

Structure-Seeking in the Sharing Economy

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Abstract

Structure-Seeking in the Sharing Economy

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As a result of the global economic collapse of 2008, consumers sought other means of gaining access to products and services aside from the burdens of ownership. Widely referred to as the sharing economy, consumers began to coordinate the acquisition and distribution of resources with the help of various online social media platforms. This dissertation explores antecedents of consumer resistance towards participation in the sharing economy. It demonstrates the influence of an unconscious and chronically motivated psychological construct that acts as a barrier towards adoption. Structure-seeking has a significant impact on individuals' motivation to require predictability, routine, order, structure and disfavor uncertainty within situations and across daily activities. Building on the cognitive structuring literature and Compensatory Control Theory, structure-seeking tendencies are revealed to have a strong relationship with resistance towards adopting certain sharing economy services. In the first essay, two experimental studies demonstrate that structure-seeking consumers generate resistance towards adopting Airbnb but not other sharing economy services that more closely resemble traditional economic models. Through targeted marketing communications, this effect is found to reverse when consumers are exposed to message frames promoting structure and consistency within service experiences. The second essay explores the social cognition literature and demonstrates how structure-seeking influences preferences for service providers who exhibit attributes related to competence but not warmth or morality. It is argued that resistance towards services like Airbnb can be accounted for by the perception of hosts as warm but incompetent. A general discussion highlights the findings of both essays and details the limitations, implications and avenues for future research. This dissertation significantly contributes to research on the sharing economy as well as Compensatory Control Theory and provides valuable insights for both practitioners and scholars.

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1: Introduction

In the aftermath of the global financial crisis beginning in 2008, consumers were confronted with a sobering realization about the detrimental impact of overconsumption on the economy, society as well as their personal well-being. A major outcome of the worldwide recession was a shift in consumer preferences towards acquiring products and services in less wasteful and more environmentally and societally friendly ways. Combined with the emergence of social media, a new economic model of consumption emerged which integrated collaboration, technology and the desire to be more efficient with products and services.

Widely referred to as the sharing economy, consumers began to coordinate the acquisition and distribution of resources with the help of various online social media platforms (Botsman and Rogers 2010). Businesses such as Zipcar and Uber offer transportation options with similarities to traditional car rental and taxi services but differ in their philosophy in regards to maximizing unused utility as both encourage the use of vehicles that would otherwise sit idle. Likewise, Airbnb and Couchsurfing offer travelers sleeping accommodations but differ from traditional hotel and hostel services in that they make use of rooms and houses that would also otherwise be left idle. A great deal of marketing research has explored different aspects of the sharing economy with a focus on drivers of participation such as accessibility, scarcity and familiarity with various products and services (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012; Lamberton and Rose 2012).

This dissertation makes several significant contributions to the current literature. First, it explores antecedents of consumer resistance towards participation in the sharing economy. There has been little to no research that emphasizes the reasons why consumers will not, as opposed to will, participate in the sharing economy. Second, it attempts to demonstrate the influence of an unconscious and chronically motivated psychological construct that acts as a barrier towards adoption. Structure-seeking, also known as personal need for structure, is a stable personality trait that can also be momentarily activated and has a significant impact on individuals' motivation to require predictability, routine, order, structure and disfavor uncertainty within environmental contexts as well as for personal well-being (Neuberg and Newsom 1993). Building on the cognitive structuring literature and Compensatory Control Theory, structure-seeking has been shown to be an extremely important psychological variable to consider as it can affect the way people think with regards to cognitive processing; act towards dissimilar others; and consume products, services and information (Landau, Kay and Whitson 2015; Neuberg and Newsom 1993). It is distinct from

correlated psychological variables and as will be discussed in the conceptual overview as well as demonstrated in this research, it has unique outcomes for human behavior.

A third significant contribution is the introduction of a new form of message framing for marketing communications. The first essay demonstrates the power of how an influential message frame for a marketing communication in the sharing economy can reverse the effect of structure-seeking as a psychological impediment towards participation. Fourth, this research contributes to the social cognition literature in the second essay by demonstrating how structure-seeking influences preferences for service providers who exhibit attributes related to competence but not warmth or morality. Finally, the dissertation concludes with a general discussion about the findings of the research, the important implications that can be derived for marketers, managers and scholars and avenues of future research that explore fascinating topics related to the evolution of the sharing economy and the role of structure-seeking on emerging technologies and marketing communications.

The reader is advised to consider several caveats before consuming the information in this dissertation. First, it is not by accident that the ultimate focus is on services in the sharing economy. While sharing economy practices do exist that are concerned with the exchange of products, this dissertation attempts to make another contribution not previously mentioned and help to better explore the topic of new service adoption. A major reason for this specific focus is related to the theoretical arguments that structure-seeking is largely concerned with confronting new and ambiguous situations which are hypothesized to impact new service adoption. This argument will be discussed more thoroughly in several parts throughout the dissertation. Second, another intentional focus is on the context of hospitality sharing economy services and notably, Airbnb. This is also not by accident and while it could be argued that limiting the research to a single context dilutes external validity, the intent is to isolate and discriminately understand a particular effect as measured, manipulated, mediated and moderated in different ways. A more detailed discussion for the reason of this focus will also be provided throughout the dissertation. Finally, the terms ‘structure-seeking’ and ‘need for structure’ are at times used interchangeably throughout particular chapters and should not be construed as distinct concepts.

This dissertation is comprised of several chapters that provide an in-depth investigation and analysis of a crucial psychological barrier towards the adoption of sharing economy services: structure-seeking tendencies. Following the introduction, Chapter 2 consists of three sections

which provide a conceptual overview of the literature and main theories upon which the research of this dissertation is founded. In the first section, an overview of the sharing economy is provided with regards to its definition, internal distinction along the sharing-exchange continuum, drivers of participation and ends with the development of a framework adopted from Faraji-Rad, Melumad and Johar (2016) that will be used to test resistance towards new service adoption.

The next section discusses Compensatory Control Theory which is applied as the theoretical foundation of the dissertation. The theory is first defined and then details are provided about how individuals react to situations of control deprivation with structure-seeking tendencies. The role of cognitive structuring will then be explored in order to demonstrate to the reader that chronic structure-seeking is a stable trait that holds within individuals. Finally, the measurement and outcomes of chronic structure-seeking will be thoroughly discussed. The third section presents a brief overview of literature on social perceptions in order to suggest that resistance towards participation in the sharing economy as a result of structure-seeking may be attenuated by perceptions of service providers along different dimensions of competence, warmth and morality.

In Chapter 3, the first essay of the dissertation is presented and consists of two experimental research studies. It is hypothesized that chronic structure-seeking generates resistance to new service adoption in the sharing economy. Specifically, it is hypothesized that in the context of a sharing economy service, structure-seeking will negatively predict willingness to participate among non-users. In study 1, this effect is found to emerge for high but not low sharing score services. In study 2, it is hypothesized that personal need for structure will positively (negatively) predict willingness to participate after exposure to a message for a sharing economy service with a structure (vs. non-structure) frame among non-users. It is also hypothesis that message fluency will mediate the positive (negative) impact of personal need for structure on willingness to participate after exposure to a message for a sharing economy service with a structure (vs. non-structure) frame among non-users. As such, this effect from study 1 will be corroborated and is shown to reverse following exposure to an advertisement with a high vs. low structure message frame. This effect is found to be mediated by message fluency in the high structure message frame condition only. A more thorough explanation of this finding will be explained in the results and discussion sections of the first essay.

In Chapter 4, the second essay is presented and consists of two studies. The first study hypothesizes that non-users will rate Airbnb as higher on dimensions of warmth and morality as

compared to competence. As such, it demonstrates that perceptions of service providers in Airbnb favor dimensions of warmth and morality over competency among non-users. In study 2, it is hypothesized that structure-seeking and service provider positioning will interact such that high structure-seeking consumers should be willing to adopt the service and have positive attitudes towards service providers perceived as high on attributes of competence and low on warmth and morality. Also, low structure-seeking consumers should be willing to adopt the service and have positive attitudes towards service providers perceived as high on attributes of warmth and morality and low on competence. As such in study 2, a structure-seeking mindset reveals the opposite effect and is shown to generate preferences for service providers perceived as more competent as compared to warm or moral. A more thorough explanation of these findings will also be explained in the results and discussion sections of the second essay.

Finally, Chapter 5 provides a comprehensive discussion of the research findings of the two essays. First, an overview of the main findings are presented and the limitations of the research studies are discussed. The implications for sharing economy practitioners and scholars are then provided and delve deeply into the roles of data analytics and services marketing. The implications for Compensatory Control Theory are considered with an emphasis on the significance of message framing. Lastly, several recommendations for future research are provided based on the findings from both essays. Moving away from a direct focus on the findings, future research ideas are also explored with regards to the evolution of the sharing economy, the interaction of structure-seeking and emerging technologies and the future role of communications in marketing.

2: Conceptual Framework

2.1: Sharing Economy

As a result of the global economic collapse of 2008, consumers sought other means of gaining access to products and services aside from the burdens of ownership. A new economic model of consumption emerged which integrated collaboration, technology and the desire among consumers to be more efficient with products and services (Botsman and Rogers 2010). It emphasizes shared resources, environmentalism, sustainability, maximizing unused utility, convenience and less financial obligations. It's great defined by it's transformation of peer-to-peer consumption through advances in communication technology. Social media and app-based technologies have resulted in more efficient and secure peer-to-peer networks that have arguably

created the foundation of sharing economy services. There are hosts of different names and terms that scholars apply when discussing their new economic model such as collaborative consumption, the access economy, online peer-to-peer exchange and commercial sharing systems (e.g. Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012; Lamberton and Rose 2012). For the purposes of simplicity and continuity, this dissertation endorses the name 'sharing economy' which consists of "traditional sharing, bartering, lending, trading, renting, gifting, and swapping." (Botsman and Rogers 2010, p. xv).

Why own a vehicle that requires continuous spending and sits idle for most of the day when services like Zipcar and other ridesharing services allow consumers to travel short or long distances at rates cheaper than other transportation options? Why seek out hotel rooms when services like Airbnb and Couchsurfing offer travelers more affordable and arguably more intriguing accommodations? The rise of the sharing economy has enabled shared access to products and services over proprietorship and has attracted widespread attention among managers, marketers and researchers as non-ownership modes of consumption are being increasingly adopted by consumers (Botsman and Rogers 2010).

The major factors contributing to the growth of the sharing economy are the global financial crisis, the application of social technology and the rise in consumer's awareness to be more efficient, environmental and less wasteful in consumption. First, the global financial crisis beginning in 2008 transformed consumption habits towards more frugal and economical alternatives. At the same time, consumer orientation began placing less value on material possessions and instead began to emphasize the significance of experiential consumption (Caprariello and Reis 2013). Second, the growth of internet technology, social media platforms and online social applications produced opportunities to enable sharing economy practices to be accessible and more importantly, efficient. For example, 2007 witnessed the inception of various social media technology leaders such the Facebook platform, Twitter and Google plus (Shah 2016). Third, the rise in consumer awareness of depleting natural resources combined with the growth of aversion to waste encouraged a shift from over-indulgence and proprietorship and towards more ethical, environmental and economically efficient consumption practices (Bolton and Alba 2012; Bostman and Rogers 2010; Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012).

As of 2015, the sharing economy is worth about \$15 billion while it is estimated that it will grow up to \$335 billion within 10 years (PWC 2015). Today, a large number of businesses operate through pooling many different kinds of resources such as jewelry, clothes, tools, books and even

delivery services. Almost all of them are building on positive aspects of the sharing economy and aim to exploit consumer co-creation in order to create value for the firm as well as for the consumer (Belk 2013).

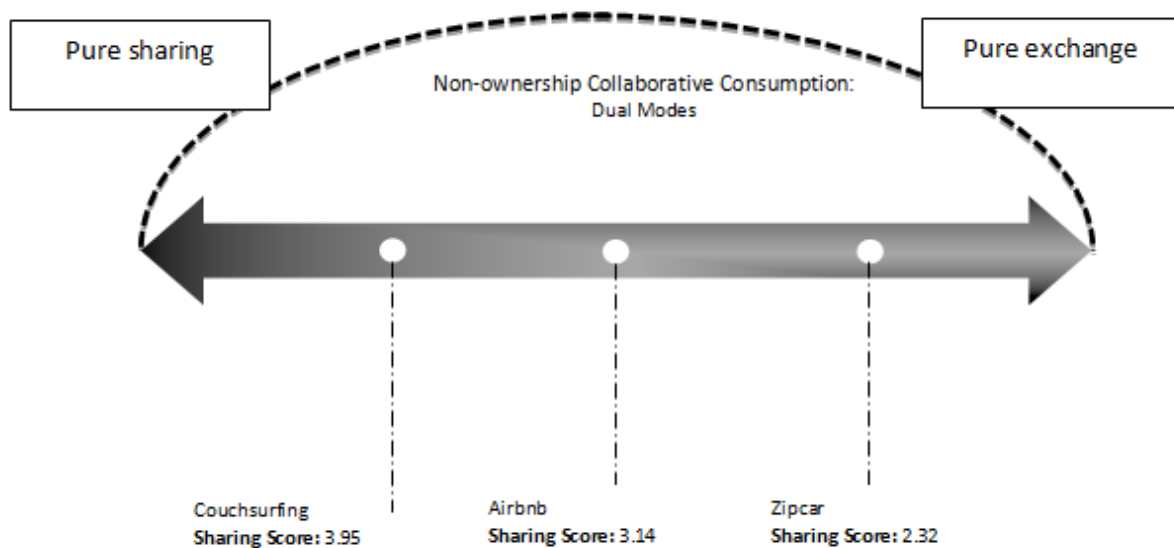
2.1a: The Sharing-Exchange Continuum

This term sharing economy is clearly a misnomer as there is considerable variation in terms of the degree to which sharing is actually involved. For example, Airbnb offers a service where guests search for accommodations posted by hosts looking to rent or share their residence. Through the company's online platform, payment is collected from the guest and transferred to the host while Airbnb retains a nominal fee. Although sharing occurs, this clearly more closely resembles a rental service. Couchsurfing, on the other hand, requires little to no financial compensation for its services and functions as a way for hosts to actually *share* their residence with travelling guests. "Within this maze of terms, it is sometimes difficult to discern where sharing ends and commerce begins. It is argued that some of the different phenomena now flying under the banner of sharing are not sharing at all, but merely appropriations of this socially desirable term." (Belk 2014, p. 7)

Most conceptual and empirical studies do not distinguish among the different practices offered in regards to their degree of sharing versus exchange. Most notably, researchers typically focus on practices that are more exchange versus sharing based and extend the findings to all practices in the sharing economy. For example, Lamberton and Rose (2012) investigate cell-phone sharing plans, bicycle sharing programs and automobile sharing systems which all necessitate significant compensation from consumers to a third party mediator and have a low degree of socialization and community bonds. Similarly, Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) conclude that consumers sign up for Zipcar primarily because of its ease of accessibility however it is highly questionable if their findings can be applied to practices that are less exchanged-based such as Kangaride, a ridesharing system, that mainly consists of characteristics of a sharing practice. Such exchange-based practices should be more adequately referred to as 'pseudo-sharing' because they require financial compensation towards a market mediator and they do not conform to most of the sharing characteristics (Belk 2014). In contrast, sharing-based practices consist of examples such as tool-lending libraries and couch surfing accommodations which entail little to no involvement of a third party.

In order to capture the degree to which sharing economy practices adhere to attributes related to sharing, the sharing-exchange continuum was developed for the purpose of mapping each practice. More specifically, each practice is rated based on a number of sharing and exchange-related characteristics extracted from Belk (2010). A sharing score is then calculated based on factors such as financial compensation, socialization and reciprocity among others (Habibi, Kim and Laroche 2016). As illustrated in figure 1, practices with a higher sharing score (e.g. Couchsurfing = 4 out of 5; Airbnb = 3.2 out of 5) can be characterized as offering a sharing alternative to traditional business models (i.e. hotels). Others such as or Zipcar (2.3 out of 5) could more appropriately be referred to as ‘pseudo-sharing’ as they merely resemble renting than sharing alternatives (Belk 2014).

Figure 1: The Sharing-Exchange Continuum



Marketers, practitioners and managers of sharing economy platforms can benefit immensely from applying a sharing score to their offerings in order to sustain and grow consumer participation. Habibi, Davidson and Laroche (2017) devised several recommendations for managers based on where their service falls on the continuum. If ranked with a high sharing score and therefore considered a sharing practice, recommendations are to focus on community growth with an emphasis on socialization and sustainability and relatively no affiliation with monetary

concerns for compensations. When calculated with a score in the mid-range, ‘dual-mode’ practices should encourage community building and emphasize anti-industry motivations while also considering utilitarian value of the service with a minimal focus on cost calculations. A low sharing score indicates that the platform operates like an exchange-based service and is more likely to be considered ‘pseudo-sharing’ and should therefore deprioritize community building, sustainability and political concerns while emphasizing efficiency and utilitarian benefits as well as highlighting calculated benefits.

2.1b: Drivers of Participation

Marketing and consumer research have attempted to explore the phenomenon of the sharing economy by investigating antecedents and drivers of user participation. Because of the fragmentation and variety of services offered within the sharing economy, pinpointing specific and direct-causal explanations are not easy nor are they realistically plausible. Instead, researchers have focused on specific contexts or scenarios and typically explore consciously-driven motives.

Zipcar is a car sharing service that enables drivers to have access to cars through both monthly memberships and daily fees. Reservations are made through the Zipcar app and members currently total more than one million worldwide (King 2016). An exploratory study based on 40 semi-structured interviews with Zipcar members located in Boston investigated consumers’ motivation towards participation (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012). In contrast to previous researchers’ claims emphasizing the role of altruism, environmentalism, sustainability and experiential consumption explanations (Belk 2007, 2010; Botsman and Rogers 2010; Gansky 2010; Ozanne and Ozanne 2011), Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) concluded that Zipcar members do not value shared objects and may in fact dislike the service’s characteristics of contagion and are primarily motivated by self-interest and utilitarianism. They demonstrate a deterrence of brand community and resistance towards co-creation efforts with the company. Similar to sharing practices however, freedom from the burdens of ownership are regarded favorably due to less financial obligations. Consumers do not seem to participate because of political motivations based on anti-consumption or anticapitalistic sentiments.

The attractiveness of car sharing systems like Zipcar lie mostly within factors related to flexibility and convenience leading the researchers to suggest that in this context the term sharing economy certainly is a misnomer and should be more appropriately replaced with access-based

consumption (Bardhi and Eckhardt 2012). Consumer orientation has transformed from ‘you are what you own’ to as Belk (2014) puts it: ‘you are what you can access’ (p. 1598). Similar findings were reported for members of a German online peer-to-peer sharing network in which participation in non-ownership services was shown to be greatly influenced by factors related to convenience as well as trendiness and freedom from possessions. Factors related to experiential consumption, price consciousness and environmentalism were found to not be influential (Moeller and Wittkowski 2010).

In a combination of exploratory and experimentally designed studies, Lamberton and Rose (2012) investigated consumer participation towards cell-phone minute-sharing, frequent flyer pools, bicycle-sharing and car-sharing programs. Aside from the cost benefits of participating, which they cite as a primary motive, perceived product scarcity risk is found to be a major deterrent towards what they label as commercial sharing systems. Specifically, consumers’ concerns that the product they desire (i.e. bike or car) will not be available when needed results in resistance towards participation. As opposed to Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012), the authors argue a stronger case for perceived sustainability on sharing and while not as strong as perceived product scarcity risk, this variable has a marginal impact on participation. Similarly, drivers of participation towards Sharetribe, an online service that provides members with access to sell or rent goods, services or spaces, was found to be related to economic benefits and consumers’ level of enjoyment. Perceived sustainability also seems to act as a marginal motivator as it only impacts behavioral intention when mediated by positive attitude towards Sharetribe (Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen 2015). Lamberton and Rose (2012) also argue that familiarity with sharing practices would help drive greater consumer participation as well as firm efforts to spread knowledge about the sharing economy would be advantageous for many different services. A recent poll conducted in 2014 concluded that approximately 44% of American adults are familiar with the sharing economy (PWC 2015).

