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Research Article

Evidence for two facets of pride in consumption: Findings from luxury brands

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Abstract

This paper documents the multifaceted nature of pride in consumer behavior. Drawing on recent psychological research on pride, we provide evidence for two separate facets of pride in consumption. In a series of studies, we propose a model wherein luxury brand consumption and pride are systematically interrelated. Whereas authentic (but not hubristic) pride leads to a heightened desire for luxury brands, hubristic (but not authentic) pride is the outcome of these purchases, and is the form of pride signaled to observers by these purchases. Further, we show that these effects are generally exacerbated for those low in narcissism. These findings shed new light on why consumers purchase luxury brands, highlighting a paradox: these purchases may be sought out of heightened feelings of accomplishment (and not arrogance), but they instead signal arrogance to others (rather than accomplishment).

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Keywords: Pride; Emotion; Luxury goods; Branding; Status; Social cognition

One of the authors of this article was having lunch with a colleague who had in his possession a stylish pair of white sunglasses, their frames highlighted by a thin strip of aqueous blue trim. The author thought the glasses attractive, so he asked his colleague if he could wear them. After putting them on, he noticed how they felt nearly weightless and fit snugly on the bridge of his nose. Curious to see how he looked in the sunglasses, the author asked his colleague if he could be excused from the table to examine himself in front of a nearby mirror. His colleague acquiesced, and, on his way there, the author noticed several patrons glance at him the way people sometimes do when an arresting object catches their eye. The author felt a familiar emotion rising inside him, one that made his posture more erect and his gait more confident. The author stood before the mirror and admired how the glasses complimented his features. He imagined himself

wearing the glasses while strolling down a promenade in the warm glow of the Southern California sun. When the author returned to the dining table, he returned them to his colleague. To his surprise, he did so with some reluctance as he could still apprehend the delicious feeling of superiority he experienced when he wore them and the secret pleasure he derived from seeing the covetous glances of observers as he passed by. The sunglasses were manufactured by Prada.

What is it that consumers feel when they adorn themselves with products that speak in the silent language of luxury, exclusiveness, and extravagance? Undoubtedly, one of the emotions experienced in such situations is pride. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines pride as “a high or overweening opinion of one’s own qualities, attainments, or estate, which gives rise to a feeling and attitude of superiority over and contempt for others.” This definition is consistent with ancient Greek and Biblical thought condemning “excessive pride,” or “hubris”. Studies show that this form of “hubristic” pride is associated with narcissism and other undesirable outcomes such as aggression and hostility, interpersonal

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problems, relationship conflict, and prejudice against out-groups (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Tracy, Cheng, Robins, & Trzesniewski, 2009). But pride has another face, one which is experienced as a byproduct of hard work and successes. This “authentic” form of pride can promote perseverance at difficult tasks, empathy toward out-groups, and contribute to the development of a genuine and deep-rooted sense of self-esteem (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Williams & DeSteno, 2009).

The present research examines the two faces of pride as they pertain to consumer motivation and behavior. First, we show that the two kinds of pride have independent effects on consumption, qualifying past research in consumer behavior that has treated pride as a unidimensional construct. Second, we show that the two kinds of pride can also be differentially activated by the usage of brands. Third, by integrating these two findings, we highlight an interesting paradox; namely, that while consumers are motivated to purchase luxury brands because of heightened feelings of one facet of pride, a different facet is experienced from using such brands. This finding contributes to research on pride more generally because it documents for the first time that what is often thought to be an adaptive form of pride (authentic pride) can give rise to another, presumably less desirable, form (hubristic pride). By showing this effect, we illustrate how the distinct forms of pride can in fact be related through the act of consumption. Finally, we show that trait narcissism moderates these effects.

Conceptual background

The two faces of pride

Psychologists have long noted that pride is a multifaceted construct (e.g., Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1989), in part because it has been theoretically linked to markedly divergent psychological outcomes, ranging from the positive, such as achievement and altruism, to the negative, including relationship conflict and aggression (Kernberg, 1975; McGregor, Nail, Marigold, & Kang, 2005; Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). Empirical findings from several lines of research support a two-facet account of pride as consisting of distinct authentic and hubristic components (see Tracy & Robins, 2007). The first component (authentic pride) includes words such as “accomplished” and “confident,” and fits with the prosocial, achievement-oriented conceptualization of pride. The second component (hubristic pride) includes words such as “arrogant” and “conceited,” and fits with a more self-aggrandizing, egotistical conceptualization. Results from several studies (e.g., Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Tracy et al., 2009) suggest that authentic pride is the prosocial, achievement-oriented facet of the emotion, whereas hubristic pride is the more anti-social and aggressive facet. More recently, hubristic pride has been related to narcissistic self-aggrandizement, and is speculated to be experienced by some people as a way of suppressing insecurities and thereby coping with implicit feelings of shame (Tracy, Cheng, Martens, & Robins, 2011). Empirically, the two facets of pride are

distinct, typically having only a small positive correlation (at around $r = .10$, Tracy & Robins, 2007).

Pride has a distinct nonverbal expression that is reliably recognized by children and adults across cultures, and individuals spontaneously display this expression in response to status and success worldwide (Shariff & Tracy, 2009; Tiedens, Ellsworth, & Mesquita, 2000; Tracy & Matsumoto, 2008; Tracy & Robins, 2008; Tracy, Robins, & Lagattuta, 2005; Tracy, Shariff, Zhao, & Henrich, 2013; Williams & DeSteno, 2009). These findings suggest that experiencing and displaying pride in response to a culturally defined success is universal, making it reasonable to assume that pride can be a reflexive response to the consumption of brands that signify success and achievement, of which luxury brands are one exemplar. There is a small body of work examining pride in a consumer context as either an antecedent or consequence of consumption (e.g., Aaker & Williams, 1998; Griskevicius, Shiota, & Nowlis, 2010; Hung & Mukhopadhyay, 2012; Louro, Pieters, & Zeelenberg, 2005; Mukhopadhyay & Johar, 2007; Patrick, Chun, & MacInnis, 2009; Ramanathan & Williams, 2007; Wilcox, Kramer, & Sen, 2011; Winterich & Haws, 2011), but all of these studies treat pride as a unitary construct, and none have examined pride in the context of luxury brand consumption.

To address these gaps in the literature, we focus on luxury brand consumption, because such brands are explicitly marketed to appeal to consumers’ desire to signal their accomplishments, success, or social superiority (e.g., Mandel, Petrova, & Cialdini, 2006)—desires that are part of the pride experience (Tracy & Robins, 2007). An examination of the relationship between luxury brand consumption and pride is important because demand for luxury goods is strong and rapidly growing, with \$200+ billion in annual sales in 2012 (Bain and Company, 2012). Hence, gaining an understanding of the factors that influence consumers to continue purchasing such brands should be of considerable interest to marketers. On the other hand, a number of writers have lamented the growing obsession among some consumers to acquire luxury brands, particularly when they cannot reasonably afford them (Frank, 1999; Manning, 2000). For those interested in helping consumers better regulate their expenditures and avoid potentially crippling debt, it would also be useful to gain insight into the psychological factors that motivate consumers to buy products that can make their lives economically precarious even if they gain momentary satisfaction from purchasing them.

Pride as a consequence of luxury consumption

As the opening story in our paper illustrates, we can experience pride from consumption, and this emotion might be particularly intense when we use luxury brands. In fact, the belief that one will feel (at least temporarily) heightened positive affect following consumption more generally is a significant motivator for purchases (Isen, 1984; Luomala & Laaksonen, 1999; Richins, 2004; Tice & Bratslavsky, 2000) and may underlie socially and personally dysfunctional behaviors like impulsive and compulsive shopping (Beatty & Ferrell, 1998). Given that pride is multifaceted, it seems reasonable to speculate that consumers may not experience both facets with equal intensity following luxury brand usage. Luxury brands are associated with status, wealth,

exclusion, and ego-enhancement, so conceptually it seems plausible that hubristic pride would be a more common response to consuming such brands than authentic pride. Indeed, many luxury brands explicitly use images of snobbery and arrogance in their communication. Several writers have suggested that consumers buy these brands to signal their superiority and success relative to others rather than for merely their functional value (e.g., Chadha & Husband, 2006; Veblen, 1899). If this is the case, then a reasonable prediction is that consumers will experience a heightened feeling of hubristic pride from using a luxury brand, as compared to a non-luxury equivalent of the same product. Furthermore, the difference in hubristic pride as a function of whether the brand is a luxury or non-luxury one should be much larger than the difference in authentic pride that results from these two types of consumption activities.

H1. Using a luxury brand will increase hubristic pride more than using a non-luxury brand; however, authentic pride will not vary depending on whether the product used is a luxury or non-luxury brand.

Pride as a consequence of consumption need not be conceptualized solely as a personal, subjective experience because the usage of luxury (but not non-luxury) brands also serves an important social function by signaling to others that the owner of the product possesses desirable qualities that contributed to his or her success. As a result, it is conceivable that people who observe a consumer in possession of luxury brands will make systematic inferences about that consumer's emotional experiences as a result of such possession. We maintain that a consideration of these inferences can provide further insight into the link between luxury consumption and the two facets of pride.

