

The Influence of Prevention- versus Promotion-Focused Brand Slogans  
on Consumer Motivated Choices and Behaviors

Lei Wang

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By:                    Lei Wang

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Signed by the final Examining Committee:

Bianca Grohmann	Chair
Bianca Grohmann	Examiner
Sharlene He	Examiner
Kamila Sobol	Supervisor

Approved by \_\_\_\_\_

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean of Faculty

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## **Abstract**

### The Influence of Prevention- versus Promotion-Focused Brand Slogans on Consumer Motivated Choices and Behaviors

Lei Wang

Across four studies, I show that slogans that focus on the self-concept seem to produce predominantly negative effects on consumer motivated behavior, and this is especially true for prevention (versus promotion) slogans. In my studies, prevention slogans focused on the feared self, promotion slogans focused on the ideal self, and control slogans did not refer to the self-concept. I found reliable negative effects of prevention slogans within the financial (study 1A) and beauty goal domains (study 1B). I also provide evidence that the demotivating effects of prevention-focused slogans are at least partially attributed to consumer defensiveness. Past research suggests that people are more likely to experience anxiety after exposure to a feared, rather than ideal self. In the present research, I extend this finding by showing that prevention-focused slogans (i.e. focus on feared self) encouraged defensive coping, instead of directly addressing the source of the threat. Specifically, exposure to prevention slogans generated a higher likelihood to engage in fluid compensation, a tendency to redirect attention to an unrelated goal and engage in behaviors aligned with this alternate goal (study 3). Conversely, the motivational effects of promotion-focused slogans (i.e. focus on ideal self) demonstrated a more positive, but more subtle pattern of direct coping. Promotion slogans only motivated goal-congruent behaviors among people with high self-consciousness (study 2).

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## Introduction

Imagine that you are thinking about joining a gym and are searching online for the best option for you. In the subsequent days, several banner ads appear on your screen for the multiple gyms in your area. Two slogans catch your attention: “Get your dream body” - i.e. promotion-focused, and “Stop the piling pounds” - i.e. prevention-focused. While the slogans differ in their motivational orientation (i.e. approaching ideal self versus avoiding feared self), they ultimately have the same strategic function of motivating weight-loss, and inciting consumers to purchase a membership. The present research investigates the distinct motivational effects of promotion-versus prevention-focused slogans, as well as the mechanisms involved.

We are surrounded by brand slogans on a daily basis. Brand slogans are “short phrases that communicate descriptive or persuasive information about a brand” (Supphellen & Nygaardsvik, 2002, p.386), and they are widely used by companies to motivate purchase (Kohli, Thomas, and Suri, 2013; Silveira, Galvão, and Penteado, 2017). Brand slogans build the bridge between product image and whatever the brand is trying to be (Abdi & Irandoust, 2013). Past research supports that advertising slogans can have significant positive market-value effects, including enhanced emotional response, stronger memorability and persuasion (e.g. Dahlén & Rosengren, 2005; Freeman, 2005; Kohli, Leuthesser, and Suri, 2007; Mathur & Mathur, 1995; Reece, Vanden Bergh, and Li 1994).

More relevant to our context, slogans can also exhibit strong motivational influences on consumer behavior. By priming ideal and feared self-concepts, slogans are likely to stimulate a self-regulatory process, inciting consumers to engage in behaviors that aim to approach or avoid the primed alter-self (ideal or feared, respectively). Specifically, slogans that prime an ideal self-

concept are likely to activate an approach mechanism that encourages consumers to engage in behaviors that aim to reach the salient goal (Fransen, Fennis, and Pruyn, 2007; Sung & Choi, 2011; Werth & Foerster, 2007). For instance, a slogan alluding to the perfect body shape might encourage consumers to join a gym or purchase healthy foods. In contrast, slogans that include a feared self prime are likely to activate an avoidance mechanism, with the feared self serving as the reference value to be avoided (Ogilvie, 1987). For instance, a slogan mentioning health-related consequences of smoking tobacco (i.e. feared state) aims to encourage behaviors, such as quitting smoking, in order to evade the undesirable outcome.

Both approach and avoidance systems operate by evoking a sense of self-threat (Roth & Cohen, 1986). When people become acutely aware that they are far from an ideal self, or that they are close to a feared self, a state of psychological discomfort ensues (Heatherton & Baumeister, 1991; Heppen & Ogilvie, 2003; Higgins, 1987), which ultimately stimulates motivated behavior (Higgins, 1987; Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, and Hart-Johnson, 2004). The evoked anxiety provides consumers with the necessary drive to propel them into action. If the self-threat is perceived as manageable, consumers generally deal with it directly by engaging in behaviors that directly approach (avoid) their ideal (feared) self (Norman & Aron, 2003). However, there are times when consumers opt to deal with the threat in a more defensive, indirect way (Tesser, 2000). Past research examining behavioral coping strategies resulting from priming self-standards have generally focused on one type of self-guide (ideal versus control or feared versus control) (e.g., Fransen et al., 2007; Kim & Gal, 2014; Park & Maner, 2009; Murphy, Steele, and Gross, 2007). The few studies that included both self-guides (e.g. Banister & Hogg, 2004; Bosnjak, 2010) failed to include a control condition. And therefore, to date, the



literature is still unclear about the relative effects ideal and feared self primes (as those often highlighted in marketing slogans) have on consumer motivated behavior.

In the present paper, I directly compare the distinct effects of promotion- versus prevention-focused slogans (priming ideal versus feared self-standards, respectively) on consumer motivated behavior, and propose a defensive coping mechanism as the underlying driver for my findings (see figure 1). Note that *motivated behavior* pertains to behavior that is congruent with approaching an ideal self or avoiding the feared self.

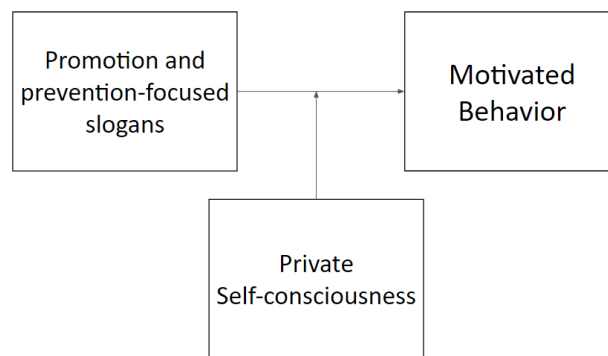


Figure 1: Conceptual Model

Specifically, I propose that promotion- and prevention-focused slogans, that evoke mild, everyday self-discrepancies, will have distinct effects on motivated behavior because they elicit different coping strategies. Promotion-focused slogans that emphasize an achievable ideal self-concept are likely to enhance consumer motivated behavior in the direction of the ideal standard (via direct coping). On the other hand, prevention-focused slogans that emphasize a feared self-concept are more likely to encourage more defensive coping, as feared selves are known to inherently evoke more anxiety than ideal self primes (Carver, Lawrence, and Scheier, 1999; Cheung, 1997; Heppen & Ogilvie, 2003; Phillips, Silvia, and Paradise, 2007), and therefore likely to be perceived as a bigger threat to the self. In this case, prevention-focused slogans are

likely to produce the reverse motivational effect, as people are likely to avoid dealing with the source of threat directly (Martens, Johns, Greenberg, and Schimel, 2006). I will also examine the moderating effects of self-consciousness and show that susceptibility to experience self-threat plays a key role in determining the motivational effects of promotion- and prevention-focused slogans (Fransen et al., 2007). Finally, I propose that prevention-focused slogans will discourage consumers to engage in motivated behavior by triggering a defensive coping mechanism. To test this hypothesis, I propose that people are more likely to demonstrate fluid compensation tendencies after exposure to prevention- (versus promotion-) focused slogans, a common defensive coping response to self-threat (Tesser, 2000).

### **Theoretical Background**

In this paper, I am interested in the motivational effects of promotion-focused versus prevention-focused slogans. Promotion-focused slogans are those that emphasize an ideal self-concept (Higgins, 1987: e.g. “imagine having flawless skin”); prevention-focused slogans emphasize an undesirable or feared self-concept (Ogilvie, 1987: e.g. “education will get you off the streets”). While promotion- and prevention-focused slogans differ in terms of goal valence (i.e. emphasize positive versus negative reference values, respectively: Higgins, Roney, Crowe, and Hymes, 1994), both types of slogans aim to motivate positive consumer outcomes (e.g. purchase, word of mouth), by initiating the self-regulation process (Higgins et al., 1994).