Despite evidence of access, convenience and flexibility playing key roles in consumer decision-making towards participation in the sharing economy, research suggests that services are appealing for other reasons. For example, Couchsurfing, a service which enables travelers to sleep at a guests’ house without any expectation of financial compensation is linked to consumers’ preference for a sense of belonging and need for connectedness, personalization and trust (Rosen, Lafontaine and Hendrickson 2011). Similarly Landshare, a non-profit that enables consumers with

access to share land with one another also found that benefits towards participation stemmed from social belonging and that in turn created mental and physical health benefits (McArthur 2015).

2.1c: Resistance to the Sharing Economy

Based on a poll of 1000 respondents conducted in 2014 by Price Waterhouse Cooper, less than 20% of the U.S. adult population has engaged in a sharing economy transaction. Additional survey results have concluded that approximately 15% of Americans have used ride-hailing apps such as Uber or Lyft while similar estimates have been found for hospitality exchange services like Airbnb, HomeAway and FlipKey (Kokaliticheva 2016). Although these statistics suggest that these sharing economy services generate significant competition for traditional industries, the numbers could be much higher considering that nearly half of Americans are aware and familiar with such business (PWC 2015). Among those that have not used any of these services, resistance towards participation might be viewed as a result of incompatibility between consumers and sharing economy offerings. In other words, for many consumers, the sharing economy simply does not satisfy any needs or wants and therefore preference and loyalty remain connected to traditional industries. Interestingly, there is evidence to suggest that this argument is fallible. In a survey conducted by Goldman Sachs which polled 2000 respondents, nearly 80% of consumers who had never used peer-to-peer hospitality services (i.e. Airbnb, FlipKey) preferred traditional hotel services. Yet among those that have used such services, preference for traditional hotel services dropped to 40% (Kokaliticheva 2016). This indicates that consumers are half as likely to go back to traditional ways of doing business after participating in the sharing economy at least once before. These results were not restricted to younger-aged or lower income consumers but reflect a trend wherein resistance to participation exists until an initial experience occurs.

Understanding resistance towards participation as a result of inexperience can be guided by consumer research in new product adoption. In the context of technological products, consumers have been shown to more readily adopt new devices and report more positive evaluations when they first mentally simulate and imagine their experiences by focusing on product benefits (Zhao, Hoeffler and Dahl 2009). New products that are incongruent with consumers' product category expectations are found to be more easily processed through cognitive flexibility which "enables people to make uncommon associations, link across categories, and hold multiple perspectives and information in mind" (Jhang, Grant and Campbell 2012, p. 250).

Consumers revealed reduced perceived risk and greater acceptance of self-service technologies when they were advertised in a manner that fostered greater control over the devices. By marketing aspects of customization as opposed to standardization, self-reported adoption increased (Lee and Allaway 2002). Because consumers perceive a loss of control when confronted with the consumption of a new product, desirability of control as a stable psychological factor acts as an impediment to adoption (Faraji-Rad, Melumad and Johar 2016). By employing a control-increasing (vs. control-reducing) message frame, high desirability of control participants demonstrated stronger evaluations for new products. These effects did not emerge for participants with lower ratings in desirability of control. The authors conclude that desire for control is a psychological barrier towards new product adoption.

Surprisingly, research is scant in regards to unconscious psychological motivations towards new service adoption despite the fact that consumer information search and decision processes differ for product versus service adoption (Murray 1991). For example, because of factors related to intangibility and variability, consumers typically perceive greater risk towards service consumption decisions (Im, Mason and Houston 2007). The current research seeks to better understand new service adoption, namely sharing economy participation, through exploring unconscious psychological barriers that potentially generate resistance. Based on Faraji-Rad, Melumad and Johar's (2016) framework, does desirability of control act as a substantial barrier to participation in the sharing economy just as it does towards products? If not, what other psychological variables influence resistance towards service adoption? In order to answer these questions it is important to investigate potential psychological barriers towards adoption. To do this, the current research will examine Compensatory Control Theory in order to thoroughly gain an understanding of potential underlying psychological mechanisms relevant to participation, or rather resistance, in the sharing economy.

2.2: Compensatory Control Theory and Structure-Seeking Behavior

People are constantly confronted and engaged in new situations, scenarios and events that perceptibly incur a high degree of uncertainty, unfamiliarity and ambiguity. Psychological reactions to stimuli that reduce feelings of control are likely to result in some form of compensatory mechanism that restores individuals to their accustomed baseline in order to sustain mental equanimity (Whitson and Galinsky 2008; Van Harrevald et al. 2014; Kay, Laurin, Fitzsimons and

Landau 2014). Under conditions of structure threats or control deprivation, individuals are motivated to establish an underlying conception of reality that is enforced with perceptions that their environment is structured.

Social psychologists have extensively explored the threat compensation literature in order to extract specific cause-and-effect explanations related to people's reactions to uncertainty. Compensatory Control theory demonstrates that individuals react to threats to their personal control by augmenting beliefs of personal or external agency. Personal agency refers to beliefs that the individual possesses the capability to achieve certain outcomes with little external assistance. In contrast, external agency is the belief that individuals can rely on a source outside of their control to help them achieve various goals and outcomes. When threatened, individuals' desire to restore control to baseline levels in regards to personal or external agency can also greatly rely on specific epistemic structure. More precisely, the structure of their immediate environment in which the threat is being perceived. They are also likely to rely on *nonspecific epistemic structure* which refers to the perception of a predictable and structured system unrelated to the current environment. The need for *nonspecific epistemic structure* derives from an unconscious proclivity to view the world as operating in a structured manner so that calculated actions can produce predictable outcomes universally (Landau, Kay and Whitson 2015). The following example illustrates the differences in personal vs. external agency and specific vs. nonspecific epistemic structure:

“...imagine that Bob has recently taken a new job and is on his way to the company's first informal social event. Bob's confidence that he can control this situation rests partly on personal agency: believing that he possesses the resources (e.g., professionalism, wit) necessary to make a positive impression on his coworkers. It also rests partly on specific epistemic structure. He needs to believe that, within the domain of socializing, performing particular behaviors (e.g., telling jokes) will reliably produce particular outcomes (e.g., approval from his new colleagues). He may also solicit a deity to extend the shield of its benevolent protection over him. Underscoring the motive for nonspecific epistemic structure adds another critical piece to this picture. Bob's sense of personal control rests on his belief (typically unconscious) that the world is a structured place. Bob needs to interpret his environment as one in which other people's characteristics and behaviors are fairly consistent from one moment to the next, events predictably cause other events, a chair will be recognizable as such,

and so on. Conversely, if Bob interpreted his environment as lacking in structure—if he perceived, for example, that events occurred haphazardly—he would have difficulty maintaining perceived control.” (Landau, Kay and Whitson 2015).

2.2a: Control Deprivation

In various experiments, typical inducements of control deprivation consist of allocating research participants to conditions where they either have to reflect on a past event in which they had little or a great deal of control over a given situation. Reflecting on experiences where they had little control has been shown to negatively affect personal levels of control (Cutright 2011). Additionally, many studies have also corrected for mood and other differences in order to highlight the significant impact of control deprivation and not other correlated outcomes (Kay, Landau and Whitson 2015).

Evidence of the effects of control threats on nonspecific epistemic structure have been documented in many studies. Following a control deprivation manipulation, participants were exposed to several pictures of black and white dots that ostensibly revealed no actual images. Compared to a neutral condition however, control deprivation participants were more likely to report seeing images among the random visual noise (Whitson and Galinsky 2008). These results simulated the effects of control deprivation on false pattern perceptions and the unconscious outcome of committing a type 1 error. False pattern perceptions therefore reveal the need for individuals deprived of control to seek structure in an otherwise unstructured environment. While contexts may shift across cultural backgrounds, evidence suggests that false pattern perceptions are universally rooted in lacking personal control (Wang, Whitson and Menon 2012).

Consumer behavior research has documented similar findings with control-deprived participants preferring products illustrating physical boundaries because they reaffirmed nonspecific epistemic structure. For example, control deprivation participants preferred a postcard with an illustrated border as opposed to one without any boundary. Additionally, they were also shown to prefer bounded vs. unbounded logos (Cutright 2011). Similar outcomes have been reported for mental boundaries. Research reveals that control deprivation can influence attitudes towards brand extensions wherein low levels of personal control results in less favorable impressions of brands that become affiliated with products perceived as inconsistent with their image (i.e. Starbucks selling beer) (Cutright, Bettman and Fitzsimons 2013). Compensating for a

loss of control has been shown to result in the preference and acquisition of utilitarian as opposed to hedonic products (Chen, Lee and Yap 2016). While researchers explain this effect as a result of utilitarian products offering consumer the ability to ‘solve a problem’ which itself is associated with increased personal control, engaging in problem-solving tasks can be further expanded as a form structure-seeking tendencies.

Control deprivation has also revealed an impact on other structure-seeking outcomes. It leads to the endorsement of information that is presented as behaving in a structured manner. Following a control threat, preferences increase for an account of evolutionary theory in which events unfold with specified structured characteristics as compared to an explanation that emphasizes random processes (Rutjens, van der Pligt, and van Harreveld 2010). Even metaphysical beliefs become more attractive following a reduction of personal control as is evidenced by an increase in individual’s alignment of their personalities with horoscopic predictions as well as greater favoritism towards clairvoyance (Greenaway, Louis, and Hornsey 2013; Wang, Whitson and Menon 2012). Individuals will engage in connecting seemingly related ‘dots’ as evidence by an increase in conspiracy theory beliefs (Whitson and Galinsky 2008). Given a chance to enhance feelings of personal control, individuals demonstrate a reduction in beliefs in conspiracy theories (Prooijen and Acker 2015).

Religious and spiritual support systems satisfy structure-seeking tendencies leading individuals to endorse a description of a controlling God under conditions of low personal control (Kay et al. 2008). Following suit, reduced control leads to a greater appreciation of organizational hierarchy such as within businesses, corporations and sociopolitical entities (Friesen, Kay, Eibach and Galinsky 2014; Goode, Keefer, and Molina 2014). The effects of feeling deprived of control have been largely studied with regards to their impact on anthropomorphization. Adopting human-like traits to nonhuman agents such as objects, products and animals is motivated through the need to control and predict one’s environment and essentially generate a knowledge structure in order to understand novel nonhuman agents (Epley, Waytz, Akalis and Cacioppo 2008).

2.2b: Chronic Structure-Seeking

Aside from events and occurrences that result in a loss of personal control, individuals are also chronically predisposed to differences in preferences for nonspecific epistemic structure. Cognitive structuring refers to these chronic predispositions and more specifically to “...to the

creation and use of abstract mental representations (e.g., schemata, prototypes, scripts, attitudes; and stereotypes)—representations that are simplified generalizations of previous experiences” (Neuberg and Newsom 1993).

Cognitive structuring places a greater emphasis on cues that signal a larger, more generalizable interpretation of incoming information as opposed to specific and concrete details. This is not to suggest that lower level orders of information are not processed or given consideration however a ‘categorizable’ and ‘structurable’ comprehension will dominate the individual’s perceptions and preferences. For example, individuals who more greatly rely on cognitive structuring will derive assumptions about a new service experience such as Airbnb based on previous information. If they have no previous information because they lack experience with the service, they will turn to higher order representations that can most closely account for a supposed interaction with Airbnb. In doing this, they lose certainty in their judgements and this loss may factor into their decision-making such that the *uncertainty* with which they understand Airbnb becomes transformed in to the *uncertainty* of Airbnb. To put it more simply, the less they know about a stimulus, the more likely they are to perceive the stimulus as unstructured.

An advantage of cognitive structuring is that it reduces cognitive load. Less mental efforts are wasted in understanding incoming information because it has already been categorized and classified through mental representations and therefore decisions (especially those that require promptness) can be reached in a quicker and more direct fashion (Kruglanski 1989). In fact, structure-seeking biases have been shown to assist attention, memory and impression formation (Higgins and Bargh 1987; Miller and Turnbull 1986). A great disadvantage however is that cognitive structuring reduces the need for new experiences, knowledge and understandings and if perpetuated long enough will most likely result in deeper stereotypic thinking.. Additionally problematic, chronic structure-seeking tendencies are correlated with harboring prejudices, depression and other psychopathologies (Neuberg and Newsom 1993).

2.2c: Need for Structure Measurement

Given that structure-seeking behavior is affiliated with stereotyping, simplifying explanations and resistance to change, existing measurement scales may offer adequate means of assessment. For example, while the authoritarianism and dogmatism scales each address aspects of conventionalism, stereotypic orientation and cynicism, they tend to emphasize structure as

dictated by traditional societal norms and/or strict religious and spiritual ethics (Neuberg and Newsom 1993). A stronger preference for cognitive simplicity and structure may be better captured by measurements of intolerance of ambiguity and desirability of control (Budner 1962; Burger and Cooper 1969). For example, intolerance of ambiguity assesses attitudes towards ambiguous situations defined as ones which cannot be adequately structured or categorized because of insufficient cues. Desirability of control is a measure often used in social psychology that assesses individual differences in the general level of motivation to control events that happen in their lives.

In their seminal work focused on creating a personal need for structure measurement, Neuberg and Newsom (1993) retrieved factors from Kruglanski, Webster, & Klem's (1993) need for closure measurement which was viewed as too broad. Need for closure assesses the extent to which an individual seeks a quick and efficient answer to a problem even if it is not right. Specifically, it measures desire for predictability, preference for order and structure, discomfort with ambiguity, decisiveness and close-mindedness and has been found to be redundant with regards to other cognitive measurements (Neuberg, Judice and West 1997; Thompson, Naccarato, Parker and Moskowitz 2001). Instead, Neuberg and Newsom (1993) developed an 11-item scale strictly assessing desire for structure and response to lack of structure in situations. Sample items include: "It upsets me to go into a situation without knowing what I can expect from it" and "I enjoy having a clear and structured mode of life".

While demonstrating a highly correlated two-factor construct, personal need for structure was also tested against other correlates to determine its degree of discriminant validity (Neuberg and Newsom 1993). Need for cognition exhibited a weak negative relationship and was therefore concluded as a highly discriminant and perhaps orthogonal construct. Personal need for structure is moderately associated with social anxiety and reveals a moderately inverse relationship with an overall measure of intelligence. Personal need for structure revealed moderately positive correlations with authoritarianism, dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity (r 's = .2-.4) and a strong positive correlation with routinization (r =.62) and rigidity which was measured over three time periods (r 's = .44-.68). Investigating political conservatism as motivated social cognition, Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski and Sulloway (2003) confirmed a positive relationship between personal need for structure and right-wing authoritarianism but concluded a null effect for social dominance orientation.

In regards to the big five personality traits, Neuberg and Newsom (1993) found personal need for structure to be unrelated to extraversion and agreeableness; positively associated with conscientiousness and neuroticism; and negatively and most strongly (out of the five) related to openness. Increased conscientiousness and neuroticism may explain why individuals scoring high vs. low on personal need for structure are more likely to generate spontaneous trait inferences about others (Moskowitz 1993). Lack of openness provides an understanding of the negative relationship between personal need for structure and the degree to which individuals are forgiving to one another (Eaton, Struthers and Santelli 2006).

While Neuberg and Newsom (1993) provide strong evidence for personal need for structure as a reliable and discriminately valid construct, they omitted to determine if it had any relationship to Burger and Cooper's (1979) measure of desirability of control. As such, I investigate the relationship between personal need for structure and desirability of control as well as their independent impacts on the respective dependent variables in the first essay.

2.2d: Structure-Seeking Outcomes

Comparing individuals high and low on chronic need for structure has demonstrated outcomes similar to control deprivation manipulations. For instance, high vs. low personal need for structure individuals are more likely to engage in pattern recognition. In a study that investigated how participants complete problem-solving task under stressful and non-stressful condition, high vs. low personal need for structure participants showed an increased tendency to develop sets on the Einstellung water-jar task solely under conditions of stress. The authors concluded that stress activated a structure-seeking mindset among high personal need for structure participants and resulted in greater ability to solve a task that captures the readiness of adopting a pattern response (Schultz and Searleman 1997). When exposed to the snowy owl task in which participants are asked if they observe any patterns among an array of black and white dots, Davidson and Laroche (2016) demonstrated that personal need for structure is moderately associated with the number of images reported. The authors additionally measured participants' construal level with the behavioral identification form (BIF) and determined a strong positive relationship between structure-seeking and false pattern perceptions among those with a more abstract level of construal. The relationship disappeared among those with a more concrete construal level indicating that pattern recognition, even if false, can be greatly influenced by

individual's structure-seeking tendencies and the degree to which they construe incoming information.

Similar to control deprivation effects, chronic need for structure also predicts a preference for borders and boundaries. In two separate samples, Cutright (2011) revealed that personal need for structure lead to preferences for a painting with a wooden frame around it as opposed to one without and increased likelihood to purchase bounded products such as a picture of a house with a fence (vs. no fence) surrounding it. Structure-seeking as a continuous, measurable variable also replicated control reduction effects with regards to beliefs in conspiracy theories. A positive relationship was found to exist between the personal need for structure construct and the believability towards an article in which the interviewee, Tyrone Hayes, claims to be the victim of a corporate conspiracy theory (Davidson and Laroche, 2016). This effect persisted even though the last line of the article read: "Despite the claims made by Hayes, none of them have ever been officially corroborated."

Outside of compensatory control theory, structure-seeking has also demonstrated a number of interesting outcomes. For example, consumers scoring low vs. high on personal need for structure show stronger evaluations for really new versus incremental products. Although consumers scoring high on structure-seeking seem to prefer incremental over new products as would be expected, these effects did not reach statistical significance (Kim, Hahn and Yoon 2015). Chronic structure-seeking also leads to the inclination to rely on price as an inference of quality for consumer goods and was found to mediate the impact of power distance belief (the endorsement of power disparities in society) on pricing cues when judging products (Lalwani and Forcum 2016). Within the context of illusory pattern perceptions, chronic structure-seeking was also found to be associated with the belief in a false narrative about a phone that unnaturally performed a series of structured events (Davidson and Laroche, 2016).

Structure-seeking tendencies are likely to be more prevalent than assumed considering that averages of the personal need for structure scale typically fall above the midpoint (see PNS means in appendix). This argument attains further robustness when individuals along the structure-seeking spectrum are confronted with a control deprivation manipulation. It appears that for people who are chronically motivated to seek structure, control deprivation does little to affect any outcome. In contrast, for those that find themselves scoring lower on structure-seeking, control deprivation results in greater structure-seeking tendencies. This effect was evidenced in a study

that tested the relationship between personal need for structure and preference for hierarchy. Without any manipulation, high vs. low structure-seeking individuals display a stronger preference for hierarchy. Following a control reduction manipulation, low personal need for structure individuals increased their preference for hierarchy at levels similar to those of high structure-seeking tendencies due to the need to compensate for feeling lack of personal control (Friesen et al. 2014).

2.3: Perceptions of Service Providers

In considering the relationship between structure-seeking and resistance towards the sharing economy, the specific reasons for this effect are worth exploring. The lack of willingness to participate may be related to the perception of service providers of the sharing economy. Specifically, it is possible that they are perceived as lacking competence which would certainly generate a negative reaction among structure-seekers.

A significant proportion of the sharing economy creates interactions between hosts and guests, drivers and passengers or more universally, service providers and consumers. Surprisingly, scholars have yet to demonstrate any interest towards exploring how perceptions of service providers may be different for the sharing economy as compared to traditional industries. In order to understand how consumers perceive service providers, it is important to explore the literature concerned with social perceptions.

Two fundamental dimensions of social perceptions are competence and warmth (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2008; Rosenberg, Nelson, and Vivekananthan 1968). While such reductionist terms seem to discount other facets of social perceptions, they help to explain preconceived notions of individual and group interactions. Individuals who are perceived as highly ‘competent’ are associated with greater skills, knowledge, intelligence, capabilities and problem-solving abilities. On the other hand, ‘warmth’ is not as easy to capture but has traditionally included traits related to friendliness, prosocial orientation, kindness, empathy and morality. There is general agreement among social psychology researchers that individuals assign greater weight to warmth over competence when forming impressions of other people (De Bruin and Van Lange 2000; Goodwin, Piazza, and Rozin 2014).

