret are negative emotions arising from comparison, the specific role of jealousy as an antecedent to regret has not been examined. Zeelenberg and Pieters (2004) examined both regret and jealousy, but did not examine the mediating role of jealousy for regret. Jealousy and envy were found to be correlated
with regret (Zeelenberg and Pieters 2004). Specifically, they find that jealousy and envy are relevant when one compares themselves to a lottery winner, which indicates the importance of social comparisons in jealousy. Therefore, while jealousy is not a necessary antecedent to regret, it may play an important role in the regret that occurs based on social comparisons rather than just comparisons to forgone alternatives. Given this, we propose the following:

**H3:** Jealousy will mediate the joint effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret.

### 3.3 STUDY 2

Study 2 assesses the effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret and the mediating role of jealousy. Stock investments are the context for this study since this domain may be of high or low relevance based on pretest results for study 1 (M = 4.27, SD = 2.05).

#### 3.3.1 Method

*Design and Participants.* Participants were 164 undergraduate students from two middle Atlantic universities. Participants received either $2 cash or extra course credit for participation. Each participant was randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (closeness: friend vs. acquaintance) X 2 (performance: better vs. worse) factor between-subjects design. Relevance was measured. Fifty-four percent of participants were male and 96% were less than 30 years old. Gender, age, and incentive type were included as covariates and are significant.
**Procedure.** Each participant was assigned to one of the four experimental conditions. The closeness manipulation was adapted from Frenzen and Nakamoto (1993). Participants read one of four versions of the scenario and imagined themselves in this scenario (see Appendix C for the stimuli). After reading the scenario, participants were asked to complete the regret and jealousy measures. These responses were followed by manipulation checks, the relevance measure, and demographic information. Students were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

**Relevance.** Relevance was measured with the following statement: “Please indicate the extent to which choosing the best stocks is relevant to your self-definition.” Participants indicated their responses on a seven-point scale (1 = “Not at all Relevant” to 7 = “Extremely Relevant”). Average relevance was 4.36 (SD = 1.44).

**Regret.** Regret was measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly Disagree,” 7 = “Strongly Agree”) with three items adapted from Tsiros and Mittal (2000): “I am sorry for choosing these stocks,” “I regret choosing these stocks,” and “I should have chosen different stocks.” These three items were averaged to create a regret score ($\alpha = .96$).

**Jealousy.** Jealousy was measured on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly Disagree,” 7 = “Strongly Agree”) with the following items: “I feel jealous of Terry’s stocks,” and “I feel envious of Terry’s stocks.” These items were averaged for a jealousy score ($r = .95, p < .01$).  

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4 We recognize that jealousy and envy are qualitatively distinct emotions (Salovey 1991). However, we combine these two items, recognizing that people frequently fail to distinguish these two emotions (Haslam and Bornstein 1996; Salovey 1991).
3.3.2 Manipulation Checks

*Closeness*. The closeness manipulation was assessed by three items adapted from Frenzen and Nakamoto (1993). On seven-point Likert scale items (1 = “Strongly disagree” to 7 = “Strongly agree”), participants indicated their response to “Terry and I have a close relationship,” “My association with Terry is strong,” and “I see Terry as someone with whom I have a close bond.” These three items were averaged to create a closeness index (α = 0.96). A t-test indicates that the manipulation was successful. The mean for the friend condition was higher than the mean for the acquaintance condition (5.51 vs. 3.39, \( t = 14.69, p < .01 \)).

*Performance*. On a seven-point scale (1 = “Much worse than average” to 7 = “Much better than average”), participants rated their stock performance and Terry’s stock performance (reverse-coded). Responses to these two items were averaged to create a performance index (\( r = 0.87, p < .01 \)). A t-test indicates that the manipulation was successful. The mean for those in the better performance condition was higher than the mean for those in the worse performance condition (5.74 vs. 2.66, \( t = 20.82, p < .01 \)).

*Orthogonality Check*. To ensure that each manipulation and measured relevance was unaffected by the other manipulations, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for both of the manipulation checks with performance condition, closeness condition, measured relevance, and all possible two- and three-way interactions. For each ANOVA, only the main effect for the respective condition was significant (\( p ‘s < .01 \)). Additionally, closeness, performance, and relevance were not correlated with each other (\( r ‘s < 0.05, p ‘s > .60 \)), indicating that the manipulations worked as intended and there was no confounding.
3.3.3 Results

An analysis of variance with closeness, performance, relevance (measured as a continuous variable) and all interactions on regret reveals that the overall model is statistically significant ($F(7, 163) = 81.14, p < .01$). Closeness, relevance, and the interaction of relevance and performance have no effect, but there is a significant effect of performance ($F(1, 163) = 34.03, p < .01$), the interaction of closeness and relevance ($F(1, 163) = 3.95, p < .05$) and performance and closeness ($F(1, 163) = 8.03, p < .01$). Importantly, the closeness X performance X relevance interaction is statistically significant ($F(1, 163) = 10.63, p < .01$).

To visually depict the effect of performance, closeness, and relevance on regret, we compare the cell means after performing a median split for relevance (Med = 5.00). When relevance is low for those who experienced a worse performance, regret is lower for those in the friend condition than for those in the acquaintance condition (4.64 vs. 5.40; $t = 2.29, p < .05$), as found in study 1. For participants who experienced a better performance, regret does not differ between those comparing their performance against that of a friend than that of an acquaintance (1.78 vs. 1.83; $t = 0.29, p > .80$). When relevance is high for those who experienced a worse performance, regret is higher for those in the friend condition than for those in the acquaintance condition (5.33 vs. 4.72; $t = 2.05, p < .05$). For participants who experienced a better performance, regret does not differ between those comparing their performance against that of a friend than that of an acquaintance (1.30 vs. 1.68; $t = 1.55, p > .10$). The cell means are shown in Figures 3.2a and 3.2b. The pattern of results is consistent with hypothesis 2.

Mediation. To understand the processes underlying the results, we examine the mediating role of jealousy. To do so, we perform the three regressions recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986), with results presented in Table 3.3. For the first regression, the three-way interaction of
closeness, performance, and relevance is a significant predictor of regret, as reported earlier. In
the second regression, the three-way interaction is a significant predictor of jealousy ($t = 2.89, p
< .01$). In the third regression, the effect of the three-way interaction is reduced ($t = 2.24, p < .05$)
and jealousy is a significant predictor of regret ($t = 5.33, p < .01$). This reduction in the effect of
the three-way interaction on regret indicates partial mediation. The role of jealousy as a partial
mediator of regret is supported by a Sobel’s test ($Z = 2.54; p < .05$), which partially supports
hypothesis 3 (Kenny, Kashy, and Bolger 1998).

**Discussion.** This study builds on study 1 by examining the role of closeness as well as
relevance on the effect of performance on regret, providing for a full test of Tesser’s (1988) SEM
model on regret. From these results, it is clear that relevance significantly moderates the effect
of closeness and performance on regret such that the pattern established in study 1 reverses when
the domain is of high self-relevance. Furthermore, this study examines the mediating role of
affect, particularly that negative emotion which arises from social comparison—jealousy.
Importantly, this study finds that jealousy is a partial mediator. These results indicate that
individuals’ feelings regarding their investment decisions are not influenced solely by their
performance, but also by whom they make comparisons to and how relevant investment
performance is to the self. One limitation of this study is that the key moderating variable,
relevance, is measured. In the next study, we manipulate relevance.
3.4 STUDY 3

3.4.1 Method

Pretest. To determine the effectiveness of our relevance manipulation, we conducted a pretest. Participants (N = 53) read one of two relevance manipulations adapted from the manipulation used by Tesser and Smith (1980), which informed participants that the word task was a measure of verbal skills or had no known relationship to important skills. Our manipulation was an article, written and formatted like Wall Street Journal articles, discussing research findings that indicated investment performance is a significant (insignificant) predictor of career success for business students (see Appendix D for the stimuli). To enhance the effectiveness of the manipulation, participants were asked to describe the main conclusion of the article and one experience that supported the article’s findings. Participants then responded to the following three statements on a seven-point scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree): “For a business student, investment performance is very important,” “For a business student, investment performance is very relevant for future success,” and “Investment performance is a reflection of how well a business student will do.” Responses were averaged (α = .70) and results indicated that participants in the high relevance condition perceived investment performance to be more relevant than participants in the low relevance condition (4.52 vs. 3.25, t = 3.85, p < .01).

Design and Participants. Participants were 175 students from a middle Atlantic university. Participants received extra credit for their participation. Each participant was randomly assigned to one of eight conditions in a 2 (performance: better vs. worse) X 2 (closeness: friend vs. acquaintance) X 2 (relevance: high vs. low) factor between-subjects design.
Fifty-one percent of participants were male. Ninety-one percent of participants were less than 30 years old with the remaining nine percent between 30 and 49 years age. Neither gender nor age were found to have a significant effect on the results and are not discussed further.