#### **Self-Regulation Theory**

According to self regulatory theory (Carver & Scheier, 1981; Higgins, 1997), people have a tendency to continuously compare their actual self-concept to some standard, often referred to as a self-guide (Higgins, 1987), and this comparison is conceptualized as a powerful driver of consumer motivated choices and behaviors (Carver & Scheier, 1981). Specifically,

people are motivated to regulate their current self-concept to match or mismatch personal self-guides (Higgins, 1987; Ogilvie, 1987).

Past work on self-regulation, typically focused on the effects of ideal self-guides (e.g., Fransen et al., 2007; Kim & Gal, 2014). The basic concept of this framework relates to the negative feedback loop (see figure 2), which specifies that people tend to compare their actual self-view to a salient, predetermined standard. If a discrepancy between the current state and the standard becomes apparent, people become motivated to engage in behaviors congruent with the salient standard in order to approach the desired end-state. Self-monitoring persists, and motivated behavior continues until the activated discrepancy becomes trivial or nonexistent (Bagozzi & Dholakia, 1999; Duval & Wicklund, 1972; Higgins, 1989; Lock & Latham, 2002). For example, a student's desire to be successful motivates behaviors that facilitate academic achievement, such as attending classes, reading textbooks and studying (e.g. Bouffard, Vezeau, and Bordeleau, 1998; Wentzel, 1989), a dieter's desire to be thin motivates restricted eating (e.g. McFerran, Dahl, Gorn, and Honea, 2010), a consumer's desire to be a smart shopper encourages coupon usage (e.g. Schindler, 1998; Shimp & Kavas, 1984). When the desired end-state is achieved, goal-driven behaviors cease (Carver & Scheier, 1981; Forster, Liberman, and Higgins, 2005; Liberman, Trope, and Wakslak, 2007).

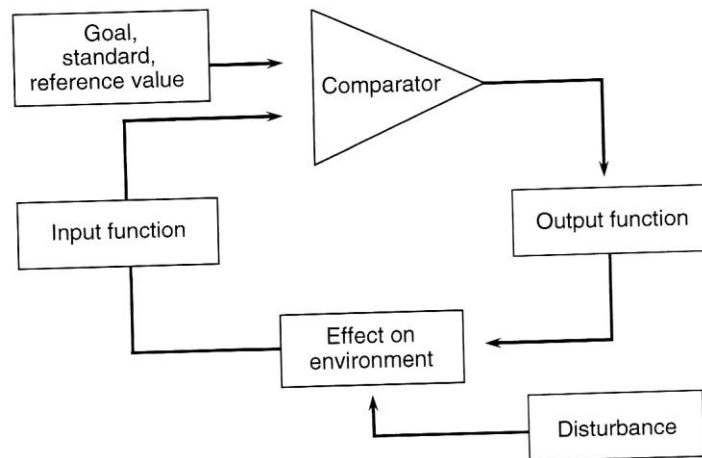


Figure 2: The negative feedback loop of self-regulation (Control Theory: Carver and Scheier, 2008, p.309)

Ideal standards are frequently primed in marketing communications. For example, Visa’s slogan: “It’s Everywhere You Want to Be” and Diesel’s slogan: “For Successful Living”. When a person becomes acutely aware that their actual self does not match up to these ideals, she becomes motivated to approach the desired end state (Carver & Scheier 2001; Higgins, 1987) – i.e. purchase the advertised product or service that promises to help the consumer bridge the gap between their actual and ideal self-concepts.

It needs to be mentioned that people do not always achieve their self-standards due to encountered impediments (Carver & Scheier, 1990). These impediments could include frustration caused by external constraints or lack of skills or effort. It could also refer to high levels of anxiety when the situation is deemed as threatening to the self-concept. In extreme circumstances, if consumers do not have the confidence to reduce the discrepancy, they may opt to jump out of the loop as a means to escape the unpleasant outcomes of the regulatory system (Norman & Aron, 2003).

While much less research examines the effects of undesirable or feared self-standards, it has been shown that prominent discrepancies that arise from comparisons of the actual self to a feared self-standard also evoke a feedback loop, however in the opposite motivational direction (DeAngelis, Post, and Travis, 1986). When people become aware of a feared self-standard, the self-regulatory process becomes activated. However, conversely to actual-ideal self-discrepancies, salient actual-feared discrepancies create pressure to deviate from the self-guide and move the actual self as far away from the undesirable self as possible (Carver & Scheier, 2001). In this case, people do not become motivated to reduce the discrepancy, but rather desire to widen the gap between the two self-concepts (see figure 3: Carver & Scheier, 1998; Hoyle & Sherrill, 2006). Feared self-standards are also often primed in typical marketing communications – e.g. Biore’s tagline “breakup with blackheads”, which focus attention on an undesirable characteristic that people want to evade. This avoidance orientation guides behavior in the direction opposite to the undesirable self (Carver & Scheier, 1990).

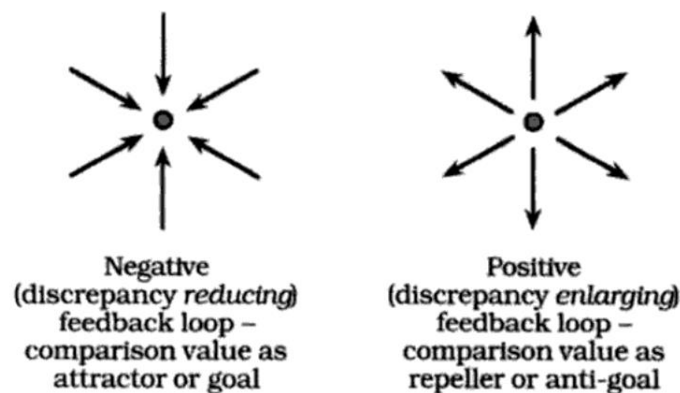


Figure 3: Negative feedback loop and positive feedback loop (Carver and Scheier, 2001, p.18)

Past research has generally examined the motivational impact of ideal and feared self guides separately, in separate studies. Only a handful of studies has directly compared the effects of both ideal and feared self-guides simultaneously (e.g. Heppen & Ogilvie, 2003; Phillips et al.,

2007), however these studies did not use a baseline control condition, and without an explicit control, it is difficult to conclusively determine which self-guide drives motivated behavior. Further, these studies did not elaborate on the mechanisms involved, which would explain why ideal and feared self primes impact motivated behavior differently.

I propose that promotion-focused slogans will encourage motivated behavior, while prevention-focused slogans will produce counteractive, reverse motivational effects. This proposition is based on past findings demonstrating that both, actual-ideal and actual-feared self-discrepancies, evoke a psychological discomfort that is perceived as a threat to the self-esteem. However, I argue that the two types of self-guides will activate different coping mechanisms that would explain the distinct effects of regulatory focus (i.e. promotion versus prevention) on motivated behavior. Specifically, promotion-focused slogans that focus on an ideal self are likely to trigger a mild sensation of self-threat (produced by the actual-ideal self-discrepancy). When the self-threat is perceived as manageable, people generally attempt to respond to the threat directly but engaging in motivated behavior. On the other hand, prevention-focused slogans that focus on a feared self are likely to trigger a more intensified sensation of self-threat (produced by the actual-feared self-discrepancy). In this case, people might opt to cope with that threat in a more defensive, indirect way by evading motivated behavior to avoid being reminder of the threat.

In the following section, I will describe the psychological consequences of activated self-discrepancies, which will justify my proposed coping mechanism underlying the effects of promotion- versus prevention-focused slogans on consumer motivated behavior.

## Psychological Component of Self-Regulation

An important driver underlying consumer motivated behavior is the negative psychological outcomes caused by perceived discrepancies between an individual's self-concept and his or her self-guides (Higgins, Klein, and Strauman, 1985; Phillips et al., 2007; Strauman & Higgins 1987). Specifically, exposure to important self-guides have the tendency to undermine people's self-worth (Hoge & McCarthy, 1983). A heightened actual-ideal self discrepancy infers a failure of self-fulfilment (Higgins, 1987, 1996; Moretti & Higgins, 1990), while a narrowing discrepancy between an actual and feared self infers a lack of standard maintenance (Endo, 1992). In both cases, the individual is likely to experience a threatened sense of self-esteem. Self-esteem refers to "the motive to seek experiences that enhance or protect the self-concept" (Banister & Hogg, 2004, p. 852) and it is one of the most important drivers of consumers behaviour (Banister & Hogg, 2004; Khan, Kadirov, Bardakci, Iftikhar, Baran, Kantar, and Madak, 2019). Specifically, people approach ideals to maintain self-esteem and avoid undesired outcomes to protect self-esteem.