Due to the ambiguousness of the warmth dimension, researchers have begun to differentiate it from perceptions of morality (Goodwin, Piazza, and Rozin 2014). Individuals who

are perceived as highly ‘moral’ are associated with greater honesty, sincerity, trustworthiness and are less manipulative. Despite positive correlations between warmth and morality, some researchers claim that the two dimensions are distinct and should be treated separately (Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy 2017; Goodwin, Piazza, and Rozin 2014; Leach, Ellemers, and Barreto 2007). In interpersonal relationships, morality is considered more important than competence because it can establish security and trust with regards to relational concerns. For example, when individuals identify with experimentally-created or pre-existing in-groups, they are more likely to report that other members’ morality is more important than competence or aspects of warmth such as sociability (Wojciszke, Bazinska, and Jaworski 1998). In contrast, factors related to competence such as skill and knowledge will trump dimensions of warmth and morality in business contexts and service relationships (Kirmani and Campbell 2004). Across five different services, analyses of online reviews revealed that consumers are more concerned with attributes related to competence as opposed to the warmth or morality of service providers such as doctors, hair stylists, house cleaners, masseuses and mechanics (Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy 2017). This occurs because customers’ main goal is to achieve a particular outcome and they therefore necessitate a provider who has the competence to help them. Being friendly and warm can certainly help the provider in procuring a consumer but because provider-customer relationships tend to be short, competence exceeds as the main concern.

Signals of social perceptions can be either properly or falsely identified based on specific cues or general impressions. For example, if a group is perceived as more vs. less successful, social perceptions of competence will increase (Conway, Pizzamiglio and Mount, 1996). For-profits as compared to not-for-profit business tend to be rated higher on dimensions of competence and lower on warmth (Aaker, Vohs and Mogilner 2010). Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy (2017) provided evidence that preferences for moral service providers as compared to those that are competent increases when they are positioned as an underdog. For example if two service providers are described as growing up in a disadvantaged background and therefore had limited opportunities, consumers will prefer one that is additionally positioned as having moral vs. competent attributes.

With regards to the sharing economy, perceptions of competence vs. warmth of service providers are likely to be related to the nature of the practice’s sharing score. For example, a high sharing score service is indicative of a sociable and reciprocal relationship between service

provider and consumers. As such, the service providers should be perceived as scoring higher on dimensions of warmth and morality and lower on competence. This idea will be further explored in Essay 2.

3: Essay 1: The Role of Personal Need for Structure on Sharing Economy Services

The growth of peer-to-peer consumption over the last few years has been fueled by technological advances in communication as well as peoples' desires to be more efficient with what and how they consume. As a result, a wide range of different services have emerged through the help of various online platforms (Botsman and Rogers, 2010). Services like Airbnb and Zipcar emphasize shared resources and cheaper alternatives to traditional hotel and transportations industries and have come to encompass what is known as 'the sharing economy'. Although participation rates are increasing, many consumers resist adopting sharing economy services despite understanding the benefits towards the economy, the environment and to consumers themselves (Bothun & Lieberman, 2015; PWC 2015). Consumer research has devoted attention to factors that draw participants towards these services but has neglected to explore underlying psychological variables that can enrich our understanding of participation in the sharing economy.

The current research adopts Compensatory Control Theory in order to explain resistance towards certain sharing economy services. The theory argues that individuals vary in their chronic motivation towards desiring control and structure in situations and in their daily lives (Neuberg and Newsom 1993; Landau, Whitson and Kay 2014). The major contribution of the current research is to identify, explore and better understand a key psychological barrier towards participation in this emerging peer-to-peer marketplace: consumers' structure-seeking behavior.

3.1: Development of Hypotheses

As a stable personality trait that can also be momentarily activated, individuals with a stronger (vs. weaker) personal need for structure (i.e. structure-seeking) dislike uncertainty in experiences and require a high degree of predictability and routine in their daily lives (Neuberg & Newsom, 1993; Kay, Laurin, Fitzsimons & Landau, 2014). In the consumer behavior context, the degree to which individuals vary in their desirability of control has been known to be associated with new product adoption. Specifically, consumers are more resistant towards adopting new

products as their chronic desirability of control increases (Faraji-Rad, Melumad and Johar(2016). Surprisingly, research has yet to explore the relationship between Compensatory Control Theory and new service adoption. The current research predicts that structure-seeking negatively predicts new service adoption in regards to participation in sharing economy services. While considering a host of other potential psychological barriers, structure-seeking has demonstrated internal reliability and discriminant and external validity in its measurement of individuals' desire for predictability, consistency and most all structure when confronted with the prospect of new situations as well as throughout daily activities (Neuberg and Newsom 1993). Because structure-seeking relies on epistemic non-specific structure more so than personality correlates such as desirability of control or intolerance of ambiguity, it should be most resistant to experiences that simply 'operate under a new set of rules'. In other words, if traditional industry is comforting as a source of bolstering beliefs in non-epistemic structure, the sharing economy is likely perceived as a game-changer that should be more negatively received by structure-seeking consumers. Additionally, this effect is expected to persist despite consumers' sex, age or level of income.

H1: In the context of a sharing economy service, structure-seeking will negatively predict willingness to participate among non-users.

Aside from establishing the negative impact of structure-seeking on participation in the sharing economy, this research also seeks to identify conditions in which this effect can be reversed. To do this, a new message framing technique will be introduced. It is expected that if structure-seeking consumers are exposed to a message promoting a sharing economy service in a manner that emphasizes structure (as opposed to lack of structure) between experiences, they will be more likely to participate. Likewise, consumers with low structure-seeking tendencies should desire services that are framed in a manner that emphasizes lack of structure (as opposed to structure) between experiences as they are more likely to favor situations that carry a certain degree of uncertainty and unpredictability in their daily lives.

H2: Personal need for structure will positively (negatively) predict willingness to participate after exposure to a message for a sharing economy service with a structure (vs. non-structure) frame among non-users.

These effects are expected to occur because message framing has been shown to be extremely powerful when it is congruent with an individual's mental representational state (Schwarz and Clore 1983). When exposed to a message that conforms to one's beliefs, values and

opinions, individuals should be accepting and it should likewise affect their behavior (Reber, Schwarz, and Winkielman 2004). As such the effects for each message frame should be mediated by message fluency

H3: Message fluency will mediate the positive (negative) impact of personal need for structure on willingness to participate after exposure to a message for a sharing economy service with a structure (vs. non-structure) frame among non-users.

3.2: Study 1

The aim of this study is to test H1 and determine that there is a relationship between structure-seeking and willingness to participate in a sharing economy service. To do this, survey respondents will complete a personal need for structure measurement. They will then be randomly presented with information about one of two sharing economy services: Airbnb and Zipcar. After, they will be asked about their willingness to participate in the service and several demographic variables will be measured.

3.2a: Survey Design

Two surveys were administered through Amazon's Mechanical Turk among self-confirmed non-users of Airbnb or Zipcar. Respondents in both surveys were first asked to complete Neuberg and Newsom's (1993) personal need for structure measurement. The scale consists of 11 items including three that are reverse-coded. In order to avoid problems with regards to reliability or measurement, the three reverse coded items were omitted from the survey and personal need for structure was instead assessed through eight items. Depending on the survey, respondents were either presented with information about Airbnb or Zipcar which were adapted from Lamberton and Rose (2012). Specifically, the descriptions discuss what the services provide and how they work. For example, the Airbnb description read: "Airbnb is a website for people to list, find and rent lodging. Unlike traditional hotel industries, Airbnb provides a platform for people to rent accommodations at other people's homes. Depending on the host, guests can either rent out a room in their house or the entire house itself. The rates that that guests pay depend on how much the host wants to charge plus any fees collected by Airbnb." The Zipcar description read: "Car sharing systems allow people to reserve and use a car that is owned in common by a group of individuals. You pay a one-time membership fee and an annual fee. Then you pay when you use the car – either

by the hour or by the day. So, in other words, unlike owning your own car, you only pay for the time in the car you actually use. Reservation for specific cars can be made by phone or online up to a year in advance.”

Airbnb offers travelers sleeping accommodations but differs from traditional hotel services in that it makes use of rooms and houses that would also otherwise be left idle. Based on Habibi, Kim and Laroche’s (2016) framework, Airbnb retains a sharing score of 3.14 indicating that it differs from traditional hospitality industries. Zipcar enables drivers to receive short-term access to vehicles that are shared among members of the service. It reveals a sharing score of 2.32 indicating that it more closely resembles an exchange-based service and is therefore distanced from definitions of traditional sharing (Habibi, Kim and Laroche 2016). These two services were selected because they represent different aspects of the sharing economy. In calculating their sharing scores, Airbnb significantly differs from Zipcar in several ways. Specifically, consumers perceive Airbnb to more highly reflect aspects of joint ownership, dependency and similarities to real sharing (Habibi, Kim and Laroche 2016).

After reading each description, respondents indicated their willingness to participate as a guest of Airbnb or member of Zipcar. This measurement was adapted from Lamberton and Rose’s (2012) willingness to participate measurement and consists of three items such as “I would likely choose Airbnb the next time I need a car” and “I would likely choose a car sharing option the next time I need a car”. They were also asked to indicate their level of familiarity with the services on one item which read: “I am familiar with Airbnb/car sharing”. At the end of the survey, respondents were asked to provide information on several demographic questions such as age, income and sex. All continuous measurements were reported on seven-point scales from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

3.2b: Participants and Measures

Among those obtained for the Airbnb survey, only respondents who indicated that they never previously participated were included for analysis. Similarly among those obtained for the Zipcar survey, only respondents who indicated that they never previously participated but were licensed drivers were included for analysis. A total of 305 Mechanical Turk respondents aged 18 to 65 were considered for analysis and for each survey, their demographic information is presented in table 1. Reliability coefficients were calculated for the independent and dependent variables in

each survey. Cronbach's alpha revealed high reliability for personal need for structure (Airbnb: $\alpha = .88$; Zipcar: $\alpha = .94$) and willingness to participate (Airbnb: $\alpha = .96$; Zipcar: $\alpha = .93$).

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	Airbnb	Zipcar
Mean Age	36.3 (10.3)	38.4 (10.5)
Female %	50.7%	47.7%
Median Income	\$30k- \$40k	\$40k - \$50k
Sample Size	150	155

3.2c: Main effects

Mean comparisons between the two services were calculated for personal need for structure, willingness to participate and familiarity. One-way ANOVA results reveal that personal need for structure does not differ between the two services ($F(1, 303) = .42, p > .5$). Interestingly, respondents reported higher scores for Airbnb as compared to Zipcar for willingness to participate ($M_{\text{Airbnb}} = 3.28, SD = 1.6; M_{\text{Zipcar}} = 2.86, SD = 1.6; F(1, 303) = 5.3, p < .03, \eta^2 = .02$) and familiarity ($M_{\text{Airbnb}} = 4.79, SD = 1.7; M_{\text{Zipcar}} = 3.4, SD = 1.6; F(1, 303) = 51.5, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$). Pearson correlations were calculated among the different variables in each service and are reported in table 2. Notably, personal need for structure reveals a negative correlation with willingness to participate in Airbnb ($r = -.28, p < .001$) but not Zipcar ($r = .10, p = \text{ns}$). Additionally across both services, females report a higher personal need for structure than males (Airbnb: $r = .30, p < .001$; Zipcar: $r = -.19, p < .03$). and older vs. younger respondents also report a higher personal need for structure but surprisingly this effect only surfaced in the Airbnb and not the Zipcar condition (Airbnb: $r = .23, p < .01$; Zipcar: $r = -.05, p = \text{ns}$).

Table 2: Correlation table

		NFS	WP	FAM	Sex	Age
Airbnb	WP	-.28**				
	FAM	-.11	.11			
	Sex	.30**	-.14	.10		
	Age	.23**	-.13	-.16	.09	
	Income	.14	-.04	.07	-.09	.17*
Zipcar	WP	.10				
	FAM	.03	.09			
	Sex	.19*	.13	-.10		
	Age	-.05	-.05	-.09	.19*	
	Income	-.10	-.11	.17*	-.12	.09

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

NFS = Need for Structure; WP = Willingness to Participate; FAM = Familiarity; Sex: 1 = Males, 2 = Females

3.2d: Analysis of H1

A significant interaction effect is demonstrated when regressing willingness to participate on personal need for structure as moderated by the two services ($\beta = .52$, $SE = .15$, $t(301) = 3.46$, $p < .001$). As illustrated figure 1, separate regression analyses reveal a negative relationship between personal need for structure and willingness to participate for Airbnb ($\beta = -.40$, $SE = .11$, $t(148) = -3.58$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .08$) but not Zipcar ($\beta = .12$, $SE = .10$, $t(68) = 1.18$, $p = ns$, $R^2 < .01$). As such, H1 is supported for Airbnb but not Zipcar. To determine the robustness of these results, other variables were considered for analysis. Based on significant correlational results, age and sex were input into a multiple regression as potential predictors alongside personal need for structure. As reported in table 3 in the Airbnb condition, personal need for structure remains a strong predictor ($\beta = -.35$, $SE = .12$, $t(146) = -2.94$, $p < .01$) despite sex and age being included in the model. Importantly, the variation inflation factor for each predictor remains low (all VIF's < 1.2) indicating that multicollinearity is not likely present in this model. No significant results emerge in the Zipcar condition.

Figure 2: Moderation analysis

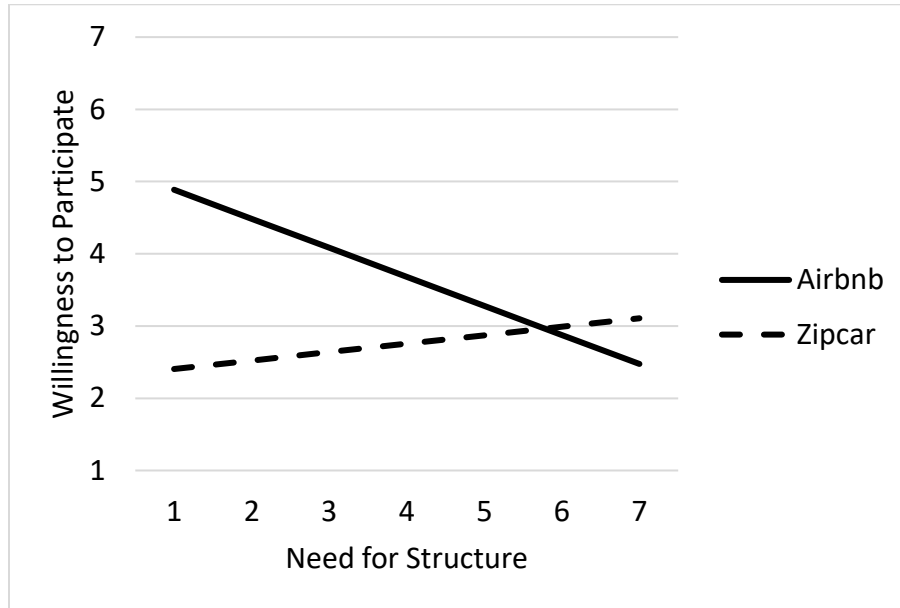


Table 3: Multiple Regression Analyses

		β	SE	t	VIF
Airbnb	Constant	5.74	.70	8.20**	
	NFS	-.35	.12	-2.94**	1.15
	Sex	-.19	.27	-.73	1.10
	Age	-.01	.01	-.86	1.05
Zipcar	Constant	2.25	.73	3.10**	
	NFS	.08	.10	.83	1.04
	Sex	.40	.26	1.52	1.08
	Age	-.01	.01	-.84	1.05

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

NFS = Need for Structure; Sex: 1 = Males, 2 = Females

3.2e: Results

The findings from study 1 demonstrate interesting results – some that were hypothesized and others that were not. First, need for structure is found to be a negative predictor of willingness to participate but only for Airbnb. This effect was further confirmed by including other potential predictors in the model such as age and sex. While these variable were found to be non-significant, structure-seeking sustained its strong negative relationship. To further confirm the robustness of

this relationship, a post-hoc analysis was conducted to determine if the relationship between personal need for structure and willingness to participate could be better explained by a quadratic model. Results reveal that a quadratic function adds nothing to the effect size and also contains a substantially low quadratic parameter estimate ($\beta_X = -.45$; $\beta_{X^2} = .005$; $F(2, 147) = 6.7, p < .01$). The significance of the function is nearly entirely represented by its linear and not its quadratic relationship.

While no significant relationships emerged for Zipcar, this result was not completely unexpected despite any original hypothetical reasoning. As previously explained, the differences in sharing scores between the two services have been proven to be significant (Habibi, Kim and Laroche 2016). As such, it is highly likely that the relationship between structure-seeking and willingness to participate will only emerge for new services with higher sharing scores such as Airbnb. Due to the nature of Zipcar resembling a traditional rental car service, it is likely that respondents do not necessarily perceive it as a new type of offering on the marketplace. In contrast, Airbnb's business model offers a different and in many ways opposing model for doing business and procuring services. It therefore stands to reason, that consumers' need for structure, predictability, certainty and order would more strongly be associated with participation in Airbnb and not in Zipcar. Nonetheless a quadratic relationship was also considered in order to determine if the lack of findings were resulting from a false assumption of linearity. A post-hoc analysis confirms however that no quadratic relationship exists for Zipcar ($\beta_X = .64$; $\beta_{X^2} = -.06$; $F(2, 152) = 1.2, p = ns$).

Aside from the explanation that each service differs in their respective sharing scores, it could also be argued that the uneven results are because willingness to participate was overall much higher for Airbnb than Zipcar. This unexpected finding does not follow any guided reasoning and also should not affect the specific relationship between structure-seeking and willingness to participate. In contrast, the lower familiarity with Zipcar should hypothetically only serve to strengthen the relationship and not erase it. Nonetheless these results suggest that overall, familiarity plays a significant role in consumer participation. A post-hoc analysis was conducted to determine if familiarity mediates the relationship between service type on willingness to participate. Using model 4 on the Process Macro on SPSS, a bootstrapping analysis demonstrated that although the direct effect between service type and willingness to participate disappear when familiarity is included in the model ($\beta = -.29, SE = .20, t(303) = -1.48, p = ns$), an indirect effect

is only marginally significant ($\beta = -.13$, $SE = .08$, 90% C.I. = $(-.26, -.01)$). In short, familiarity seems somewhat responsible for the difference between the two groups but there are likely other factors to be considered however they are beyond the scope of this research.

Other interesting results from study 1 show that females have a higher need for structure than males. While no known research has investigated gender differences with Compensatory Control Theory, these results yield promising avenues for future research. Interestingly, age and personal need for structure were found to be positively associated but only for Airbnb and not Zipcar. Of course, the context of the service type should not have any impact in this particular relationship and therefore the differences are most likely due to the impact of random sampling. When combined together, no overall effect emerges ($r = .07$, $p = ns$, $n = 305$). Going forward, it will be important to be mindful if this relationship is found to exist or not.

3.3: Study 2

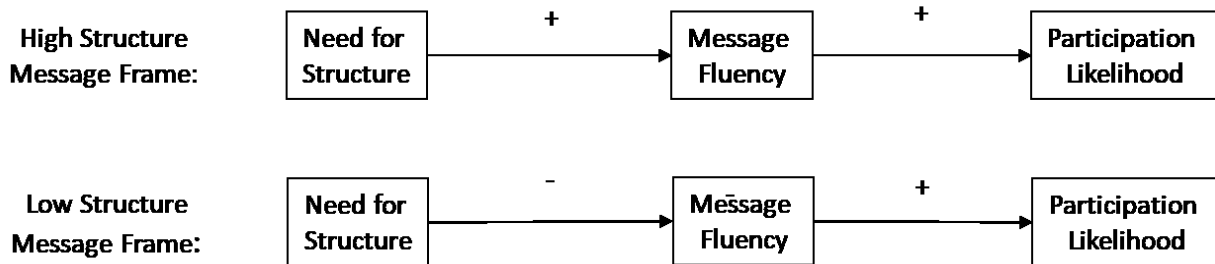
While the previous study found that structure-seeking negatively predicts participation in Airbnb among non-users, study 2 proposes a message framing technique that can generate interest among the most resistant consumers towards the services with high sharing scores. In order to elicit an increase in participation among structure-seeking consumers, a message frame promoting structure in a sharing economy service is introduced. It is predicted that exposure to this message frame will increase participation likelihood among consumer with a high personal need for structure. In comparison, exposure to a message frame promoting lack of structure should increase participation likelihood among consumer with a low personal need for structure. This study will test the hypothesis in the context of Airbnb in order to contribute to the previous study's findings.