**Procedure.** Each participant was assigned to one of the eight experimental conditions. First, participants read one of the two relevance manipulations examined in the pretest, then indicated the main conclusion of the article and described one experience that supports the article’s findings. This task was positioned as a study on analytical reading. Participants then read one of four versions of the performance and closeness scenarios used in study 2. After reading the scenario, participants were asked to complete the regret and jealousy measures. These responses were followed by manipulation checks and background information. Upon completion, students were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

**Regret.** Regret was measured with the same three items adapted from Tsiros and Mittal (2000) and used in study 2. These items were averaged to create a regret score ($\alpha = .95$).

**Jealousy.** The following three items were used to measure jealousy: “I feel jealous of Terry’s stock performance,” “I feel somewhat envious of Terry’s stock performance,” and “Comparing my stock performance to Terry’s, I feel a little jealous” on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly Disagree,” 7 = “Strongly Agree”). These three items were averaged to create a jealousy score ($\alpha = .96$).\(^5\)

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\(^5\) We find the pattern of full mediation for the single envy measure as well as the two jealousy items. Therefore we combine these three items, similar to study 2.
3.4.2 Manipulation Checks

Closeness. As in study 2, the closeness manipulation was assessed by the same three items adapted from Frenzen and Nakamoto (1993). The items were averaged to create a closeness index ($\alpha = 0.96$). A t-test indicates that the manipulation was successful. The mean for the friend condition was greater than the mean for the acquaintance condition (5.75 vs. 3.32, $t = 15.29, p < .01$).

Performance. The performance manipulation was assessed using the same two items from study 2 on a seven-point scale. Responses to these two items were averaged to create a performance index ($r = 0.81, p < .01$). A t-test indicates that the manipulation was successful. The mean for those in the better performance condition was higher than the mean for those in the worse performance condition (5.78 vs. 2.66, $t = 23.20, p < .01$).

Orthogonality Check. To ensure that each manipulation was unaffected by the other manipulations, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for both of the manipulation checks with performance condition, closeness condition, and the two-way interaction. A manipulation check of relevance was not included because it was pretested and positioned as a separate analytical reading study in the main study. For each ANOVA, only the main effect for the respective condition was significant ($p$’s < .01). Additionally, closeness and performance were not correlated with each other ($r$’s < 0.05, $p$’s > .80), indicating that the manipulations worked as intended and there was no confounding.
3.4.3 Results

An analysis of variance with performance, closeness, relevance, and all interactions on regret reveals that the overall model is statistically significant ($F(7, 174) = 46.76, p < .01$). There is a significant effect of performance ($F(1, 174) = 315.79, p < .01$) and the two-way interaction of closeness and relevance ($F(1, 174) = 7.13, p < .01$). Importantly, the performance X closeness X relevance interaction is statistically significant ($F(1, 174) = 5.22, p < .05$).

To visually depict the effect of performance, closeness, and relevance on regret, we compare the cell means. When relevance is low for those who received a worse performance, regret is lower for those in the friend condition than for those in the acquaintance condition (4.35 vs. 5.03; $t = 2.20, p < .05$). For participants who received a better performance, regret does not differ between those comparing their performance against that of a friend than that of an acquaintance (1.62 vs. 1.81; $t = 0.64, p > .50$).

When relevance is high for those who received a worse performance, regret is higher for those in the friend condition than for those in the acquaintance condition (4.73 vs. 3.86; $t = 2.64, p < .01$). For participants who received a better performance, regret does not differ between those comparing their performance against that of a friend than that of an acquaintance (1.65 vs. 1.72; $t = 0.24, p > .80$). The cell means are shown in Figures 3.3a and 3.3b. The pattern of results is consistent with hypothesis 2.

Mediation. To understand the processes underlying the results, we examine the mediating role of jealousy. To do so, we perform the three regressions recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986), with results presented in Table 3.4. For the first regression, the three-way interaction of closeness, performance, and relevance is a significant predictor of regret, as reported earlier. In the second regression, the three-way interaction is a significant predictor of jealousy ($t = 2.21, p$
In the third regression, the effect of the three-way interaction is attenuated ($t = 1.59, p > .11$) and jealousy is a significant predictor of regret ($t = 6.19, p < .01$). This reduction in the effect of the three-way interaction on regret indicates full mediation. The role of jealousy as a mediator of regret is supported by a Sobel’s test ($Z = 2.08; p < .05$), which fully supports hypothesis 3 (Kenny et al. 1998).

### 3.5 GENERAL DISCUSSION

As seen in Table 3.2, the social context surrounding regret—who chose the foregone alternative and domain importance to the self—has not been fully examined in previous research. This is the first study to demonstrate that who chose the forgone alternative matters. Furthermore, the series of studies presented here extends the SEM model to regret, showing that the moderating role of closeness on regret is reversed when relevance is high. In both studies 2 and 3, although qualified by a higher three-way interaction, the two-way interaction of closeness and relevance is also significant. The effect of the interaction of closeness and relevance is the same in each of these studies such that regret is lower for evaluations to friends than those to acquaintances when relevance is low and higher for evaluations to friends than those to acquaintances when relevance is high. Although not hypothesized, this effect of closeness and relevance on regret is not surprising as it is similar to that reported for those who received a worse performance. The three studies presented here examine this effect across different samples in two contexts as well as both measuring and manipulating relevance.

Collectively these studies provide a balanced yet powerful examination of the phenomenon of regret based not only on performance, but also on closeness and relevance for a
full test of Tesser’s (1988) SEM model. One limitation of these studies is the use of hypothetical scenarios in which participants imagine the regret they would experience in a given situation. To address this concern, we conducted a study in a local restaurant where customers may naturally engage in comparison of the entrées others order. The results of this study (N = 50) indicate that restaurant customers who saw a better entrée than the one they ordered at a table other than their own experienced significantly greater regret than those who saw a better entrée at their own table (β = 1.34, p < .05). Thus, the impact of closeness to others on regret is not only experienced in hypothetical scenarios, but also in everyday decisions where social comparisons may occur.

This research makes an important theoretical contribution to the existing literature by explaining inconsistencies in prior research. Regret research has suggested that there may be a social impact on regret (Connolly et al. 1997; Kumar 2004; Zeelenberg and Pieters 2004), but this research did not explicitly examine the differences between evaluations to close others (i.e., significant others and friends) and distant others (i.e., acquaintances and strangers) on regret. The research presented here explains inconsistencies in prior research by clearly demonstrating that the magnitude of regret may be increased or decreased when comparing to close others, depending on the relevance of the domain.

Furthermore, this research finds that jealousy mediates the effect of performance, closeness, and relevance on regret. In study 3, we find that jealousy fully mediates the effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret whereas jealousy is only a partial mediator in study 2. The partial mediation in study 2 may be due to the measurement of relevance rather than manipulated relevance as was used in study 3. Therefore, we propose that jealousy as a full mediator of the effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret is more credible. This mediating role of jealousy, a negative emotion arising from social comparisons, reveals the
importance of the social context of comparisons on regret rather than merely comparison to forgone alternatives.

These findings are of particular importance to consumers, indicating ways in which consumers can manage the magnitude of regret they experience. To minimize regret, consumers should evaluate themselves relative to distant others rather than close others for areas of high self-relevance. In contrast, for areas of low self-relevance, consumers can evaluate themselves relative to close others, such as friends or spouses, and bask in the glory of the close other, minimizing regret for one’s own poor performance. These findings may be especially important to maximizers, or consumers who are more prone to regret (Schwartz et al. 2002). Additionally, recognizing the negative emotions that may be experienced in particular evaluations may reduce the effect that these emotions have on subsequent judgments and decisions given that research has shown that if people are aware that they are experiencing an emotion, they are able to reduce the carryover of that emotion to their choices (Schwarz and Clore 1983).

Together, these findings raise many interesting questions about social context and the experience of regret, questions that should provide avenues for further research. In addition to the importance of these results for individuals who are prone to regret, future research should examine the effect of individual differences in social comparison to these results. Do individuals high on social comparison (Gibbons and Buunk 1999) experience differences in jealousy and regret for evaluations to close versus distant others or do all social comparisons equally impact their regret? Additionally, do individuals who experience regret change their behaviors, as found in past SEM research? For example, do consumers who make high relevance comparisons to close others decrease the importance of that domain, perhaps by purchasing less in that category?
Furthermore, this research has examined only one dimension of social comparison—closeness to the other. Other social groups based on aspirations, social status, perceived expertise, stereotyping and so on should be investigated. In doing so, particular attention should be paid to the underlying emotions and cognitive processes that manifest as experienced regret as jealousy is found to mediate the effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret.