When a salient threat to self-esteem exists, people experience negative psychological tension and become driven to defend their self-worth by regulating behaviors to buffer from the threat and ease the associated unpleasant feelings (Rudman, Dohn and Fairchild, 2007; Tesser, 2000). In other words, this elevated level of negative energy is what propels people into action (Bradley, Codispoti, Cuthbert and Lang, 2001; Roets & Van Hiel, 2011). For instance, a student that has failed on a midterm term is likely to experience some anxiety resulting from the fact that her actual self-state has moved away from her goal to achieve an excellent final grade in the course. Past research shows that this arousal is an integral part of motivation – it is what energizes behavior (Hull, 1943; Lang, 1995; Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 1987). Emotional arousal

determines the “intensity of motivational activation” (Bradley et al. 2001, p. 276). Without arousal, emotional reactions to stimuli do not provide individuals with enough drive to instigate behavior (Bradley et al. 2001; Roets & Van Hiel, 2011).

Relevant to this study, is the aftermath of these effects. How do people cope with the negative psychological experiences produced by salient ideal and feared self-concepts, such as those primed in promotion- and prevention-focused slogans, respectively.

### Coping with Self-Discrepancies

The literature suggests two common behavioral outcomes resulting from a salient self-threat (such as that experienced when exposed to salient self-standards): direct and defensive coping. If the consumer has the opportunity to cope with the threat directly, and the threat and accompanying anxiety is not too overwhelming, consumers tend to engage in direct coping strategies (e.g. Oyserman et al., 2004). On the other hand, if the individual does not have an imminent opportunity to directly deal with the threat (e.g. a dieter with no healthy options at dinner function), or if the felt anxiety resulting from the self-threat is perceived as overwhelming, people opt to engage in more defensive coping, which includes indirect coping (e.g. Sobol & Darke, 2014; White & Argo, 2009) or escapism (e.g. Heatherton & Baumeister, 1991).

#### **Direct Coping**

Direct coping reflects the self-regulation feedback loop, as described previously. When a self-guide is activated, people become motivated to engage in behaviors that directly address the gap between the actual self and the focal standard (Carver & Scheier, 1982). In other words, direct coping after exposure to an ideal self-standard involves engaging in behaviors that directly approach the desired end-state (e.g. Gao, Wheeler, and Shiv, 2008; Kim & Gal, 2014). For



example, a person who experiences a self-discrepancy between their actual and ideal body appearance, will become motivated to join the gym in an attempt to directly resolve the discrepancy (Schouten, 1991). Also, Park and Maner (2009) found that a threat to one's appearance enhanced the likelihood of buying appearance-enhancing clothing. In my research, everyday, mild actual-ideal self-discrepancies, such as those commonly triggered by promotion-focused slogans (e.g. "achieve flawless skin"), should not provoke strong anxiety or an exaggerated sense of self-threat, and therefore are expected to motivate behaviors via direct coping, such as buying the advertised face cream.

Conversely, I propose that prevention-focused slogans will encourage more defensive coping which entails behaviors that do not directly address the source of the threat.

### **Indirect Coping**

Indirect coping refers to compensatory behaviors that avoid dealing with the threat directly (Kim & Rucker, 2012; Steele, 1988; Wicklund & Gollwitzer, 1981, 1982). For example, White and Argo (2009) showed that when female participants were shown information that threatened female gender identity (e.g., female demonstrates weak analytical reasoning skills, poorly developed sense of social intelligence), those who scored low on collective self-esteem were less likely to choose a feminine, identity-confirming magazine (Cosmopolitan) than a gender-neutral magazine (US magazine). This was because they coped with the self-discrepancies indirectly by avoiding same domain products and approaching products not related to the self-discrepancy. I propose that a salient feared self-concept, triggered by prevention-focused slogans, is more likely to result in this defensive, indirect form of coping. Feared self-views generally elicit higher levels of anxiety (Carver et al. 1999; Cheung, 1997; Heppen & Ogilvie, 2003; Phillips et al., 2007) and a stronger sensation of threat (Keller & Block, 1996)

than ideal self-views, and therefore people might prefer to avoid thinking about the feared self-concept to elude the anxiety and ruminating about the threat. Instead, I propose that feared-self primes are likely to result in compensatory behavior.

Fluid compensation represents a specific type of indirect coping strategy, which aims to restore a sense of self-worth after being exposed to a self-threat, without directly addressing the threatened domain. Instead people are motivated to associate themselves with products or behaviors that signal competence in an alternative domain (Steele, 1988; Tesser, 2000). For instance, after receiving feedback that made salient their hypocritical behavior of practicing unsafe sex (vs. not), participants were more likely to donate money to a charity organization for homeless people in an effort to boost their views as altruistic and generous individuals (Stone, Wiegand, Cooper, and Aronson, 1997). Contrary to the self-regulation paradigm (Carver & Scheier, 1981), fluid compensation theory suggests that salient self-discrepancies should motivate performance outside the original domain of comparison (Tesser, 2000). According to this theory, the main goal of motivated behavior is to maintain self-esteem. A threat to self-esteem motivates people to engage in any behavior that will compensate for their shortcomings. The theory further states that it is generally easier for people to deal with threat outside the initial comparison (through indirect coping), instead of coping directly within the same domain, since the latter requires people to focus on their shortcomings which could intensify the threat and increase psychological discomfort.

If we consider the self as an organized, hierarchical structure, there are different low-level behaviors or goals that serve the same higher overarching goals. For instance, one can achieve the goal of healthiness by going to the gym (fitness) and eating healthy (nutrition). If you fall short on reaching your fitness goal, you might compensate by really focusing on your

nutrition. By compensating in other domains, people are able to restore a general sense of being a healthy individual (i.e. health self-esteem) while escaping the actual domain of the threat (Tesser, 2000). This is demonstrated in Sobol and Darke (2014)'s paper, where participants were exposed to beautiful models (representing ideals). This lowered participant (actual) perceived attractiveness and resulted in a tendency to make more optimal consumption choices as a means to boost their general perceived competence – a higher-level goal. While the participants might not view themselves as attractive, at least they were smart. Similarly, I propose that prevention-focused slogans will motivate people to compensate for their shortcomings in one domain by motivating behavior in a different self-domain, instead of facing the self-threat directly via direct coping.

### Hypotheses Development

In the present study, I will use fictitious brand slogans to prime the ideal and feared self-concepts. Often marketers use marketing communications to prime these self-standards to encourage such positive consumer behaviors as spreading word of mouth, and product purchase. This is likely to happen when the self-standard is perceived as a mild threat, as is the case of most ideal standards commonly primed in promotion-focused slogans. However, prevention-focused slogans that prime feared-self concepts are likely to inherently evoke a stronger sensation of self-threat, leading to a more indirect coping approach, which curtails motivated behavior.

**Hypothesis 1a: Promotion-focused slogans are likely to enhance motivated behavior in the target domain, compared to prevention-focused and control slogans.**

**Hypothesis 1b: Prevention-focused slogans are likely to decrease motivated behavior in the target domain, compared to promotion-focused and control slogans.**

According to past research, the effect could be moderated by private self-consciousness (Fransen et al. 2007). Private self-consciousness is the inner dimension of self-consciousness which focuses on the private thoughts and feelings about oneself (Fenigstein, Scheier, and Buss, 1975). People who have high private self-consciousness are more attuned to their inner states and feelings (Fransen et al. 2007), appear to respond more to their temporary affective states (Fenigstein et al., 1975), tend to be more accurate reporting their internal states (Scheier, Carver, and Gibbons, 1979) and show greater responsiveness to experimental manipulations of mood (Scheier, 1976) than those with low private self-consciousness. For example, Scheier (1976) found that when participants were angered, high self-conscious individuals were more aware of their self-states so their tendency to respond to the state by being more aggressive was intensified, compared to low self-conscious subjects. Based on these findings, I hypothesize that response to self-threat will be more pronounced among people with high self-consciousness.

**Hypothesis 2a: Promotion-focused slogans are likely to enhance motivated behavior in the target domain, especially among people with high self-consciousness versus low self-consciousness.**

**Hypothesis 2b: Prevention-focused slogans are likely to decrease motivated behavior in the target domain, especially among people with high self-consciousness versus low self-consciousness.**

Finally, I propose that consumers exposed to a prevention-focused slogan will opt to cope with the threat more indirectly by switching their efforts toward a complimentary goal according to fluid compensation theory (Tesser, 2000).