Based on our assertion that luxury brands are often presented as indicators of social superiority, we expect observers to presume that consumers who possess luxury (vs. non-luxury) products experience more hubristic than authentic pride as a result of their product choices. This prediction parallels H1, but focuses on whether the private experience of a consumers' feelings of hubristic pride following the consumption of luxury or non-luxury brands is inferred by others. Our interest in investigating the perceptions of others arises from the observation that the feelings derived from luxury brand consumption are not only subjectively experienced, but also socially recognized. Why does this matter? One practical implication of the inferences people make about a luxury brand consumer's emotional state is that these inferences can make the consumer appear either more or less prosocial, which could partly explain reported links between hubristic pride and social outcomes like having fewer friends and poorer interpersonal relationships (Tracy et al., 2009). We tested the following hypotheses, which follow from our argument that the inferences people make about the emotional states of consumers of luxury (vs. non-luxury) brands parallels the actual self-reported pride experiences of these consumers:

H2. Observers will infer that a consumer who uses luxury brands is higher in hubristic pride than one who uses non-luxury brands; however, observers' inferences of authentic

pride will not be affected by whether the consumer uses a luxury or non-luxury brand.

H3. A consumer who uses luxury brands will be perceived by observers as being less prosocial than one who uses non-luxury brands, and this relationship will be mediated by the inference that the consumer is experiencing hubristic but not authentic pride.

Pride as an antecedent to luxury consumption

To this point, our predictions involve pride as a *consequence* of consumption. However, there is a rich literature in marketing showing that emotions also motivate consumption (e.g., Bagozzi, Gopinath, & Nyer, 1999) and extant consumer research on pride has examined how pride's activation affects various consumption behaviors (e.g., Wilcox et al., 2011; Winterich & Haws, 2011). However, adopting a two-dimensional model of pride, as we do here, leads to the more nuanced question of which dimension is a stronger predictor of the desire for luxury brands.

Two possible hypotheses can be proposed based on prior theory and empirical evidence. On one hand, given that people who are chronically prone to experiencing hubristic pride cope with insecurities by self-aggrandizing and inflating an artificially positive sense of self (e.g., Tracy et al., 2011), they may be particularly motivated to acquire and use luxury brands. Luxury brands convey status, wealth, and achievement (e.g., Mandel et al., 2006), and thus may be construed as a way of informing others (and the self) of one's high status, accomplishments, and even perfection. Since people high in hubristic pride constantly strive for the appearance of perfection and regularly experience a sense of egotism and arrogance, they may use the purchase and usage of luxury brands to maintain these artificially inflated self-representations. Notably, such signals can mask reality, in the sense that someone who displays luxury brands may have neither wealth, nor status, nor worthy accomplishments. For such persons, luxury brand purchases can function as alternative means of bolstering their self-image in the absence of authentic achievement.

Based on the conceptualization of authentic pride described in the extant literature, people prone to experiencing this form of pride should have less need to use or display luxury brands as a way of reinforcing an exalted self-view or conveying their competence to others. Authentic pride is tied to actual hard work and achievements (Tracy & Robins, 2007); thus people who experience this form of pride should have greater confidence that their talents and achievements will be sufficient to signal both to themselves and others that they are competent in a given domain. Consuming luxury brands should therefore be seen as superfluous for signaling accomplishment among those who experience authentic pride, which should decrease their motivation to consume them for this purpose. While there are other motivations besides signaling value for luxury brand purchases (e.g., perceived higher quality), it has been suggested such motivations cannot fully explain luxury consumption (Chadha & Husband, 2006). Thus, we treat their signaling value as an important source of motivation for many consumers.

Although no papers in consumer research have attempted to disentangle pride's two facets as sources of motivation for purchasing certain kinds of brands, other social cognition research suggests a possible relationship between hubristic pride and the consumption luxury brands. For instance, research has shown that priming momentary emotional feelings results in behaviors consistent with the prime, a phenomenon known as an assimilation effect (e.g., Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996). From this perspective, eliciting a momentary feeling of hubristic pride should promote more favorable reactions to brands that convey status, wealth, and social superiority and/or less favorable reactions to brands that do not have position-enhancing value. Supporting this expectation, Mukhopadhyay and Johar (2007) showed evidence of mood matching, such that ads featuring pride are viewed more favorably after experiencing that emotion. One hypothesis that follows from the research reviewed above is that hubristic, but not authentic, pride will increase the desire for luxury relative to non-luxury brands.

H4A. People who experience chronic or momentary hubristic (vs. authentic) pride will be more desirous of luxury brands.

On the other hand, other research suggests that there is reason to make the opposite prediction. Several papers have found that pride is related to increased indulgence. Notably, these papers employ pride manipulations that, at least superficially, seem more likely to be eliciting authentic than hubristic pride. For instance, Griskevicius et al. (2010) manipulated pride by asking participants to think about doing well on an exam after spending many hours studying; other studies have found that this manipulation leads to greater authentic than hubristic pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Griskevicius et al. show that the resulting feelings of pride increased desirability for products that help the consumer achieve positive social differentiation. Similarly, Wilcox et al. (2011) found a relation between pride and indulgence using a pride manipulation that asked people to “write about an accomplishment you are proud of”. It turns out that “accomplished” is the highest-loading item on Tracy and Robins' (2007) Authentic Pride scale, suggesting that the relation found by Wilcox et al. (2011) was driven by authentic pride. The theorizing used in the Wilcox et al. (2011) paper suggest that people feel licensed to indulge by spending more lavishly than they might otherwise on a product when they believe they have made progress towards a goal, success, or momentary accomplishment (Giner-Sorolla, 2001; MacInnis & Patrick, 2006). If this assertion is correct, then by logical inference it is reasonable to predict that authentic pride stemming from one's achievements should be a more reliable predictor of a desire for luxury brands (an indulgence) than hubristic pride, because it is the former version of pride that leads consumers to believe that they *deserve* to indulge and reward themselves by spending more on the products they desire (e.g., Blaine & Crocker, 1993; Mukhopadhyay & Johar, 2009; Wilcox et al., 2011; Winterich & Haws, 2011).

Research in other domains supports licensing effects like the one suggested above, as a result of people having achieved a desired outcome. For example, when asked to write about how ethical they are, participants subsequently behave less ethically than when asked to write about how they are unethical (Merit,

Effron, & Monin, 2010; Monin & Miller, 2001). Extending this finding to consumer choice, consumers who experience authentic pride as a result of their perceived accomplishments may respond with greater feelings of license to be more profligate in their spending habits (see Khan & Dhar, 2006). If this is the case, authentic pride may be a more powerful motive for consuming luxury brands than hubristic pride.

The logic of licensing can also be reversed, such that if people believe that they have failed to live up to a desired goal or personal standard, they become more likely to act in ways that are more socially desirable. For example, Sachdeva, Iliev, and Medin (2009) showed that people confronted with their own immorality donated more to charity or made fewer self-interested choices in an environmental social dilemma. If we extend Sachdeva et al.'s (2009) finding to consumption situations and apply licensing logic, we can hypothesize that experiencing hubristic pride—an emotion associated with socially undesirable traits like snobbery, arrogance, and aggression (Carver, Sinclair, & Johnson, 2010; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Tracy et al., 2009)—might actually weaken the desire for luxury brands. Thus, a licensing explanation would lead to the following alternative hypothesis to H4A:

H4B. People who experience chronic or momentary authentic (vs. hubristic) pride will be more desirous of luxury brands.

Overview of studies

We test the above hypotheses in a series of studies. Study 1 examines pride as a consequence of consumption, and tests H1–H3. Studies 2 and 3 shift the focus to pride as an antecedent, testing whether H4A or H4B is more strongly supported by data, using both trait (study 2) and state (study 3) assessments of pride. Finally, study 4 tests a boundary condition to our effects documented in the first three studies, treating pride as both a consequence (study 4A) as well as a predictor (study 4B).

Study 1A

Method

Participants and procedure

160 participants (51% female) recruited from the Amazon Mechanical Turk (Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010) panel participated in the study.

Participation involved completing a brief survey that utilized a 2 (brand: luxury vs. non-luxury) $\times$ 2 (setting: public vs. private) between subjects design. Regarding the degree of public visibility, there are two possible predictions relevant to this issue. On one hand, luxury brands serve a signaling function to outsiders (e.g., Veblen, 1899), so consumers may only derive pride from owning them in situations where others notice it. On the other hand, luxury brands are available for products that are both highly visible to outsiders (e.g., shirts, handbags) as well as those rarely seen by anyone other than the consumer (e.g., undergarments, toiletries). That luxury brands can be profitable even for unseen products suggests that consumers may experience pride simply by virtue of

possessing and using them, regardless of whether others know they do.

Both manipulations were embedded in a standard episodic recall task (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, & Magee, 2003). Participants were told to write a brief story about themselves involving a luxury (or non-luxury) brand in a public (private) situation:

Please take a few minutes to think about a (non-) luxury branded product that you own. In the box provided, write a brief story about yourself (in one or two paragraphs) which involves both yourself and the product where you are in a social (private) setting where (no) others can observe you and the product in some way. Remember, write about a possession that you own that you consider a (regular vs. luxury) branded product (not a luxury brand).

Participants then wrote a brief story, completed measures of pride, brief demographics, a manipulation check, and a suspicion probe.

Measures

Manipulation checks

To test the efficacy of the luxury manipulation we had two independent coders, blind to the study hypotheses, rate each story and code the luxuriousness of the brand written about (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). The two coders' ratings were highly correlated ($r = .78$), and were averaged to form an index.

The effectiveness of the public/private manipulation was assessed with two items "I wrote about a time where I was alone and no one else was present" and "I wrote about a social setting where others were present" (both anchored by 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree), with the former reverse coded ($r = .83$).