Additionally, self-construal may impact the effect of closeness on regret. For example, is the effect of closeness enhanced or attenuated for interdependent individuals who view themselves based on their connection to groups rather than as unique individuals? These are interesting avenues for future research.
Table 3.1. Expected Self-Evaluation Maintenance Model Pattern of Regret

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>High relevance</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close other</td>
<td>Close other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Lower</td>
<td>Higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better than other</td>
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<td>No difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distant other</td>
<td>Distant other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse than other</td>
<td>Higher</td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better than other</td>
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<td>No difference</td>
</tr>
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Table 3.2. Social Comparison Examined in Regret Literature

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<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>No chooser specified</td>
<td>No relationship specified</td>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Study 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsiros (1998)</td>
<td>Study 1</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Study 2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeelenberg et al. (1998)</td>
<td>Study 1</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Study 2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordóñez and Connolly (2000)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsiros and Mittal (2000)</td>
<td>Study 1</td>
<td>Friend</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Study 2 and 4</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Study 3</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Zeelenberg et al. (2002)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Kumar (2004)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Zeelenberg and Pieters (2004)</td>
<td>Study 1</td>
<td>Neighbor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Study 2 and 3</td>
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Table 3.3. Study 2: Mediation Analysis

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<th>Regret</th>
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<td>3.84**</td>
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<td>-0.52</td>
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<td>-1.51</td>
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<td>1.65</td>
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<td>1.74</td>
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<td>2.67**</td>
<td>1.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance X Closeness X Relevance</td>
<td>-3.26**</td>
<td>-2.89**</td>
<td>-2.24*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jealousy</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>5.33**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01

Table 3.4. Study 3: Mediation Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable</th>
<th>Regret</th>
<th>Jealousy</th>
<th>Regret</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1.62**</td>
<td>1.73**</td>
<td>0.98**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>2.73***</td>
<td>2.62***</td>
<td>1.77***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance X Relevance</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.99*</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
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<td>Performance X Closeness</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
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<td>Closeness X Relevance</td>
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<td>0.39</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance X Closeness X Relevance</td>
<td>-1.52**</td>
<td>-1.64**</td>
<td>-0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jealousy</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.37***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .10, **p < .05, ***p < .01
Figure 3.1. Study 1: Effect of Closeness and Outcome on Regret

![Chart showing the effect of closeness and outcome on regret. The chart includes two lines, one for Significant Other and one for Stranger. The x-axis represents the outcome (Better or Worse), and the y-axis represents regret. The chart shows that regret increases with worse outcomes for both Significant Other and Stranger, but the regret for a Significant Other is consistently lower than that for a Stranger. The specific values for regret are: 2.67 for Significant Other at Better, 3.08 for Significant Other at Worse, 2.89 for Stranger at Better, and 3.67 for Stranger at Worse.]
Figure 3.2. Study 2: Effect of Relevance, Closeness, and Performance on Regret

2a: Low Relevance

Stock Performance

Better | Worse
---|---
Friend | Acquaintance

1.83 | 1.78
4.64 | 5.40

2b: High Relevance

Stock Performance

Better | Worse
---|---
Friend | Acquaintance

1.30 | 1.68
4.72 | 5.33
Figure 3.3. Study 3: Effect of Relevance, Closeness, and Performance on Regret

3a: Low Relevance

3b: High Relevance

Stock Performance

Better Worse
ESSAY 3: PROMOTIN MATCHING: THE ROLE OF PROMOTIN TYPE AND SELF-CONSTRUAL ON PURCHASE INTENTIONS

With promotions taking from 25 to 50% of companies’ marketing budgets for consumer products and packaged goods (Ailawadi et al. 2006; Raghubir, Inman, and Grande 2004), consumers are showered with promotions each day. Yet, the effectiveness of many promotions in building sales is not clear. While research has indicated that price promotions can increase short-term sales (Neslin 2002), they also have been found to have negative long-term effects by encouraging brand switching and indicating low-quality brands (Gupta 1988; Yoo, Donthu, and Lee 2000). With these mixed effects of price promotions, Raghubir et al. (2004) suggest that the effectiveness of promotions may differ based on contextual factors of the promotion features and communication (e.g., providing contextual information about prices such as limited time only, Inman, Peter, and Raghubir 1997). Little research has considered the effects of the context in which consumers evaluate promotions, with some exceptions for individual differences in promotion responsiveness (DelVecchio 2005; Lichtenstein, Netemeyer, and Burton 1990). This research addresses this gap.

We examine the effectiveness of special promotions based on the context in which consumers evaluate promotions. Self-construal is defined as one’s view of him or herself as connected to or distinct from others. While self-construal is often examined as a cultural orientation based on individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Markus and Kitayama 1991),
research has found that self-construal can be activated through situational priming (Agrawal and Maheswaran 2005; Gardner, Gabriel, and Lee 1999; Triandis 1995). Specifically, individuals’ active self-construal (i.e., independent or interdependent) may differ from their chronic self-construal based on contextual primes. Importantly, self-construal has been found to influence consumer responses to advertisements and brand information (Aaker and Lee 2001; Agrawal and Maheswaran 2005; Escalas and Bettman 2005; Swaminathan, Page, and Gürhan-Canli 2007). For example, Agrawal and Maheswaran (2005) find that for low commitment consumers, persuasive appeals that were consistent with their activated self-construal were more effective. Therefore, we propose that the effect of special promotions may be moderated by self-construal.

In this research, we examine the moderating role of self-construal on purchase intentions, considering the short-term effects. However, promotions may also have positive or negative long-term effects, such as brand loyalty or switching and brand image (Gupta 1988; Raghubir et al. 2004; Yoo et al. 2000). One potential long-term benefit of promotions is the increase in brand knowledge, which can increase brand equity (Palazón-Vidal and Delgado-Ballester 2005). We argue that the use of special promotions may enhance consumers’ brand connection when the promotion is matched with their self-construal. This increased brand connection is expected to increase short-term purchase intentions, but may ultimately have positive long-term effects on the brand equity of the promoted brand.

We examine two ways in which brands can connect with consumers: the individual and the group. For example, Nike has successfully positioned its basketball shoes around individual superstars such as Michael Jordan for years, but Adidas is taking a new approach by positioning their campaign around the team rather than the individual (Esterl and Kang 2006). In addition to group versus individual distinctions in advertisements, there can be both group, or inclusively-
framed, and individual, or exclusively-framed, promotions. One type of specific promotion that has recently been successful in the market is that of “employee pricing for everyone.” Various car manufacturers (e.g., General Motors, DaimlerChrysler) sought to improve sales by extending their employee price discounts to the general public. Another specific promotion that has become more common among retailers is that of a birthday promotion. “Just as you remember your grandmother's birthday and send her a card, you must too remember your customer's special events and offer them incentives to select your services or products” (Harrington 2006). The underlying assumption is that these special promotions may have a larger impact on sales than other promotions, but these promotions are differentially focusing on consumers as part of the brand or as a unique individual. We examine the effect of such special promotions and the moderating role of self-construal.

There are numerous substantial implications of this research. First, increasing purchase intentions via special promotions would increase sales, having a positive short-term effect. However, the ability of companies to influence brand connection by matching promotion with self-construal would aid companies in their goals of enhancing brand equity to achieve increased market share and brand influence (Palazón-Vidal and Delgado-Ballester 2005; Park and Srinivasan 1994). Therefore, companies could more effectively utilize their marketing dollars to run promotions with both short- and long-term benefits rather than being faced with conflicting promotion effectiveness (Gupta 1988; Raghubir et al. 2004; Yoo et al. 2000). Hence, there is a need to closely examine the matching of promotions with self-construal. Additionally, we answer Raghubir et al.’s (2004) call to examine the effectiveness of promotional features and communication.
Theoretically, this research examines the effect of self-construal on the effectiveness of promotions to enhance purchase intentions. Instead of assuming that all consumers react similarly to promotions, we examine the moderating role of self-construal which has been found to influence consumer responses in other domains of advertising and negative brand information. Moreover, consumer-brand relationships have been found to exist (Escalas and Bettman 2005; Fournier 1998), but our research examines factors that can influence the extent of brand connection. This is an important issue to consider because brand connections may have broader implications for the brand and need not be determined by the consumer alone.

If empirically borne out, the findings should enable managers to better design their promotions to align with their target segment. Currently, managers generally run promotions that target their consumers as a whole or focus on individual differences such as deal proneness (DelVecchio 2005). This research will improve our understanding of when promotions can be more effective by targeting specific consumer segments. Addressing the effect of promotion matching with self-construal on promotion effectiveness will allow managers to more effectively target their customers.

