Me, My Self, and Emotion: Identity-Consistent Emotions and Consumption

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This research examines the connections between emotion and social identity. Specifically, this project theorizes that identities are associated with discrete emotions, and that these associations give rise to *emotion profiles* that describe appropriate emotional experiences for individuals with that active identity. The results establish that social identities have associations to specific emotions and that these associations differ between identities. Experiencing emotions consistent with the identity’s emotion profile enhances persuasion, even for identity-unrelated products and advertisements. Further experiments investigate whether individuals engage in emotion regulation to reduce (enhance) their experience of emotions which are inconsistent (consistent) with the identity’s emotion profile. Finally, consequences for the framing and positioning of identity-relevant products are drawn.
“A man who is master of himself can end a sorrow as easily as he can invent a pleasure. I don’t want to be at the mercy of my emotions. I want to use them, to enjoy them, and to dominate them.” Oscar Wilde (1992, 88)

When do people want to change their emotional experience? While the consumer behavior literature has typically treated consumers as passive experiencers of emotion—emotion is induced in the individual, from which a series of downstream events occur—there is substantial evidence that people can and do manage their ongoing emotional experiences (Andrade and Cohen 2007; Gross and Thompson 2007). Known as emotion regulation, this is the self-management process where individuals manipulate either the emotion antecedents or the subjective, physiological, and behavioral elements of the emotional response (Gross 1998). Generally, people try to change their emotions when they feel bad, as when a person eats a chocolate bar after reading a sad story (cf. Study 4: Labroo and Mukhopadhyay 2009).

However, there may be other reasons to experience emotions aside from simply “feeling good.” Emotions do have hedonic components: pleasure, fantasy and fun (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982; Higgins 1997), but emotions are more than just valence—the appraisal dimensions and action readiness tendencies may be leveraged in assistance of other goals. Using emotions to aid performance on another task (e.g., making oneself angry prior to a negotiation in order to get a better outcome) is the idea that emotions also have instrumental value (Tamir 2005), and perhaps individuals will regulate their emotions in order to achieve instrumental benefits—even at the expense of positive feelings (Cohen and Andrade 2004).

Using emotions instrumentally can thus motivate consumers to regulate their emotions. But when, and for what purpose, are emotions used instrumentally? The current work posits that there are associations between discrete emotions and specific social identities, and that
individuals will choose to experience or regulate emotion in order to maintain consistency between the active identity and the emotion experience. In this framework, emotions are integral to manifesting a given social identity, and thus can be used instrumentally to achieve an identity-consistent experience.

The research proposed here describes a model of emotion experience and regulation whereby consumers seek out and manage their emotional experience in order to achieve consistency with the emotion profiles of specific identities. Each component of the theory will be discussed in turn. The core proposition is that social identities have associations to specific emotion states (e.g., athletes are angry), and these emotion profiles prescribe both the consumption and regulation of emotional experiences. The contributions of this paper are threefold: first, a unique motivation for the choice and management of emotional experiences is provided (emotion profiles based upon social identity); second, a gap in the literature on social identity is addressed by implicating emotions in the enactment of the self-concept; finally, implications for the framing and positioning of identity-relevant products are drawn.

**EMOTION REGULATION**

Emotion regulation has been defined as the self-management process by which individuals manipulate either the emotion antecedents or the subjective, physiological and behavioral elements of the emotional response (Gross 1998; Gross and Levenson 1993). Examples of different kinds of emotion regulation may include: shopping for a new outfit after a hard day at work, changing the television channel when a show becomes too graphic, enhancing the expression of one’s sadness when a friend is hurt, and so on. Emotion regulation is such a
common and everyday experience that most undergraduates report doing it at least once a day, and can easily recall an example of such behavior (Gross, Richards, and John 2006). Indeed, we often only take note of emotion regulation when it fails—such as when a child throws a temper tantrum or a friend is not as excited for our good fortune as we had expected. Psychology has become interested in emotion regulation through research on emotion dysregulation: many clinical disorders involve a form of emotion dysregulation (Thoits 1985). As greater insight into emotion regulation failures has emerged, theories about the healthy emotion regulation system have developed, as well as deeper understanding of the psychological processes involved in such self-regulatory practices.