Dependent measures

Participants' feelings of authentic and hubristic pride were assessed using Tracy and Robins' (2007) Authentic and Hubristic Pride scales. Each scale consists of seven items rated on a 7 point scale (1 = completely disagree; 7 = completely agree), and participants were asked to indicate the extent to which each item characterized how they felt after writing the story. Reliabilities were $\alpha = .91$ and $\alpha = .97$ for authentic and hubristic pride, respectively. The two facets were uncorrelated ($r = .07$, $p > .33$).

Results and discussion

Manipulation checks

Confirming the efficacy of the manipulation, those who were instructed to write about a luxury brand wrote stories about brands that were coded as higher on luxuriousness ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.15$) than those who wrote about a non-luxury brand ($M = 2.66$, $SD = .96$) $F(1, 113) = 111.15$, $p < .001$. There was also a marginal main effect of setting, such that those in the public condition wrote about brands that were slightly more luxurious ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.57$) than those in the private

condition ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 1.36$) $F(1, 113) = 3.85$, $p < .06$. However, there was no significant interaction between the two factors ($p > .32$).

For the setting manipulation, those who were asked to imagine they were in a public setting indeed imagined it was more public ($M = 6.26$, $SD = 1.26$) than those in the private condition ($M = 1.61$, $SD = 1.17$, $F(1, 156) = 575.33$, $p < .001$). No other effects were present.

Dependent measures

A MANOVA revealed only a main effect of luxury/non-luxury on hubristic pride. All other $ps > .40$. As there was no interaction between setting and luxury/non-luxury brand, it appears that the effect of using a luxury brand on hubristic pride did not vary depending on whether the brand was used in public or private. Follow-up univariate tests showed that authentic pride was not affected by whether the product was a luxury ($M = 4.95$, $SD = 1.22$) or non-luxury brand ($M = 4.86$, $SD = 1.23$), $F(1, 155) = .22$, $p > .64$. In contrast, participants felt significantly greater hubristic pride when they wrote about themselves consuming a luxury ($M = 3.16$, $SD = 1.66$) than a non-luxury ($M = 1.88$, $SD = 1.27$) brand, $F(1, 155) = 29.88$, $p < .001$. The findings are depicted graphically in Fig. 1. We note that the Authentic and Hubristic scales have been shown previously to have very different typical mean values (e.g., Tracy & Robins, 2007), with scores on the former tending to be considerably higher. This is likely due to the social desirability of the authentic pride items relative to the hubristic pride items (e.g., "successful" vs. "arrogant"). We found a similar result here and our subsequent studies, but this difference is not germane to the present research question, given that the comparison of interest here is how luxury (vs. non-luxury) brands affect each pride facet, not how the two facets compare to the other.

Participants who described their ownership of a luxury brand reported greater hubristic pride than those who described a non-luxury brand, whereas brand differences had no effect on reports of authentic pride. These results support H1. The effect was observed regardless of whether an audience was present, suggesting that it was not dependent on public consumption. These results were fully replicated in a separate study of 120 undergraduates who imagined only a public consumption scenario. Again, authentic pride was not affected by whether the product was a luxury ($M = 4.99$, $SD = 1.24$) or non-luxury brand ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.23$), $F(1, 113) = 1.65$, $p > .20$; whereas participants felt significantly greater hubristic pride when they wrote about themselves consuming a luxury ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.30$) than a non-luxury ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 1.22$) brand, $F(1, 113) = 17.74$, $p < .001$.

In our next study, we examined whether observers would infer that hubristic pride is the form of pride that others feel as a result of luxury brand ownership. As described above, hubristic pride has been linked with several anti-social outcomes, and people perceive those who show excessive hubristic pride in an unfavorable light (Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010). Thus, we also tested whether people evaluate consumers who possess

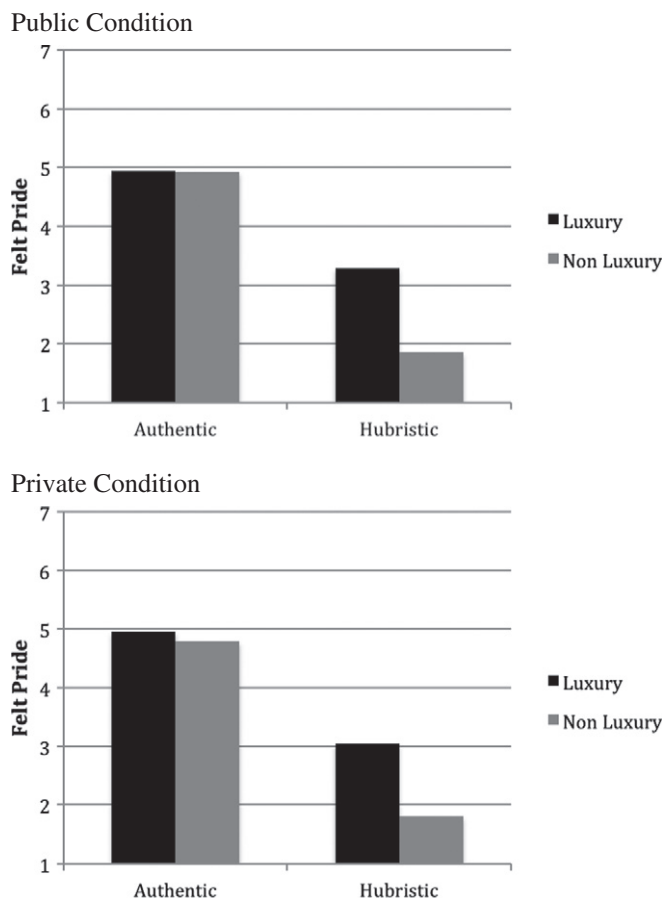


Fig. 1. Study 1A. Felt pride by condition.

luxury brands negatively because they infer that these consumers are experiencing hubristic pride.

Study 1B

Methods

Participants and procedure

86 undergraduates (68% female) from a large western university participated in the study in exchange for monetary remuneration.

Participants completed a brief survey that utilized a one-factor design with two levels (brand: luxury vs. non-luxury). The key manipulation involved reading a story purportedly written by another student that focused on what life would be like in five years time. The story was based on an assignment submitted by a real student to one of the authors for a class, but that was adapted (with permission from the student author) by the researchers to include either luxury (Ritz-Carlton, Gucci, Jaguar, Godiva, Rolex, Bose) or non-luxury brands (Holiday Inn, Old Navy, Ford, Hershey, Timex, Panasonic), depending on the condition. Pretesting in the same sample confirmed that the luxury brands were indeed more luxurious than the non-luxury set. Specifically, participants ($n = 62$, tested between subjects) rated each brand individually and collectively as a (non) luxury set on two items, “<Brand (The

brands)> is a (are) luxury brand(s)” and “<Brand (The brands)> is (are) expensive” (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree, all $r_s > .85$, p_s all $< .001$). As expected, the luxury set ($M = 6.48$, $SD = 1.06$) was deemed more luxurious than the non-luxury set ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.14$; $F(1, 58) = 165.95$, $p < .001$). The same test was conducted with each brand pairwise (e.g., Timex compared to Rolex), and all pairwise F s were > 33 , all $p_s < .001$.

As brief illustration of the manipulation, the first paragraph read as follows:

I awaken at 5:30 am as I have done for the last 5 years, and peel myself out of bed to begin my usual morning routine. It feels nice to be home after spending 2 nights at the Ritz Carlton (Holiday Inn) on a business trip. As I collect my things before I go downstairs, I make sure to fetch my favorite Gucci (Old Navy) jacket. Downstairs I eat cereal and a slice of toast with jam, taking my coffee to go...

Participants then completed the pride measures regarding the student in the story, a measure assessing the student's perceived prosocial qualities, and brief demographics.

Measures

Dependent measure

We assessed participants' inferences about the target's feelings of pride using the same Authentic and Hubristic scales, with the preface “The author of the story feels...” Reliabilities were $\alpha = .92$ for both scales, and they were correlated at $r = .08$, $p > .44$.

Prosocial qualities

We assessed the hypothetical consumer's perceived prosocial qualities with four items that asked whether the author of the story was “concerned about the environment/cares a lot about other people/is a good person/very generous” (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree), $\alpha = .71$. We chose these items because they reflect a concern for society and others, suggesting that the consumer is likely to be motivated more by prosocial rather than by purely self-interested goals. Previous research suggests that the motivation to pursue prosocial goals is associated with social attractiveness (Hardy & Van Vugt, 2006).

Results and discussion

Dependent measures

A MANOVA was used to test effects of brand on inferences of pride and social attractiveness. Results revealed that inferences of authentic pride were not affected by whether the products used by the story's author were luxury ($M = 5.79$, $SD = .90$) or non-luxury brands ($M = 5.56$, $SD = .82$, $F(1, 82) = 1.47$, $p > .22$), however, consistent with the results of study 1A, participants inferred that the author felt significantly greater hubristic pride when he/she used luxury ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.16$) rather than non-luxury ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.24$) brands $F(1, 82) = 15.61$, $p < .001$, see Fig. 2.

Results also showed that participants in the luxury condition judged the author to be less prosocial ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .83$)

than those in the non-luxury condition ($M = 4.38$, $SD = .86$, $F(1, 82) = 10.00$, $p < .01$), and that condition predicted hubristic ($B = 1.02$, $SE = .26$, $p < .001$) but not authentic pride ($B = .22$, $SE = .18$, $p = .23$). Furthermore, hubristic ($B = -.22$, $SE = .07$, $p < .003$) but not authentic ($B = .14$, $SE = .10$, $p > .17$) pride predicted social attractiveness, and bootstrapping (INDIRECT, Preacher & Hayes, 2008) confirmed that hubristic pride (95% CI: $-.44, -.05$, $p < .01$) but not authentic pride (95% CI: $-.02, .16$, $p > .17$) mediated the relationship between the target's brand choices and his/her social attractiveness.