After reviewing relevant promotions and self-construal literature, we examine the effect of an inclusively-framed promotion and the moderating role of interdependence, finding that brand connectedness thoughts mediate the interaction of interdependence and promotion type on purchase intentions. A second study furthers this examination of promotion matching by manipulating either an interdependent and independent self-construal and examining both inclusively- and exclusively-framed promotions as well as the mediating role of brand connectedness thoughts. A third study replicates the second study and enhances generalizability by using adult consumers for an athletic shoe brand.
4.1 PROMOTIONS AND SELF-CONSTRUAL

While price promotions are frequently used to attract customers and increase sales, the effectiveness of such promotions has been mixed. Initial work on sales promotions finds that promotions lower brand evaluations (Dodson, Tybout, and Sternthal 1978). However, this decrease in brand evaluations due to promotions is not found by Davis, Inman, and McAlister (1992). In addition to these conflicting findings, research indicates that promotions lead to increased sales, but these sales may be short-lived as they are largely a result of brand switching and stockpiling (Gupta 1988). Promotions may also lead to customers inferring a lower quality brand, which may have long-term negative effects on the brand (Yoo et al. 2000). On the contrary, promotions may increase brand equity by increasing brand knowledge (Keller 1993; Palazón-Vidal and Delgado-Ballester 2005).

Clearly, there are conflicting findings on the effectiveness of promotions. However, one promotion that has increased sales is that of employee pricing, or extending employee prices to all consumers. After promoting automobiles using the “Employee Pricing for Everyone” tagline, General Motors’ sales increased 41% for the month of June (Munoz 2005). And other companies followed this trend by offering similar employee pricing promotions. Perhaps these promotions increased sales due to their novelty as infrequent deals can impact consumers’ response to promotions (Krishna 1991; Raghbir et al. 2004). We define these types of promotions, in which the focus is on connectedness with others, as “inclusively-framed” promotions. Given their immense popularity, we ask the question—under what conditions will such inclusively-framed promotions be more effective?

We argue that one’s views and feelings toward their relationships with others—self-construal—will play a role. Self-construal is defined as a “constellation of thoughts, feelings, and
actions concerning one’s relationship to others such as the self being distinct from others or connected to others” (Singelis 1994, 581). The independent self is characterized by autonomy and independence and the interdependent self is characterized by obligations to other members of the group (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Specifically, those with an interdependent construal of self base their attitudes and behavior on the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others in the relationship and focus on their associations with in-group members (Markus and Kitayama 1991; Triandis 1995).

Given the tendency of individuals characterized by an interdependent self-construal to focus on ingroups such as family and friends, inclusively-framed promotions may be evaluated differentially based on one’s interdependence. Previous research finds that individuals characterized by an interdependent self-construal do not change their brand attitude toward a local brand when faced with negative brand information (Swaminathan et al. 2007) and that self-brand connections for interdependent consumers are not as negatively impacted as independent consumers when a brand image matches that of an out-group because interdependent consumers are more focused on their group similarities rather than distinguishing themselves (Escalas and Bettman 2005). These findings suggest that consumers characterized by a high interdependent self-construal will respond more positively to an inclusively-framed discount that allows one to be associated with the brand. Specifically, we argue that interdependent consumers will have higher purchase intentions for an inclusively-framed discount than that of those with a low interdependent self-construal. We propose the following:

**H1:** Interdependence will moderate the effect of promotion type on purchase intentions such that for inclusively-framed promotions high interdependence individuals will have greater purchase intentions than low interdependence
individuals. Conversely, purchase intentions for regular promotions should not differ between high and low interdependence individuals.

We posit that this interaction will affect purchase intentions via feelings of brand connection. Consumer research has indicated that consumers’ consumption behavior can serve as construction of their self-identity (Belk 1988; Escalas and Bettman 2005; Fournier 1998). Furthermore, possessions are often a meaningful part of the consumer’s self (Kleine, Kleine, and Allen 1995) and brands can help create and maintain the distinct aspects of the self: independent and interdependent (Swaminathan et al. 2007). Therefore, consumers’ may feel more connected to brands that help them maintain their interdependent self.

Given these findings, we argue that a promotion that matches with one’s self-construal will enhance one’s brand connection, driving purchase intentions by thoughts of connectedness to the brand which may be activated by exposure to the promotion. When individuals characterized by high interdependence are exposed to an inclusively-framed promotion, they should have more thoughts of connectedness to the brand, resulting in higher purchase intentions. In contrast, because individuals with low interdependence focus primarily on self, exposure to inclusively-framed information should not result in stronger feelings of connectedness with the brand. For regular promotions, interdependence is not expected to have a significant impact on thoughts of brand connectedness. The following hypothesis is proposed:

**H2:** Brand connectedness thoughts will mediate the relationship between interdependence and promotion type on purchase intentions.
These hypotheses consider the effect of interdependence on inclusively-framed versus regular promotions. However, as discussed earlier, consumers may be characterized by an independent self-construal. The independent self-construal is characterized by one’s focus on individual thoughts and feelings whereas an interdependent self-construal is concerned with the thoughts and feelings of others (Markus and Kitayama 1991). The independent self-construal focuses an individuals’ attention on their unique self as distinct from others. If interdependent consumers are expected to be more responsive to inclusively-framed promotions, what type of promotion framing will induce consumers with a highly independent self to respond more favorably?

A second type of promotion framing that is increasingly common focuses on appealing to consumers as unique individuals. For instance, Victoria’s Secret often mails customers a coupon for $10 off any purchase during their birthday month. Similarly, many restaurants offer customers a free entrée or dessert on their birthday. Such a promotion appeals to consumers’ sense of individuality and promotes their sense of uniqueness. We term such promotions “exclusively-framed” promotions. We propose that exclusively-framed promotions (i.e., birthday discount, unique customer) that target an individual’s feelings of uniqueness and individuality are particularly effective in the context of independent self-construal. Recommending that companies remember customers’ birthdays and offer them incentives, Harrington (2006) states, “In the highly demanding marketing world, successful businesses take every opportunity to offer unique, personalized products and services, and using the retail promotions calendar can help you do just that.” Clearly, these types of birthday promotions focus on an individual as being unique rather than as part of a group or the brand. Therefore, we propose that an independent
self-construal will enhance the effect of exclusively-framed promotions on purchase intentions.

We propose the following:

**H3:** Self-construal will moderate the effect of promotion type on purchase intentions such that for inclusively-framed promotions interdependent participants will have greater purchase intentions than independent participants. Conversely, for exclusively-framed promotions, independent participants will have greater purchase intentions than interdependent participants.

### 4.2 STUDY 1

#### 4.2.1 Method

*Participants.* The study was completed by a total of 255 participants. Eight surveys had incomplete responses, leaving 247 participants for the analysis. Participants were undergraduates at a large middle Atlantic university and were given either extra credit or $2 cash for their participation. Incentive type did not have an effect and will not be discussed further. The sample consisted of 47% females, and participants’ ages ranged from 18 to 54 with an average age of 21.19 years (SD = 2.56).

*Design and Procedure.* The study is a 2 (Promotion: Inclusively-framed vs. Regular) X 2 (Interdependence: High vs. Low) between-subjects design with interdependence as a measured variable. Participants were asked to read a newspaper story announcing the promotion (see Appendix E for stimuli). They then responded to statements regarding their purchase intentions.
and listed their cognitive thoughts about the promotion in the newspaper story. Next, participants completed the interdependence scale. Last, participants completed the manipulation check and demographic information. The study took approximately 10 minutes to complete and was completed in class.

**Interdependence.** Participants responded to three items from the Singelis (1994) interdependence scale. The items included: “It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group,” “My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me,” and “I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.” Responses were indicated on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree) and were averaged to create a single measure of interdependence ($\alpha = .71$). The average score was 3.51 (SD = 0.73).

**Purchase Intentions.** Participants responded to the following two items: “I would definitely use this discount,” and “I would most likely purchase something at AEO because of this offer.” Responses to these statements were made on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree) and were averaged to create one score ($r = .84; p < .01$).

**Store Experience.** Participants were asked to indicate if they shopped at American Eagle Outfitters before. Ninety-one percent of participants indicated they had shopped at American Eagle Outfitters before. This variable is included as a covariate and is dummy-coded as “0” if No and “1” if Yes.

**4.2.2 Results**

**Manipulation Check.** To verify that the employee discount was perceived as such, participants were asked to respond to the following item: “How would you rate the offer
described in the newspaper story above?" Responses were indicated on a seven-point scale (1 = Regular Discount to 7 = Employee Discount). Results indicated that participants in the employee discount condition perceived the discount to be significantly more like an employee discount ($M_{Employee} = 5.00$ vs. $M_{Regular} = 4.50$; $t = 2.15$, $p < .05$), indicating successful manipulation of the promotion conditions. Furthermore, perceptions of discount type were not correlated with interdependence ($r = -0.01$, $p > .80$), ensuring that there is no confounding.

**Purchase Intentions.** An ANCOVA was performed using PROC GLM in SAS. The analysis was run with purchase intentions as the dependent variable and promotion type, interdependence as a continuous variable, and the interaction of promotion type and interdependence as independent variables, and gender, age, and store experience as covariates. The results indicate that the model is significant ($F(6, 240) = 7.35$; $p < .01$). Promotion type has a marginally significant effect ($F(1, 240) = 3.37$; $p = .07$) and interdependence is significant ($F(1, 240) = 4.73$; $p < .05$). Importantly, the interaction of promotion type and interdependence is significant ($F(1, 240) = 3.92$; $p < .05$). Gender and store experience are also significant.