3.3a: Message Framing

A considerable amount of research has investigated message framing in a host of different contexts (e.g. Maheswaran and Meyers-Levy 1990). The consensus seems to suggest that the persuasiveness of a message frame is enhanced when it is congruent with an individual's mental representational state (Schwarz and Clore 1983). Specifically, exposing individuals to information that fits with their existing beliefs, values and opinions generates a feeling of fluency which can be simply described as an ease of comprehension (Reber, Schwarz, and Winkielman 2004). Because fluency generates a 'feels' right' experience, consumers are likely to attribute the positive feelings derived from the fluency of a message to the stimulus. As such, the fluency mimics

positive affect and can subdue negative or neutral reactions to perceived stimuli. Such responses are less surprising considering that consumers are more likely to engage in subjective thinking and superficial analysis of incoming information when exposed to persuasive messaging (Schwarz 2004). For example, when persuasive appeals are congruent with an individual’s political ideology, the message strongly resonates and the fluency experienced becomes extremely compelling (Kidwell, Farmer and Hardesty 2013). Therefore, the congruency between consumers’ need for structure and the frame of a message should be mediated by message fluency. Figure 2 illustrates the conceptual model that will be tested.

Figure 3: Conceptual Model



In order to further validate the findings from study 1, other personality constructs related to structure-seeking will also be measured to determine if they have any interactions with the message frames or generate any impact on the dependent variables. Desirability of control is a closely related construct that assesses “...individual differences in the general level of motivation to control events that happen in their lives” (Burger and Cooper). Intolerance of ambiguity assesses “attitudes towards ambiguous situations defined as ones which cannot be adequately structured or categorized because of insufficient cues” (Budner 1962).

3.3a: Study Design

A survey was administered to a Qualtrics panel of respondents who were pre-selected in order to establish that they had no previous experience as an Airbnb guest. To begin, an introductory message explained that there would be two separate surveys. The first will ask questions regarding a current service being offered. The second will ask personality-related questions. Next, a description of Airbnb was presented mimicking that of study 1 which discusses

what the service provides and how it works and was adopted from Lamberton and Rose (2012). After, one of two advertisements for Airbnb are presented. Both advertisements featured the logo for Airbnb with a generic city skyline in the background and a quote from a made-up customer named Alex. In the structure message frame condition, the quote read: “Every time I decide to use Airbnb, I love how I *always* know what kind of experience I’ll have”. Reading this message is expected to enhance perceptions of Airbnb as providing structure and consistency in its services. In the non-structure message frame condition, the quote read: “Every time I decide to use Airbnb, I love how I *never* know what kind of experience I’ll have”. In contrast, this message is expected to enhance perceptions that Airbnb provides a lack of structure and inconsistent experiences in its services (*italics added to emphasize the part of the message wording that differs*).

Following exposure to the advertisements, a message fluency measure was presented adapted from Kidwell, Farmer and Hardesty (2013). It consists of five items anchored on seven-point scales ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’. Specifically it measures if the message is clear, compelling, credible, if it flowed and if it was easy to follow. Several attitudinal measures were presented asking about evaluations of Airbnb on seven-point scales from 'extremely negative' to 'extremely positive', 'extremely unfavorable' to 'extremely favorable' and 'extremely dislike' to 'extremely like'. Participation likelihood is measured by presenting a question asking ‘how likely are you to participate in the future?’ on a seven-point scale from ‘extremely unlikely’ to ‘extremely likely’.

In the second part of the survey, the personality constructs were assessed and all required answers on seven-point scales ranging from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’. First, Neuberg and Newsom’s (1993) personal need for structure scale was presented. Unlike the previous study which omitted three reverse-coded items, a complete 11-item measure was presented. In order to avoid potential confusing in analyzing the scale, the wording of the three items were reversed so that all items on the scale were framed in the same direction. They read: “I am bothered by things that interrupt my daily routine”, “I find that a well-ordered life with regular hours does not make my life tedious” and “I do not enjoy being in unpredictable situations”. Burger and Cooper’s (1979) 20-item desirability of control scale was then presented. Although it included five reverse-coded items, they were not altered and were left intact in the survey. The reason for this is that I am less familiar with this measurement as compared to personal need for structure. As such, I felt it was outside of my responsibility to create alterations to the measurement. Examples of items from the

scale read: “I prefer a job where I have a lot of control over what I do and when I do it”, “I would prefer to be a leader than a follower” and “Others usually know what is best for me” (reverse-coded). Lastly, Budner’s (1962) 16-item intolerance of ambiguity measure was presented including items that read: “I like parties where I know most of the people more than ones where all or most of the people are complete strangers”, “An expert who doesn’t come up with a definite answer probably doesn’t know much” and “The sooner we all acquire similar values and ideals the better”. At the end of the survey, demographic information was collected.

3.3b: Pretest

Before testing H2, a pre-test was conducted among fifty Mechanical Turk respondents ($M_{\text{age}} = 35.9$, $SD = 13.4$; 48% female) who were randomly assigned to one of two messages with either a structure or non-structure frame. The purpose is to determine if the structure vs. non-structure message frame enhances perceptions of structure and consistency in Airbnb’s services. After exposure to the advertisements, respondents answered to three statements on seven-point scales from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’ where they indicated how much they agree that experiences in Airbnb are consistent, predictable and unchanging from one to the other. The three items were reduced into a composite mean score which was significantly higher in the structure vs. non-structure message frame condition ($M_{\text{STRUCTURE}} = 5.25$, $SD = 1.27$; $M_{\text{NON-STRUCTURE}} = 2.93$, $SD = 1.62$; $F(1, 48) = 31.8$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .40$).

3.3c: Participants and Measures

Eighty-nine respondents from a Qualtrics panel who had no previous experience as an Airbnb guest were obtained for this study ($M_{\text{AGE}} = 38.5$, $SD = 11.1$; 86.5% female; Median income = \$40,000 - \$54,999). Average mean scores were calculated for participation likelihood ($M = 4.7$, $SD = 1.7$), message fluency ($M = 5.43$, $SD = 1.1$, $\alpha = .89$) and attitudes towards Airbnb ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.3$, $\alpha = .92$). The personality constructs were also each averaged into a mean score and each reveal sufficient internal reliability (personal need for structure: $M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.0$, $\alpha = .83$; desirability of control $M = 4.81$, $SD = .68$, $\alpha = .89$; intolerance of ambiguity: $M = 3.99$, $SD = .36$, $\alpha = .81$).

3.3d: Main Effects

Table 4 shows a correlation table among the measurements, personality constructs and relevant demographic variables. As expected, personal need for structure is highly correlated with both desirability of control ($r = .28, p < .01$) and intolerance of ambiguity ($r = .51, p < .01$). Interestingly, desirability of control and intolerance of ambiguity are not at all correlated with one another ($r = -.08, p > .40$). personal need for structure does not demonstrate a main effect correlation with participation likelihood ($r = .10, p > .30$) or attitudes towards Airbnb ($r < .01, p = ns$) but is strongly and positively correlated with message fluency ($r = .30, p < .01$). It is not found to be related to sex ($r = .05, p > .60$) but does reveal a moderately positive relationship with age ($r = .20, p < .07$). The other two personality constructs do not demonstrate any significant associations with other remaining variables except for desirability of control's positive correlation with message fluency ($r = .20, p < .06$) and intolerance of ambiguity's relationship with age ($r = .21, p = .05$).

Several one-way ANOVA tests were conducted to determine if the structure vs. non-structure conditions generated a direct impact on any of the measures or personality constructs. No differences emerge for any of the three measures or three personality constructs (all p 's $> .40$).

Table 4: Main Effects

	NFS	DOC	IOA	PL	ATT	MF	Sex	Age
DOC	.28**							
IOA	.51**	-.08						
PL	.10	.10	-.07					
ATT	.01	.01	-.07	.80**				
MF	.30**	.20	.02	.50**	.49**			
Sex	.05	-.02	.04	-.17	-.15	-.10		
Age	.20	.09	.21*	-.01	.01	.07	-.13	
Income	.19	.07	.01	-.01	-.06	.03	-.14	.14

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

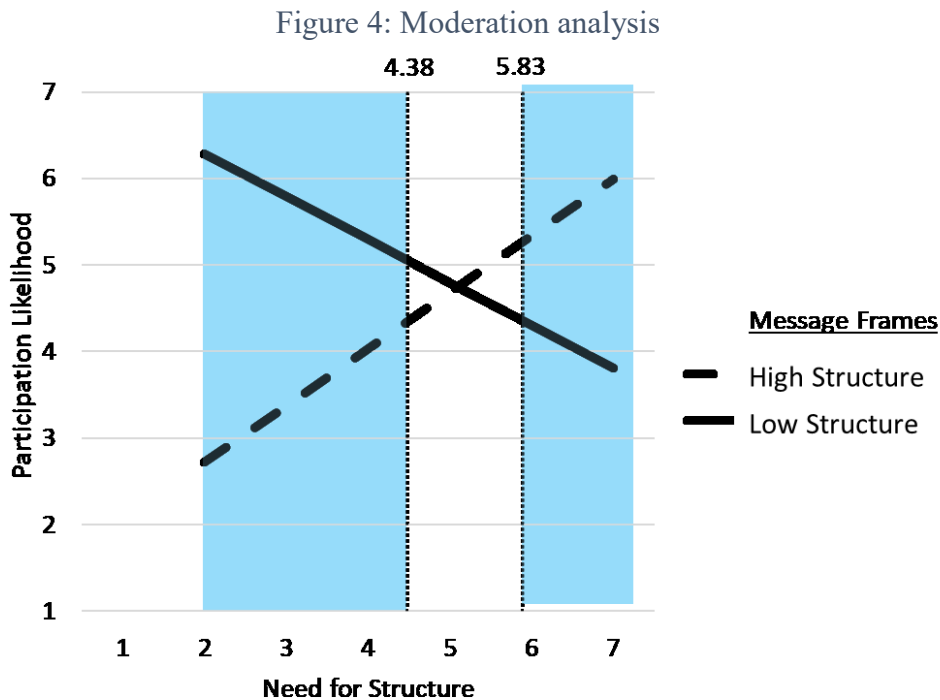
NFS = Need for Structure; DOC = Desirability of Control; IOA = Intolerance of Ambiguity; PL = Participation Likelihood; ATT = Attitudes towards the Host; MF = Message Fluency; Sex: 1 = Males, 2 = Females

3.3e: Analysis of H2

As illustrated in figure 3, a personal need for structure X message framing interaction is significant ($\beta = -1.15, SE = .34, t(85) = -3.34, p < .002$). As hypothesized, personal need for

structure positively predicts participation likelihood after exposure to the structure message frame condition ($\beta = .66$, $SE = .23$, $t(42) = 2.84$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .16$). Likewise, personal need for structure negatively predicts participation likelihood after exposure to the non-structure message frame condition ($\beta = -.5$, $SE = .25$, $t(42) = -1.95$, $p = .05$, $R^2 = .08$). Viewed from a different perspective, the message frame conditions were entered as the independent variable and personal need for structure was input as the moderator and evaluated at plus/minus one standard deviation of the mean in order to evaluate respondents with high and low personal need for structure respectively. Respondents with at plus one SD revealed an increase in participation likelihood after exposure to the structure message frame condition ($M_{STRUCTURE} = 5.4$; $M_{NON-STRUCTURE} = 4.26$, $t(85) = -2.37$, $p < .02$). Respondents at minus one SD revealed an increase in participation likelihood after exposure to the non-structure message frame condition ($M_{STRUCTURE} = 4.09$; $M_{NON-STRUCTURE} = 5.25$, $t(85) = 2.39$, $p < .02$). As such, H2 is supported.

A stricter analysis was performed employing the Johnson-Neyman technique which determines regions of significance along a continuous moderating variable. As illustrated by the vertical indication lines in figure 3, significant regions are found for the area below a value of 4.38 and above a value of 5.83 on the personal need for structure scale. Coincidentally, each of these regions comprise an area of 20.22% of the sample.



3.3f: Analysis of H3

In order to establish the degree to which the message frames are affecting participation likelihood, a moderated mediation test is performed using a bootstrapping analysis with 5000 replacements to measure the indirect effects (Hayes 2013). personal need for structure is entered as the independent, message fluency as the mediating, participation likelihood as the dependent and message frames as the moderating variable. As depicted in figure 4, a significant moderated mediation model emerges ($F(3, 85) = 6.6, p < .001, R^2 = .19$).

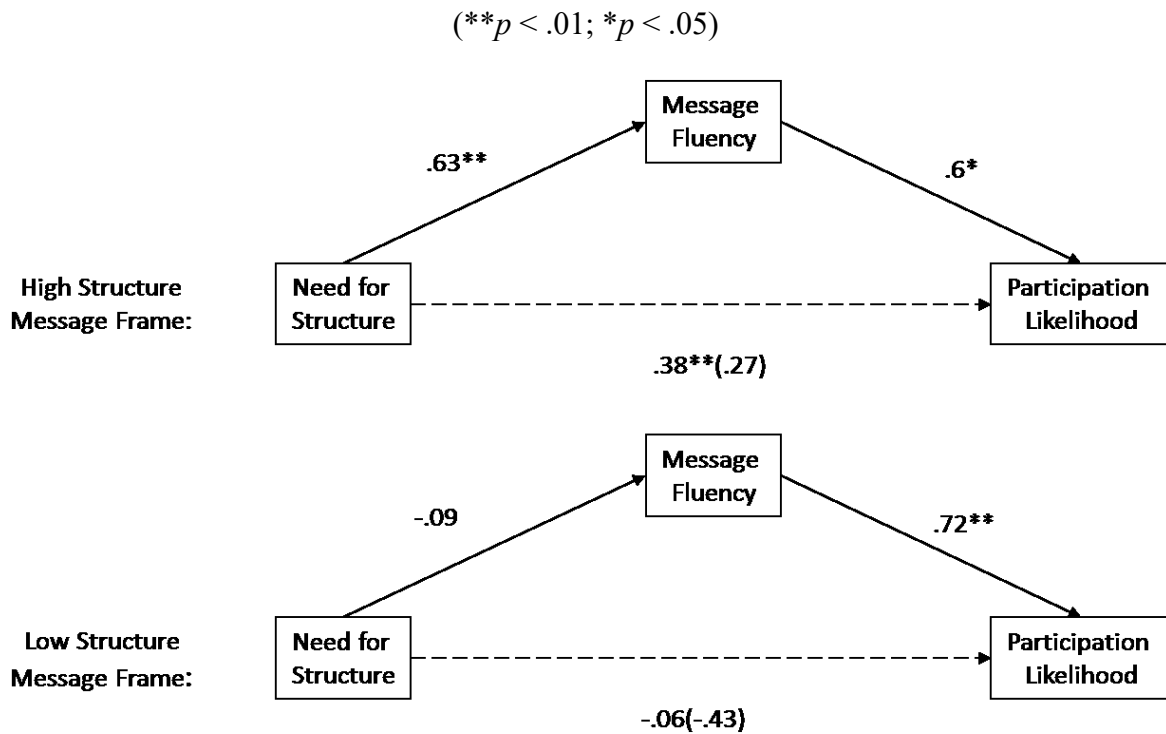
Analyzing the message frames separately, a full mediation is observed in the high structure message frame condition. Specifically, when message fluency is included in the model, the direct effect personal need for structure on participation likelihood becomes non-significant (effect = .28, $SE = .26, t(42) = -.106, p = NS$). Importantly, a significant and negative indirect effect surfaces (effect = .38, $Boot\ SE = .21; 95\% C.I. = (.04, .88)$). The significance of the indirect effect is indicated by the lower and upper 95% bootstrapping confidence intervals. Because this range does not contain zero, the effect is significant at the .05 level.

In the low structure message frame condition, a mediation model does not emerge. Specifically, when message fluency is included in the model, the direct effect personal need for structure on participation likelihood remains moderately significant (effect = -.43, $SE = .22, t(43) = -1.92, p < .07$). An indirect effect does not surface (effect = -.06, $Boot\ SE = .17; 95\% C.I. = (-.31, .36)$). As such, H3 is supported in the high but not low structure message frame condition.

3.3g: Additional Findings

A significant personal need for structure X message framing interaction on attitudes towards Airbnb is also found to be significant ($\beta = -.52, SE = .37, t(85) = -1.95, p < .06$). Interestingly, the linear relationships within each message frame condition are found to be non-significant but are nonetheless regressed in the expected directions. In regards to the other related personality constructs, a desirability of control X message framing interaction on participation likelihood is not significant ($t(85) = -1.12, p = ns$). Similarly, an intolerance of ambiguity X message framing interaction on participation likelihood is also not significant ($t(85) = -.15, p = ns$).

Figure 5: Moderated Mediation Analysis



Although overall main effects between the focal measurements and the demographic variables were null, it is possible that there may be a relationship within each message frame condition that potentially affects the outcome. As such, post-hoc analyses were conducted to determine if within each message frame condition, sex and/or age influence participation likelihood. As reported in table 5 in the high structure message frame condition, personal need for structure remains a strong predictor ($\beta = .35$, $SE = .26$, $t(42) = 2.53$, $p < .05$) despite sex and age being included in the model. Interestingly in the low structure message frame condition, the negative relationship between personal need for structure and participation likelihood becomes non-significant when age and sex are added to the model ($\beta = -.39$, $SE = .26$, $t(43) = -1.49$, $p = ns$). The coefficient for both age and sex however are non-significant (both p 's = ns). Importantly, the variation inflation factor across each analysis remain low (all VIF's < 1.2) indicating that multicollinearity is not likely present in this model.

Table 5: Multiple Regression Analyses

Structure Message Frames		β	SE	t	VIF
High	Constant	2.80	2.25	1.25	
	NFS	.65	.26	2.53*	1.09
	Sex	-.41	.82	-.49	1.06
	Age	-.02	.03	-.62	1.15
Low	Constant	8.93	1.79	4.98**	
	NFS	-.39	.26	-1.49	1.04
	Sex	-1.06	.64	1.67	1.04
	Age	-.01	.02	-.34	1.01

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$
 NFS = Need for Structure

3.3h: Results

The results from this study contribute to our understanding of how structure-seeking influences participation in the sharing economy. By exposing respondents to two different messages for Airbnb, individual levels of personal need for structure either had a strongly positive or negative relationship with participation likelihood. Specifically, when Airbnb was promoted as containing unstructured and inconsistent experiences, personal need for structure behaved as it did in the study 1 and negatively predicted consumers' desire to participate as a guest in the future. Although the significance of this effect disappeared when considering age and sex, the relationship still remained negative and close to significance. Interestingly, when it was promoted as containing structured and consistent experiences, this relationship reversed and consumers with a higher vs. lower personal need for structure indicated that they were more likely to participate in the future. Participation towards the sharing economy can therefore be impacted by how experiences are marketed towards different segments of the consumer population.

Following exposure to the high structure message frame, structure-seeking predicts participation because respondents were able to process the contents of the message more fluently. This demonstrated the effectiveness of marketing communications when appealing to consumers' specific personality traits. This effect however was not observed following the low structure message frame. Although a main effect emerged, it did not seem to result from the processing of

the message. Considering that this negative relationship is a baseline condition as observed in study 1, it is therefore understandable why message fluency does not mediate this relationship.

Importantly, the relationship between need for structure and willingness to participate is further corroborated by demonstrating that related personality constructs, desirability of control and intolerance of ambiguity, do not seem to influence respondents. Despite their correlation with the focal construct, they were found to have absolutely no impact on any of the outcome or mediating variables. Interestingly, age and structure-seeking are again found to be correlated. This suggests that it's important for scholars to always consider age as a potential explanatory variable when investigating structure-seeking. Unlike study 1 however, structure-seeking and sex showed no relationship. A reason for this lack of significance may be attributed to how the sample was skewed towards female respondents which represented over 85% of the individuals surveyed. This skewness is unfortunate and is likely attributable to the use of a different participant pool. Nonetheless, the findings corroborate those of study 1 while contributing to the present research in ways that should not be accounted for by females alone. As, such structure-seeking remains an important psychographic variables in regards to participation in sharing economy services.