This study showed that the effect of brand on self-reported hubristic pride found in study 1A is replicated when observers are asked to make inferences about another consumer's emotional reactions (supporting H2). We also showed that inferences of hubristic, but not authentic, pride mediated the relationship between brand usage and judgments about the consumer's personal qualities (supporting H3). This latter finding extends previous research showing that hubristic pride is associated with a variety of anti-social behavioral tendencies that could make a person less socially attractive to others. Our study shows that hubristic pride can also lead people to anticipate that the person who feels hubristic pride will act less prosocially, which indicates that the association of hubristic pride with luxury brand usage is both an intra- and inter-subjective phenomenon.

Earlier we raised the question of why luxury brands proliferate if their usage sends an undesirable signal to others (e.g., Van Boven, Campbell, & Gilovich, 2010), as the data from study 1B appear to suggest. After all, if people infer that hubristic pride results from using luxury goods, and are more likely to view the luxury brand consumer more negatively as a result, why would they want to join the ranks of those who they evaluate so negatively? One possibility is that a different form of pride drives the initial decision to purchase, or use, luxury products. Our next studies test this possibility by examining pride as an antecedent to consumption. Earlier, we proposed two competing hypotheses about how pride might affect luxury brand consumption. To recap, H4A states that because people high in hubristic pride constantly strive for the appearance of perfection and experience a sense of superficial egotism and arrogance, these individuals should be highly motivated to acquire luxury brands as a way of maintaining their artificially

inflated self-representations. In contrast, those who experience authentic pride will not be motivated by this particular goal. Instead, H4B drew on the logic of licensing to suggest that when people experience authentic pride, they will consume luxury brands because they feel licensed to reward themselves by spending more lavishly than they otherwise would. However, the more socially undesirable form of pride—hubristic pride—should suppress this motivation because the licensing effect would work in the opposite direction in this case. That is, people who experience a socially undesirable emotion seek to compensate by doing something socially laudable, perhaps including refraining from purchasing luxury brands. H4B therefore states that the authentic form of pride, and not its hubristic counterpart, drives luxury brand consumption. Studies 2 and 3 tested these competing hypotheses, treating pride as a trait-like disposition and a state, respectively.

Study 2

Method

Participants, procedure, and measures

150 US-based participants (51% female) from the Amazon Mechanical Turk panel participated in the study for payment. Participants were told they would be completing a survey on brand perceptions.

Brand selection

To generate appropriate luxury and non-luxury brands for participants to rate, we used proprietary data from a survey collected by a large multinational advertising agency. For reasons of confidentiality, only limited details are presented below. This survey contains over 1000 brands rated on a number of dimensions from a nationally representative sample of US consumers ($N = \text{over } 9000$). Two of these dimensions (items) clearly captured the extent to which these brands were perceived to possess prestige and be purchased by those of high status, which should capture the extent to which consumers view the brand as luxurious (or not). Since these two items were very highly correlated ($r = .94$), we collapsed them into a single measure, which we call “luxury”. We aimed to pair brands included in the dataset from the same product category (and from a variety of different categories) with high and low levels of luxury, respectively. To rule out the possibility that any differences observed could be due to differences in familiarity with the brands, we included only brands in the top quartile on a dimension capturing brand familiarity. From this list, we were able to match 8 highly familiar brands US consumers perceive as luxurious (Mercedes Benz Automobiles, Hilton, Olay, Disney Toys, Outback Steakhouse, American Express, Wall Street Journal, Ralph Lauren) with 8 brands not perceived as luxurious (Suzuki Automobiles, Days Inn, Noxzema, Lego, Chili's, Visa, USA Today, Lee), while also controlling for both product category and brand familiarity. The mean “luxury” scores for the two groups differed in magnitude by more than 44 percentile.

Participants viewed each of these 16 brands, presented in random order. We assessed both liking and willingness to pay

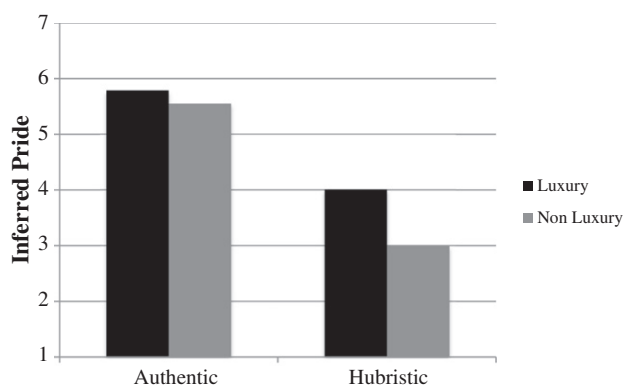


Fig. 2. Study 1B. Pride inferred in other consumer.

in this study. While past research shows that brand attitude and willingness to pay are significantly correlated (e.g., Thompson, MacInnis, & Park, 2005), the correlation is not a perfect one. Thus, we asked two questions about each brand: a bipolar liking measure (1 = strongly dislike, 7 = strongly like) to assess participants' attitude towards the brand, and a desire to purchase item (1 = very low desire to purchase from this brand, 7 = very high desire to purchase from this brand) to assess their willingness to purchase.

Following the brand ratings task, participants completed a filler measure to mask the link between the brand ratings and the other measures. Lastly, participants completed measures of trait authentic ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.09$) and hubristic ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 1.11$) pride, in which they were asked to "indicate the extent to which you would use each of the following words to describe yourself and how you generally tend to feel," for each of the 14 items (Tracy & Robins, 2007). Reliabilities were $\alpha = .90$ (authentic) and $\alpha = .94$ (hubristic), which were correlated at $r = .06$, $p > .50$. They also completed several other measures as potential covariates. We assessed age and gender, as the brands may be more popular among certain genders or age groups. We also included the short 3-item material values scale (Richins, 2004, $\alpha = .79$) and the 3-item current socioeconomic status measure (Griskevicius, Tybur, Delton, & Robertson, 2011, $\alpha = .80$) to control for these variables' potential influence on the dependent measures of interest.

Results and discussion

We first created two luxury and two non-luxury brand indices by summing the respective brand ratings (attitudes and willingness to purchase) together prior to analyses. Given that the resulting brand attitude and willingness to buy measures were very highly correlated ($r = .80$ for luxury brands, $r = .73$ for non-luxury brands), we collapsed these into a single measure of brand positivity for each of the luxury and non-luxury brands.

Hierarchical regression was used to test our hypothesis; we included the control variables in step 1 and the Authentic and Hubristic Pride scales in step 2. This is the most conservative test, as it leaves a lower amount of variance in brand positivity left for the pride measures to explain, forcing them to explain variance above and beyond that predicted by the control measures. Results showed that while trait authentic pride was positively related to luxury brand positivity ($B = .15$, $SE = .07$, $p = .04$), the relationship between trait hubristic pride and luxury brand positivity was not significant ($B = -.07$, $SE = .07$, $p > .34$). When the brands were non-luxury, however, the relationship between authentic pride and brand positivity was reduced to non-significance ($B = .04$, $SE = 0.7$, $p > .53$), and again there was no relationship between hubristic pride and brand positivity ($B = -.04$, $SE = .06$, $p > .64$).

Study 2 supported H4B, as dispositional authentic pride was more strongly associated with a desire to purchase and liking of luxury brands than hubristic pride. Importantly, this form of pride was not associated with a general increase in the desire to acquire, but was more narrowly predictive of the consumption

of brands that enhance one's social status and superiority. Hubristic pride was not significantly related to a desire to acquire either luxury or non-luxury brands, consistent with the suggestion that people who chronically experience this form of pride do not necessarily seek out luxury goods—perhaps because they do not feel licensed to do so—even though this is the emotion that results from their consumption.

As a robustness check, we conceptually replicated the findings of study 2 in a separate sample of 235 undergraduates. Participants first completed measures of trait authentic and hubristic pride. They were also asked to indicate their favorite luxury brand as well as their favorite non-luxury brand, followed by a filler task in which they listed any childhood pets' names and described the geography of their state (Berger & Shiv, 2011). Lastly we assessed participants' desire to purchase from each of two brands they listed. Results showed that while authentic pride was positively related to a desire to purchase luxury brands ($B = .31$, $SE = .14$, $p = .03$), the relationship between trait hubristic pride and a desire to acquire luxury brands was not significant ($B = .08$, $SE = .12$, $p > .50$). When the brands were non-luxury, however, no significant relationship between authentic pride and a desire to purchase emerged ($B = .03$, $SE = .11$, $p > .78$), and again there was no relationship between hubristic pride and a desire to purchase ($B = .04$, $SE = .10$, $p > .65$). We acknowledge that the approach used in this replication—asking participants to supply names for luxury and non-luxury brands—has advantages and disadvantages. On one hand, it eliminates any heterogeneity in consumers' preconceived notions or past experience with any given brand. On the other, it also means that individuals may be making their judgments on brands that differ on additional dimensions besides luxuriousness. We acknowledge that the term "favorite", while necessary in this paradigm, may have colored the results, in that the brands were self-selected for high favorability in attitude. Note this is not a limitation of study 2.