Research has described five distinct emotion regulation strategies, distinguished by the points at which they intervene in the emotion generation process. *Situation selection* is the most forward-looking type of emotion regulation, whereby an individual approaches (avoids) circumstances that would lead to desired (undesired) emotional experiences. Marketing has touched upon this strategy when discussing the consumption of emotion and individuals’ desire to have affect-laden encounters (Holbrook and Hirschman 1982). Once a given situation has been entered, an individual can then engage in *situation modification* where he alters aspects of the emotionally loaded external environment, such as a dieter avoiding the cookie aisle and its accompanying guilt. Within a situation, individuals may shift their attention toward and away from emotional targets, a process of selective *attention deployment*, as when people change the channel when shows become too graphic. Individuals may also alter their internal appraisal of the conditions, such as mentally distancing themselves from upsetting content (Gross 1998). Frequently called *reappraisal*, some forms of this strategy may enhance consumers’ processing of otherwise disturbing material (e.g., protective framing: Andrade and Cohen 2007). Finally, if
emotion regulation did not happen at other points along the elicitation process, an individual may act directly upon the components of an emotional response: physiological, subjective and expressive reactions. Often, response modulation involves hiding or enhancing a facial expression, but may also include self-medicating or other behaviorally-focused actions. This response modulation strategy is typically deemed the least effective type of emotion management, as it seldom changes the experience of emotion (Gross and Levenson 1993) but rather merely hides the internal emotion states from the outside world.

Regardless of the efficacy of each strategy, these are a variety of ways in which an individual may alter the course of an emotional experience. Thus, emotion regulation theories provide a useful framework for understanding how a person may manage their emotions in order to achieve either hedonic or instrumental outcomes. While this perspective describes a variety of strategies about how individuals change emotions, it does not provide an answer to the opening question of when individuals would be motivated to do so. To answer that question, social identity theory, and its rich explanation of behavior change, is needed.

**SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY**

Social identity theory proposes that individuals possess a sense of self (identity) that arises from their awareness of themselves as an individual (personal identity) and from their membership in various social groups (social identity: Tajfel 1982). Individuals rely on their social identity to provide social categorization, self-definition, and behavioral guidance (Markus and Wulf 1987). There are two essential characteristics of social identity that impact its influence on an individual’s behavior: malleability and self-importance. The malleability of social identity
refers to the fact that context can influence which specific identities are actively guiding behavior (Markus and Kunda 1986). An individual has a variety of identities which may be salient at any given time (e.g., sister, student, volunteer, tennis player), but elements in the person’s surroundings may make her more likely to view herself in terms of one social membership over another (e.g. feeling like an athlete in a Nike store, but a student in Barnes & Noble), and this heightened level of identity activation will guide her behavior in identity-congruent manners (Markus and Kunda 1986; Tajfel 1982). In addition to identities varying in salience due to contextual factors, identities can also vary in self-importance or the degree to which an individual associates that identity as part of him- or herself (Reed 2004). Critically, those identities that are more self-important are more likely to guide behavior and define the self than those that are less important (Aquino and Reed 2002).

Social identities are thus mental representations that individuals use to define themselves and, further, to guide behavior (Reed 2004; White and Dahl 2007). It is this component of social identity theory—active identities guide behavior—which makes it particularly relevant and useful in consumer behavior. Recent work has emphasized that individuals can use products to define their identities, and thus consumption acts become one form of self-definition (Escalas and Bettman 2005; Laverie, Kleine, and Kleine 2002). Additionally, consumers not only select products that match their self-image, but also avoid those products that are inconsistent with their self-image (Berger and Heath 2007; White and Dahl 2007).

Research in marketing has highlighted the effect of identity on advertising effectiveness (Forehand and Deshpandé 2001), preference formation (White and Dahl 2007), and consumption (Berger and Heath 2007). These streams emphasize that when an identity is salient, it activates associated attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs—which then influence consumers’ response to
marketing activities. But this area has overlooked whether particular emotions are associated with specific identities, and whether the pursuit of these specific emotions can influence consumption. The next section introduces a new construct to consumer behavior, *emotion profiles*, and describes why social identities may have associations to specific emotions which then guide behavior and consumption.