**Hypothesis 3: Prevention-focused slogans are likely to increase motivated behavior toward a non-focal goal (via fluid compensation).**

Across four studies I show partial support for our hypotheses. In study 1A, I found that female participants were less likely to prefer a goal-related product after exposure to a prevention-focused versus promotion-focused. In study 1B, I replicated my main effect findings in a different goal-domain and introduced the control condition as baseline. The results revealed that promotion-focused slogans did not motivate goal-related behavior above the baseline condition (*Hypothesis 1a not supported*), however, prevention-focused slogans exhibited the predicted demotivating effect, compared to promotion-focused and control slogans (*Hypothesis 1b supported*). In study 2, higher self-conscious participants exposed to a promotion-focused slogan exhibited higher motivated behavior than low-self-conscious participants (*Hypothesis 2a supported*). However, self-consciousness did not moderate the relationship between prevention-focused slogans and consumer motivated behavior (*Hypothesis 2b not supported*). Both low and high self-conscious individuals exhibited defensive behavior. Finally, in study 3, female participants exposed to a prevention-focused slogan (versus promotion-focused slogans) preferred products that were not directly related to the focal goal, demonstrating a tendency to redirect attention toward an alternative goal (*Hypothesis 3 supported*).

## **Research Methodology**

I used the Qualtrics software to design all the studies and collected my data through Figure Eight - a crowdsourcing data collection forum online.

### **Study 1A**

#### *Objective*

In this study, my objective was to test the main effect of slogan regulatory focus (promotion versus prevention) on consumer motivated behavior. More specifically, I wanted to provide preliminary evidence for the positive motivational effects of promotion-focused slogans,

and the negative motivational effects of prevention-focused slogans. I designed bank slogans to prime the money saving goal for women (see table 1).

*Method*

Female participants were randomly assigned to view one of two fictitious slogans: promotion-focused and prevention-focused, and each slogan intended to prime the financial goal (see table 1). Pretest ( $N=94$ ) confirmed that promotion slogans “reflected something that participants wanted to approach” ( $M_{promo} = 5.21, M_{prev} = 4.17, t(93)= 5.667, p= .000$ ), while the prevention slogans “reflected something that the participants wanted to avoid” ( $M_{prev} = 4.07, M_{promo} = 3.31, t(93)= 3.434, p= .000$ ) (see Appendix 1 for full scales).

Table 1: Slogan Primes (Study 1A)

<b>Condition</b>	<b>Bank Slogans</b>
<b>Promotion-focused</b>	We help you save money!
<b>Prevention-focused</b>	We help you avoid debt!

To control for slogan liking and credibility, we asked participants “To what extent do you dislike or like slogan?” and “How credible are these slogans?” on 7-point scales (see Appendix 1 for full scales). There was some discrepancy in slogan credibility across conditions, so I used credibility as a covariate in this and all remaining studies. To assess participant motivation toward the financial goal, participants reported their preference for branded (more expensive) versus generic (less expensive) products. Specifically, participants were presented with a branded and generic version of four consumer goods: multivitamin, aspirin, white strips and toothpaste (e.g. Centrum’s multivitamin versus Walmart’s Equate multivitamin). Each product pair provided similar features and benefits (e.g. same number of capsules, same benefits –

regular strength pain relief), but differed in terms of price (e.g. \$3.69 versus \$5.99). The order in which the products were presented was randomized (see actual primes and stimuli of Study 1A in Appendix 2). Participants were asked which version of the product they preferred on 7-point scales with the generic versus branded products serving as anchors (1- “I would definitely prefer A (generic product)”; 7- “I would definitely prefer B (branded product)”). The average of the scores for the four product categories served as the dependent variable ( $\alpha = 0.740$ ). Higher scores represent higher preference for the more expensive, branded products – i.e. goal-incongruent choice. Lastly, demographic and English proficiency variables were collected (4-point scale: “I understand, read and speak the language perfectly”, “I understand, read and speak the language very well, I rarely don’t understand something”, “I understand, read and speak the language ok, I always understand the context but have trouble understanding every word in a conversation” and “I understand, read and speak the language poorly, I have a lot of trouble understanding the language”).

### *Results and Discussion*

94 all-female participants completed the study, and no participant took a substantially long time to complete the survey (i.e. three standard deviations above the mean). I used participant’s English proficiency and credibility of the slogan as covariates. Results revealed participants exposed to the prevention-focused slogan expressed a higher preference for the more expensive, branded products than participants in the promotion-focused condition ( $M_{prev} = 5.34$ ,  $SD=1.30$ ;  $M_{promo} = 4.73$ ,  $SD=1.64$ ;  $F(1, 90) = 3.061$ ,  $p=0.084$ ; see figure 4). This means that prevention (versus promotion) slogans demotivate goal-congruent choices within the financial goal domain. More specifically, prevention (versus promotion) slogans increased consumer

desire to spend more money, instead of saving. In order to specify which regulatory focus is responsible for the effect, I introduced a control condition as baseline in the next study.

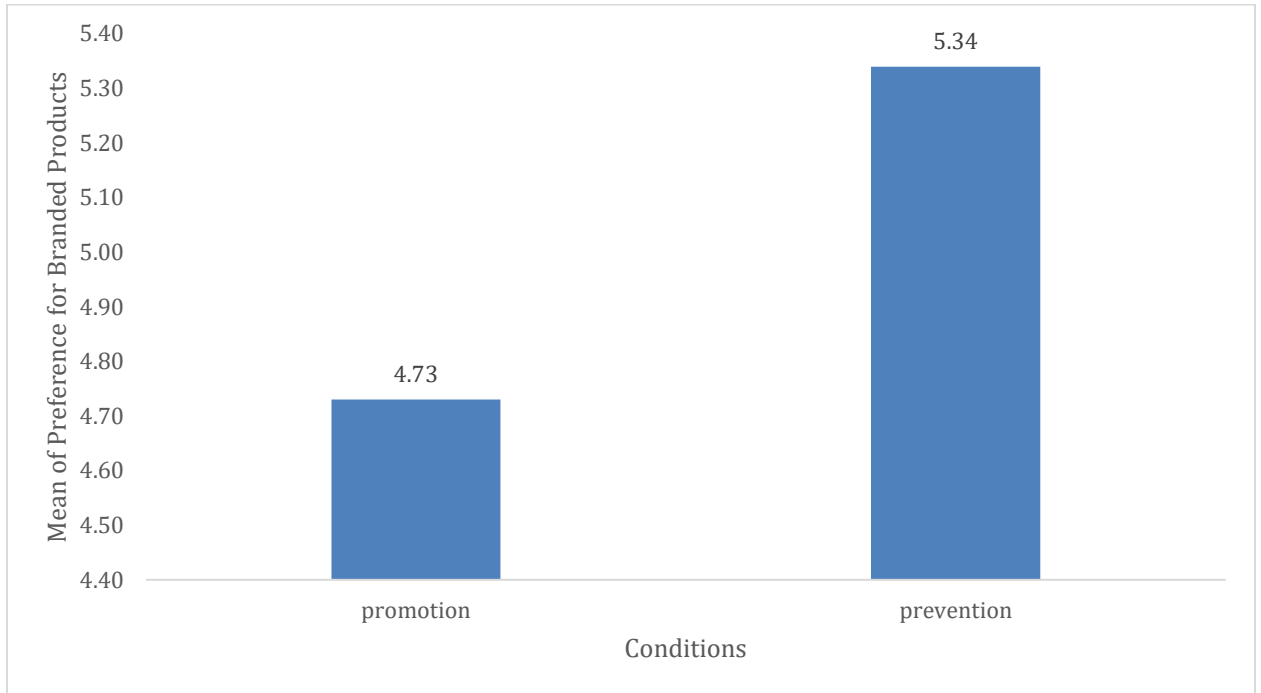


Figure 4. Preference for Branded (i.e. More Expensive) Products (Study 1A)

## Study 1B

### Objective

The objective of study 1B was to replicate the main effect of slogan regulatory focus on motivation in a different goal domain, namely the beauty goal domain. I also introduced the control condition to examine which regulatory focus drives the effects. I designed fictitious face cream slogans intending to prime the beauty goal for women (see table 2).

Table 2: Slogan Primes (Study 1B)

Condition	Face Cream Slogans
Promotion-focused	Get the perfect smooth skin!
Prevention-focused	Reduce your wrinkles!
Control	Time to treat your skin!