Together, the results of study 2 and the conceptual replication suggest that dispositional (trait) authentic pride is associated with a desire for luxury brands vs. non-luxury equivalent from the same product category, perhaps as a result of licensing. A conceptual model of our findings to this point is shown in Fig. 3. Although using different conceptualizations of luxury goods gives us confidence in the robustness of this effect, the studies conducted thus far still rely (as does any trait measure) on correlation. Accordingly, we experimentally manipulated each facet of pride in study 3, allowing us to draw stronger causal inferences.

Study 3A

Method

Participants, procedure, and measures

92 undergraduate students (70% female) from a large US Midwestern university participated in the study in exchange for partial course credit.

Participants completed measures of trait authentic and hubristic pride; reliabilities were $\alpha = .91$ (authentic) and $\alpha = .94$ (hubristic).

They were also asked to indicate their favorite luxury brand as well as their favorite non-luxury brand, and to rate their desire to purchase each (1 = very low, 7 = very high). Following these tasks, participants completed several filler measures.

After the filler tasks, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: authentic, hubristic, or control. Participation here involved completing a two-part survey. Part one contained the pride manipulation. To manipulate state levels of either authentic or hubristic pride, we again used a story paradigm (Strack, Schwarz, & Gschneidinger, 1985) under the guise of a “creative writing” task. Participants wrote a brief story involving themselves and were asked to use four words taken from the pride scales, either “snobbish, conceited, arrogant, and smug” (hubristic pride condition) or “successful, confident, fulfilled, and productive” (authentic pride condition). A pretest of this manipulation in a separate, equally sized sample using the three remaining items as a manipulation check confirmed that the correct facet of pride was effectively activated by this manipulation (both $ps < .03$), and that the remaining three item scales had acceptable reliability (α s were .87 and .90 for authentic and hubristic, respectively). Those in the control condition wrote about the words “pen, table, car, and box”.

Lastly, participants were then asked to again indicate their desire to purchase each of the luxury and non-luxury brands they rated previously.

Results and discussion

An ANOVA revealed a difference between the three conditions on desire to purchase the luxury brand following the prime, $F(2, 87) = 3.19, p < .05$. Those primed with authentic pride reported a greater desire to purchase ($M = 5.26, SD = 1.71$) than those primed with hubristic pride ($M = 3.96, SD = 2.07, F(1, 87) = 6.50, p = .01$). The control condition fell between the two means ($M = 4.58, SD = 2.03$), directionally lower than the authentic condition $F(1, 87) = 2.13, p = .16$ and above the hubristic $F(1, 87) = 1.49, p = .23$. On the other hand, for the non-luxury brand, there were no differences between the conditions $F(1, 86) = .31, p = .89$ (control: $M = 5.06,$

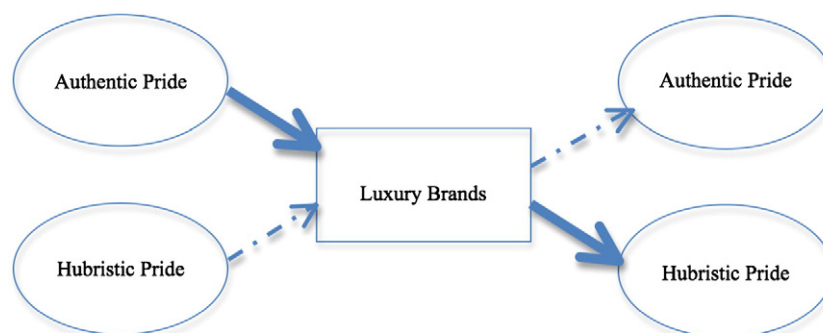
$SD = 1.46$; hubristic: $M = 5.27, SD = 1.66$; authentic: $M = 5.16, SD = 1.62$, see Fig. 4).

Robustness analysis

Despite random assignment, we conducted the same analysis controlling for trait levels of authentic and hubristic pride to ensure that effects could not be attributed to any differences in trait pride between groups. Results held, with an overall effect of emotion condition, $F(2, 84) = 2.95, p < .06$. Neither trait-pride facet was a significant covariate in the model (both $ps > .30$). The key contrasts remain unchanged (hubristic vs. authentic, $F(1, 84) = 6.24, p = .01$; authentic vs. control $F(1, 84) = 2.19, p = .14$; hubristic vs. control $F(1, 84) = 1.20, p = .28$).

We also ran these analyses controlling for time 1 brand evaluations, to test whether the pride manipulation led to a change in these evaluations. Although the omnibus test fell slightly short of reaching significance, $F(2, 86) = 2.18, p = .12$, the key contrasts were all stronger; hubristic vs. authentic, $F(1, 86) = 20.88, p < .001$, authentic vs. control, $F(1, 86) = 7.31, p < .01$, and hubristic vs. control, $F(1, 86) = 4.03, p < .05$.

Study 3 provides causal evidence that authentic, but not hubristic, pride increases people’s desire to purchase luxury brands, and thus provides further support for H4B. We also replicated this finding conceptually in a separate study ($N = 84$) using a 2(state pride: authentic vs. hubristic) $\times$ 2(brand: luxury vs. non-luxury) design. In this study, participants were primed with authentic or hubristic pride and then were provided Prada or Suntec sunglasses (gender matched) to try on privately and then rate their attitude towards the product. We used four seven-point bipolar items ($-3 =$ bad, negative, unfavorable, disliking, $+3 =$ good, positive, favorable, liking), $\alpha = .94$. Due to a clerical error and this study being run at a different point in time during the research program, desire to purchase items was not included in the study package. However, the similarity between these two constructs in this domain was documented in study 2. We found a pride $\times$ brand interaction, $F(1, 79) = 6.09, p = .02$.



Dashed lines represent non-significant pathways.

Fig. 3. Conceptual model.

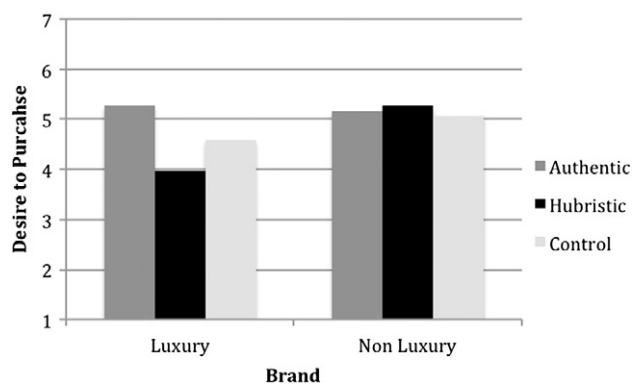


Fig. 4. Study 3A. Desire to purchase as a function of pride and brand luxuriousness.

Planned contrasts revealed that, as expected, participants primed with authentic pride demonstrated more favorable attitudes towards the luxury ($M = 1.30$, $SD = 1.34$) than the non-luxury brand ($M = -.23$, $SD = 1.22$, $F(1, 83) = 9.12$, $p = .001$), but in the hubristic condition there was no difference between the luxury ($M = .30$, $SD = 2.03$) and non-luxury brand attitudes ($M = .51$, $SD = 1.58$), $F < 1$. Further, the luxury brand was rated more favorably by those primed with authentic pride than those primed with hubristic pride $F(1, 83) = 4.33$, $p = .04$. The entirely private setting of this study also rules out any effects that social presence might have on our findings.

In our next study, we ask the question of *why* authentic pride can increase the desire for luxury goods. In our rationale for H4B, we argued that feeling authentic pride indicates that one has legitimate accomplishments and, hence, people experiencing this form of pride interpret luxury good acquisition as a reward for their accomplishments, and feel licensed to purchase these products. Study 3B tests this conjecture.

Study 3B

Method

Participants and procedure

123 undergraduate business students (54 male, 67 female, 2 not reporting) from a large US Midwestern university participated in the study in exchange for \$10. The study utilized a 3(state pride: authentic vs. hubristic vs. control) $\times$ 2(store: luxury vs. non-luxury) between subjects experimental design.

Participation involved completing a two-part survey. Participants were invited individually into the lab to complete two ostensibly unrelated surveys. Part one contained the pride manipulation. We again used the “creative writing” guise, although this time participants wrote about a time they felt either snobbish or accomplished (the two items showing the highest factor loadings for hubristic and authentic pride, respectively; see Tracy & Robins, 2007). In the control condition, participants wrote about the geography of their state. We pretested this manipulation in a separate sample ($N = 117$). Results showed that those primed with authentic pride felt greater authentic pride than participants in either the hubristic or control conditions, and the hubristic prime

resulted in greater feelings of hubristic pride than either the authentic or control conditions; all ps were $< .001$).

In a separate booklet, participants were presented with the retail brand manipulation and dependent measures of interest. In the luxury retailer condition, participants were told that they were going to be asked questions about Neiman Marcus, and were presented with the company logo in large font on a separate page. In the non-luxury retailer condition, the store was JC Penney. Both are anchor tenants at malls nearby where the study was conducted. Pretesting ($N = 39$) showed that Neiman Marcus was seen as more luxurious ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.26$) than JC Penney ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.36$; $t(37) = 5.61$, $p < .001$) using the same two items used to test luxuriousness in study 1B ($r = .90$).