3.4: Essay 1 Discussion

The findings in essay 1 demonstrate the importance of considering psychographic variables in understanding motivations as well as resistance towards consumption-related outcomes. The sharing economy provides a considerable number of services that are uniquely competitive due to the fact that they provide cheaper, economical and more environmental alternative to traditional industry. Despite these advantages, many consumers are resistant towards adopting many of these services, specifically those that necessitate consumers to step outside of their comfort zone. The current essay pinpoints an unconscious yet pivotal personality variable that helps to explain such resistance: structure-seeking.

The stronger consumers' desire for structure, stability and consistency are, the more likely they will be to resist new services which inherently depart from traditional ways of doing business. In two studies, the negative relationship between structure-seeking and service adoption was proven to be a linear function that cannot be better explained by consumers' age, sex or other personality traits. Although older as opposed to younger individuals and females as opposed to

males are more likely to have a stronger personal need for structure, they alone do not explain resistance towards service adoption in the sharing economy.

In essence, structure-seekers strongly value situations with great certainty, predictable outcomes and consistent routines and disfavor spontaneity, lack of rules and random occurrences. These values are exactly what are absent from certain sharing economy services. It is precisely the services with high sharing scores, such as Airbnb, which by their very nature are void of predictable outcomes, consistent routines and specific rules. The mismatch between this personality trait and perceptions of Airbnb are what spur this negative relationship. By generating impressions of these services that align them with the foundational attributes of structure-seeking such as stability and predictability, this negative relationship can be overturned. While this may seem trivial and contrived, a high structure message frame is a powerful tool for the fact that it can appeal to consumers in a visceral manner. The reason why message framing is less effective for low structure-seekers may be due to the mental representational state itself. It's important to remember that the general population scores above average on need for structure ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.0$). As such, low structure-seekers actually represent individuals slightly lower from or just around the midpoint of the scale. High structure-seekers on the other hand are considered far above the midpoint. The effectiveness of the congruency between high structure-seeking and a high structure message frame may therefore lie in the fact that such individuals unconsciously and tenaciously uphold these values as a core attribute of their personality.

Despite the interesting findings, there are some limitations to essay 1. First, the lack of relationship between structure-seeking and willingness to participate for Zipcar was purported to result from the service's lower sharing score however this was not experimentally nor conceptually confirmed. As such, this argument requires further investigation and experimentation. Second, the differences in ratios of males and females between the two studies is a bit troubling and warrants some apprehension due to the facts that women are more likely to score high on structure-seeking. While I still stand by the conclusion drawn, it is important for future research to avoid such problems in sampling. Third, it is assumed that the perceived lack of structure in specific sharing economy services are what drives structure-seeking to generate resistance towards adoption however this was also not substantiated in this essay. In order to better address this shortcoming, the next essay will more closely investigate the relationship structure-seeking and perceptions of sharing economy-type services and their providers.

Table 6: Essay 1 Findings

H1: In the context of a sharing economy service, structure-seeking will negatively predict willingness to participate among non-users.	Supported for Airbnb
H2: Following exposure to a high (low) structure message frame, consumers' need for structure will positively (negatively) predict willingness to participate in Airbnb	Supported
H3: Message fluency will mediate this relationship	Supported for high structure message frame

4: Essay 2: Structure-Seeking and Preferences for Competent Service Providers

The inverse relationship between structure-seeking and adoption of Airbnb but not Zipcar services suggests that the presence of service providers in the sharing economy, more than the value of the sharing score, may moderate this effect. Structure-seekers' resistance towards participation in Airbnb may be due to the uncertainty of engaging with perceptibly unpredictable and unreliable hosts. The current essay attempts to further understand consumers' perceptions of sharing economy services by focusing on different attributes of service providers. Specifically, it is argued that services with a high sharing score such as Airbnb, have providers that are perceived by new consumers as warmer but less competent. Perceptions of incompetence among potentially new consumers therefore provides a likely explanation as to why structure-seekers are resistant to participate in the sharing economy.

To begin, dimensions of social perceptions in regards to competence and warmth will be discussed for the development of the hypotheses. Then, two studies will attempt to convince the reader of the following. First, among non-users of a sharing economy service with a high sharing score, the providers of the service are perceived as warm but incompetent. Second, under a structure-seeking mindset, consumers will prefer a competent vs. warm service provider. Finally, a general discussion will then synthesize the results and the limitations and future directions of the research will be presented.

4.1: Development of Hypotheses

Social perceptions of the fundamental dimensions of competence, warmth and morality are likely to play a role in evaluating and adopting new services. Perceptions of competency can be signaled by a provider's task difficulty and the consumer's processing of the complexity of the service (Kirmani and Campbell 2004). Perceptions of warmth and morality can be signaled by the degree of closeness in the provider-consumer relationship and the level of trust and sociability that is expected (Wojciszke, Bazinska, and Jaworski 1998). Airbnb, a successful hospitality service considered as a leading figure of the sharing economy, surely requires its host to provide competent, friendly and moral service to consumers. With an estimated sharing score of 3.14, it ranks high with regards to service characteristics related to reciprocation, sociability and interpersonal dependency (Habibi, Kim and Laroche 2016). The current research predicts that among non-users, Airbnb service providers should be perceived as exhibiting warmth, friendliness and trustworthiness more than competence or skillfulness:

H1: Non-users will rate Airbnb as higher on dimensions of warmth and morality as compared to competence.

Based on evidence from the first essay demonstrating that structure-seeking predicts resistance towards new service adoption, the current research expects this relationship to interact with the positioning of a service provider on different social dimensions. Specifically, positioning a service provider as exhibiting stronger qualities of competence as opposed to warmth and morality should be endorsed by high structure-seeking consumers. In contrast, when positioned as exhibiting stronger qualities of warmth and morality as opposed to competence, service providers should be endorsed by low structure-seeking consumers. Endorsement of the service providers will be captured by both willingness to adopt the service and attitudes towards the service provider.

H2: Structure-seeking and service provider positioning should interact such that:

- a) High structure-seeking consumers should be willing to adopt the service and have positive attitudes towards service providers perceived as high on attributes of competence and low on warmth and morality.
- b) Low structure-seeking consumers should be willing to adopt the service and have positive attitudes towards service providers perceived as high on attributes of warmth and morality and low on competence.

4.2: Study 1

The purpose of study 1 is to test H1 and demonstrate that services in the sharing economy with a high sharing score rate higher on aspects of warmth and morality and lower on competence. Airbnb is selected as the service context. Airbnb offers travelers sleeping accommodations but differ from traditional hotel services in that it makes use of rooms and houses that would otherwise be left idle. Based on Habibi, Kim and Laroche's (2016) framework, Airbnb retains a sharing score of 3.14 indicating that it differs from traditional hospitality industries. Also, it differs from other sharing economy services that are perceived as closer to traditional businesses considered to include a number of exchange-related characteristics. By demonstrating that Airbnb ranks higher on dimensions of warmth and morality as opposed to competence, this research intends to demonstrate that such perceptions are what drives structure-seeking consumers to resist participating.

4.2a: Survey Design

A survey was administered through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. It began by presenting respondents with a description of Airbnb adapted from Lamberton and Rose (2012). Specifically, the description discusses what the service provides and how it works: "Airbnb is a website for people to list, find and rent lodging. Unlike traditional hotel industries, Airbnb provides a platform for people to rent accommodations at other people's homes. Depending on the host, guests can either rent out a room in their house or the entire house itself. The rates that that guests pay depend on how much the host wants to charge plus any fees collected by Airbnb." Two yes/no multiple choice questions ascertained whether respondents previously participated as an Airbnb guest and host.

On the next page, the instructions read: "Take a moment to think about what your experience would be like if you were to book a stay through Airbnb." A yes/no multiple choice question then asked: "Do you think it would be different than a stay at hotel?" The instructions continued: "Compared to staying at a hotel, please write down in a few lines, how you would perceive the service quality to be if you used Airbnb for your next trip?" Respondents were then given an essay form box to write down their answers. After, the instructions read: "Instead of a hotel, imagine that you booked a stay through Airbnb. During your stay, you sometimes come into contact with the host." They were asked to evaluate the host on dimension of warmth, morality

and competence which were adopted from Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy (2017). On four seven-point scales capturing the dimension of warmth, they evaluated the host from 'extremely unfriendly' to 'extremely friendly', 'extremely cold' to 'extremely warm', 'extremely unsociable' to 'extremely sociable' and 'extremely not nice' to 'extremely nice'. On three seven-point scales capturing the dimension of morality, they evaluated the host from 'extremely dishonest' to 'extremely honest', 'extremely insincere' to 'extremely sincere' and 'extremely not trustworthy' to 'extremely trustworthy'. On four seven-point scales capturing the dimension of competence, they evaluated the host from 'extremely incompetent' to 'extremely competent', 'extremely not clever' to 'extremely clever', 'extremely not knowledgeable' to 'extremely knowledgeable' and 'extremely unskilled' to 'extremely skilled'. Finally, they were asked several demographic information questions and thanked for their responses.

4.2b: Participants and Measures

A total of 49 responses were collected for analysis ($M_{age} = 34.8$, $SD = 11.4$; Sex = 20 females; 29 males). Each dimension of social perceptions demonstrated acceptable reliability among the items (competence: $M = 5.17$, $SD = 1.08$, $\alpha = .93$; warmth: $M = 5.55$, $SD = 1.12$, $\alpha = .86$; morality: $M = 5.39$, $SD = 1.04$, $\alpha = .85$). Nearly 30% of the sample indicated that they had previously participated as a guest in Airbnb (Users = 17; Non-users = 32). Comparisons between users and non-users revealed no difference in sex ($\chi^2_1 = .33$, $p = ns$). Users were found to be moderately younger than non-users ($M_{USERS} = 30.7$, $SD = 9.7$; $M_{NON-USERS} = 36.9$, $SD = 11.8$; $F(1, 47) = 3.48$, $p < .07$). Among users, 82% agreed that a future Airbnb stay would be a different experience than a hotel and similarly, 88% of non-users felt the same way.

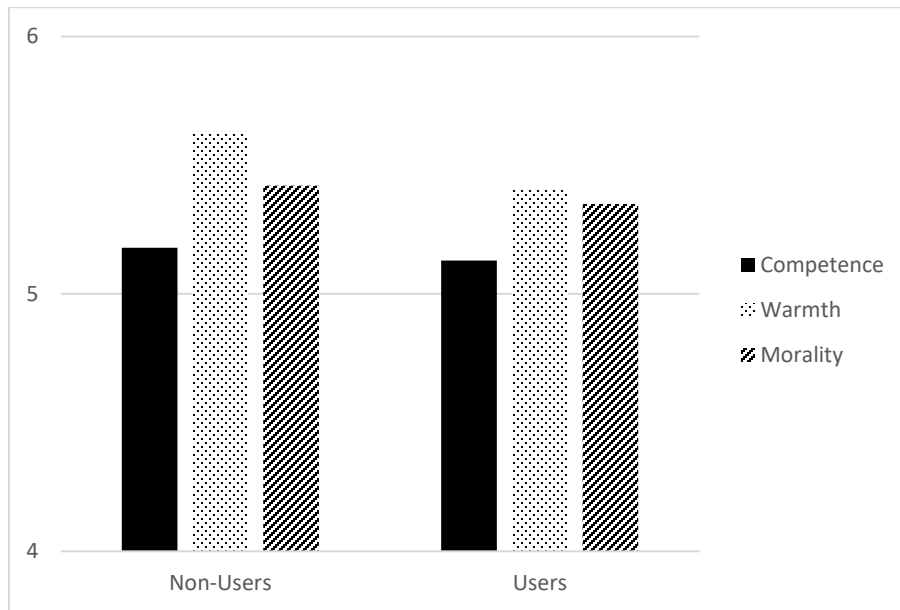
Table 7: Descriptive Statistics

	Non-Users	Users
Mean Age	36.9 (11.8)	30.7 (9.7)
Females	14	6
Median Income	\$20k - \$30k	\$30k - \$40k
Sample Size	32	17

4.2c: Analysis

In order to determine differences between the different dimensions of competence, warmth and morality, several paired sample t-tests were performed. Analyses were conducted separately for users and non-users which results in three comparisons in each group. Figure 5 illustrates the differences. Looking first at non-users, warmth is found to be significantly higher than competence ($M_{DIFF} = .44$, $SE = .13$; $t(31) = 3.37$; $p = .001$). Similarly, morality is significantly higher than competence ($M_{DIFF} = .23$, $SE = .10$; $t(31) = 2.22$; $p < .02$). Not surprisingly, warmth and morality reveal no identifiable difference ($M_{DIFF} = .21$, $SE = .14$; $t(31) = 1.49$; $p = ns$). Among users, no significant differences emerge between any of the pairings (all p 's $> .10$). Additionally, an ANOVA was conducted to explore whether perceptions of competence, warmth and morality differed between users and non-users and the results revealed no significant differences along any of the dimensions (all p 's $> .5$).

Figure 6: Comparisons of social perceptions



4.2d: Results

The results from Study 1 support H1. As predicted, perceptions of warmth were much higher than competence for non-users of Airbnb. This suggests that among consumers who have never participated in Airbnb's services as a guest before, they would expect the host(s) to be

stronger on traits of friendliness, warmth, sociability and niceness as compared to competence, cleverness, knowledgeability and skillfulness. Additionally, they also expect the host(s) to rate higher on traits related to morality such as honesty, sincerity and trustworthiness as compared to the dimension of competence. While differences between warmth and morality were observed, they were not significant. This suggests that the dimensions of morality and warmth are different and deserve to be treated as so. Interestingly, no differences between any of the dimensions emerged among previous guests of Airbnb. While it could be argued that the sample size was small ($n = 17$), the results should still be deemed interpretable and valid due to the nature of the design being within-subjects.

These findings help shed light on how non-participating consumers perceive service providers of the sharing economy, especially services with a high sharing score. They are less likely to value them as competent in their service provisions but regard them warmer and more honest. Although between-subjects differences across the dimensions did not emerge for users and non-users, future research should explore this further as the results from this analysis may have been limited by the differences in sizes of the samples.

4.2e: Additional Findings

Aside from the support of the hypothesis in study 1, additional findings reveal that across both groups of users and non-users, over 80% agree that Airbnb offers a different experience than a traditional hotel. While it is beyond the scope of this research to explore perceptions of users, the differences among non-users seems to be at least somewhat captured by social perceptions of the dimensions of competence, warmth and morality. In order to understand what else could constitute differences in expectations of services provided by Airbnb vs. traditional hotels, respondents' comments to the open-ended questions are considered. As the reader will recall, respondents were asked to answer the following question: "Compared to staying at a hotel, please write down in a few lines, how you would perceive the service quality to be if you used Airbnb for your next trip?" Among the 32 respondents who claim to be non-users, six of them suggest that the service quality would benefit from having a more personal element to it. For instance: "I would expect it to be much more personal. Plus you're in someone's home, so they want you to respect it and they care about it, so they would be more careful with guests and treatment of guests."

-Female, 27

“I think it would be different because it would feel more homelike. Also I know sometimes you are at the place independent of the person that is hosting you. So it is possible you are the only one there.”

-Male, 23

“I feel like the service quality would be more personal with Airbnb. The atmosphere would feel warmer to me. I would feel like the center of attention.”

-Female, 54

“I think the service quality would be "different" in the sense that my stay would be more cozy and homely because the home or apartment I stayed in would have the owner's own unique flair rather than a hotel room which are practically all the same. So I would say my quality of stay would be better and more comfortable.”

-Male, 28

“I think that the service might be more familiar and not just as a stranger. I think that at an Airbnb would be an experience where the people would be nicer and more friendly.”

-Female, 41

“I think the service would be more personable, you would get to know the people who own the home better than if you stay at a hotel. You would have someone who would be able to let you know where to go and what to see, maybe even be your tour guide.”

-Female, 49

Interestingly, eight comments seem to suggest that guests should not expect any service at all from the host(s). The five comments listed below are examples of from respondents regarding their expectations of Airbnb. For instance:

“If you are staying at another person’s home there won't be any service at all. You will be responsible for cleaning etc. and anything else a hotel would normally do.”

-Male, 27

“Airbnb would be more like borrowing a home from a friend. I would be more concerned about keeping the place clean. There would be no staff to help out with cleaning or other household duties.”

-Male, 63

“In hotel they clean for you. Prepare breakfast etc. In Airbnb you have to do it by yourself. What about scammers? There is a bigger chance of being unhappy with services with Airbnb in my opinion.”

-Female, 34

“I can't really imagine there would be any service at all at an Airbnb location -- not like at a hotel where there is a desk clerk, etc. I suppose that what service you would get would be a lot more personal. I am not sure if I think of that as an advantage or not.”

-Male, 61

“I don't think there would be any service at all to be honest. I would pay for the room and go to it. I don't feel like it would be like a hotel at all.”

-Female, 27

Among those that wouldn't expect any service, one comment suggests that any minimal amount of service would be more personal than at a hotel. As such, this respondent's expectation seems to fall in the middle of the 'personal' and 'no service' groups:

“I can't really imagine there would be any service at all at an Airbnb location -- not like at a hotel where there is a desk clerk, etc. I suppose that what service you would get would be a lot more personal. I am not sure if I think of that as an advantage or not.”

-Male, 61

Another eight comments suggest that the difference in service between Airbnb and traditional hotels would be its variability. Specifically, each experience would lack consistency and consist of unpredictable outcomes. For instance:

“Service quality is probably much more variable and unpredictable depending on the host. You will probably have to do more things for yourself than at a hotel.”

-Male, 54

“I think the service quality could go either way. I could easily see the service being worse and I can easily imagine some hosts making the service experience much better. It depends and it is risk I don't want to take.”

-Female, 35

“I would assume the quality would vary more with Airbnb as opposed to a hotel. I would assume that a hotel has more consistent standards.”

-Male, 38

“I think that it would be better. It isn't a commercial environment. It would feel more like being at home. I think the service quality would depend on the host. Could be great or could be so-so.”

-Male, 23

The remaining comments seem to convey generic sentiments and therefore were not categorized in any particular grouping. For instance:

“It's a house so will come with amenities like fully stocked kitchen, appliances like washer and dryer etc. Will have more privacy than being next door to another guest in a hotel.”

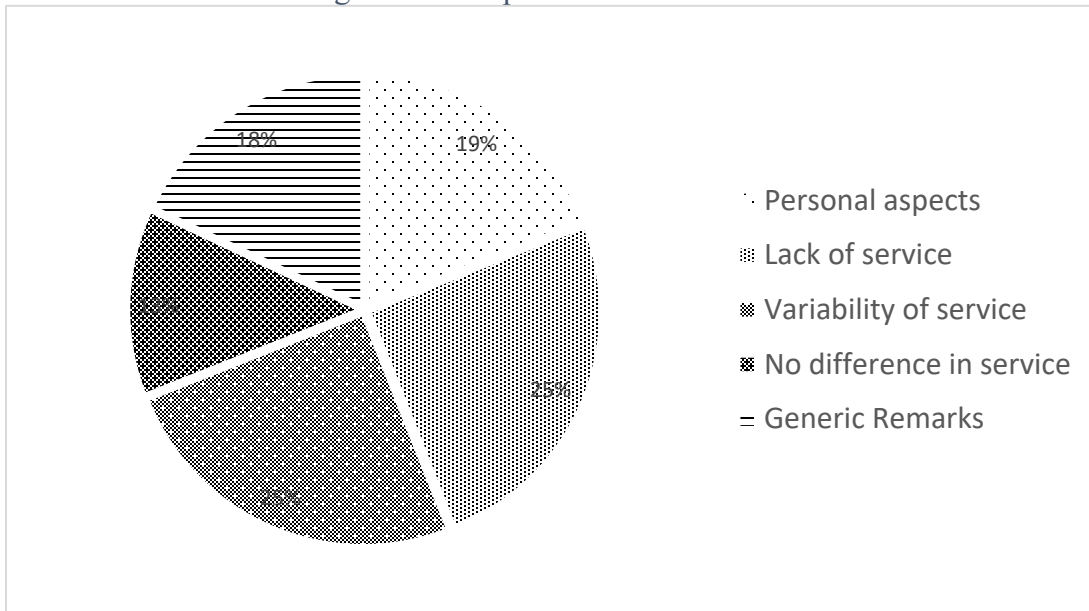
-Female, 45

“I don't think the quality of it would suit my needs.”