## *Method*

All female participants were randomly assigned to either view the promotion-focused, prevention-focused or control slogan. Pretests ( $N_{cream}=106$ ) confirmed that the promotion slogans reflected something that participants wanted to approach ( $M_{cream\_promo} = 5.45$ ,  $M_{cream\_prev} = 3.64$ ,  $t(105)=8.89$ ,  $M_{cream\_control} = 4.79$ ,  $t(105)=3.65$ ,  $p<.0005$ ), while the prevention slogans reflected something that the participants wanted to avoid ( $M_{cream\_prev} = 4.17$ ,  $M_{cream\_promo} = 3.13$ ,  $t(105)=4.53$ ,  $M_{cream\_control} = 3.24$ ,  $t(105)=4.05$ ,  $p<.0005$ ). Again, participant liking and credibility perceptions toward the slogans were measured. To gauge participant motivation, participants reported their likelihood to recommend a goal-congruent product to a friend. All participants were asked how likely they were to recommend a fictitious beauty app called “Instant Beauty” which helps users become more beautiful (“How likely are you to recommend the app (or a similar app) to a friend?”), see actual primes and stimuli of Study 1B in Appendix 3) at 7-point scale (1-“not at all likely”; 7-“very likely”). Given that people generally possess a variety of apps on their phones, participants might not be interested to acquire more apps for themselves regardless of their motivation level to achieve the related goal. As such, recommendation likelihood is deemed as a more accurate proxy of motivation, rather than purchase intent. Finally, participants’ demographic information and English proficiency were collected.

## *Results and Discussion*

189 female participants completed the study and no participants took a substantially long time to complete the survey (i.e. three standard deviations above the mean). I used participant’s English proficiency and perceptions of slogan credibility as covariates. An ANOVA analysis revealed a main effect of slogan regulatory focus on recommendation likelihood ( $M_{prev} = 4.62$ ,  $SD=1.58$ ;  $M_{promo} = 5.15$ ,  $SD=1.5$ ;  $M_{control} = 5.18$ ,  $SD=1.26$ ;  $F(2,184) = 2.938$ ,  $p= .055$ ). Simple

contrasts supported hypothesis 1b by demonstrating that recommendation likelihood was significantly lower in the prevention-slogan condition, than in the promotion and control conditions ( $p < .05$ ) (see figure 5, hypothesis 1b supported). However, recommendation likelihood was not enhanced by promotion slogans compared to controls ( $p = 0.963$ , no support for hypothesis 1a). This means that female participants are significantly less likely to engage in motivated behavior (i.e. word of mouth) after exposure to a prevention- versus promotion-, or more neutral slogans.

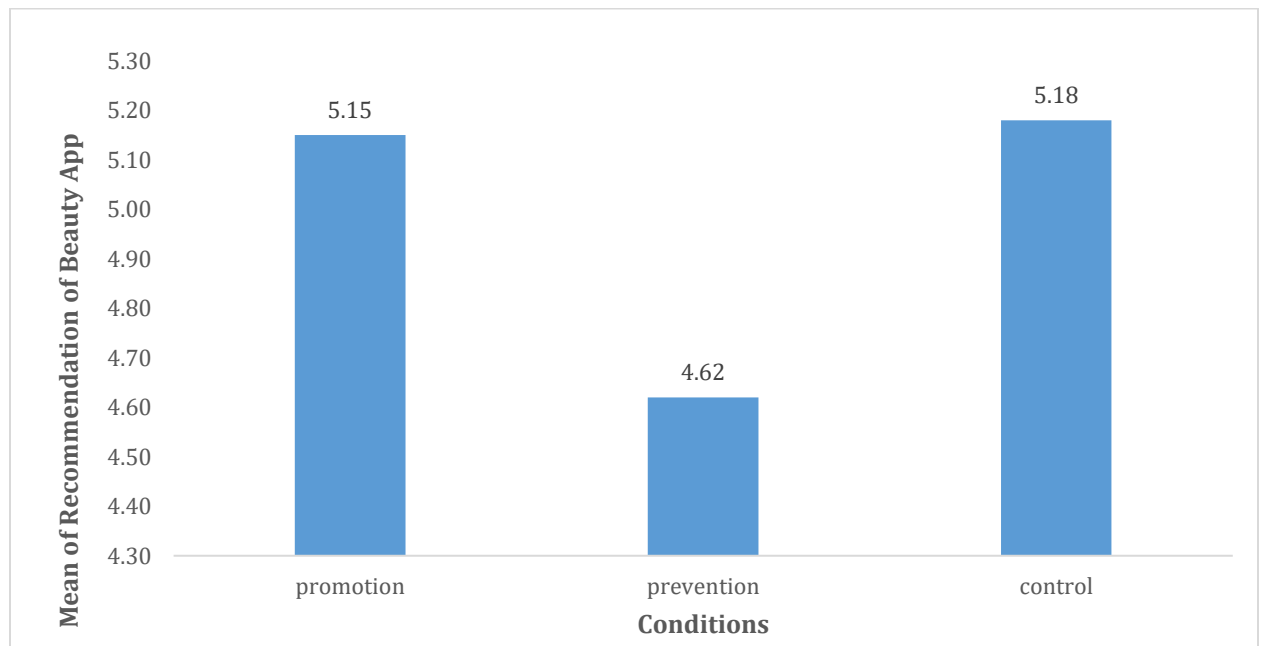


Figure 5 Recommendation of beauty (goal-congruent) app (study 1B)

## Study 2

### *Objective*

The results of studies 1A and 1B provide reliable evidence for the main effect of slogan regulatory focus on consumer motivated outcomes. More specifically prevention-focused slogans seem to discourage motivated behavior. The objective of study 2 is to provide preliminary evidence for the proposed defensive mechanism, by showing that the demotivating effects of

prevention-focused slogans are strongly apparent among individuals who are more likely to experience and respond to self-threat. Namely, I will be looking at the moderating effect of private self-consciousness which represents the extent to which people are attuned to their inner state (Fransen et al., 2007). I predict that the demotivating effects of prevention-focused slogans will be more apparent among highly self-conscious individuals because they are more likely to perceive the slogan as a self-threat and exhibit the defensive behavior.

This study also aims to shed light on when promotion-focused slogans might have a positive impact on motivated behavior. In studies 1B, promotion-focused slogans did not significantly influence motivate behavior above a neutral, baseline level. It is possible that failure to include the moderator (self- consciousness) obstructed the findings. I predict that promotion-focused slogans will only motivate behavior for people that recognize the primed ideal self as a self-threat (i.e. high self-conscious individuals). Only when self-threat is experienced are people motivated to engage in motivated behavior. Conversely, the motivating effects of promotion-focused slogans are predicted to be attenuated among low self-conscious individuals.

### *Method*

Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions, exposing them to either a promotion-focused or prevention-focused slogan for a toothpaste product (see table 3), intending to prime the beauty goal (see Appendix 4 for actual prime of study2). Pretest ( $N=126$ ) confirmed that promotion slogans reflected something that participants wanted to approach ( $M_{promo} = 5.90$ ,  $M_{prev} = 4.35$ ,  $t(123)= 8.392$ ,  $p<.0005$ ), while the prevention slogans reflected something that the participants wanted to avoid ( $M_{prev} = 3.79$ ,  $M_{promo} = 2.60$ ,  $t(125)= 5.460$ ,  $p<.0005$ ).

Table 3: Slogan Primes (Study 2)

Condition	Toothpaste Slogans
Promotion-focused	Get the perfect white smile!
Prevention-focused	Goodbye yellow teeth!

After slogan exposure, slogan credibility was assessed, and then all participants were shown the same “Beauty App” as in Study 1B and asked how likely they were to recommend the app to their friends. This measure served as the dependent variable. The private self-consciousness scale was included (Fenigstein et al., 1975) to assess participants’ level of self-consciousness (sample items: “I’m always trying to figure myself out”, “I reflect about myself a lot”; full scale in Appendix 5). And finally, demographic and English proficiency measures were obtained.

### *Results and Discussion*

72 all-female participants completed the study. I removed all participants who took a substantially long time to complete the survey (i.e. three standard deviations above the mean:  $N=3$ ), leaving 69 participants. I used participant’s English proficiency and perceptions of slogan credibility as covariates.

An ANOVA revealed no significant main effects, but the interaction term of slogan regulatory focus and self-consciousness had a significant impact on recommendation likelihood ( $b=-1.09$ ,  $t(63) = -1.98$ ,  $p=0.05$ ). Specifically, spotlight analyses revealed that among participants with high self-consciousness (i.e., at one SD above the mean of self-consciousness), participants were more likely to recommend the beauty app when exposed to the promotion slogan than when exposed to the prevention slogan ( $b=-0.948$ ,  $t(63)=-1.79$ ,  $p=0.078$ ). Among

participants with a low level of self-consciousness (i.e., at one SD below the mean of self-consciousness), condition did not impart participants' likelihood of recommending the beauty app ( $b=0.785$ ,  $t(63) = 1.24$ ,  $p=0.221$ ).