Measures

We assessed participants’ desire to shop at the retail store with the item “Please rate your desire to purchase from this retailer” (1 = very low, 7 = very high). Next, to measure the process we expected to underlie the authentic pride-luxury good consumption effect, we assessed whether shopping at the store was perceived as a reward, with the item: “Shopping here would be a nice reward for hard work and achievement” (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). We also assessed the extent to which participants believed shopping at the store to signify achievement vs. snobbery with three items: “Right now, I think of this store as: 1 = A reward for myself, Signal of achievement, Something for others to notice, 7 = Showing off to others, Signal of superiority, Something for myself to enjoy,” last item reverse coded, $\alpha = .67$.

Results and discussion

Dependent measure

An ANOVA supported the predicted pride $\times$ brand interaction $F(2, 117) = 5.18$, $p < .01$. Planned contrasts revealed that those primed with authentic pride showed greater desire to purchase from the luxury retailer ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 2.04$) than the non-luxury one ($M = 2.73$, $SD = 1.22$, $F(1, 117) = 8.25$, $p < .01$), but those primed with hubristic pride showed no significant difference (luxury: $M = 3.16$, $SD = 1.89$; non-luxury: $M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.64$, $F(1, 117) = 1.43$, $p > .23$), nor did those in the control condition (luxury: $M = 3.55$, $SD = 1.92$; non-luxury: $M = 4.04$, $SD = 2.06$, $F(1, 117) = .77$, $p > .38$). Comparing the means a different way provides further support for H4B; participants showed a greater desire to purchase from the luxury retailer when primed with authentic pride than when primed with either hubristic pride, $F(1, 117) = 5.25$, $p = .02$, or the control, $F(1, 117) = 4.10$, $p < .05$. Participants showed a marginally lower desire to purchase from the non-luxury retailer in the authentic as compared to hubristic condition, $F(1, 117) = 3.36$, $p = .07$, and a significantly lower desire compared to the control condition, $F(1, 117) = 4.77$, $p = .03$. These results fully replicated study 3A, see Fig. 5.

Process measures

We next examined whether shopping at the retailer was seen as a reward for accomplishment and found a main effect of

brand, $F(1, 117) = 18.03, p < .001$, with luxury brands seen as a greater reward than non-luxury brands. However, this effect was qualified by the predicted brand $\times$ pride interaction $F(2, 117) = 3.91, p = .02$.

When primed with authentic pride, the luxury brand was seen as more of a reward ($M = 5.23, SD = 1.41$) than the non-luxury brand ($M = 2.73, SD = 1.22, F(1, 117) = 19.80, p < .001$). However, this relationship was attenuated in both the hubristic pride (luxury: $M = 4.37, SD = 1.83$; non-luxury: $M = 3.36, SD = 1.56, F(1, 117) = 3.59, p = .06$), and control conditions (luxury: $M = 4.55, SD = 1.87$; non-luxury: $M = 4.13, SD = 1.96, F(1, 117) = .68, p > .41$), and both of these differences were significantly smaller than that in the authentic condition (both $ps < .04$ (“a” pathway, $B = 1.87, SE = .82, p = .02$). Further, the extent to which the shopping at the retailer was seen as a reward strongly predicted desire to purchase (“b” pathway, $B = .63, SE = .08, p < .001$). Mediation analysis using MODMED (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007) confirmed that perceptions of reward mediated the relationship between the manipulated factors and heightened desire to purchase (95% CIs: $-1.24, -.43, p < .001$ (authentic), $-1.67, -.37, p < .01$ (hubristic) and $-1.26, .03, p = .09$ (control)). As would be expected from the pattern of means, desire to purchase and the reward measure were highly correlated ($r = .54, p < .001$) suggesting that the more the retailer was viewed as a place of accomplishment (vs. arrogance), the more participants’ desire to shop there.

We also examined scores on the index for those in the luxury brand condition. As expected, Neiman Marcus was seen more as a reward in the authentic ($M = 4.33, SD = .98$) than hubristic condition ($M = 3.57, SD = 1.34, F(1, 115) = 4.90, p = .03$) or the control condition ($M = 4.20, SD = 1.76, F(1, 115) = 2.96, p < .09$). However, no differences were found for the non-luxury retailer (hubristic: $M = 3.29, SD = .88$; authentic: $M = 2.98, SD = .88$, control: $M = 3.32, SD = .87, Fs$ all < 1). In addition, those primed with hubristic pride inferred greater snobbery from the luxury brand than the non-luxury one $F(1, 115) = 7.71, p < .01$, as did those in the control condition $F(1, 115) = 5.76, p < .02$, but, as expected, this relationship was not present in the authentic condition $F(1, 115) = 2.27, p > .13$.

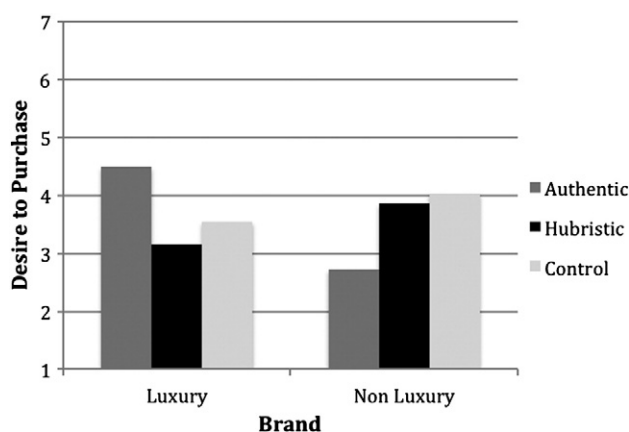


Fig. 5. Study 3B. Desire to purchase as a function of pride and brand luxuriousness.

Providing further support for our account of the process underlying the effect of authentic pride on the desire to purchase luxury goods, this index was negatively correlated with the desire to purchase measure ($r = -.26, p < .01$), suggesting that the more participants viewed the retailer as a place of accomplishment (vs. arrogance), the more desirous they were of shopping there.

Study 3B results replicate those of 3A and provide evidence for the mechanism that underlies the effects of the two forms of pride on the motivation to acquire luxury brands. Participants primed to feel hubristic pride reported desiring the luxury shopping experience as a means to elevate themselves above others, whereas those primed to feel authentic pride viewed the identical experience as a reward for achievement and success, relatively speaking. Furthermore, the belief that luxury shopping was a reward for achievement mediated the effect of authentic pride on the desire to purchase luxury brands, supporting our expectation that a feeling of licensing or deservedness accounts for this effect. This idea is also supported by the negative relationship between hubristic pride and desire to purchase luxuries. While generally only directional in our studies, it is consistent with a licensing story, similar to those showing that people who exhibit unethical behavior are more likely to act prosocially in a subsequent situation (e.g., Mulder & Aquino, 2013; Sachdeva et al., 2009). Perhaps feeling hubristic pride creates emotional ambivalence by also eliciting shame (which is positively correlated with hubristic pride; Tracy & Robins, 2007), making people more reticent to consume luxury brands. Of course, this explanation is speculative and future research is needed to test its validity.

In our final studies, we examine trait narcissism as a possible moderator of the effects found in our previous studies. Specifically, we tested whether narcissism moderates the effect of different types pride on the desire to purchase luxury brands (study 3) and type of pride that results from their consumption (study 1).

Luxury goods carry an association (presumably among several) of snobbery and social superiority, both of which are components of hubristic pride. While we demonstrate this in study 1B, we also validated this assumption in a separate sample ($N = 150$) from Amazon mTurk where we asked participants two open ended questions: “Louis Vuitton, Hermes, Rolex, Chanel, and Gucci are examples of luxury brands. When you think about products that are luxury brands, what words come to mind?” The brands were chosen from Millward Brown luxury brand rankings, which commonly list all of these brands in the top 7 most valuable worldwide. Participants were required to list a minimum of five and a maximum of eight words. The second question read, “When you think about the typical consumer who purchases luxury brands, what words come to mind?” Three coders examined each of the sets of words to code them for hubristic pride (snobbish and its close synonyms). We used the most conservative test of including only words all three agreed upon. For the brands, “snobby” was the fourth most common association (following “expensive”/“rich”, “quality”, and “unnecessary”). Results revealed that “snobby” was the second most common inference drawn about the consumers of luxury brands (following only “rich”/“wealthy”). This confirms that luxury brands, and especially consumers of them, are associated with hubristic pride. On the

other hand, mentions of authentic pride words were virtually absent. Of the 7 items on each of the Authentic and Hubristic Pride scales, there were mentions of six of the seven hubristic words (only “smug” was absent), but only one of the authentic words (“successful”), with the former appearing at a rate of more than 10 times the latter ($n = 70$ vs. $n = 6$). In study 1B we showed that people who are perceived by others as feeling hubristic pride (as a result of luxury brand consumption) are evaluated less favorably (see also Cheng et al., 2010). Since people evaluate those who they believe are experiencing this form of pride unfavorably, we argued that knowing this should weaken the effect of hubristic pride as a motivator of luxury brand consumption. In contrast, we proposed that feelings of accomplishment, (associated with authentic pride), will increase the desire to purchase luxury brands. Studies 2 and 3 supported our reasoning.

These findings raise the question, though, about whether there are boundary conditions to the effects we report. For instance, do all consumers need to feel authentic pride more so than its less socially desirable counterpart of hubristic pride before they will purchase luxury brands? Also, are there some consumers for whom the appeal of luxury brands can be sustained in the absence of genuine feelings of accomplishment and even when they feel high levels of hubristic pride? Finally, might luxury brand consumption have a negligible effect on feelings of hubristic pride for some consumers? To answer these questions, we test the possibility that a particular type of consumer, namely one who is highly narcissistic, might experience the effects of luxury brand consumption differently than non-narcissists.