To visually illustrate these results, we perform a median split of interdependence (Med = 3.67) and examine the cell means. For those in the employee promotion condition, purchase intentions were significantly greater for those with high interdependence than for those with low interdependence ($M_{High} = 4.69$ vs. $M_{Low} = 3.94$; $t = 2.52$, $p < .05$). In contrast, for those in the regular promotion condition, purchase intentions were not significantly different for those with high interdependence and those with low interdependence ($M_{High} = 4.17$ vs. $M_{Low} = 4.22$; $t = 0.20$, ns). These results support hypothesis 1. The means are presented in Figure 4.1.

**Mediation Analysis.** We examine the open-ended cognitive responses collected after the dependent measures. Responses were coded for brand connection-based thoughts and included
statements such as, “Their clothes are my style,” and “I like to shop at American Eagle.” To examine the mediating role of connection-based thoughts on purchase, we performed the three regressions recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986), with results presented in Table 4.1.

First, the interaction of promotion type and interdependence significantly impacts purchase intentions in the first regression \((t = 1.98, p < .05)\). Second, the interaction also impacts brand connection thoughts in the second regression \((t = 1.96, p = .05)\). In the third regression, brand connection thoughts significantly impact purchase intentions \((t = 5.34, p < .01)\) and the effect of the interaction is attenuated \((t = 1.40, p > .10)\). Additionally, a Sobel test (Kenny, Kashy, and Bolger 1998) supports this mediation \((Z = 1.84; p < .07)\). These results indicate that brand connection thoughts mediate the relationship of the interaction of promotion type and interdependence and purchase intentions. These results support hypothesis 2, finding that brand connection thoughts mediate the relationship of the interaction of promotion type and interdependence on purchase intentions.

Discussion. Results of study 1 indicate that the effect of promotion type (inclusively-framed vs. regular) on purchase intentions is moderated by one’s interdependence. Furthermore, this relationship is mediated by brand connection thoughts. Given that an interdependent self-construal enhances the evaluation of an inclusively-framed promotion and feelings of self-brand connection, will an independent self-construal have differential effects on an exclusively-framed promotion as well?
4.3 STUDY 2

Pretest. To ensure that employee promotions are perceived as inclusively-framed and birthday promotions are perceived as exclusively-framed as we propose, we conducted a pretest (N = 39). Participants read each of the promotions and then indicated the promotion that best fit the question. Three items indicated inclusiveness: “Which promotion would make you feel more like a part of the brand?” “Which promotion would make you feel more like a member of the brand family?” and “Which promotion would make you feel more included with the brand family?” Seventy-four percent ($\chi^2 = 9.26, p < .01$), 77% ($\chi^2 = 11.31, p < .01$), and 74% $\chi^2 = 9.26, p < .01$) of participants viewed the employee promotion to fit with these questions, respectively, indicating the employee promotion is perceived as significantly more inclusively-framed than the birthday promotion. Three items indicated exclusiveness: “Which promotion would make you feel more like one of a few select customers of the brand?” “Which promotion would make you feel more unique?” and “Which promotion would make you focus more on yourself as an individual?” Eighty-two percent ($\chi^2 = 16.03, p < .01$), 87% ($\chi^2 = 21.56, p < .01$), and 90% ($\chi^2 = 24.64, p < .01$) of participants viewed the birthday promotion to fit with these questions, respectively, indicating the birthday promotion is perceived as significantly more exclusively-framed than the employee promotion.

4.3.1 Method

Participants. The study was completed by a total of 54 participants. Participants were undergraduates at a large middle Atlantic university and were given $2 cash for their
participation. The sample consisted of 53% females, and participants’ ages ranged from 20 to 28 with an average age of 21.65 years (SD = 1.79).

**Design and Procedure.** The study is a 2 (Promotion: Exclusively-framed: Birthday vs. Inclusively-framed: Employee) X 2 (Self-construal: Interdependent vs. Independent) between-subjects design. Participants first responded to purchase intention and prior purchase items. These items were followed by a filler task and the self-construal manipulation with a manipulation check. Participants were then asked to read a newspaper story regarding the promotion. Participants responded to statements regarding their purchase intentions. Last, participants completed the demographic information. The study took approximately 10 minutes to complete and was completed in class.

**Promotion Type.** Participants were instructed to read one of two newspaper stories (see Appendix F for the stimuli). The birthday discount represented an exclusively-framed promotion and the employee discount represented an inclusively-framed promotion.

**Self-construal.** Self-construal was primed using Trafimow, Triandis, and Goto’s (1991) method. Participants were instructed to take five minutes to think about how they are similar to (interdependent) or different from (independent) their friends and family and write down their thoughts on the questionnaire.

**Purchase Intentions.** Participants responded to two items regarding purchase intentions: “I am likely to purchase something from American Eagle Outfitters (AEO)” and “I will buy something from AEO.” Responses to these two items were first measured at the beginning of the survey. They were measured again following exposure to the brand promotion. Responses to these statements were made on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree) and were averaged to create one score (Pre: $r = .93; p < .01$ and Post: $r = .95; p < .01$).
*Store Experience.* Participants were asked to indicate if they shopped at American Eagle Outfitters before. Ninety-three percent of participants indicated they had shopped at American Eagle Outfitters before. This variable is included as a covariate and is dummy-coded as “0” if No and “1” if Yes.

**4.3.2 Results**

*Manipulation Check.* To check the primed self-construal, we use the Kuhn and McPartland (1954) statement test where participants complete ten statements beginning with “I am.” Each statement was coded as either independent or interdependent. Independent items include a personal description, attitude, or belief (e.g., I am intelligent). Interdependent items refer to either a demographic group or category to which the participant belongs (e.g., I am a Catholic) or a relationship or sensitivity to others (e.g., I am a sister). Items that did not relate to either of these two categories (e.g., I am almost done with this survey) were classified as other and excluded from the analysis. The self-construal statement test indicated that participants in the independent prime condition wrote more independent sentences (\(M_{\text{independent}} = 5.64, M_{\text{interdependent}} = 4.42; F(1, 53) = 1.83, p < .08\)), whereas those in the interdependent prime condition wrote more interdependent sentences (\(M_{\text{independent}} = 1.22, M_{\text{interdependent}} = 2.07; F(1, 53) = 2.44, p < .05\)), indicating that self-construal was successfully primed.

*Orthogonality Check.* To ensure that each manipulation was unaffected by the other manipulations, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for both the self-construal manipulation checks (i.e., number of independent thoughts and number of interdependent thoughts) with self-construal condition, promotion condition, and the two-way interaction. A manipulation check of promotion type was not included because it was pretested so no
manipulation check was included in the main study. For each ANOVA, only the main effect for self-construal was significant ($p’s < .05$). Additionally, self-construal and promotion type were not correlated with each other ($r’s < 0.20, p’s > .20$), indicating that the manipulations worked as intended and there was no confounding.

*Purchase Intentions.* An ANCOVA was performed using PROC GLM in SAS. The analysis was run with post-purchase intentions as the dependent variable and promotion type, self-construal, and the interaction of promotion type and self-construal as independent variables, and pre-purchase intentions, gender, age, and store experience as covariates. The results indicate that the model is significant ($F(7, 46) = 23.48; p < .01$). Neither promotion type nor self-construal had an effect ($p > .40$). Importantly, the interaction of promotion type and self-construal is significant ($F(1, 46) = 4.08; p < .05$). As expected, pre-purchase intentions are significant. Gender, age, and store experience are not significant.

To illustrate these results, we examine the cell means. For those in the employee promotion condition, purchase intentions were not significantly different for those in the interdependent prime than those in the independent prime ($M_{\text{Indep}} = 4.28 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Inter}} = 4.76; t = 1.33, p < .20$). Similarly, for those in the birthday promotion condition, purchase intentions were not significantly different for those in the independent prime than those in the interdependent prime ($M_{\text{Inter}} = 3.99 \text{ vs. } M_{\text{Indep}} = 4.65; t = 1.56, p < .15$). Although these results do not indicate significant differences in cell means, they are directionally supportive of hypothesis 2. The means are presented in Figure 4.2.

*Discussion.* Results of Study 2 indicate that the effect of promotion type (inclusively- vs. exclusively-framed) on purchase intentions is moderated by self-construal. While the cell means do not indicate significant differences between the effect of interdependence and independence
on promotion type, the means are directionally as predicted. These results extend the implications of the first study by matching one’s construal of the self with promotion type, directionally. The insignificant differences in cell means may be a result of the limited sample size. In this study, self-construal is manipulated, indicating that managers do not need to depend on consumers’ chronic self-construal, but can effectively match promotions with a primed self. To examine the generalizability of the moderating effect of primed self-construal on the effect of promotion type on purchase intentions, a third study examines this moderating role of self-construal on the effect of promotion type for adult consumers in a different product category.