More relevant to my research, as seen in figure 6, participants exposed to the prevention slogan reacted defensively, regardless of their level of self-consciousness ( $b=-0.162$ ,  $t(63)=-0.41$ ,  $p=0.687$ ), as manifested by their reluctance to recommend the goal-congruent product – i.e. sign of escapism (hypothesis 2b not supported). On the other hand, promotion slogans effects were moderated by self-consciousness as predicted ( $b=0.930$ ,  $t(63) = 2.56$ ,  $p=0.013$ ), the higher level of people's self-consciousness was, the higher likelihood they were to recommend the beauty app (hypothesis 2a supported). This is consistent with our proposition that people with high level of self-consciousness are more aware of internal information relevant to the self-concept (Fransen, Fennis, Pruyn, and Vohs, 2011), so they are more likely to act on that information. It is worth mentioning, that the significant interaction seems to be explained by the positive effects of high self-conscious individuals exposed to the promotion slogan, while the remaining three conditions did not exhibit any significant difference in motivated behavior.

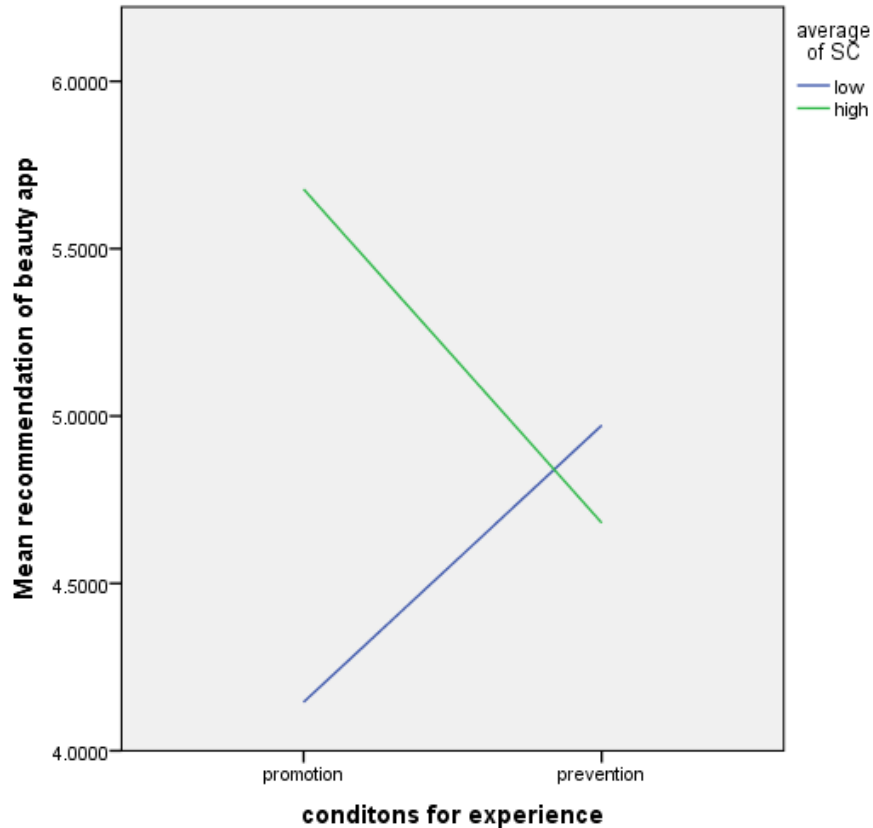


Figure 6. Moderation Effect of Self-Consciousness (Study 2)

### Study 3

#### *Objective*

The objective of study 3 was to provide further evidence showcasing that the negative effects of prevention-focused slogans are driven by a defensive mechanism. I show this by examining whether prevention-focused slogans enhance the tendency to engage in a common defensive behavior – namely, fluid compensation. Fluid compensation theory specifies that instead of coping with a self-threat directly, people sometimes opt to cope in a more indirect way, namely by refocusing their attention to a different self-domain (Tesser, 2000). In the present study, I assess fluid compensation by examining participants’ willingness to pay for a goal-irrelevant good.

## *Method*

All female participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: promotion- and prevention- focused slogans for a face cream (same prime as in Study 1B). After a brief irrelevant filler task, all participants were presented with a “Perfect Fit” fitness app (see Appendix 6 for actual stimuli of Study 3) used to help consumers achieve their fitness goal – not directly related to focal beauty goal, and reported the amount of money they would pay for the app (“How much would you pay for the app?”). According to the principle of fluid compensation, if we consider self as an organized, hierarchical structure, there are different low-level behaviors or goals that serve the same higher overarching goals. The fitness and beauty are distinct lower level goals with a similar overarching goal, to restore self-esteem. By focusing on the fitness goal, people would restore a general sense of self-worth while escaping the actual domain of the threat (beauty) and feel better about themselves (Tesser, 2000). Finally, demographic and English proficiency information was recorded.

## *Results and Discussion*

88 all-female participants completed the study and no participants took a substantially long time to complete the survey (i.e. three standard deviations above the mean). I removed all participants who reported a substantially high price to the fit app (i.e. three standard deviations above the mean:  $N=4$ ) and leaving 84 participants. I used participant’s English proficiency and perceptions of slogan credibility as covariates.

A simple t-test revealed that participants in the prevention condition reported a higher willingness to pay for the fitness app than those in the promotion condition ( $M_{prev}= 8.84$ ,  $SD= 11.76$ ;  $M_{promo}= 6.56$ ,  $SD= 6.70$ ;  $F(1,80)= 2.998$ ,  $p=0.087$ , see figure 7). These findings support that female participants prefer to approach products outside of the original threatened domain

(beauty domain) to compensate for the negative feeling aroused by the prevention-focused slogans. So, our third hypothesis is supported.

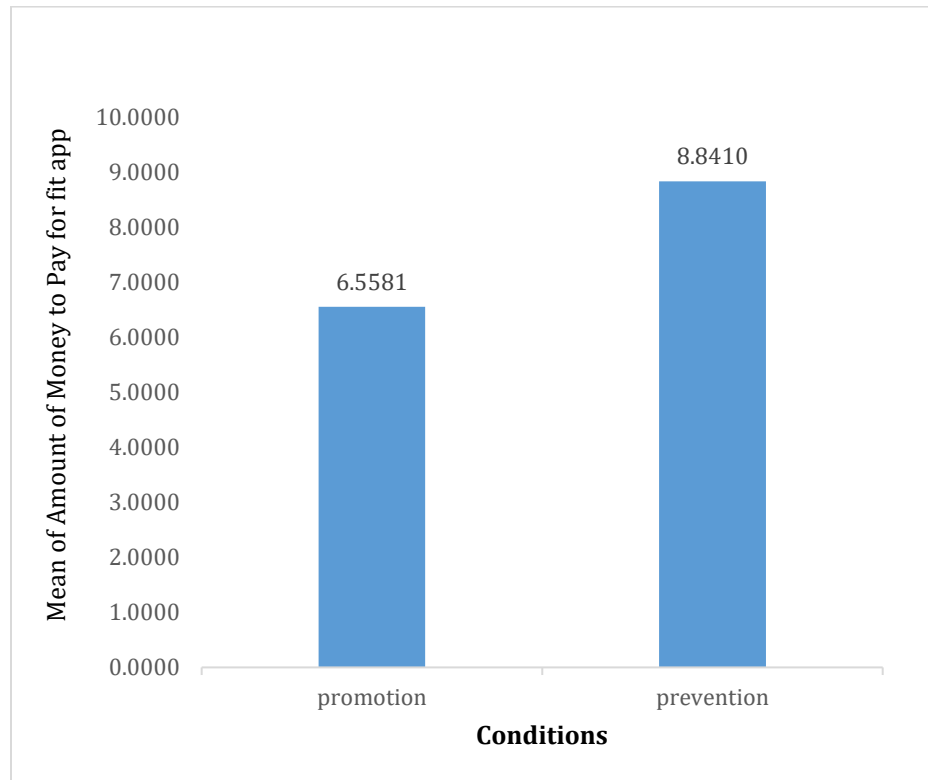


Figure 7. Mean of amount of money to pay for fit app (goal-irrelevant product) for women (study 3)

### General Discussion

The purpose of this paper was to broaden our understanding of the motivational effects of slogans, especially promotion-focused versus prevention-focused slogans. According to past literature, promotion-focused slogans remind people of an ideal self, and the discrepancy between an ideal self and actual self makes people uncomfortable (Higgins, 1987), which drives motivated behavior (Bradley et al., 2001; Roets & Van Hiel, 2011). I proposed that this would result in an increase in motivated behavior via direct coping. Conversely, prevention-focused slogans remind people of their feared selves, and the discrepancy between a feared self and actual self is likely to trigger a stronger sense of anxiety (Heppen & Ogilvie, 2003), which I



proposed will result in a stronger tendency to trigger indirect coping strategies, such as fluid compensation. Finally, I hypothesized that private self-consciousness would moderate these effects. Specifically, both the positive effects of promotion-focused slogans and the negative effects of prevention-focused slogans were expected to be more pronounced among people reporting high self-consciousness (i.e. more likely to experience the self-threat).