Raskin and Terry (1988) defined narcissism as “self-definition that is characterized by tendencies toward grandiose ideas, exhibitionism, and defensiveness in response to criticism; interpersonal relationships that are characterized by feelings of entitlement, exploitativeness, and a lack of empathy” (p. 896). Starting first with the consequence side of our effects, we demonstrated in study 1A that hubristic more so than authentic pride appears to result from consuming luxury brands. However, it has been shown (Tracy & Robins, 2007) that narcissists are generally more prone to feeling hubristic pride than non-narcissists. Since narcissists are already high in hubristic pride, it may be that they experience little additional increase in hubristic pride as a result of consuming luxury brands. In other words, luxury brand usage would be superfluous as a source for elevating already heightened levels of hubristic emotion. On the other hand, hubristic pride is form of pride that as less often felt by non-narcissists and so, for them, luxury brand consumption can produce a more subjectively discernable boost in this form of pride. Formally, we propose the following hypothesis to test this prediction:

H5. Compared to narcissists, non-narcissists narcissism will experience a larger increase in hubristic pride from consuming luxury brands; however, feelings of authentic pride will not be affected by brand or narcissism.

On the antecedent side, there are reasons to expect narcissism to moderate the effects we documented in our previous studies. Specifically, we expect that the type of pride felt will be less important for consumers high in narcissism, as

the associations luxury brands carry should have different consequences for this group. It has been shown that narcissists are motivated to acquire luxurious brands that allow them to display their superiority and draw attention to themselves (Twenge & Campbell, 2009). Others have found that narcissists express their high self-regard through heightened materialism and an enhanced desire for expensive products (Kasser & Ryan, 1996, Rose, 2007). Moreover, we noted above that narcissists are generally more prone to feeling hubristic pride than non-narcissists. We add to this observation the possibility that hubristic pride is not likely to be considered an undesirable experience by narcissists, and may even be enjoyed by them. Thus, the possibility that consuming luxury brands will generate these emotions can actually be a source of motivation for narcissists to consume these brands, rather than a reason to refrain from purchasing them. In contrast, non-narcissists might find the social and personal ramifications of experiencing hubristic pride unappealing and, as we showed in study 1B, people seem to recognize that this it is the type of pride most likely to be elicited by luxury brand consumption. For these reasons, we hypothesize that non-narcissists would generally prefer to avoid consuming products like luxury brands that carry associations of grandiosity, social superiority, and self-absorption if they feel heightened hubristic pride. However, when their pride is based on actual accomplishment and takes the authentic form, non-narcissists might be motivated to consume luxury brands as a justifiable reward for their achievements. If our reasoning is valid, then it follows that the authentic form of pride should motivate consumption of luxury brands equally for both for narcissists and non-narcissists. But while narcissists’ motivation to consume luxury brands will be unchanged when they experience the hubristic form of pride, feeling hubristic pride will discourage such consumption among non-narcissists.

H6. Feeling authentic pride will increase the desire to purchase luxury brands among non-narcissists more than feeling hubristic pride, but type of pride will have little effect on the desire to purchase luxury brands among narcissists.

The final two studies test hypotheses H5 and H6; specifically study 4A will test H5, while study 4 will test H6.

Study 4A

Method

Participants and procedure

114 participants Midwestern US business school’s subject pool completed the study. Due to a programming error, demographics were not collected.

Participation involved completing a brief survey that utilized a single factor (brand: luxury vs. non-luxury) between subjects design, plus narcissism as a measured variable. Study procedures followed exactly the public condition of study 1A. Following the pride measure, participants then were instructed to complete a filler task before the scale measuring narcissism was administered.

Measures

Manipulation checks

To test the efficacy of the luxury manipulation we again had two independent coders rate each story and code the luxuriousness of the brand written about (1 = not at all, 7 = very much), whose scores were averaged ($r = .84$) to form an index.

Narcissism

To assess trait narcissism, we used the standard 16-item short Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI) (Ames, Rose, & Anderson, 2006) measure, $\alpha = .76$. We classify participants below as (non-)narcissists based on the point estimated 1 SD above and below the sample mean. Although the NPI is based off of the DSM clinical criteria, it is intended to measure narcissistic traits in the general population, so it would be inaccurate to claim those who score highly on the measure suffer from narcissistic personality disorder.

Dependent measure

We assessed how much pride participants felt using the same seven-item Authentic and Hubristic Pride scales used in study 1. Reliabilities were $\alpha = .92$ and $\alpha = .94$ for authentic and hubristic pride, respectively, which were correlated at $r = -.04$, $p > .65$.

Results and discussion

Manipulation checks

Confirming the efficacy of the manipulation, those who were instructed to write about a luxury brand wrote stories about brands that were coded as higher on luxuriousness ($M = 5.55$, $SD = .84$) than those who wrote about a non-luxury brand ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 1.17$) $F(1, 112) = 250.27$, $p < .001$. There were no effects of either narcissism or a narcissism $\times$ condition interaction on luxuriousness (both $ps > .56$).

Dependent measures

Regression analysis was used to test H5. Main effects of brand condition (contrast coded) and NPI were mean centered before creating the interaction term, all of which were regressed on each form of pride. For hubristic pride, results revealed a main effect of condition ($B = 3.29$, $SE = .90$, $p < .001$ —with participants feeling more hubristic pride when writing about a luxury brand), as well as directional effect of NPI ($B = .065$, $SE = .04$, $p = .114$ —narcissists felt more hubristic pride generally), but importantly also the predicted condition $\times$ NPI interaction ($B = -.127$, $SE = .04$, $p = .002$). Spotlight analyses revealed that, as expected, for non-narcissists, the effect of condition was significant, such that these individuals experienced more hubristic pride from experiencing luxury (vs. non) brands ($B = .90$, $SE = .18$, $p < .001$); but for narcissists the manipulation had no effect ($B = .13$, $SE = .18$, $p > .48$). As expected, for authentic pride, there were no effects of brand condition, NPI, or their interaction. These findings are depicted in Fig. 6 and support H5.

The results of study 4A show that trait narcissism moderates the effects of brand (luxury vs. non-luxury) on hubristic, but not authentic, pride. This supports the notion that narcissists generally feel more hubristic pride, thus non-narcissists feel it more strongly as a result of experiencing luxury goods. We suggest that the negative associations (i.e., hubristic pride such as arrogance) that luxury goods and their consumers carry (albeit, among some positive ones) are responsible for the negative feelings that result in non-narcissists. It is plausible that narcissists either (a) do not share these associations, or (b) are aware of them but do not mind. We discuss this more in the discussion below. Our final study tests H6, which examines pride as an antecedent to consumption, but also moderated by narcissism.

Study 4B

Method

Participants and procedure

201 participants (137 male, 63 female, 1 not reporting) from Amazon Mechanical Turk participated in the study in exchange for monetary compensation. The study utilized a one-factor 2(state pride: authentic vs. hubristic) between subjects experimental design, plus narcissism as a measured trait variable.

Participation involved completing an online survey. Participants first completed the pride manipulation similar to that in study 3B; they wrote about a time they felt either snobbish or accomplished (but not the other). Following the manipulation we assessed participants desire for (non-)luxury brands. Finally, participants completed a measure of narcissism.

Measures

We assessed participants' relative desire purchase luxury brands with two items. Participants read, "Now please imagine a branded product that you would like to purchase right now", followed by: "This product would be a luxury brand" (1 = not at all a luxury brand, 7 = very much a luxury brand), and "The product I desire to purchase is: (1 = a non-luxury brand, 7 = a luxury brand)", $r = .95$. The same scale was used to assess NPI as study 4A, $\alpha = .79$.

Results

Dependent measure

Regression was again used to test the hypotheses. Contrast coding (for condition) and mean centering (for NPI) were again employed before creating the interaction term, all of which were regressed on brand luxuriousness. Results revealed a main effect of NPI ($B = .15$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$ —narcissists preferred more luxury), as well as the predicted condition $\times$ NPI interaction ($B = .08$, $SE = .04$, $p = .05$). Spotlight analysis revealed that for non-narcissists, the effect of the pride manipulation was significant (authentic pride resulted in a desire for more of a luxury brand than hubristic pride) ($B = -.43$, $SE = .21$, $p = .04$), while those high in narcissism showed no such effect ($B = .15$, $SE = .20$, $p > .47$). The pattern (see Fig. 7)

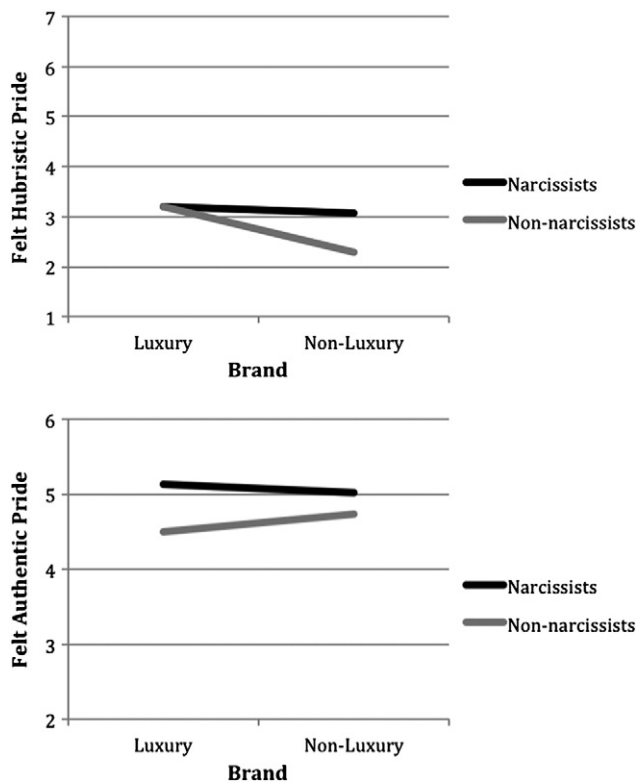


Fig. 6. Study 4A. Felt Pride By Condition and Narcissism.

supported H6 and our suggestion that authentic pride heightens desire to purchase luxury brands among non-narcissists, but not narcissists. Again, this is consistent with both the generally higher desire narcissists have for luxury goods, and the justification needed for non-narcissists to purchase them in light of the negatives associated with their acquisition and display.