4.4 STUDY 3

4.4.1 Method

Participants. A total of 240 adults participated in this study. Participants were members of a market research panel in Western Pennsylvania and could enter a raffle for one of three $50 gift certificates for their participation. The sample consisted of 62% females, and participants indicated their age categorically: 18-24 (4%), 25-34 (31%), 35-44 (38%), 45-54 (18%), 55-64 (9%), and 65 and older (2%).

Design and Procedure. The study is a 2 (Promotion type: Inclusively-framed vs. Exclusively-framed) X 2 (Self-construal: Independent vs. Interdependent) between-subjects design with both promotion type and self-construal manipulated. Participants completed the survey online. First they completed demographic information, purchase intentions, and brand experience measures. Next, participants completed the self-construal manipulation and
manipulation check measures. Participants then read the promotion type stimuli and indicated their thoughts regarding the promotion followed by the completion of purchase intention measures. The online survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Promotion Type. Participants were instructed to read one of two newspaper stories (see Appendix G for stimuli). The birthday discount represented an exclusively-framed discount and the employee discount represented an inclusively-framed discount.

Self-Construal. To prime self-construal, participants read one of two paragraphs emphasizing either the importance of close relationships (interdependent condition) or the importance of being unique (independent condition). This manipulation was adapted from Trafimow et al.’s (1991) method of asking participants to think about how they are similar to or different from their friends and family. Please refer to Appendix G for self-construal primes.

Purchase Intentions. Participants responded to two items regarding purchase intentions: “I am likely to purchase something from New Balance” and “I will buy something from New Balance.” Responses to these two items were first measured at the beginning of the survey. They were measured again following exposure to the brand promotion. Responses to these statements were made on a seven-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly Disagree to 7 = Strongly Agree) and were averaged to create one score (Pre: $r = .89; p < .01$ and Post: $r = .91; p < .01$).

Brand Experience. Participants indicated if they currently purchase New Balance products. Fifty percent of participants indicated they currently purchase New Balance products. This variable is included as a covariate and is dummy-coded as “0” if No and “1” if Yes.
4.4.2 Results

**Manipulation Check.** To check the primed self-construal, we adapted the Kuhn and McPartland (1954) statement test such that participants were asked to list five things that make them either different from (independent) or similar to (interdependent) their family and friends. The self-construal statement test indicated that participants in the independent prime condition wrote more independent thoughts ($M_{\text{independent}} = 3.83$, $M_{\text{interdependent}} = 2.62$; $F(1, 239) = 8.08$, $p < .01$), whereas those in the interdependent prime condition wrote more interdependent thoughts ($M_{\text{independent}} = 1.05$, $M_{\text{interdependent}} = 2.31$; $F(1, 239) = 8.88$, $p < .05$), indicating that self-construal was successfully primed.

**Orthogonality Check.** To ensure that each manipulation was unaffected by the other manipulations, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for both the self-construal manipulation checks (i.e., number of independent thoughts and number of interdependent thoughts) with self-construal condition, promotion condition, and the two-way interaction. A manipulation check of promotion type was not included because it was pretested so no manipulation check was included in the main study. For each ANOVA, only the main effect for self-construal was significant ($p$’s $< .001$). Additionally, self-construal and promotion type were not correlated with each other ($r$’s $< 0.01$, $p$’s $> .80$), indicating that the manipulations worked as intended and there was no confounding.

**Purchase Intentions.** An ANCOVA was performed using PROC GLM in SAS. The analysis was run with post-purchase intentions as the dependent variable and promotion type, self-construal, and the interaction of promotion type and self-construal as independent variables, and pre-purchase intentions, gender, age, and store experience as covariates. The results indicate that the model is significant ($F(7, 239) = 43.40$; $p < .01$). Neither promotion type nor self-
construal had an effect ($ps > .70$). Importantly, the interaction of promotion type and self-construal is significant ($F(1, 239) = 7.81; p < .01$). As expected, pre-purchase intentions are significant. Gender and brand experience are not significant, but age is significant.

To visually illustrate these results, we examine the cell means. For those in the employee promotion condition, purchase intentions were significantly greater for those in the interdependent prime than those in the independent prime ($M_{\text{Inter}} = 5.55$ vs. $M_{\text{Indep}} = 5.24$; $t = 1.98, p < .05$). In contrast, for those in the birthday promotion condition, purchase intentions were significantly greater for those in the independent prime than those in the interdependent prime ($M_{\text{Indep}} = 5.59$ vs. $M_{\text{Inter}} = 5.27$; $t = 1.96, p = .05$). These results support hypothesis 3. The means are presented in Figure 4.3.

Mediation Analysis. We examine the open-ended cognitive responses collected after the dependent measures. Participants were asked to provide their reasoning for their purchase intention ratings. Responses were coded for brand connection-based thoughts and included statements such as, “New Balance can be a part of your life,” “They help to bring me exercise in a manner suitable to my style,” and “New Balance is the one for me like no other.” To examine the mediating role of connection-based thoughts on purchase intentions, we performed the three regressions recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986), with results presented in Table 4.2.

First, the interaction of promotion type and interdependence significantly impacts purchase intentions in the first regression ($t = 2.80, p < .01$), as stated earlier. Second, the interaction also impacts brand connection thoughts in the second regression ($t = 2.42, p < .05$). In the third regression, brand connection thoughts significantly impact purchase intentions ($t = 3.99, p < .01$) and the effect of the interaction is reduced ($t = 2.22, p < .05$). Additionally, a Sobel test (Kenny et al. 1998) indicates this mediation ($Z = 2.07; p < .05$). These results indicate
that brand connection thoughts partially mediate the relationship of the interaction of promotion type and self-construal on purchase intentions. These results also extend support for hypothesis 2 to both independent and interdependent self-construal rather than just interdependence.

4.5 GENERAL DISCUSSION

This research illustrates how self-construal can moderate the effectiveness of specific promotions for both short-term effects such as purchase intentions as well as long-term effects such as brand connection. In three studies, we find that when promotions emphasize inclusiveness with the brand, interdependent consumers have greater purchase intentions compared to regular promotions via more feelings of brand connectedness. However, inclusively-framed promotions are less effective when an individual is in an independent self-construal condition. Further, promotions emphasizing exclusiveness can significantly increase purchase intentions. Yet, the effectiveness of exclusively-framed promotions is limited to independent self-construal conditions. These findings are examined across product categories, using both measured and manipulated variables, and distinct consumer samples to enhance the generalizability. Importantly, while the interaction of self-construal and promotion type was significant in the second study, the cell means were not significantly different. Therefore, future research should examine the effect of a relatively small change in purchase intentions on actual sales.

The examination of self-construal on promotions extends previous literature on both self-construal and promotions. Importantly, this research also provides new insight into self-brand connections. While consumer research has established the existence of consumer-brand
relationships, this paper advances the research on self-brand connections by considering when connections can be mitigated or enhanced based on company-controlled promotions. The findings of this research suggest that self-brand connections, which influence consumer behaviors such as purchase intentions, can be altered via promotions. Theoretically, these findings extend existing research on consumer-brand relationships and the role of self-brand connections in consumer behaviors.

Additionally, this research has substantial managerial implications. While marketing managers are constantly offering promotions to increase sales and market leadership, promotions have been associated with negative impacts on brand equity. This research examines how special promotions (i.e., inclusively- and exclusively-framed) can have positive impacts on the brand via purchase intentions and self-brand connection. Matching promotions with self-construal is not only able to enhance self-brand connection, which impacts brand attitudes but also purchase intentions. Specifically, brand managers may be able to activate self-construal in point-of-purchase displays to increase purchases for products that are on special promotion. Additionally, managers cannot afford to fail to recognize the benefits of enhancing self-brand connection. However, this research is not without its limitations. Existing research has indicated that repeated promotions may have negative effects on quality inferences and price expectations (Raghubir et al. 2004). This research only examines the effect of these promotions after one exposure and their effects may not hold if these promotions are used repeatedly, particularly over a short period of time. Future research should examine the long-term effects of these promotions when congruent with one’s self-construal on brand equity.
### Table 4.1. Study 1: Mediating Role of Brand Connection Thoughts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Purchase Intentions</th>
<th>Brand Connection Thoughts</th>
<th>Purchase Intentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>-0.41</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion Type</td>
<td>1.97*</td>
<td>0.45*</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdependence</td>
<td>1.22**</td>
<td>0.22*</td>
<td>0.94**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion Type X Interdependence</td>
<td>-0.60**</td>
<td>-0.15**</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brand Connection Thoughts</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1.27***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.56***</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.49**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Store Experience</td>
<td>1.55***</td>
<td>0.23**</td>
<td>1.26***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*< .10, **< .05, ***< .01