Across four studies, I found support for most of my hypotheses. In study 1A, female participants preferred more expensive (branded) products after exposure to a savings-related self-standard framed from a prevention (versus promotion) perspective. This finding support that prevention-focused slogans demotivate pursuit of the focal goal. In study 1B, I was able to replicate my findings within a different goal domain, namely beauty, and introduce the control condition as baseline to examine which regulatory focus(es) is responsible for the found effect. Female participants exposed to prevention-focused slogans emphasizing a feared self-state related to the beauty goal, tended to be less motivated to recommend a goal-congruent product (i.e. beauty app) than those in the promotion-focused and control slogan conditions, providing preliminary evidence that prevention-focused slogans are likely to stimulate a defensive coping mechanism, whereby consumers do not want to deal with the self-threat directly, resulting in a decrease in motivated behavior. Interestingly, the promotion-focused slogans did not boost motivated behavior beyond the baseline condition. I later found that this null effect can be attributed to a missing moderator – i.e. private self-consciousness.

Study 2 provides evidence that the positive motivational effects of promotion-focused slogans are only apparent among female participants who experience higher sensitivity to the internal information related to self-concept, while self-consciousness did not impact the motivational responses to prevention-focused slogans. All participants reacted to prevention

slogans defensively by demonstrating a decrease in goal-congruent responses. Finally, in study 3, I provide evidence for the fluid compensation hypothesis. Female participants exposed to a prevention-focused slogan (related to the beauty goal) reported a stronger preference for a goal-inconsistent product (related to the fitness goal) than participants in the promotion-focused slogan condition.

## Contributions

This study has contributions both in academic and managerial areas. First, these findings help us gain valuable insight into the distinct motivational effects of prevention- and promotion-focused slogans and supports that the feared self triggered by prevention slogans is a stronger motivator than the ideal self emphasized in promotion slogans. And that this effect is primarily negative – i.e. demotivated goal-congruent behavior. By introducing the control group as baseline, we understand the motivation effects of self-concepts more clearly, laying a solid foundation for the researchers who are interested in this topic. Second, while past work focused on skepticism as the main explanation for the counteractive effects of slogans (Laran, Dalton, and Andrade, 2011), the present work shows evidence that self-threat can also determine the efficiency of slogans. Specifically, my research shows that people are more sensitive to self-threat when exposed to a prevention slogan emphasizing a feared self-concept (rather than the ideal self in promotion slogans), and this results in a higher likelihood that people respond to prevention slogans in an indirect way.

From a practical perspective, given that brand slogans are widely and commonly used by marketers, marketing practitioners can benefit from a deeper understanding of the influences of brand slogans on consumer motivated outcomes. My findings will assist them in better understanding the effects of brand slogans, and how to make the best use of this marketing tool

to attract more consumers and boost sales. As a general rule, marketers should use promotion-focused slogans, especially when targeting populations with strong, unshakable self-esteem. Prevention-focused slogans should be designed with caution, promoting the company's product as a means to compensate for a highlighted shortcoming, rather than promoting the product as a means to directly deal with the self-threat.

Similarly, my findings can benefit policy makers that design communications aimed at helping consumers live healthier and happier lives. For instance, messages that promote healthy lifestyle behaviors (e.g. eating a balanced diet, quitting smoking, applying sunscreen) have to be carefully designed in order to avoid diverting consumers focus away from the desired behavior (i.e. source of threat).

#### Limitations and Future Research Directions

An important issue in this paper is that my results failed to reveal reliable evidence for the positive effects of promotion-focused slogans. I only found significant effects for this type of slogan among the high self-conscious female population. Namely, promotion-focused slogans motivate consumer choices and behaviors in a goal-congruent fashion, only when consumers are more aware of this information and more likely to act on it.

It could be stronger if we considered regulatory fit (Werth & Foerster, 2007). Past literature shows that promotion-focused people are more convinced by promotion messages, while prevention-focused people are more convinced by prevention messages (Hong & Lee, 2008; Lee & Aaker, 2004; Wang & Lee, 2006; Werth & Foerster, 2007). This is because when there is a regulatory fit, the increased processing fluency works as a mediating process and consumers will have a positive evaluation on this process (Lee & Aaker, 2004), and they evaluate the product advertised more positively in the fit situation than incompatible condition

(Werth & Foerster, 2007). If the regulatory fit does not happen, the motivation effects of the advertisements will be decreased. For example, Sherman, Mann, and Updegraff (2006) found that when health messages were framed to be congruent with consumers' approach/avoidance motivations, they tend to be more effective in motivating health behaviors than messages incongruent with approach/avoidance motivations. In their empirical work, they found that participants exposed to congruently framed message were more engaged in healthy behaviors, such as intention to floss more.

In this paper, all the studies were conducted in North America, and since they are more promotion-focused than East Asian people (Kim, Peng and Chiu, 2008), it is reasonable to believe that participants in the control condition (study 1B) had a strong chronic promotion-focus, and hence there were no significant differences for promotion-focused and control slogan effects. It could also explain why there were no significant differences in slogan effects among low and high self-conscious people in the prevention condition - i.e., the prevention slogans did not fit the regulatory focus of the participants. Future research might want to include the individual difference of regulatory focus and examine whether regulatory fit further clarifies the motivational effects of promotion slogans.

One thing needs to mention that these results are however consistent with the well-known finding that "losses loom larger than gains" (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). Consistently, within the context of self-discrepancies, Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer and Vohs (2001) state "the self appears to be more strongly motivated to avoid the bad than to embrace the good" (p. 355). Hence, it is not surprising that an emphasis on an ideal versus feared self, produced weaker effects.

This is also consistent with past empirical findings which shows that while ideal and feared self-standards both significantly impact consumer outcomes, the effects are feared primes are generally stronger (e.g. Bosnjak, 2010; Hogg & Banister, 2001; Ogilvie, 1987). For instance, Banister and Hogg (2004) conducted in-depth interviews with 30 young participants and found that most participants' main concern was that their clothes are interpreted negatively by others, which threaten their self-esteem. They concluded that people are more motivated to avoid purchasing clothes (e.g., too flash, outrageous) that might make them be perceived negatively by others, than to proactively purchase clothes that reflect a positive image. These findings are aligned with ours, which show weaker, more subtle effects of promotion-focused versus prevention-focused slogans.

Second, in study 2, the use of real brands may have introduced confound effects which could interfere with the results. For example, participants' attitudes towards the brands, the prices of the products, personal preferences, etc. could have had an independent effect on the behavioral outcome. However, it is beneficial to examine the effects of real slogans for real brands because in our daily life, consumers deal with actual brands and make decisions considering multiple variables. By introducing this realistic element, we gained a deeper perspective towards the influences of brand slogans on consumer behaviors.

Thirdly, the participants were all from North America (Canada and the United States). The results would be more inclusive and representative if I included participants from a wider variety of countries and cultures. In future research, a cross-cultural approach would surely yield interesting findings, given that some cultures are more or less susceptible to different types of self-threats (e.g. Kim & Huh, 2013), and react differently to prevention- versus promotion-focused slogans (e.g. Briley & Aaker, 2006; Li, Gordon & Gelfand, 2017).

Fourthly, it is worth mentioning that I only used female as participants. It would be interesting to look at both genders and examine the effects on males too. Many studies show that men and women react differently to primes. Females are often characterized as “sensitive, caring, dependent, and submissive”, while males are more “daring, competitive, ambitious, and persistent” (Sassenberg, Brazy, Jonas, and Shah 2013, p.6) which suggests that females are more likely to exhibit stronger responses to primes that include a self-threat, such as ideal and feared self representations. Further, McKay-Nesbitt, Bhatnagar and Smith (2013) proclaimed that males are more promotion-focused, while females are relatively more prevention-focused. I might expect stronger effects for promotion focus slogans.