-Female, 29

Reading through these 32 comments generates an interesting insight into perceptions of Airbnb among non-users. The findings should however be carefully interpreted as the intention is not to conduct a qualitative exploratory analysis. Nonetheless, the results seem to suggest that roughly 19% of non-users perceive the personable aspects as a major difference. It appears that approximately 25% of non-users perceive lack of service to be a major difference. Although, it's possible that if the respondents constituting 25% of non-users were probed about the type of service they would receive if it did exist, they would likely refer to the personable characteristics. Another 25% of non-users are concerned with the variability in service that Airbnb would provide. Out of the remaining non-users, nearly 13% did not think there would be a difference and the remaining comments (18%) replied with mostly generic remarks.

Figure 7: Perceptions of Airbnb Hosts



It is worth noting that these comments partially seem to reflect the quantitative results that were obtained. Nearly one-quarter of responses regarded that service providers of Airbnb as compared to a hotel would be warmer (e.g. personable). While little was said about competency and morality, a significant cohort focused on lack of service as well as lack consistency. Considering the strong negative relationship between structure-seeking and participation in the sharing economy (notably Airbnb), these results confirm that perceptions of inconsistency certainly loom large among consumers who have never participated. In order to shed more light on these findings, study 2 intends to determine if preferences for competence over warmth in service providers results in resistance towards new service adoption among structure-seeking consumers.

4.3: Study 2

As Essay 1 revealed, structure-seeking strongly predicted resistance towards participating in Airbnb but not Zipcar. By understanding fundamental differences in services along the sharing-exchange continuum, this relationship can be better explained. The current study explores an interesting and important component that is likely to explain these differences: social perceptions of personality dimensions. Specifically, structure-seeking consumers may find themselves more likely to adopt services with high sharing scores if they can select service providers that are rated as highly competent. As well, consumers with low structure-seeking tendencies are likely to prefer the qualities of a service with a high sharing score and therefore demonstrate a preference for

providers that are rated as highly warm. To test these idea, study 2 will explore the relationship between structure-seeking and dimensions of high competence/low warmth vs. low competence/high warmth in service providers. For the sake of brevity, the high competence/low warmth and low competence/high warmth dimensions will henceforth be referred to as the competence and warmth contexts respectively.

In order to demonstrate a more convincing causal relationship as well as provide additional measures of the focal construct, structure-seeking will be manipulated and provide evidence that it can be momentarily activated. Past research in compensatory control theory has shown that structure-seeking tendencies can be activated through reading tasks (Kay, Laurin, Fitzsimons and Landau 2014). This study is therefore a 2 (structure-seeking: high vs. low) x 2 (service provider context: competent vs. warm) between-subjects design.

4.3a: Survey Design

A survey consisting of two separate experiments was administered on Amazon's Mechanical Turk. The first experiment began by randomly exposing respondents to either the high vs. low structure-seeking manipulation. The second experiment began by randomly exposing respondents to either the or a high vs. low control deprivation manipulation. The reason for including the control deprivation manipulation is to determine if high or low feelings of personal control are better at explaining the results. Compensatory control theory provides evidence for differences in how individuals react to structure-seeking and control deprivation manipulations separately and the current study is interested in determining if both, one or none of these conditions have an impact (Landau, Kay and Whitson 2015).

In experiment 1, the structure-seeking manipulation was adopted from Kay, Laurin, Fitzsimons and Landau (2014). The high structure-seeking reading task exposed respondents to a paragraph that began with "Have you ever looked closely at a tree full of leaves?" The paragraph then went on to discuss how leaves grow and seemingly behave in an ordered and structured manner: "Every species of tree grows its leaves in identifiable patterns, with a system of laws describing the relationships between the leaves in terms of position, size, and time of growth. The fact that nature seems to produce its beauty by obeying systematic laws is truly remarkable!" In the low structure-seeking reading task, the paragraph began with the same question but then went on to discuss how leaves grow in a random and unstructured manner: "There seems to be no

identifiable pattern, no system of laws describing the relationships between the leaves in terms of position, size, or time of growth. The fact that nature seems to produce its beauty through purely random processes is truly remarkable!” Kay, Laurin, Fitzsimons and Landau (2014) pretested this manipulation and found that after being exposed to the high as opposed to the low structure-seeking manipulation, individuals were much more likely to accept that there is a systematic logic to how the world functions.

In experiment 2, the control deprivation task was adopted from (Kay et al. 2008.) In the low personal control condition, the task reads: “Please take the time to write something positive that happened to you in the past few months that was NOT because of something that you did.” An essay form box is presented for respondents to fill out their answers. In the high personal control condition, the task is the same but instead reads: “Please take the time to write something positive that happened to you in the past few months that was because of something that you did.” These manipulations have previously demonstrated that they can affect levels of personal control without altering mood states. Specifically in the low vs. high personal control condition, individuals were much more likely to indicate that they are not in control of most things that occur in their lives (Kay et al. 2008; Cutright 2011).

The remainder of the surveys for both experiments were identical. All respondents were randomly exposed to one of two competence/warmth contexts adapted from Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy (2017). Here, respondents are told to read a review written by a guest who stayed at a Bed & Breakfast for a few days run by a host named Alex (no relation to me). In the competent context, the description of the host alludes to his competencies and abilities but also explains his lack of warmth and friendliness:

“Alex was very knowledgeable about where to go and what to do in the city. He created a personalized itinerary that was just right for me. There was a minor issue with the hot water and after telling Alex about it, he fixed it right away. Although he is very competent, I have to say I am a bit disturbed by his unfriendly behavior towards the other guests. He was polite with me, but I have seen him be downright rude to people because he’s too busy to talk or even say hello.”

In contrast. the warmth context describes the host as friendly and warm but lacking in competence:

“Talking with Alex, I was hoping to get information about where to go and what to do in the city but the little bit of advice he gave me was useless and impractical. There was a minor issue

with the hot water and after telling Alex about it, it took a while for him to fix it. Despite his lack of competence, one thing I really do like about Alex is how warm he is to the other guests. He was polite, always very friendly and it's clear that he cares about other people.”

In the next part, the surveys presented several dependent variables. First, respondents are asked to indicate their adoption likelihood in regards to staying at the Bed & Breakfast on a seven-point scale from ‘extremely unlikely’ to ‘extremely likely’. To provide further confirmation, a yes/no multiple choice question is presented asking: “Would you stay at Alex's Bed & Breakfast if it were located in a place where you were planning on travelling to?” After, attitudinal measures are captured by asking evaluations of the host in three seven-point scales from 'extremely unfavorable' to 'extremely favorable', 'extremely dislike' to 'extremely like' and 'extremely negative' to 'extremely positive'.

In the last part of the surveys, manipulation check measures are presented to determine if the structure-seeking and control deprivation manipulation tasks were effective. Based on Kay et al. (2008), two seven-point items from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’ are presented in order to determine if the effect of the structure-seeking manipulation was successful: “There is a systematic logic to how the world functions” and “Things in life happen randomly” (reverse coded). Based on Cutright (2011), five seven-point items from ‘strongly disagree’ to ‘strongly agree’ are presented to determine the effect of the control deprivation manipulation: “The events in my life are mainly determined by my own actions”, “I am not in control of most things that occur in my life”, “Whether or not I am able to get what I want is in my own hands”, “What happens to me in the future mostly depends on me” and “What happens in my life is often beyond my control”. Finally, several demographic information questions were presented.

4.3b: Pretest

A survey was distributed to respondents on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk to determine the effectiveness of the competence and warmth contexts. To begin, respondents were randomly presented with either context as described in the previous section. They were asked to report their evaluations of Alex on four seven-point scales for each dimensions of competence, warmth and morality. These are the same measures that were used for study 1. A total of 47 responses were collected ($M = 35.6$, $SD = 10.7$; Males = 60%). Each dimension reveals high reliability (competence: $M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.47$, $\alpha = .93$; warmth: $M = 4.58$, $SD = 1.92$, $\alpha = .98$; morality: $M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.30$, $\alpha = .90$). Separate ANOVAs were conducted and reveal significant differences in

expected directions for competence ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 5.08$, $SD = 1.40$; $M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 3.80$, $SD = 1.26$; $F(1, 45) = 10.8$, $p < .01$; $R^2 = .19$), warmth ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 3.09$, $SD = 1.39$; $M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 6.13$, $SD = .89$; $F(1, 45) = 80.1$, $p < .001$; $R^2 = .64$), and even morality ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 4.06$, $SD = 1.44$; $M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 5.14$, $SD = .85$; $F(1, 45) = 9.6$, $p < .01$; $R^2 = .17$). The manipulation checks conclude that the competence vs. warmth condition is rated significantly higher on dimensions of competence and significantly lower on dimensions of warmth and morality. Interestingly, the warmth dimension reveals an effect size of 64% which is more than three times the size of either of the other two dimensions.

4.3c: Participants and Measures

A total of 235 responses were collected across both experiments ($M_{\text{age}} = 36.9$, $SD = 10.2$; Females = 57.4%). The two items for the structure-seeking manipulation check were averaged into a composite mean score ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.23$; $r = -.38$, $p < .001$). A significant difference emerges between the high vs. low structure-seeking manipulations ($M_{\text{H-STRUCTURE}} = 4.56$, $SD = 1.32$; $M_{\text{L-STRUCTURE}} = 4.13$, $SD = 1.18$; $F(1, 131) = 3.93$, $p = .05$). No significant difference emerges between the low and high personal control conditions. Thus, the manipulation was successful at temporarily inducing a structure-seeking mindset.

The five items for the personal control manipulation check were averaged into a composite mean score ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 1.09$). Surprisingly, no difference emerges between the low and high personal control conditions ($M_{\text{LOW}} = 4.25$, $SD = 1.24$; $M_{\text{HIGH}} = 4.5$, $SD = 1.08$; $F(1, 100) = 1.18$, $p = \text{ns}$). Similarly, no significant difference emerge between the high vs. low structure-seeking manipulations ($p > .5$). The control deprivation manipulation was therefore not successful at temporarily inducing a low vs. high personal control mindset.

These results suggest that the structure manipulation was effective whereas the personal control manipulation was not. In fact throughout the analyses, no significant findings emerge for any of the dependent variables between the low and high personal control conditions. The low and high personal control manipulation conditions will therefore be combined and from this point henceforth will be referred to as the baseline condition. An omnibus ANOVA was re-analyzed to determine the differences in the structure-seeking manipulation check across the three new conditions: high vs. low vs. baseline ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.19$). The results reveal a moderately significant overall effect ($F(2, 232) = 2.43$, $p = .09$). On closer inspection, a more significant

difference emerges between the high structure-seeking and baseline condition ($F(1, 167) = 3.29, p = .07$) but not between the low structure-seeking and baseline condition ($F(1, 166) = .17, p = ns$). These results suggests that the baseline condition generate a similar mindset to the low structure-seeking manipulation. Likewise it also differs from the high structure-seeking manipulation.

The three items measuring attitudes towards the host were averaged into a mean score ($M = 3.91, SD = 1.31, \alpha = .95$). Adoption likelihood reveals a mean close to the midpoint of the scale ($M = 3.76, SD = 1.54$) and an almost clear split emerges among those who reported yes (47.7%) and no (52.3%) towards willingness to stay at the Bed & Breakfast.

Table 8: Descriptive Statistics

Mean Age	36.9 (10.2)
Female %	57.4
Median Income	\$30k - \$40k
Sample Size	235

4.3d: Main Effects

Adoption likelihood was not found to differ across neither the three structure-seeking conditions ($F(2, 232) = .21, p = ns$) nor the competence/warmth contexts ($F(1, 233) = .03, p = ns$). Attitudes towards the host was also not found to differ across neither the structure-seeking conditions ($F(2, 232) = .08, p = ns$) nor the competence/warmth contexts ($F(1, 233) = .61, p = ns$). Lastly, willingness to stay was similarly not found to differ across neither the structure-seeking conditions ($F(2, 232) = .1, p = ns$) nor the competence/warmth contexts ($F(1, 233) = .04, p = ns$).

Between men and women, some observable differences emerge with regards to the dependent variables. Most prominently, attitudes towards the host are higher among men as compared to women ($M_{MEN} = 4.11, SD = 1.25; M_{WOMEN} = 3.76, SD = 1.34; F(1, 233) = 4.05, p < .05$). Adoption likelihood also reveals a similar finding skewed towards men albeit with moderate significance ($M_{MEN} = 3.97, SD = 1.51; M_{WOMEN} = 3.61, SD = 1.55; F(1, 233) = 3.23, p < .08$). No significant differences surface however for willingness to stay between both sexes ($\chi^2(1) = 1.99, p > .10$).

Within each structure-seeking condition (high, low and baseline), these sex differences disappear (all p 's $> .10$). Within each competence/warmth context, the only sex difference to emerge is a moderately significant increase in attitudes towards the host for men as compared to

women in the competence context ($M_{\text{MEN}} = 4.09$, $SD = 1.33$; $M_{\text{WOMEN}} = 3.65$, $SD = 1.34$; $F(1, 15) = 3.13$, $p = .08$). The other dependent variables do not reveal sex differences within the competence or warmth contexts. Importantly, no interactions are found on any of the dependent variables when analyzing sex X structure-seeking condition or sex X competence/warmth contexts (all p 's = ns).

As shown in table 8, across the entire sample, age is found to be moderately and negatively associated with adoption likelihood ($r = -.12$, $p < .07$) and attitudes towards the host ($r = -.11$, $p < .10$) but not willingness to stay ($r = .10$, $p = ns$). Within each structure-seeking condition, these effects only remain and are in fact stronger in the low structure-seeking condition but not the others. Here, age is negatively associated with adoption likelihood ($r = -.24$, $p < .06$) and attitudes towards the host ($r = -.26$, $p < .04$) but not willingness to stay ($r = .10$, $p = ns$). Within the competence/warmth contexts, age is only found to be negatively associated with willingness to stay in the competence context ($r = -.17$, $p < .06$) but no other effects emerge (all p 's = ns). Importantly, no interactions are found on any of the dependent variables when analyzing the age X structure-seeking conditions or age X competence/warmth contexts (all p 's = ns).

Table 9: Correlation table

	ATT	AL	Sex	Age
AL	.82**			
Sex	-.13*	-.12		
Age	-.11	-.12	.16*	
Income	-.03	-.01	-.08	.09

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$

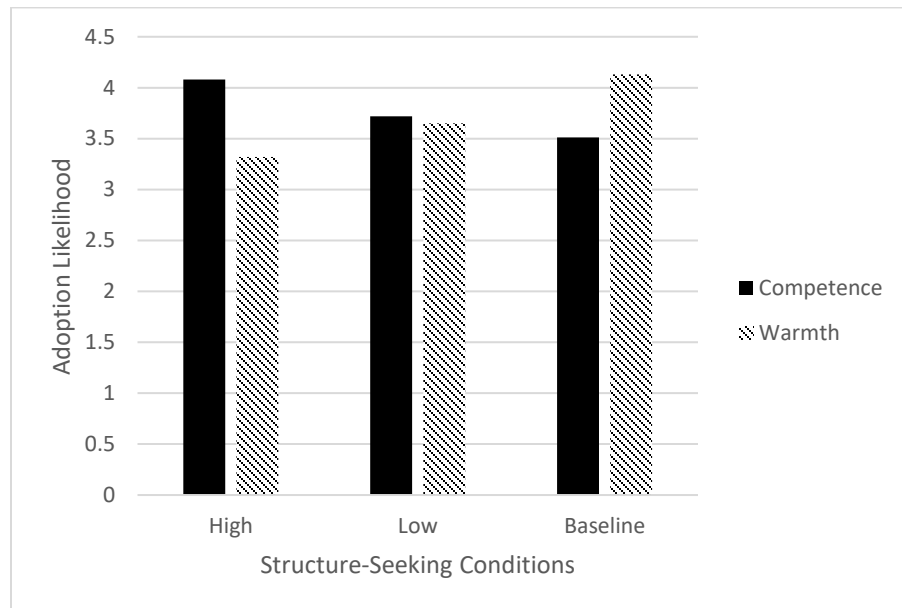
ATT = Attitudes towards the Host; AL = Adoption Likelihood; Sex: 1 = Males, 2 = Females

4.3e: Analysis of H2

In order to test H2, a moderation analysis was performed with competence/warmth as the independent and the structure-seeking conditions as the moderating variables across all three outcomes. As illustrated in figure 6, a significant interaction effect emerges for adoption likelihood ($F(2, 229) = 4.2$, $p < .02$). Specifically in the high structure-seeking condition, adoption likelihood is greater after exposure to the competence vs. warmth condition ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 4.08$, $SD = 1.36$; $M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 3.32$, $SD = 1.6$; $F(1, 65) = 4.43$, $p = .04$). No differences emerge in the low structure-seeking condition ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 3.72$, $SD = 1.51$; $M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 3.65$, $SD = 1.63$; $F(1, 64) = .03$, p

= ns). In the baseline condition, adoption likelihood is lower after exposure to the competence vs. warmth context ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 3.51$, $SD = 1.5$; $M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 4.13$, $SD = 1.55$; $F(1, 100) = 4.24$, $p < .05$).

Figure 8: Three-way ANOVA for adoption likelihood

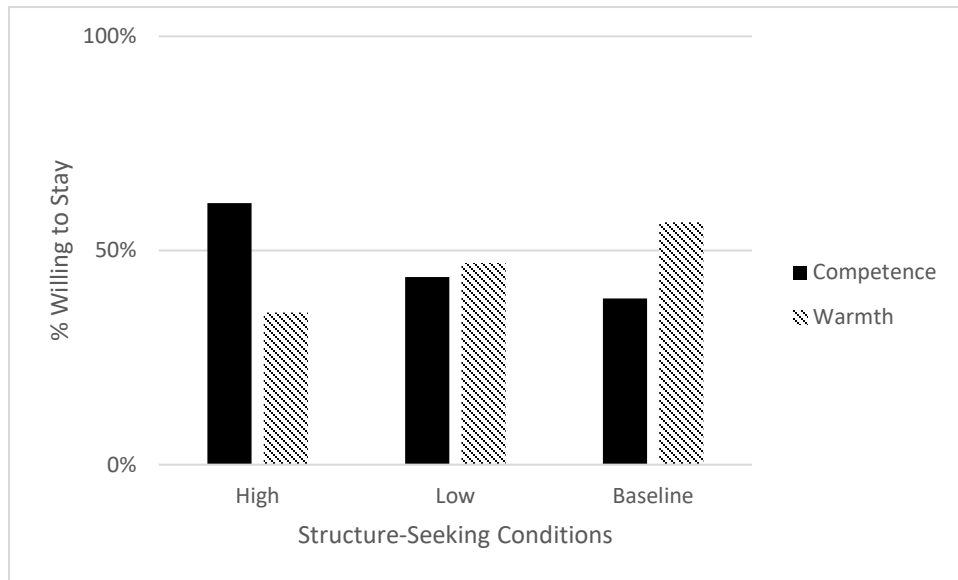


Looked at from a different perspective, in the competence context, adoption likelihood is moderately higher in the high vs. baseline structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 83) = 3.27$, $p < .08$) but not vs. the low structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 66) = 1.10$, $p = \text{ns}$). No differences emerge between the low and baseline structure-seeking conditions ($p > .50$). In the warmth context, adoption likelihood is lower in the high vs. baseline structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 82) = 5.23$, $p < .03$) but not vs. the low structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 63) = .65$, $p = \text{ns}$). No differences emerge between the low and baseline structure-seeking conditions ($p > .15$).