**EMOTION PROFILES**

Research has demonstrated that emotions can be represented within memory as nodes interconnected with broader associative networks (Bower 1981). Additionally, social identities have been conceptualized as associative networks, with interconnections between the social group and attitudes, behaviors and beliefs (Kleine, Kleine, and Kernan 1993). Bringing these two ideas together, the current research posits that certain emotions are connected to specific social identities. Why might emotions be connected to identities? There are two possible reasons: one, there may be identity “prototypes” which are affiliated with specific discrete emotions (e.g., Ray Lewis is an athlete and is always angry), secondly, certain discrete emotions may have action tendencies (Frijda 1986; Frijda, Kuipers, and ter Schure 1989) which correspond to the goals of that identity (e.g., anger leads to the desire to overcome obstacles and punish others—qualities which may aid athletes during competition). These two ways that emotions are affiliated with identities are not mutually exclusive, and both suggest that specific emotions may be seen as instrumental to the expression of a particular identity, leading to a set of emotional prescriptions or *emotion profiles* associated with that social identity.
For instance, a mother should be warm and caring, but that same woman in the boardroom is expected to be coolly professional and possibly even aggressive (Simpson and Stroh 2004). Notably, conforming to the salient emotion profile enhances enactment of the current identity—a woman who is warm and caring is more “motherly” than one which is aggressive (Smith-Lovin 1990). Being warm enhances a woman’s match with the mother identity both because it is part of the prototypical mother identity (Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick 2001) and because warm emotions may augment feelings of affiliation and care (Smith-Lovin 1990)—key goals for a mother. In this way, conforming to the salient emotion profile is a way in which emotions can be used instrumentally to enhance identity-consistency. Two separate research domains support the associations between identities and emotions and the existence of emotion profiles, whereby an active identity ordains what emotions can or cannot be expressed, and at what intensity (cf. “feeling rules” in Hochschild 1979).

There is evidence supporting identity-emotion associations from social psychology, as cross-cultural research has found differences in the perception (Matsumoto 1993), expression (Markus and Kitayama 1991) and desirability (Triandis 1989; Tsai 2007) of different discrete emotions based on cultural differences in the self-concept. These researchers have theorized and found evidence that the self-concepts associated with various cultures value distinctly different types of affect (Tsai 2007), and that these divergences seem to stem from a desire to conform to specific norms (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Cultural identification is not necessarily a social identity, though it may be so when individuals consider their membership in a national, ethnic, or religious group a component of their self-concept. Importantly, these research streams suggest that emotions are tied to the self, and that these associations create a motivation to conform to or preference for these cultural norms.
For instance, Tsai’s work (2007; Tsai, Knutson, and Fung 2006) has demonstrated that individuals with interdependent self-concepts (emphasis on the self as a member of the community; East Asian cultures) tend to value emotional calm (low arousal positivity) as ideal. In contrast, independent participants’ (emphasis on the self as an autonomous individual; Western cultures) ideal emotional state is one of elation and excitement—high arousal positivity. This research has emphasized that discrepancies between ideal and actual affect are correlated with depression and anxiety (Tsai et al. 2006), as well as lowered general life satisfaction (Suh et al. 1998). In consumer behavior, culturally-based emotion preferences have been connected to message persuasion (Aaker and Lee 2001; Aaker and Williams 1998).

Along with social psychology, organizational behavior and sociology have examined the ability to conform to the emotion norms of a job as a component of workplace success. Hochschild’s seminal work (1983) led the way in understanding that emotion is often central to a worker’s job, particularly in service industries (e.g., flight attendants, salespeople). This area of study has been termed “emotional labor,” as appropriate emotion expression becomes a component of an individual’s job description and execution. Within the emotion labor realm, emotion expression is explicitly seen as instrumental: conforming to an organization’s emotion profile (known as a “feeling rule” in this literature) is essential to job execution. While occupations are not necessarily social identities—though they can be—they do involve constellations of attitudes, beliefs, and actions associated with the occupation. In this way, it may be reasonable to conclude that a parallel exists between the organizationally enforced feeling rules associated with different jobs and emotion profiles associated with specific identities.