Finally, another interesting venue for future research relates to the recent finding that slogans (versus brands) are losing their persuasion power because they are often perceived as an explicit marketing tactic by consumers (Laran et al., 2011). In the present research, I show that not all slogans have these effects, and that more mechanisms – not just skepticism, impact resulting behavior. Research should pursue this exciting area or research, by identifying other conditions under which slogans might be more or less efficient at motivating behaviors, and the mechanisms involved.

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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: approach, avoidance, liking and credibility for pretest of slogans

#### To what extent do you dislike or like slogan A, B, and C?

	Dislike a great deal	Dislike a moderate amount	Dislike a little	Neither like nor dislike	Like a little	Like a moderate amount	Like a great deal
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

#### To what extent does the slogan refer to something you want to approach (i.e., a desirable outcome)?

	Extremely unlikely	Moderately unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Slightly likely	Moderately likely	Extremely likely
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

#### To what extent does the slogan refer to something you want to avoid (i.e., an undesirable outcome)?

	Extremely unlikely	Moderately unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Slightly likely	Moderately likely	Extremely likely
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

#### How credible are these slogans?

	Extremely noncredible	Moderately noncredible	Slightly noncredible	Neither credible nor noncredible	Slightly credible	Moderately credible	Extremely credible
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

	Dislike a great deal	Dislike a moderate amount	Dislike a little	Neither like nor dislike	Like a little	Like a moderate amount	Like a great deal
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

To what extent does the slogan refer to something you want to approach (i.e., a desirable outcome)?

	Extremely unlikely	Moderately unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Slightly likely	Moderately likely	Extremely likely
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How credible are these slogans?

	Extremely noncredible	Moderately noncredible	Slightly noncredible	Neither credible nor noncredible	Slightly credible	Moderately credible	Extremely credible
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

To what extent does the slogan refer to something you want to avoid (i.e., an undesirable outcome)?

	Extremely unlikely	Moderately unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Slightly likely	Moderately likely	Extremely likely
Slogan A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Slogan C	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

## Appendix 2: primes and stimuli of study 1A







### Primes







Condition	Prime Pictures
Promotion	

Prevention



Stimuli




Prompt word	Pictures of Products
<p>Which one of the two comparable whitestrip kits would you choose?</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p><b>Whitestrips A</b> \$44.99</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p><b>Whitestrips B</b> \$69.99</p>  </div> </div>
<p>Which one of the two comparable pain relief aspirins would you choose?</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p><b>Aspirin A</b> \$3.69</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p><b>Aspirin B</b> \$5.99</p>  </div> </div>
<p>Which one of the two comparable multivitamins would you choose?</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p><b>Multivitamin A</b> \$7.69</p>  </div> <div style="text-align: center;"> <p><b>Multivitamin B</b> \$9.99</p>  </div> </div>

<p>Which one of the two comparable whitening toothpastes would you choose?</p>	<table border="1"><tr><td data-bbox="818 199 1092 499"><p>Toothpaste A \$3.99</p></td><td data-bbox="1092 199 1367 499"><p>Toothpaste B \$5.99</p></td></tr></table>	<p>Toothpaste A \$3.99</p> 	<p>Toothpaste B \$5.99</p> 
<p>Toothpaste A \$3.99</p> 	<p>Toothpaste B \$5.99</p> 		

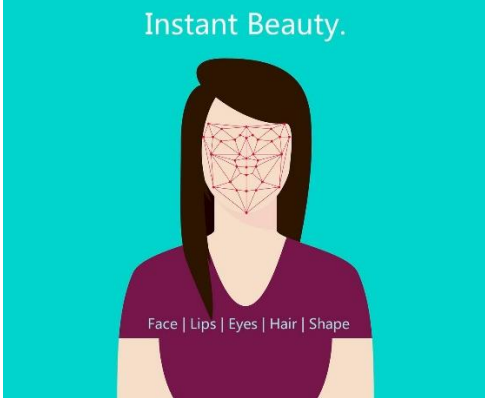
### Appendix 3: primes and stimuli of Study 1B

#### Primes

An international cosmetic brand is introducing a new face cream on the market. They are in the process of designing a slogan for the cream. The brand wants to remain anonymous, and hence the brand name does not appear on the product. They are simply interested in your opinion about the slogan. Please look at the slogan and answer the questions below.

Condition	Primes
<p data-bbox="480 394 626 426"><b>Promotion</b></p>	
<p data-bbox="480 737 626 768"><b>Prevention</b></p>	
<p data-bbox="500 1079 607 1110"><b>Control</b></p>	

**Stimuli**

App Name	App Descriptions	App Picture
<p data-bbox="204 1562 306 1650"><b>Instant Beauty</b></p>	<p data-bbox="358 1507 907 1759">“Instant Beauty” is an app which helps you try new makeup techniques tailored to the shape of your face and tone of your skin. It also provides regular updates on the new beauty and fashion trends.</p>	

#### Appendix 4: primes of study 2

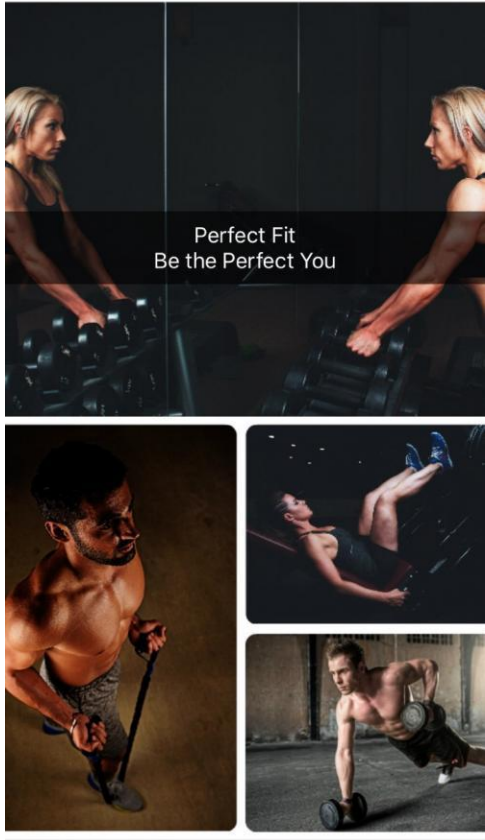
An international cosmetic brand is introducing a new toothpaste on the market. They are in the process of designing a slogan for the toothpaste. The brand wants to remain anonymous, and hence the brand name does not appear on the product. They are simply interested in your opinion about the slogan. Please look at the slogan and answer the questions below.

Condition	Primes
<b>Promotion</b>	 A close-up photograph of a white and blue toothbrush with a dollop of white toothpaste on its bristles. A white tube of toothpaste is tilted above the brush, with a small amount of toothpaste being dispensed onto it. The background is a solid light blue. The slogan "Get the perfect white smile!" is printed in black text in the upper left corner of the image.
<b>Prevention</b>	 A close-up photograph of a white and blue toothbrush with a dollop of white toothpaste on its bristles. A white tube of toothpaste is tilted above the brush, with a small amount of toothpaste being dispensed onto it. The background is a solid light blue. The slogan "Goodbye yellow teeth!" is printed in black text in the upper left corner of the image.

#### Appendix 5: full scale of private self-consciousness

- I'm always trying to figure myself out.
- Generally, I'm not very aware of myself.
- I reflect about myself a lot.
- I'm often the subject of my own fantasies.
- I never scrutinize myself.
- I'm generally attentive to my inner feelings.
- I'm constantly examining my motives.
- I sometimes have the feeling that I'm off somewhere watching myself.
- I'm alert to changes in my mood.
- I'm aware of the way my mind works when I work through a problem.

Appendix 6: stimuli of study 3

App Name	App Descriptions	App Picture
<p><b>Perfect Fit</b></p>	<p>“Perfect Fit” is your personal trainer at home. The app customizes your daily workout routines based on your schedule, fitness goals, required equipment, workout preferences, keep track of your heartbeat and calories, and recommends personalized healthy recipes and nutrients every</p>	 <p>The 'App Picture' column contains four images. The top image is a wide shot of a woman on a treadmill in a gym, with the text 'Perfect Fit Be the Perfect You' overlaid. Below this are three smaller images: a man using a resistance band, a woman performing a core exercise on a mat, and a man performing a burpee with a kettlebell.</p>