F(6, 240) = 7.35  
F(6, 241) = 2.54  
F(7, 239) = 11.11

R² = 15.5%  
R² = 5.9%  
R² = 24.6%

### Table 4.2. Study 3: Mediating Role of Brand Connection Thoughts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Variables</th>
<th>Purchase Intentions</th>
<th>Brand Connection Thoughts</th>
<th>Purchase Intentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>2.91***</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>2.08***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion Type</td>
<td>-0.35**</td>
<td>-0.17*</td>
<td>-0.27*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-construal</td>
<td>-0.32*</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.30*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotion Type X Self-construal</td>
<td>0.63***</td>
<td>0.30**</td>
<td>0.49**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brand Connection Thoughts</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>0.46***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.12**</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.10*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brand Experience</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.20**</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-purchase intentions</td>
<td>0.72***</td>
<td>0.07**</td>
<td>0.69***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*< .10, **< .05, ***< .01

F(7, 239) = 43.40  
F(7, 239) = 5.87  
F(8, 239) = 42.40

R² = 56.70%  
R² = 15.04%  
R² = 59.49%
Figure 4.1. Study 1: Moderating Effect of Interdependence on Promotion Type
Figure 4.2. Study 2: Moderating Effect of Self-construal on Promotion Type
Figure 4.3. Study 3: Moderating Effect of Self-construal on Promotion Type
5.0 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Through these three essays, I examine the self’s connection to groups, individuals, and brands and the influence of this connection on consumer judgments and behaviors. Investigating the role of self-other connectedness at the group level explores the role of multiple social identities on consumer charitable evaluations and donations. This essay illustrates that consumer behavior in the donation context is not predicted by one salient social identity, but rather the interaction of multiple social identities. Moreover, the interaction of these identities predicts individuals’ connectedness to the group. This relationship is further mediated by expansiveness-focused thoughts. This essay not only has significant theoretical implications for the interactive role of multiples identities, but it also has implications for non-profit organizations and fund-raising strategies.

Research on connectedness to other individuals is examined at the individual level in regard to consumer regret in the second essay. Findings of three studies demonstrate that the effect of comparison to forgone alternatives on consumer regret is moderated by closeness to the other and domain relevance. Interestingly, the joint effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret is mediated by jealousy. This research makes a theoretical contribution to the regret literature by recognizing the critical role of social factors on the magnitude of regret. Additionally, this research has implications for consumers who may attempt to minimize the regret they experience.
In the third essay, the role of self-other connectedness is examined at the level of consumer-brand connections. Specifically, self-construal is a moderator of the effect of promotion type on purchase intentions and connection-based thoughts mediate this effect. This research extends literature on consumer-brand relationships and promotions to understand how individual differences in the relational view of the self impact promotion response. Furthermore, managerial implications are provided for promotion design and targeting. The contributions and implications of each essay are discussed further.

As discussed earlier, research has built a foundation for the role of social identities in decisions and behaviors. However, consumer research has frequently examined how a single salient identity influences behavior. For example, those with high importance on moral identity have a greater regard for outgroups (Reed and Aquino 2003). My research is among the first to consider the joint role of seemingly similar, yet conceptually distinct identities—gender and internal moral identity. I show that the role of internal moral identity on the effect of group membership for donation judgments and allocations differs between males and females. Feelings of group connectedness and expansive thoughts play a critical role in determining donation likelihood. Importantly, this research suggests that the interaction of multiple identities may result in identity conflict. Although not examined here, future research should examine if individuals experience psychological tension when their identities are not complementary.

The findings of my first essay also contribute to donation literature specifically in the context of the choice between ingroup and outgroup charities. Previous research on charitable donations has been conducted to determine what motivates donors, but these studies have not considered the interactive role of multiple, interacting identities. This research examines the role of these identities in influencing individual’s concern for others and, importantly, the
expansiveness of this concern, which influences one’s donations to various groups. The interaction of these identities can shift the differentiation of ingroups and outgroups.

The substantial value of the first essay is important to recognize, particularly for charitable organizations. With a predilection for researching goods and services for personal use, we have overlooked that consumers donate a significant portion of their income to charitable organizations. These findings should enable fund-raising agencies to better understand the motivations of their donor base. While fundraisers can not change their donors’ identities, they can influence the salience of identities through advertising and fundraising campaigns (Forehand et al. 2002; Grier and Deshpandé 2001). Campaigns could increase the salience of one’s gender identity (Shih, Pittinsky, and Ambady 1999) or prime their moral identity (Reed, Aquino, and Levy 2007) to influence donations. Of course, based on the results presented here, the identities that fundraisers activate should depend on one’s perception of the donation recipient as an ingroup or outgroup to maximize the amount of donations received.

Future research should also examine the role of symbolic moral identity in donation behaviors. The construct of moral identity is based on two dimensions: internal and symbolic (Aquino and Reed 2002). In contrast to the internal dimension discussed earlier, the symbolic dimension represents the public self and appears to indicate one’s sensitivity to the moral self as a social object. While symbolic moral identity was not found to be significant when replacing internal moral identity in two of the three studies with measured internal moral identity presented in essay 1, future research should examine when each of these dimensions influences charitableness. Specifically, the influence of the symbolic dimension on charitable behaviors and attitudes that are subject to public scrutiny or motivated by social reward or recognition should be examined.
In addition to these contributions from my first essay, my second essay explores the social context surrounding regret. This research is the first study to demonstrate that *who* chose the forgone alternative matters. Collectively the second essay provides a balanced yet powerful examination of the phenomenon of regret based not only on performance, but also on closeness and relevance for a full test of Tesser’s (1988) SEM model. This research makes an important theoretical contribution to the existing literature by explaining inconsistencies in prior research. Regret research has suggested that there may be a social impact on regret (Connolly et al. 1997; Kumar 2004; Zeelenberg and Pieters 2004), but this research did not explicitly examine the differences between evaluations to close others (i.e., significant others and friends) and distant others (i.e., acquaintances and strangers) on regret. My second essay explains inconsistencies in prior research by clearly demonstrating that the magnitude of regret may be increased or decreased when comparing to close others, depending on the relevance of the domain.

Furthermore, the findings in the second essay indicate that jealousy mediates the effect of performance, closeness, and relevance on regret. This mediating role of jealousy, a negative emotion arising from social comparisons, reveals the importance of the social context of comparisons on regret rather than merely comparison to forgone alternatives. The mediating role of jealousy on the joint effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret suggests a critical area for future research. That is, what is the effect of one emotion on a subsequent emotion experience? While emotions have been found to have carryover effects on subsequent judgments and decisions (Lerner and Keltner 2001; Lerner, Small, and Loewenstein 2004), research has yet to examine the effect of one emotion experience on subsequent emotion experiences.
The results of the second essay are of particular importance to consumers, indicating ways in which consumers can manage the magnitude of regret they experience. Future research should explore the effect of individual differences on these findings. Specifically, the moderating effect of relevance and closeness on the effect of performance on regret may be enhanced for maximizers, or consumers who are more prone to regret (Schwartz et al. 2002). Also, this effect may differ for individuals who are prone to social comparison. Do individuals high on social comparison (Gibbons and Buunk 1999) experience differences in jealousy and regret for evaluations to close versus distant others or do all social comparisons equally impact their regret?

Lastly, my third essay illustrates how self-construal can moderate the effectiveness of specific promotions for both short-term effects such as purchase intentions as well as long-term effects such as brand connection. The examination of self-construal on promotions extends previous literature on both self-construal and promotions. Perhaps this role of self-construal on promotion type on purchase intentions is impacted by changes in cognitive processing for interdependently- versus independently-focused consumers.

Importantly, this research also provides new insight into self-brand connections. While consumer research has established the existence of consumer-brand relationships, my third essay considers when brand connectedness can be mitigated or enhanced based on company-controlled promotions. The findings of this research suggest that self-brand connections, which influence consumer behaviors such as purchase intentions, can be altered via promotions. Theoretically, these findings extend existing research on consumer-brand relationships and the role of self-brand connections in consumer behaviors.
The results of the third essay have substantial managerial implications. While marketing managers offer promotions to increase sales and market leadership, promotions have been associated with negative impacts on brand equity. This research suggests that special promotions can have positive impacts on the brand via purchase intentions and self-brand connection when matched with self-construal. Managers cannot afford to fail to recognize the benefits of enhancing self-brand connection. However, future research should examine the long-term effects of these promotions when congruent with one’s self-construal since repetitive special promotions may have negative effects on brand image.

The essays that form this dissertation make significant theoretical contributions by recognizing the role that consumers’ connectedness to others plays in their judgments and behaviors. Collectively, these three essays contribute to the understanding of substantial marketing phenomena such as more effectively targeting potential donors, minimizing consumer regret, and matching promotions with consumers’ relational views. The judgments and behaviors of consumers in each of these contexts are influenced by the connectedness of consumers to others. Consumers neither exist nor consume in isolation. As marketing theorists we need to accept and incorporate this reality in the perspectives and lenses we use to understand consumers. This dissertation, hopefully, is a step further in that direction.