Indeed, research in organizational behavior has begun to emphasize the role of “gender identities” in the enactment of emotional labor. For instance, when studying human resource
managers, Simpson and Stroh (2004) suggest that the female gender has an emotion profile promoting the suppression of negative affect and the enhancement of positive affect. In contrast, male emotion profiles suggest suppression of all affect, with the possible exception of negative affect. When individuals are forced to adopt an emotion profile that is inconsistent with their gender (e.g., a woman who must conform to male emotion profiles) a state called emotional dissonance results (Jansz and Timmers 2002). Emotional dissonance is similar to cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957) in that it is a feeling of psychological tension and discomfort, and has motivational characteristics, as the experience of negative tension impels an individual to reduce the discomfort. Because emotional dissonance results from experiencing an emotion that is in violation of an emotion profile, individuals will be motivated to either change the emotion profile or change the emotion. As emotion profiles are associated with identities, and presumably formed through learned norms (Hochschild 1983), changing the profile may be difficult. In contrast, individuals are quite familiar with and adept at changing their emotions: the psychological process known as emotion regulation, described above.

Summary. Emotion regulation theory outlines a variety of strategies consumers may use to select and manage their ongoing emotional experiences. Some emotion regulation strategies are forward-looking, where an individual chooses to enter a situation because it provides the opportunity to experience a desirable emotion. Other strategies influence the current emotional state, allowing an individual to reduce unwanted emotions, or enhance desirable ones. Finally, some strategies simply mask the internal emotional state, providing the external appearance of another emotion—despite a different subjective experience. While all of these strategies provide
tools for a consumer to select and alter their emotions, the emotion regulation literature has little to say about when a person may want to use these self-regulatory procedures.

The framework proposed in the present research suggests that an individual’s identity activates a specific emotion profile: these profiles constrain the set of desirable emotions consistent with that identity. Research from cross-cultural psychology and organizational behavior suggests that emotion profiles are acquired through learned norms (Hochschild 1983), and that conforming to these profiles can enhance the enactment of key roles (Simpson and Stroh 2004). Thus, emotions can be used instrumentally, as inducing or amplifying emotions that conform to an identity’s emotion profile enhances identity consistency. In contrast, if a person experiences an emotion that is inconsistent with the active emotion profile, emotional dissonance results—characterized by negative feelings of discomfort and tension (Jansz and Timmers 2002). This dissonant state motivates the individual to engage in emotion regulation processes to change or reduce the violating emotion, thereby diminishing emotional dissonance. In this way, identities provide a motivating force to engage in emotion regulation.

If emotion profiles exist, the degree to which an individual is experiencing emotions which are consistent or inconsistent with the active emotion profile should have significant consequences for various consumer outcomes. Specifically, when an individual has an active identity, its emotion profile would also be activated, and the individual should thus prefer emotional experiences which are consistent with that emotion profile. So if the person is presented with an opportunity to select between emotional experiences, he or she should choose those options which provide an emotional encounter that conforms to the active identity’s emotion profile. In addition to choice, individuals should also be more persuaded by communications that have an emotional tone that is consistent with the identity’s emotion
profile—in this way, the marketing communication is achieving identity-targeting (White and Dahl 2007) through emotional advertising. Finally, due to the emotional dissonance which arises from experiencing an identity-inconsistent emotion, individuals will be motivated to regulate their emotions in order to achieve or enhance emotion profile-consistency. Thus, if individuals are presented with a product that assists them in these emotion regulation goals, that product should receive higher attitudes and greater levels of consumption than a product which impedes their emotion regulation goals. Thus, the activation of identities and their associated emotion profiles should lead to differences in choice, persuasion, and product preferences.

**EMOTION PROFILES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: STUDIES**

In order to test the proposed framework, two pretests and four studies are described. Specifically, the following hypotheses are investigated: first, that there are associations between specific social identities and discrete emotions, and second, that consistency with the active identity’s emotion profile will lead to enhanced marketing outcomes: more positive attitudes, greater choice, and higher consumption. Once these emotion profiles have been identified, the current framework predicts that there will be differences in outcomes if an individual experiences an emotion that is consistent or inconsistent with their active identity’s emotion profile. In particular, experiencing an emotion profile-consistent emotion will enhance outcomes, such as attitude toward an advertisement and consumption of products that improve emotion profile-consistency. When experiencing an emotion profile-inconsistent emotion, these outcomes will be diminished, leading to lowered persuasion and consumption. Thus, the prediction is an interaction between social identity and emotion experience on attitudes toward an emotional
advertisement and selection of emotional experiences. In addition to the effect of emotion profiles on consumer outcomes, we also predict that individuals will be motivated to engage in emotion regulation based on an identity’s emotion profile. If an individual experiences an emotion profile-consistent emotion, he or she will try to up-regulate or enhance that emotion experience, and would have higher attitudes toward products positioned as enhancing that emotion. In contrast, if an individual experiences an emotion profile-inconsistent emotion, he or she would engage in down-regulation to try and reduce that emotional experience, and would thus have higher attitudes toward products positioned as reducing the emotion.