General discussion

Contributions

Recent work in social psychology has greatly increased our understanding of pride, but until now consumer research has yet to adopt a multifaceted view of pride. In our studies, we adopt this conceptualization of pride and by doing so make several novel contributions to the consumer psychology literature. First, ours is the first empirical effort of which we are aware that treats pride as a two-faceted construct in consumer research. We found that the two facets of pride are activated differentially by consuming brands that are or are not emblematic of status and luxury. Second, we document that consumers are motivated to purchase luxury brands by a different kind of pride than what they experience from consuming these brands. Specifically, while heightened authentic pride drives purchases, consumers feel heightened hubristic pride following consumption. Fourth, we show that this effect is moderated by narcissism.

Equally important is how the findings of the paper contribute to the literature on pride itself. That authentic pride

motivates luxury consumption but hubristic pride is the response is somewhat ironic—the adaptive form of pride (authentic) has an effect that ends up being maladaptive at times. This is an important contribution since we know of no prior study that has shown *any* negative effect of authentic pride, whereas studies have found hubristic pride to be problematic for relationships, mental health, and social behavior (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012; Tracy et al., 2009). Theoretically, our finding implies that the two forms of pride, which we know from other work are independent, are in fact related but through a causal chain in which feeling authentic pride can lead people to consume products that produce hubristic pride. Luxury goods, given their dual associations with indulgence as well as snobbery, represents unique context in which this novel relationship between the two forms of pride can be revealed.

This research is also the first to show that the independent activation of authentic and hubristic pride states can influence consumption choices. We are aware of only one other study that has effectively induced distinct state experiences of authentic and hubristic pride (Ashton-James & Tracy, 2012), and we know of no other research that has shown these state emotional experiences to be predictive of consumer choices or behavior. Finally, we document that although authentic pride motivates luxury purchases, others infer that those who complete such purchases in fact feel greater hubristic pride. This is the first evidence to suggest that people's inferences of others' pride experiences are shaped by their consumption preferences. In light of concerns in several scientific fields about the robustness of effects, we replicated each of our findings repeatedly, lending confidence to the predictive power of our framework.

A reader might ask then whether authentic pride increases *any* indulgent choice, or why luxury brands are a special case of consumption. One way to answer this question is as follows: Past work has indeed demonstrated that pride associated with accomplishment (authentic pride) increases indulgent choice (e.g., French fries and entertainment gift certificates, see Wilcox et al., 2011). We surmise that, at least on the antecedent side, luxury brands might not be a "special" case. On the other hand, if we call attention to the consequence side, should eating French fries increase hubristic pride? We see no reasoning in the literature why

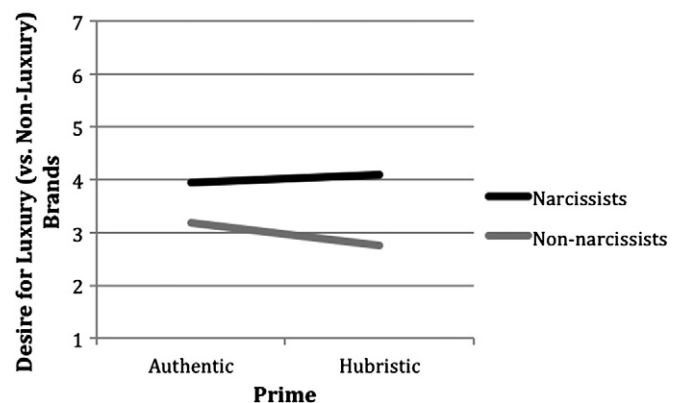


Fig. 7. Study 4B. Desire for (non) luxury brands by condition and narcissism.

this should also be true. Thus, luxury brands are a unique, marketing-relevant class of goods where the same choice can affect and be affected by different components of pride.

Implications and future research

Our findings have several implications. Just as one can be proud of a promotion, a child's graduation, a well-kept garden, or a first new car, he or she can also feel pride from wearing an expensive watch. Understanding how the different facets of pride are activated by these different situations is important when targeting marketing communications to consumers. Specifically, we show that when a consumer is made to feel authentic pride, he or she exhibits a heightened desire to purchase luxury brands. On the other hand, no such relationship was found for hubristic pride. Given that the demand for luxury brands is growing, and several brands have positioned their brand or certain offerings "upmarket" recently (e.g., Nestle introduced "Heaven" super-premium chocolate and Acura eliminated its lower-priced models), these findings lead to the question of what factors in the environment might activate the more authentic form of pride that motivates such purchases. For marketers interested in inducing consumers to purchase high-margin brands, identifying ways of evoking this facet of pride rather than its hubristic counterpart would seem to be a useful strategy for motivating demand. Indeed, some seem to already be doing this to some degree. For example, Rolex's "A crown for every achievement" campaign explicitly plays to a sense of authentic pride, while Michael Kors and Versace have run ads contrasting its protagonists with lower-status professions like laborers and valets. However, as past research shows, making consumers aware of how marketers' tactics can influence buying behavior can lead them to make corrections that may be self-beneficial (Campbell & Kirmani, 2000).

Our studies provide the first evidence of which we are aware that people's inferences of others' pride experiences are shaped by the observed party's consumption preferences. A novel finding from our data is that consumers who surround themselves with luxury brands are perceived as experiencing greater hubristic pride, and consequently as being less prosocial compared to those who are perceived as preferring non-luxury equivalents of the same product. One possible explanation for these findings stems from previous evidence of a link between hubristic pride and dysfunctional interpersonal relationships and anti-social behaviors (Tracy et al., 2009). It may be that inferences of others' hubristic pride are based on past experiences with individuals who have experienced or expressed this form of pride, and displayed undesirable social qualities. Such an inference may be reasonable, as studies show that hubristic pride is consistently and negatively related to the two prosocial traits of Agreeableness and Conscientiousness, and positively to traits such as aggressiveness, manipulateness, and a tendency to use coercive tactics to get one's way (Cheng et al., 2010; Tracy & Robins, 2007; Tracy et al., 2009). On the other hand, the absence of the prosocial qualities assessed in the present research does not necessarily make a person socially undesirable. It may be that for some observers, a consumer who is thought to experience hubristic pride may also be seen as possessing desirable qualities such as assertiveness,

power, autonomy, or approach motivation (Carver et al., 2010; Cheng et al., 2010). Future studies should examine this possibility. It is also noteworthy that luxury consumption did not *decrease* observers' perceptions that the consumer possessed authentic pride. These inferences also might be partly influenced by the lack of context provided about the purchases in this study. For example, if it were known that a fellow consumer purchased her Gucci bag on the occasion of her graduation, we would expect lower inferences of hubristic pride than if the same bag were purchased on a more mundane shopping trip.

One interesting implication of our findings regarding observer perceptions of pride is that, although some people might enjoy experiencing hubristic pride from their consumption choices, they may nonetheless suffer negative evaluations from others as a result. This does not negate the fact that hubristic pride might be satisfying *to the consumer*, and it is possible that the positive feelings from luxury consumption outweigh the negative feelings experienced from others' reactions. Although consumers feeling pride make choices because they seek positive differentiation (Griskevicius et al., 2010), they may be miscalibrating what exactly constitutes *positive* differentiation is in the eyes of others. Consumers may believe that most observers will evaluate them positively as a result of their luxury brand consumption, and this (at least somewhat misguided) belief is what motivates them to acquire and use such brands. Such a possibility would not be surprising given that substantial research shows that people are notoriously poor at forecasting others' judgments of themselves across several domains (e.g., Griffin & Ross, 1991). For example, perhaps the central inferences people make when they have a desire to purchase luxury goods personally (e.g., "I deserve it") may differ from those they make of others who exercise similar market choices (e.g., "What arrogance!"). However, there is also another possibility. It is conceivable that consumers understand that others will perceive their luxury purchases as indicating that they are high in hubristic pride and anti-social, but in fact want to convey this impression or generate envy among others. Research shows that such a signal may be an effective tool for gaining power and social influence, even though it may cost the signaler liking and social acceptance (Cheng, Tracy, Foulsham, Kingstone, & Henrich, 2013; Cheng et al., 2010). Future studies should test these possibilities.

One limitation of our research is that pride was manipulated or measured close in time to consumption intentions. Understanding the temporal duration of the pride effects we identified would be an important next step. Finally, the roles of brand prominence and counterfeiting should be examined. How might a "loud" vs. subtle brand signal (e.g., Han, Nunes, & Drèze, 2010) affect our findings? One possibility is that authentic pride increases preferences for subtle signals. The same could hold with regard to counterfeits; perhaps those feeling authentic pride would prefer a genuine good to a larger degree as the signal is to the self of a sense of accomplishment rather than an external display. The answers to these and other questions remain for future research.

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2014.03.004>.

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