Moving forward, there are several areas of research to be explored. First, research should examine the effect of multiple, perhaps conflicting, identities on consumers’ psychological tension and feelings of identity conflict. When identities are in conflict, do consumers react by shifting the importance of identities? Second, research should explore the effect of one emotion experience on the subsequent experience of another emotion. While jealousy mediated the effect of relevance, closeness, and performance on regret, does the experience of some emotions (i.e.,
anger) mitigate the experience of regret? Lastly, the effect of consumers’ identities on the effectiveness of marketing campaigns (e.g., promotions, advertisements) should be studied more thoroughly. Specifically, the potential for companies to influence consumers’ self-brand connectedness via marketing campaigns should be explored. Research in these areas will further our understanding of the importance of consumers’ self-other connectedness in their attitudes and decisions.
6.0  APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY
Imagine you have $100 to donate to various United Way Relief Funds. You can allocate the money in any way you like. Please read the descriptions of each fund and then allocate the $100 among the charities by indicating the amount you choose to donate to each charity. Remember that the total amount donated should sum to $100.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Fund Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way Afghanistan Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in Afghanistan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way France Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way Iran Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in Iran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way Iraq Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in Iraq.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way Israel Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in Israel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way London Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way Palestine Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in Palestine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$</td>
<td><strong>United Way Turkey Relief Fund</strong>: For the families of those killed or injured in terrorist attacks in Turkey.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$100 Total Donations
ESSAY 2, STUDY 1 STIMULI

Please read the scenario below and imagine yourself in this scenario.

You are attending a dinner banquet in two weeks. When you indicated on the banquet invitation that you would be attending, you also selected your dinner entrée from one of several options. There was more than one option that sounded appetizing to you, but since you had to choose one, you selected the option that sounded best.

Two weeks later….
At the banquet, you are seated with your spouse or significant other (total stranger). After everyone eats their soup and salad, the entrée is served. You begin eating your chosen entrée. While you are eating your entrée, you look around and compare your entrée with the other entrée choices that you did not select. It seems that the entrée your spouse or significant other (total stranger) chose is more (less) satisfying than the entrée you chose. Your spouse or significant other (total stranger) is enjoying their entrée more than you are enjoying yours.

Now please take two minutes to imagine how you would feel in this situation before continuing to the next page.
ESSAY 2, STUDY 2 STIMULI

Please imagine yourself in the following situation.

One year ago, you invested in some technology stocks. The expected return for this market was 8%.

Closeness Manipulation

Acquaintance Condition
Now (one year later) imagine that you are dining with Terry, a casual acquaintance from work. Terry and you work for the same company but you have been acquaintances for only a short time and do not interact often. You and Terry are talking and you learn that Terry has invested in similar stocks. This is how the performance of your stocks compares to that of Terry's stocks.

Friend Condition
Now (one year later) imagine that you are dining with Terry, your best friend and colleague from work. You have known Terry for years and Terry is one of the closest friends you have had. Terry and you are talking and you learn that Terry has invested in similar stocks. This is how the performance of your stocks compares to that of Terry's stocks.
### Performance Manipulation

#### Better Condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metric</th>
<th>Performance</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your Stocks' Performance</td>
<td>12% Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry's Stock's Performance</td>
<td>4% Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Annual Market Performance</td>
<td>8% Return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Worse Condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metric</th>
<th>Performance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your Stocks' Performance</td>
<td>4% Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terry's Stock's Performance</td>
<td>12% Return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average Annual Market Performance</td>
<td>8% Return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ESSAY 2, STUDY 3 STIMULI

High Relevance Condition

For this study, please read the following.

Investment Performance and MBAs: Highly Relevant

By MATT BROWN and JESSICA VERAN
November 20, 2006; Page B1

For decades financial analysts and individual investors have been trying to determine factors that are relevant to career success for MBA students. Investors are still largely unaware of the keys to investing, but researchers have found a link between investment success and career success. In a recent issue of the *Journal of Behavioral Finance*, Jillian Devine and Thomas Capizzi argue that career success is positively correlated with stock investment performance. The study surveyed 258 investing MBA graduates regarding their current or most recent company position and their recent investment performance. They found a whopping 0.76 correlation with corporate position and investment performance in this sample. Additionally, those individuals who had better investment performance had also received more promotions in the last 5 years.

Devine and Capizzi controlled for the number of years the MBA students have been investing, advice sought from financial analysts, and total amount of investments. However, none of these factors were as strongly related as that of investment performance and career success. “Basically,” says study co-author Jillian Devine, “performance in stock investing is highly relevant to MBAs’ general career success.”
Low Relevance Condition

For this study, please read the following.

Investment Performance and MBAs: Highly Irrelevant
By MATT BROWN and JESSICA VERAN
November 20, 2006; Page B1

For decades financial analysts and individual investors have been trying to determine factors that are relevant to career success for MBA students. Investors are still largely unaware of the keys to investing, but researchers have yet to find a link between investment success and career success.

In a recent issue of the Journal of Behavioral Finance, Jillian Devine and Thomas Capizzi argue that career success is uncorrelated with stock investment performance. The study surveyed 258 investing MBA graduates regarding their current or most recent company position and their recent investment performance. They found a tiny 0.06 correlation with corporate position and investment performance in this sample. Additionally, there was no relationship between those individuals who had better investment performance and those who had received more promotions in the last 5 years.

Devine and Capizzi controlled for the number of years the MBA students have been investing, advice sought from financial analysts, and total amount of investments. However, none of these factors were related to investment performance or career success. “Basically,” says study co-author Jillian Devine, “performance in stock investing is irrelevant to MBAs’ general career success.”
ESSAY 3, STUDY 1 STIMULI

Inclusively-framed Promotion Condition

Please carefully read through the following newspaper story and answer the questions that follow.

**AE Outfitters Offers Employee Discount**

(Pittsburgh, PA) American Eagle Outfitters (AEO) has recently decided to offer its employee discount to their customers. This employee discount was previously only available to AEO employees and their families.

All employees and their families receive a 40% discount on all items purchased. This 40% employee discount is now being offered to everyone. This discount will allow you to shop at American Eagle Outfitters and receive the same discount as AEO employees and their families.

Regular Promotion Condition

Please carefully read through the following newspaper story and answer the questions that follow.

**AE Outfitters Offers Discount**

(Pittsburgh, PA) American Eagle Outfitters (AEO) has recently decided to offer a discount to their customers. This discount will be offered to everybody.

This promotion is a 40% discount on all items purchased. This 40% discount is now being offered to everyone. This discount will allow you to shop at American Eagle Outfitters.
APPENDIX F

ESSAY 3, STUDY 2 STIMULI

Inclusively-framed Promotion Condition

Please carefully read through the following newspaper story and answer the questions that follow.

**AE Outfitters Offers Employee Discount**

(Pittsburgh, PA) American Eagle Outfitters (AEO) has recently decided to offer its employee discount to their customers. This employee discount was previously only available to AEO employees and their families.

All employees and their families receive a 30% discount on all items purchased. Now this 30% discount will allow you to shop at AEO and receive the discount that was previously only available to AEO employees and their families.

Exclusively-framed Promotion Condition

Please carefully read through the following newspaper story and answer the questions that follow.

**AE Outfitters Offers Birthday Discount**

(Pittsburgh, PA) American Eagle Outfitters (AEO) has recently decided to offer a special birthday discount to individual customers. This discount will only be offered to individual customers during the month of the customer's birthday.

This individual customer birthday offer is a 30% discount on all items purchased. This 30% discount will allow an individual customer to shop at AEO during their birthday month and receive a special birthday discount.
APPENDIX G

ESSAY 3, STUDY 3 STIMULI

PROMOTION TYPE

Inclusively-framed Promotion Condition

Please carefully read through the following newspaper story and answer the questions that follow.

**New Balance Offers Employee Discount**

New Balance has recently decided to offer its employee discount to their customers. This employee discount was previously only available to New Balance employees and their families. All employees and their families receive a 30% discount on all items purchased. Now this 30% discount will allow you to shop at New Balance and receive the discount that was previously only available to New Balance employees and their families.

Exclusively-framed Promotion Condition

Please carefully read through the following newspaper story and answer the questions that follow.

**New Balance Offers Birthday Discount**

New Balance has recently decided to offer a special birthday discount to individual customers. This discount will only be offered to individual customers during the month of the customer’s birthday. This individual customer birthday offer is a 30% discount on all items purchased. This 30% discount will allow an individual customer to shop at New Balance during their birthday month and receive a special birthday discount.
SELF-CONSTRUAL

Interdependent Condition
Having close relationships with your family and friends is very important. Relationships with family and friends are built upon things that you have in common with your family and friends. It is very important to value the thoughts and goals of your family and friends.

Interdependent Condition
Being a unique individual is very important. Your individual identity is built upon the things that make you different from your family and friends. It is very important to value your individual thoughts and goals, especially those that make you unique from everyone.


Geertz, Clifford (1975), The Interpretation of Cultures, New York: Basic Books.