As shown in figure 7, a significant interaction effect also emerges for willingness to stay $F(2, 229) = 3.86$, $p < .03$). Separate chi-square tests of independence were performed to determine if willingness to stay differs between the competence and warmth contexts following either the high, low or baseline structure-seeking manipulations. In the high structure-seeking condition, respondents indicated they were more willing to stay in the competence vs. warmth context (competence = 61%; warmth = 35%; $\chi^2(1) = 4.38$, $p < .04$). In the low structure-seeking condition,

no significant differences emerge. In the baseline condition, a moderately significant difference emerges indicating that respondents were less willing to stay in the competence vs. warmth context (competence = 39%; warmth = 57%; $\chi^2(1) = 3.24, p = .07$).

Figure 9: Three-way ANOVA for willingness to stay

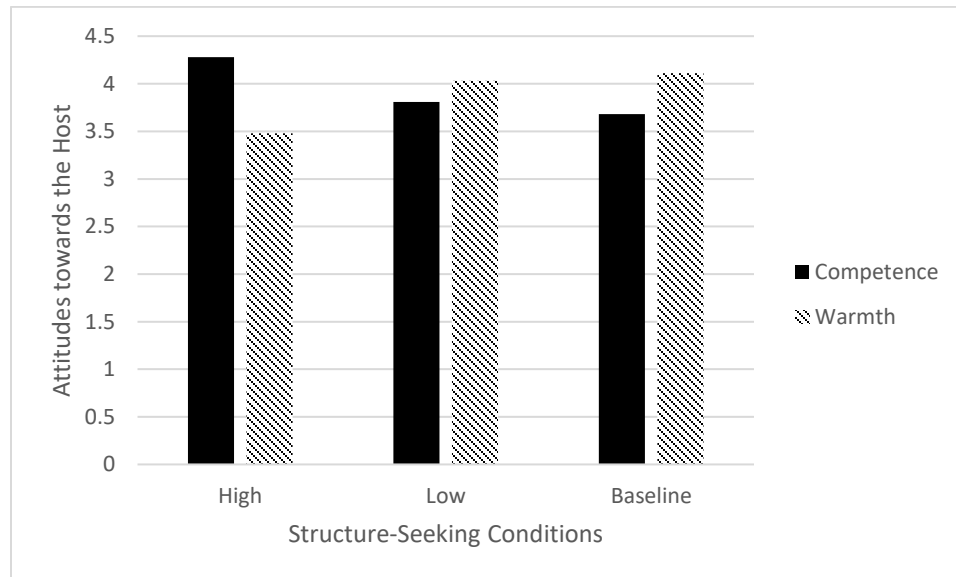


Looked at from a different perspective, in the competence context, willingness to stay is moderately higher in the high vs. baseline structure-seeking condition ($\chi^2(1) = 4.15, p < .05$), but not vs. the low structure-seeking condition ($\chi^2(1) = 2.05, p = ns$). No differences emerge between the low and baseline structure-seeking conditions ($p = ns$). In the warmth context, willingness to stay is moderately lower in the high vs. baseline structure-seeking condition ($\chi^2(1) = 3.49, p < .07$) but not vs. the low structure-seeking condition ($\chi^2(1) = .89, p = ns$). No differences emerge between the low and baseline structure-seeking conditions ($p = ns$).

As shown in figure 8, a significant interaction effect also emerges for attitudes towards the host $F(2, 229) = 4.05, p < .02$). Specifically in the high structure-seeking condition, attitudes towards the host are greater after exposure to the competence vs. warmth context ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 4.19, SD = 1.34; M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 3.59, SD = 1.28; F(1, 65) = 3.5, p = .06$). No differences emerge in the low structure-seeking condition ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 3.83, SD = 1.41; M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 4.01, SD = 1.21; F(1, 64) = .53, p = ns$). In the baseline condition, attitudes towards the host are lower after exposure

to the competence vs. warmth context ($M_{\text{COMPETENCE}} = 3.59$, $SD = 1.28$; $M_{\text{WARMTH}} = 4.14$, $SD = 1.30$; $F(1, 100) = 4.72$, $p < .04$).

Figure 10: Three-way ANOVA for attitudes



Looked at from a different perspective, in the competence context, attitudes towards the host are higher in the high vs. baseline structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 83) = 4.53$, $p < .04$) but not vs. the low structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 66) = 1.17$, $p = \text{ns}$). No differences emerge between the low and baseline structure-seeking conditions ($p > .40$). In the warmth context, attitudes towards the host are moderately lower in the high vs. baseline structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 82) = 3.53$, $p < .07$) but not vs. the low structure-seeking condition ($F(1, 63) = 2.40$, $p = \text{ns}$). No differences emerge between the low and baseline structure-seeking conditions ($p > .80$).

4.3f: Results

The results from study 2 demonstrate interesting findings and reveal some unexpected surprises. Most importantly, under a structure-seeking mindset, respondents reported more positive attitudes and greater likelihood that they would stay at the Bed & Breakfast when the host was positioned as someone who was high in competence but low in warmth as opposed to high in warmth and low in competence. This finding sheds light on the relationship between structure-

seeking and new service adoption and speculates that this effect is impacted by perceptions of competence and warmth of the service providers. Specifically, structure-seeking individuals may be resistant towards new sharing economy services that encompass a high degree of sharing (i.e. Airbnb vs. Zipcar) because they perceive that the service providers (i.e. the hosts) will not be sufficiently competent in carrying out the service.

Surprisingly, under a low structure-seeking mindset, no preferences were observed for either type of host. While this should suggest that preferences for trade-offs in competence and warmth are only found among structure-seeking consumers, results of the baseline condition tell a different story. In the baseline condition, respondents reported more positive attitudes and greater likelihood that they would stay at the Bed & Breakfast when the host was positioned as someone who was high in warmth and low in competence as opposed to high in competence but low in warmth. Interestingly, the manipulation check revealed that the baseline condition carried the same effect as the low structure-seeking manipulation in that both differed significantly from the high structure-seeking condition. As such, one might assume that at a baseline levels, consumers prefer trading away competence for warmth in service providers. This conclusion however should be taken with a grain of salt for two reasons. First, this conflicts with most previous research (Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy 2017). Second and as the reader will recall, the baseline condition was not intentionally designed and may therefore be experimentally flawed. Specifically, it is the combination of two null manipulations and although it significantly differed from the high structure-seeking condition, other factors may be at play here that are beyond the scope of this research. In taking the utmost precautions with regards to the results, I believe it is safe to conclude the following: 1) A structure-seeking mindset generates a preference for competence over warmth in service providers. 2) Without a structure-seeking mindset, such preferences are indeterminate.

This conclusion can be further bolstered by the evidence of a general preference for competent service providers among consumers as well as a general above average rating on need for structure among the American population. This suggests that the allure of trading off competence for warmth in service providers may only emerge for consumers low in need for structure. In that case, the lack of adoption of ‘high sharing score’ services in the sharing economy may be attributed to this psychographic segment of the population.

It is also important to take note of the relationship between some of the dependent variables and the age and sex of the respondents. The main effects that manifested are certainly interesting

but readers are advised to be careful of interpreting them without considering the context and conditions under which they arose. While analyzing H2, post-hoc analyses were carried out to determine if any three-way interactions emerge between sex, structure-seeking conditions and the competence/warmth contexts on any of the dependent variables. While reporting on all of these analyses would be terribly time-consuming and highly unnecessary, the results confirm that no significant three-way interactions emerge. More importantly in each analysis, the hypothesized two-way interactions between condition and context were unaffected when including sex as an additional moderating influence.

4.4: Essay 2 Discussion

Two fundamental dimensions in the way people perceive and construe others are concentrated on attributes of competence and warmth. Closely related to the dimension of warmth is morality and also serves as an important social perception. In essay 2, perceptions of service providers along these dimensions were further explored. Airbnb hosts were shown to be perceived as being less competent than they are warm and moral. These perceptions only materialized among consumers who have yet to ever engage in an Airbnb experience. As such, this group of consumers are representative of those that were sampled in the first essay in which their chronically motivated need for structure was found to be a strong determinant of their resistance towards Airbnb participation. Connecting these two ideas, study 2 demonstrated that consumers with a structure-seeking mindset desire hosts who reflected traits related to competence as compared to warmth and morality. Most interestingly, structure-seeking was manipulated in this study and yet still conformed to the theoretical underpinnings of the current research.

Past research reveals that upon searching for a service provider in any given domain, consumers typically value competence over warmth or morality (Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy 2017). Perceptions of sharing economy service providers lacking competence thus helps to explain consumer resistance. Given that structure-seekers strongly value situations with great certainty, predictable outcomes and consistent routines infers that these are important components of what they look for in other people, especially those they engage with in business relationships. It stands to reason that a service provider adept at delivering certainty in situations, predictable outcomes and consistency from one experience to the next is also regarded as an individual who functions with a high level of competence. Future research should consider delving

into this further and seek to appeal to structure-seeking consumers with message frames of services providers that score highly on attributes related to competence.

Claiming that perceived differences between services with high sharing scores and those aligned with traditional industry are related to attributes of service provider such as predictability, consistency and competence was corroborated in the text analysis of respondents' remarks about Airbnb in study 1. Not only did a large majority indicate that significant differences exist between the two but also that the discrepancy can be explained by factors related to lack of service, inconsistency between experiences and a more personable emphasis in Airbnb. In short, the differences seem very much connected to values of structure, competence and warmth.

The focus on Airbnb and general Bed & Breakfasts in essay 2 were purposefully selected in order to establish effects that could not be dismissed due to alternative explanations from contextual differences. Nonetheless, the narrow focus certainly does illustrate a limitation that should be addressed with future research. It's worth considering how large such effects loom when they pertain to car sharing services or social lending platforms. Additionally, while these studies contribute to Compensatory Control Theory, they are also limited by their focus on the structure-seeking manipulation. Exploring the effects of chronic structure-seeking in understanding preferences for competent service providers is an important avenue for future research.

The lack of findings in study 2 with regards to the control deprivation manipulation, especially in terms of the manipulation check measure, create doubts about the credibility of this instrument. While it may be the case that the null effects are singularly attributed to statistical probability of non-significance, the rise of unethical research practices in recent years may have seeped into some aspects of compensatory control theorists and corrupted this particular branch of science. Hopefully, that is not the case.

Table 10: Essay 2 Findings

H1: Non-users will rate Airbnb as higher on dimensions of warmth and morality as compared to competence.	Supported
H2: Structure-seeking and service provider positioning should interact such that:	
a) High structure-seeking consumers should be willing to adopt the service and have positive attitudes towards service providers perceived as high on attributes of competence and low on warmth and morality.	Supported
b) Low structure-seeking consumers should be willing to adopt the service and have positive attitudes towards service providers perceived as high on attributes of warmth and morality and low on competence.	Not Supported

5: General Discussion

The emergence of the sharing economy has shifted the consumption landscape and provided alternative means of utilizing products and services. The most integral shift however may lie in the minds of consumers themselves. Psychological motivations that desire freedom from the burdens of ownership and reject top-down consumption-based acquisition are advancing the need for peer-to-peer exchanges and socially-driven platforms. Yet with new experiences, new types of products and services and especially new ways of doing business, a large degree of apprehension will surely follow. It is within this paradigm that the current research seeks to make a significant contribution and advance scholarly understanding of consumer behavior. By understanding consumer resistance towards growing consumption phenomenon, researchers, managers, practitioners and marketers can better address problems associated with the adoption of new and important economic systems.

Across three experimental studies, consumers' chronically motivated and situationally induced structure-seeking tendencies explain resistance towards service adoption that reflects peer-to-peer aspects of the sharing economy. As a stable personality trait, structure-seekers rank highly to the extent to which they prefer structure in all aspects of their lives. Typically, these individuals dislike uncertainty in experiences and require a high degree of predictability and

routine in their daily lives. In consumption contexts, variation in structure-seeking tendencies do not seem to account for differences in new product adoption (Faraji-Rad, Melumad and Johar 2016). While currently unexplored, structure-seekers may be just as keen to acquire new products as they can be used to enforce a preferred lifestyle of stability and order that offers desired psychological comfort. For example, the purchase of a new kitchen appliance could be perceived as offering a new element of consistency in an individual's morning routine. A new service based on aspects of sharing, lending, trading or renting is less likely to be perceived as being capable of offering a similar level of sustained psychological comfort. For this reason, structure-seekers as compared to their counterparts are most resistant to new service adoption with specific regards to offerings of the sharing economy that are seemingly removed from traditional modes of consumption.

The current research puts forth two experimentally-driven forms of marketing communications which should be taken into account when considering the relationship between structure-seeking and resistance towards the sharing economy. First, this relationship can be overturned by communicating aspects of a particular service as offering structure, consistency and stability. By merely indicating that guests of Airbnb receive similar treatment from one experience to the next, structure-seeking revealed a positive relationship with willingness to participate. Second, exposing structure-seekers, as compared to a baseline condition, to a reviewer's comments that reflect service providers as competent revealed an increase in positive attitudes towards the provider as well as a higher willingness to use the service. Interestingly, exposure to a reviewer's comments that reflect service providers as warm and friendly revealed a decrease in positive attitudes towards the provider as well as a lower willingness to use the service. These findings are considerably important given that the current research determined that sharing economy services such as Airbnb are likely to be perceived as being comprised of service providers who score higher on dimensions of warmth as compared to competence.

5.1: Limitations

The experiments that were conducted and the findings obtained are limited in several ways that are worth discussing. First, all four studies were scenario-based and required respondents to read descriptions of selected stimuli and then report their attitudes, intentions and perceptions. As a result, the outcomes of these experiments do not reflect real-world behaviors but instead reveal

the extent to which potential consumers could imagine themselves in particular situations. While a great deal of psychology and consumer behavior research employ similar hypothetical techniques to obtain results and draw conclusions, it certainly questions whether the replicability of such findings contain external validity.

Second, responses were solely recorded through surveys that were administered through online crowdsourcing networks. Importantly, respondents appear to be fairly compensated as indicated by the fact that I did not receive any complaints or demands for higher amounts of pay. Additionally, measures were undertaken to guarantee that repeat respondents would not be considered in any analysis in the entirety of all studies presented. Internet protocol addresses and respondent identification numbers were each cross-validated and any duplicates were removed from analysis. Also, obtaining consumer response data from platforms such as Amazon's Mechanical Turk have been shown to be valid and are considered appropriate for the purposes of this thesis. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the essays lack diversity in methodology and necessitate alternative experimental designs as well as various means of obtaining data for a more robust confirmation of the findings.

Third, although the findings are intended to be generalized to numerous contexts within the sharing economy, the focus was limited towards hospitality services and prominently, Airbnb. While this may appear scientifically restrictive, the purpose was to avoid adding extra noise across experimental designs and instead isolate a specific effect that could be further expanded on. A shortcoming of this strategy is that when presenting information about Airbnb to respondents, the same description was used each time. The upside is that this description has been validated in previous research and in the only study which did not include it (study 2, essay 2), the hypothetical effects still emerged.

Finally, there was no clear distinction made between sharing economy services and those from traditional industries in this dissertation. In other words, sharing economy vs. traditional services were not operationalized. At best, one could assume that traditional-based services score extremely low on the sharing-exchange continuum which therefore provides a mode of comparison. Importantly, sharing scores were not calculated for the reason that doing so unpackages a whole new set of problems and confounds. Airbnb and Zipcar are not merely representative of an industry or economic model, they are businesses themselves. As a comparison, a specific hotel chain or rental car agency would need to be included. Issues of consumer

familiarity with those services therefore poses a problem along with others. Experimentally differentiating between sharing economy and traditional services was thought about and discussed at length between my colleagues and me. A few attempts to distinguish between the two were made but ultimately it seemed futile to continue doing so. In the end, the findings should speak for themselves and the relevance of the sharing economy should still resonate with the reader as well as future scholars.

5.2: Implications for the Sharing Economy

The major finding from this research explains a fundamental psychological barrier towards new service adoption. Understanding the strength of consumers' structure-seeking tendencies on resistance towards certain sharing economy services can greatly benefit managers, marketers and practitioners.

Speaking to a business owner, I would first suggest they identify where they are located along the sharing-exchange continuum. If they find themselves located closer towards an exchange-based practice, marketing managers should explore communication appeals that fare well in traditional industries. If their calculations instead return a relatively high sharing score, they should consider alternative approaches to marketing communications. In such a case, they should then determine whether they want to shore up business from existing clientele or if they are looking towards penetrating new markets. If they choose the latter, it would be advised that they consider structure-seeking as an important determinant of future consumer participation. If the unpredictable and inconsistent elements of a high sharing score service are the focus of their marketing efforts, they risk generating resistance among structure-seeking consumers which comprise a fairly large psychographic segments of the consumer population. The best option would be to adjust communications through direct and specific targeting practices such as on social media or other online efforts. In doing so, they can emphasize elements of the business that offer greater structure and determine more predictable outcomes. While the current research provides evidence of the effectiveness of such techniques through the message framing of advertisements, other approaches such as videos, banners ads and direct mail to name a few should also be strongly considered. In any medium however, the importance of message framing in regards to the promotion of structure-seeking should be applied.

Managers of the sharing economy are likely aware of the importance that reviewer comments have on potential consumer adoption. What they might not consider are differences in perceptions of their service providers along dimensions of competence, warmth and morality. If they are familiar with the literature and rely on the virtuous selling points of the sharing economy, they are likely to use quotes from reviewers as promotional tools and find ways to strongly endorse comments that better reflect the warmth, friendliness, trustworthiness and morality of the service providers. For instance, as a new business they may identify as an underdog in their positioning strategy and endorse the findings made by Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy (2017) that detail the importance of communicating the morality over competence of service providers. Similarly, they should perceive a high sharing score as an indication that they should promote ‘sharing’ aspects of their service and perhaps the sociability of their service providers. If the focus of their marketing efforts highlight consumer reviews, it would be advised that they consider structure-seeking as an underlying psychological dimension that can influence perceptions of service providers’ personality dimensions. Specifically, structure-seekers should react more positively and demonstrate greater willingness to participate when exposed to comments reflecting service competency as opposed to warmth or morality.

5.2a: Data Analytics

In discussing the strategic decision and opportunistic approaches that managers should consider, the question begs as to what good is understanding the importance of psychographic variables like structure-seeking if they are difficult to assess and measure. One way to circumvent this problem is by identifying proxies of this psychological construct that can be observed with relative ease and then target those specific consumers. As previously noted, structure-seeking is correlated with elements of political conservatism (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski and Sulloway 2003). Marketers can therefore identify geographical regions where conservatives are most likely to reside and then launch a targeted campaign that seeks to appease their structure-seeking tendencies and concerns. After all, geographic and political orientation-based targeting must surely be easier than the inner workings of consumers’ minds. Not necessarily.

Researchers have long been interested in identifying and targeting individuals on personality traits. Online and social media technology have enabled such practices to provide precise and coordinated target marketing strategies. It has become easier to access individuals’

digital records of behavior and through Facebook alone, personal attributes can be accurately identified such as: “sexual orientation, ethnicity, religious and political views, personality traits, intelligence, happiness, use of addictive substances, parental separation, age, and gender” (Kosinski, Stillwell and Graepel 2013, p. 5802). Using Facebook likes, prediction accuracy on personality traits has been shown to provide similar results to standard tests of personality. Cambridge Analytica, a UK-based specialized in data mining, analytics and strategic communication claims to have thousands of data points on more than two thirds of American consumers. This enables them to “to create individually tailored messaging that engages individuals based on their unique psychological profiles” (CA 2017). Most interesting, the data they obtain is typically received voluntarily by individuals online. Through surveys, they learn about consumers’ shopping purchases, club memberships and even religious affiliations. By administering quizzes disguised as insightful tools for individuals to figure out what type of personality they have or even what their true astrological sign is, precise data can be captured that details each individual’s score on openness, conscientiousness, extroversion, agreeableness and neuroticism (Gershgorn 2017). Thus, understanding that structure-seekers are high on traits related to conscientiousness and neuroticism but low on openness, target marketing can direct message frames that appeal specifically to this psychographic segment.

In exploring these identification and target marketing strategies, marketers should be aware of the controversies as well as the issues of ethics that are incorporated. Such methods have been accused of manipulating voting outcomes of the recent Brexit referendum and the 2016 U.S. presidential election. A number of republican candidates solicited the help of Cambridge Analytica and in a fascinating presentation at the 2016 Concordia Summit, CEO Alexander Nix explained how target marketing through psychographic segmentation and message framing effectively persuaded voters in the Republican primaries earlier that year. As he puts it: “My children will certainly never ever understand this concept of mass communication...Blanket advertising is dead”. The degree to which these analytical tools helped influence the outcome of any election are highly debated with many contesting the veracity of their impact (Bershidsky 2016). Nonetheless, the future is promising in regards to stricter, personalized and more targeted marketing efforts based on the individuals and not the masses. Sharing economy practitioners can learn a great from these developing methods in ways to identify potentially new market segments that combines strategic marketing and ethical conducts in their targeting efforts.

5.2b: Services Marketing

Based on theories of social cognition, social perceptions of others are related to fundamental dimensions of competence, warmth and morality (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2008; Rosenberg, Nelson, and Vivekananthan 1968). While I agree with the need to make distinction between the dimensions of warmth and morality, the current research did not discover a significant difference in measurements or outcomes. Specially alluding to the results of study 1 in the second essay, perceptions of service providers in Airbnb among users and non-users did not distinguish along lines of warmth and morality. Services marketing research can learn a great deal about understanding the ways in which consumers perceive service providers along these dimensions. When confronting an unorthodox service experience as opposed to traditional types such as doctors, hair stylists, house cleaners, masseuses and mechanics, consumers may have a harder time differentiating attributes of warmth from morality. For example, a moral versus a friendly service provider should be of high consideration for many consumers. When confronting a gregarious doctor, questions of his/her trustworthiness and perhaps even his/her ability to be moral will likely remain. On the other hand, a gregarious host at a hospitality service may simply convince the consumer of their moral attributes by their warm and friendly disposition. Because the latter example is reflective of an interaction in which the service provider has relatively little influence on the consumer's physical and mental well-being, these two dimensions are likely to become blurred and indistinguishable.

Importantly, these distinctions are further affected by structure-seeking. Service marketing practitioners should be mindful of how structure-seeking may influence the distinction between different dimensions of social perceptions in order to better understand the impact on service quality expectations. One idea may be to have consumers fill out surveys that not only assess their evaluation of the service experience but also enables them to articulate their perceptions as well as expectations of the service providers along these different dimensions. Furthermore, extracting information about structure-seeking which can be done with relative ease as was shown by the use of the eight-item personal need for structure instrument in the first essay, can provide further insight into consumers' fit with the service experience.

Another implication for theories in services marketing is the role that the sharing economy plays in helping scholars understand the relatively new paradigm of service-dominant logic (SDL).

Through the lens of service-dominant logic (SDL), consumers are no longer viewed as the recipient of traditionally labeled ‘goods’ and ‘services’ but instead represent a more active role as ‘co-producer’ or ‘co-creator’ in market exchanges (Vargo and Lusch 2004). As such, value is not merely an offering of the producer that transcends down a supply chain to the end user. Instead, value is proposed by the producer and is not perceived by the consumers as determinant but remains perpetual as value-in-use. Understanding consumer participation as a co-creator in value can be viewed by many as a fundamental tenet of the sharing economy. For instance, regardless of service context or sharing score, the value obtained from a sharing economy service is a result of the combination of the provider and consumer as co-creators. The service marketing and SDL literatures can learn a great deal by further exploring the concept of co-creation in the sharing economy.

5.3: Implications for Compensatory Control Theory

Since its inception, Compensatory Control Theory has found a niche in the plethora of psychological theories seeking to explain unconscious motivations towards personal feelings of control, order, stability, predictability, consistency and structure. Its divergent premise rests on the notion of non-epistemic structure which was discussed in section 2.2. Absent from the literature are any accounts of how personal feelings of control operate in a different manner from personal need for structure. In fact, previous research utilizes the two constructs interchangeably. For example, Cutright (2011) demonstrated that both control deprivation primes and chronic personal need for structure influence preference for borders in the same way. At best, structure-seeking is treated as an indistinguishable component of personal control maintenance.

5.3a: Structure vs. Control

Analyzing differences in outcomes, Faraji-Rad, Melumad and Johar (2016) demonstrated the relationship between new product adoption and consumers’ desirability of control but seemingly did not find the same relationship with personal need for structure. However, the researchers did not employ the tradition personal need for structure measurement developed by Neuberg and Newsom (1993). Instead, they tested Roets and Van Hiel’s (2011) need for cognitive closure scale which encompasses a facet of Neuberg and Newsom’s (1993) personal need for structure measurement. Specifically, there is overlap with four out of the 15 items in the scale: “I

don't like situations that are uncertain", "I don't like to go into a situation without knowing what I can expect from it", "I enjoy having a clear and structured mode of life" and "I dislike unpredictable situations". While the full measurement was not employed, it seems safe to argue that a null effect exists between structure-seeking and new product adoption.

In line with Faraji-Rad, Melumad and Johar (2016), the current research contributes to the Compensatory Control Theory literature by more strongly demonstrating differences in outcomes between structure-seeking and desire for control. Not only does chronically motivated structure-seeking influence resistance to new service adoption while desirability of control does not, a temporarily activated structure-seeking mindset generates preference for competent service providers whereas a control deprivation manipulation has no impact. With that however, it is important to recall that the control deprivation manipulation did not effectively have the influence it was intended to as was revealed by the null findings during the personal control manipulation check. Nonetheless, the null finding highlights perhaps an even more significant issue within Compensatory Control Theory. The deprivation manipulation was tested with a sample of 102 respondents which is enough power to generate a proper effect and yet concluded no significant difference. This manipulation has been applied quite a few times in past research however the lack of findings warrant a closer look at its validity and further elaboration on its effectiveness should be considered.

5.3b: Message fluency

A significant contribution of the current research to the field of Compensatory Control Theory is the mediating role of message fluency. The literature on communications is ripe with examples of how congruency between a focal construct and the frame of a message can generate persuasive appeals. As such, hypothesizing the congruence between structure-seeking and structure-based appeals was therefore not a revolutionary concept nor was it intended to advance theoretical understanding of marketing communications. Surprisingly, a congruence only materialized within the high and not low structure message frame condition. As can be seen in the mediation model in figure 4, a low structure message frame reveals no relationship between structure-seeking and message fluency. This was previously explained as a function of the fact that those considered low on structure-seeking were nearer to the mid-point of the scale than they were closer to a value of one. As such, a low structure message frame influences individuals along the

structure-seeking scale to consolidate impressions and perceptions closer to a single point. In contrast, a high structure message frame creates significant variations as high structure-seekers show extremely positive reactions while their counterparts reject the message's claims and form opposing sentiments.

This effect may even carryover towards correlated psychological variables as well. For example, highly conscientious individuals may be more easily persuaded by messages framed in a manner that sympathizes with their extreme rating on this trait. In contrast, low conscientious individuals may not at all be susceptible with messages framed in that manner. In addition, neither group responds with much variation towards messages frames that reflect low conscientiousness. These suppositions deserve closer attention and merit future consideration in consumer behavior research.

Another contribution can be found in the findings of the second essay. While the high structure-seeking mindset demonstrated a preference for competence vs. warm service providers, the low structure-seeking mindset repeatedly reported null findings across all the measured outcomes. This was surprising given that this mindset should intensify perceptions of chaos and randomness in the world which should no doubt impact preferences for the provisions of a service that are encompassing of non-epistemic structure. Instead, the lack of conclusive results may suggest that preferences for competences are simply erased following a low structure-seeking mindset manipulation. Considering that preferences for competence are considered a baseline effect (Kirmani, Hamilton, Thompson and Lantzy 2017), negating but not reversing this established effect seems to reveal a significant contribution of the study.

5.4: Future Research

Based on the number of contributions as well as limitations of the studies, many future avenues of research are plentiful. Beginning with ideas directly connected to the current research, future studies should more closely investigate the relationship between structure-seeking and other sharing economy services along the sharing-exchange continuum. In fact, a working paper accepted at the 2017 Association for Consumer Research explores the impact of chronic structure-seeking on participation in a dining-based service of the sharing economy called EatWith (Davidson, Habibi and Laroche 2017). Similarly, a situationally induced high vs. low structure-seeking mindset also increases willingness to participate towards Uber, a taxi-based service of the

sharing economy. Both of these services represent sharing scores that deviate from the exchange side of the continuum and continue to support the framework of this ongoing research. Nonetheless, further research should be conducted to better determine any boundary conditions or potential mediating variables of this effect. While the sharing score has advanced as a boundary condition, the specific limits are not yet known. For example, at what point does a service along the continuum begin or cease to be influenced by structure-seeking? This is certainly an important question going forward.

As suggested earlier, targeting structure-seeking consumer through identifiable correlated personality traits is a method of ensuring that persuasive appeals are being properly communicated to the right audience. Going forward with this research, testing this idea should be attempted and begin with assessing a subset of consumers who are high on traits of conscientiousness and neuroticism (high-CN) and low on openness (low-O). Then, high vs. low structure messages frames should be presented across both high and low sharing score services. This would suggest a personality trait CNO (high vs. low) x message frame (high vs. low structure) x sharing score service (high vs. low) between subjects design. The hypothesis would be that high-CN/low-O would reveal willingness to participate in a high sharing score service following exposure to a high vs. low structure message frame. The contributions of this research would provide marketers with a clear understanding of how to target consumers through messages that are based on the interaction of consumers' personality traits and the type of sharing economy service. Similarly, the correlation between structure-seeking and political conservatism that was discovered by both Neuberg and Newsom (1993) and Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski and Sulloway (2003) may also serve as an identifiable proxy of the construct. A future study should once again confirm the strength of this relationship and then determine if high vs. low structure message frames have a similar impact on consumers along the political orientation spectrum.

A current focus on research in the sharing economy has begun to explore the antecedents and consequences of participating as a service provider (Granitz, Habibi and Davidson 2016). Within this context, I believe structure-seeking behavior may also provide an insight into explain motivations towards participation as a provider. Specifically, it would be expected for structure-seeking consumers to be opposed to becoming service providers such as a host of Airbnb or driver of an Uber taxi. If minimal psychological interventions can potentially reverse this resistance, the sharing economy would surely benefit from additional workers that further create a positive impact

on the environment, personal finances and the economy. Future research should conduct a field study where an apprehensive structure-seeking individual is thrust into a role as service provider and then assessed to determine their level of ease with the experience. After alleviating concerns of uncertainty and lack of predictability through exposure, it may be the case that they would be willing to give it another shot and do it again.

In confronting the research's limitations, the dimensions of competence, warmth and morality should be tested on other hospitality services and not just Airbnb. Intuitively, it would be expected for a service like Couchsurfing which generates a relatively high sharing score, to also be perceived as encompassing hosts who rate high on dimensions of warmth and morality than low on competence. Unknown is the extent to which this relationship reverses in the context of hotel or hostels. In fact, that may very well depend on the specific nature of those services. For example, a 5-star hotel may not reveal any differences in perceptions between these two dimensions. Similarly a 1-star hotel may not reveal any differences either. However the differences between a 5-star and a 1-star may be quite large. This suggests that in traditional hospitality services, neither competence nor warmth trump one another but instead are tied together as a function of the hotel's service quality. As such, it would be interesting to determine if this is in fact the case as it would provide an intriguing comparison when investigating perceptions of Airbnb.

Another limitation to address in future research is the methodology of the current studies. Shifting towards real-world data and less scenario-based designs would contribute greatly to the validity of the findings. An online field experiment is one way to attack this problem. For instance, working in collaboration with a sharing economy such as EatWith wherein advertisements can be manipulated and then promoted through various social media channels would provide an excellent means by which to test the hypotheses. If data can be simultaneously gathered which identifies personality-related variables then the proper analyses can determine the extent to which structure-seeking is a vital determinant of participation outside of experimentally-based studies. Offline experiments can be carried as well using undergraduate students at business schools. Considering that this demographic segment is more likely to adopt these new services, these results can certainly enhance understanding of the research. More importantly, the relatively low variation in age would help control for that factor and if the results still emerge as predicted, it would suggest structure-seeking in an important factor across or even within specific age groups.

5.4a: Evolution of the Sharing Economy

The future of the sharing economy remains uncertain but based on current trends, it isn't likely to disappear any time soon. The important question for marketing scholars is: what will the future look like and how will it impact consumers, businesses, markets, economies and policy-making? For services like Airbnb, Uber and Zipcar to continue growing, resistance to adoption needs to become more subdued and there is evidence that more and more consumers are warming up to the idea of participating in these new services. For Airbnb, penetrating new markets seems inevitable in order to remain competitive against both hotels and other hospitality services of the sharing economy. Not only has there been an expansion towards luxurious Airbnb rentals but consumer-led communities have also begun to take matters into their own hands and create specific markets for homosexuals, African Americans and others who might feel disproportionately prejudiced. As a future research project, I would like to explore whether such fragmentation harms the brand image of Airbnb as an open and sociable service. It may be the case that it damages its sharing scores and affects perceptions along the different dimensions for service providers. Realistically, consumers may begin to select hospitality options where they feel warm, comfortable and with moral hosts that represent a certain aspect of their lifestyle as opposed to hosts that are different from them but more competent to other service providers in comparison.

The future for transportation services like Uber and Zipcar is harder to predict as technology advances and current practices become obsolete. The evolution towards self-driving cars appears unstoppable and current estimates place a significant number of these vehicles on roads within the next ten years (Bonneton, Shariff and Rahwan 2016). While Uber has already begun experimenting with self-driving taxi services, these new technologies may not bode as well for rental agencies like Zipcar. I believe that with growing city populations contributing to problems of congestion and environmental waste, many consumers in the next few decades will 'share' even more than is currently being observed in the current economic system. Specially, self-driving cars will operate similar to public transportation but will offer private, personalized and direct access for each traveler.

A simple request on an app will see a car drive itself up to your house and take you where you want to go. No need to own a vehicle that will most likely require electrical charging that is costly and in need of constant maintenance. No need to find parking spaces and worry about

matters of car insurance, bad drivers or the exhaustion that accompanies public transportation. The future of the sharing economy might therefore resemble a world where ‘private sharing’ is more the exception than the rule and new ways to alleviate concerns of structure-seekers will need to be addressed that are not presently posing as a problem. Some research already suggests that anthropomorphizing self-driving cars attenuates feelings related to loss of control and results in a more enjoyable experience for the user. Giving a name and personality towards the vehicle generates a high level of comfort and even remedies moments of distress following an accident (Waytz, Heafner and Epley 2014). It is therefore extremely valuable to begin exploring the relationship between various personality traits and their adoption towards advanced technologies such as self-driving cars.

5.4b: Emerging Technologies

In exploring the relationship between structure-seeking and new technologies, I am eager to develop a ‘side-stream’ of research that more closely focuses on what has come to be known as the Internet of Things (IoT). Simply put, IoT refers to the inter-connectivity of devices that are embedded with a large numbers of sensors, electronics and networking software capabilities that enable them to collect, communicate and exchange data between them. Also known as smart devices, IoT is expected to transform the way consumers interact with products and current estimates are that over 30 million objects will be connected by 2020 (Lee and Lee 2015). As this technology advances, consumers will witness the evolution of smart homes wherein temperature, lighting, security, cleaning and possibly even food preparation will be controlled automatically by programmed devices. Smart fridges will be equipped with built-in internet WiFi that has been programmed to sense what kinds of products are being stored inside it and keeps track of the stock. Chairs and tables can will be preprogrammed so that once a specific individual is identified, they will adjust to their height, weight and level of comfort without ever having to touch a button.

The question of how such technologies will interact with personal levels of control and structure remain to be answered. I suggest that outcomes depend on a number of factors that require serious investigation. A great deal of research highlights the role of product anthropomorphization in alleviating concerns related to desirability of control and need for structure (i.e. Epley, Waytz and Cacioppo). Rarely does the literature explore situations in which this relationship either does not materialize or results in resistance towards product or service adoption. For example, structure-

seeking consumers may seek to adopt smart fridges or smart security services when they are marketed as providing consistency and stability to an individual's lifestyle. Importantly, such devices also inhibit the individual from exerting control or structure and therefore may result in an ultimate rejection of 'controlling' products and service. Clearly, the balance between reliance on personal vs. external agency needs to be accounted for. Likewise, exposure to news or common events related to digital privacy concerns and online hacking are likely to culminate in a strong negative relationship between structure-seeking and the adoption of IoT products and services. Future research should consider exposing consumers to reports of digital privacy concerns vs. a control condition and then report on the interaction between structure-seeking and the adoption of smart technology.

5.4c: The Role of Communications

An interesting concern for future research to explore is the susceptibility of structure-seekers to message frames, communications and claims that are dispersed online through social media and other outlets. The growing phenomenon of 'fake news' has prompted many to re-evaluate the way in which information is being dispersed, accessed and absorbed. As a result of the current research's findings as well as those discovered by Davidson and Laroche (2016), structure-seekers seem not only prone to message frames that conform to their worldviews but are also more likely than their counterparts to believe in conspiratorial arguments that attempt to link unrelated pieces of information into an engaging yet ultimately false narrative. In the preceding months, known conspiracy theorists such as InfoWar's Alex Jones have gained a tremendous following numbering in the millions of people. Information that is inaccurately being verified is being consumed at an increasing rate and growing political divisions appear to further accelerate the adoption of unorthodox views. Understanding the role of structure-seeking in believing in conspiratorial claims can assist policymakers and scientists wishing to better inform the public of how to distinguish fact from fiction. Articulating how stories of conspiracies are attractive because they appeal to certain dimensions of consumer's personalities may help to abstain structure-seekers from endorsing their content.

Continuing down this stream, scholars should look to determine the relationship between roles of related constructs such as desirability of control and intolerance of ambiguity. As reflected in the current research, these constructs are distinguishable from each other and may result in

varying outcomes of information adoption. It would be of interest to determine if the adoption of unverified claims that conform to an individual's worldview are more closely related to structure-seeking tendencies over other related personality constructs. Additionally important is the role that age and gender play within this field as well. Younger individuals naturally reveal a lower need for structure and since they are more internet and computer literate, they should also be less susceptible to adopting fake claims. Less conclusive is the difference between men and women in regards to the adoption of unverified information yet based on the strong difference in structure-seeking that favor females, a working hypothesis for future research may seek to determine how women analyze and disseminate information in ways that assuage their strong need for structure.

5.4d: Cultural Differences in the Sharing Economy

The sharing economy has expanded across many different countries and certainly, cross-cultural comparisons regarding participation are of importance to managers, marketers and researchers. In less developed countries for example, the question of whether such non-ownership consumption programs can even succeed has yet to be answered. For instance, Indians are typically not opposed to sharing information, stories and even personal details about their lives however the sharing economy seems to be received with suspicion and skepticism (Fok 2015). While businesses like Uber have proved successful in the Indian market, many would argue that the western template of collaborative consumption will not properly thrive. Peer-to-peer transportations services might face many challenges as car ownership in India has been dragging over the years. Services falling closer to the sharing end of the sharing-exchange continuum may run into problems. It may be the case that ridesharing companies might find it difficult to attract enough consumers as sharing car rides informally has been consistently practiced in India for some time now (Nielsen 2015; Doley 2015).

Understanding the role that structure-seeking plays may provide practitioners and researchers with a better grasp of consumers' adoption process regarding peer-to-peer services in markets such as India. Collectivist cultures rely greatly on warm and familiar relationships in order to engage in the consumption of products and services. The downside however is that patronage and nepotism facilitate exchange relationships and corruptive policies and norms ensue. As a result, peer-to-peer consumption may only find success among networks of consumers with familiar ties. A five-star rating attributed to a complete stranger may not yield consumer

participation due to resistance towards a system that is perceived as operating outside a well-defined societal structure.

Future research should more closely investigate the interaction of structure-seeking and the cultural orientation of consumers in order to determine the impact on participation rates in sharing economy services. Survey panels are accessible in dozens of foreign countries and online data can be relatively easy to collect from a wide range of individuals with varying cultural orientations. It is likely that consumers with a more pronounced collectivist orientation may further magnify the relationship between structure-seeking and resistance in the sharing economy. In contrast, consumers that can be identified with having an individualistic orientation may negate or possibly even reverse the relationship between structure-seeking and participation towards sharing economy services.

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