Over the course of two pretests and three studies, these hypotheses are tested. Pretest 1 uncovers the associations between specific social identities and discrete emotions, identifying a set of emotion profiles. Pretest 2 then looks at how individuals understand these emotion profiles, and whether emotion profile-consistency or inconsistency influences judgments of marketing messages. Study 1 then looks at the effect of an active identity on persuasion arising from an emotional advertisement. Study 2 gives individuals an opportunity to select emotional content which is either consistent or inconsistent with their active emotion profile. Study 4 then measures the degree to which individuals engage in emotion regulation to reduce emotion profile-inconsistent emotions, or enhance emotion profile-consistent ones. Throughout these empirical tests, the prediction is an interaction between the active social identity and the emotion experience: when individuals experience an emotion which is consistent with the active identity’s emotion profile outcomes will be enhanced, but if they experience emotions which are inconsistent with the active emotion profile outcomes will be reduced. Ultimately, this work addresses whether emotions are implicated within the self-concept and how that influences consumer outcomes.
Pretest 1: Associations Between Specific Emotions and Social Identities

In order to discern whether individuals believe that specific emotions are associated with certain social identities, a pretest was run. In this pretest, participants were asked to assess how useful experiencing a set of emotions would be for a single target identity. Usefulness was chosen as the construct of interest, as it captures the essence of emotions being used instrumentally—in the service of other goals (Tamir 2005). One hundred eight undergraduates participated in the pretest, which was part of an hour-long behavioral lab session, along with other studies. For their participation, individuals were paid $10.

In the pretest, participants were randomly assigned to a condition, where they were presented with one social identity from a set of ten identities (artist, athlete, romantic partner, businessperson, environmentalist, friend, party host, politician, student, volunteer). They were asked to rate whether someone with that identity would find experiencing particular emotions useful, from a set of ten emotions (anger, disgust, fear, guilt, disappointment, sadness, hope, worry, relaxation, pride) on a scale from 1 = not at all helpful to 7 = extremely helpful.

The purpose of the pretest was to establish that individuals see connections between an identity and specific emotions, as well as discover the emotional profile associated with a variety of identities relevant to our student participants. In all, ten identities were evaluated with regards
to ten distinct emotions (see table 1 for a subset of the results). While some identities were seen as reaping little benefit from experiencing an emotion (e.g., businesspeople are seen as relatively unemotional, with generally low ratings across emotions), many identities had one or two emotions that were seen as being quite useful. For instance, athletes were seen as individuals for whom experiencing anger was quite useful ($M = 4.38$), to the extent that it was the most useful negative emotion, all $p < .05$. In contrast, volunteers appear to benefit from experiencing sadness ($M = 2.90$) to the exclusion of all other negative emotions, $p < .05$.

The pretest data provides two important pieces of evidence. First, it represents preliminary support for the current theory, in that some specific emotions are seen as particularly useful for certain social identities but not others. While the data do not state why these associations exist, or how they come to be learned, many of the associations follow from emotion theory. For instance, anger may be useful for athletes because its external locus of control (Frijda 1986) focuses attention on the obstacles impeding goal pursuit, and thus may inspire competition and motivation to overcome barriers to progress. In contrast, sadness may be useful for volunteers because it involves a sense of loss and the motivation to change circumstances (Frijda 1986)—indeed, recent work has shown that the expression of sadness on victims’ faces in charity advertisements promotes sympathy and helping behavior (Small and Verrochi 2009).

Interestingly, some of the emotions were undifferentiated across identities: hope was seen as useful for all identities, while relaxation was seen as relatively useless. It is noteworthy that these emotions lack specific action tendencies (Frijda 1986) and are characterized by more diffuse affective states. Their lack of identity-specific associations may be due to these characteristics, or the restricted set of identities provided to participants. While both the athlete
and volunteer identities were seen as benefitting from hope and pride, these two positive emotions were not specific to these identities. Indeed, the average rating for hope was consistently high, regardless of which identity was being evaluated. This may be consistent with some work that posits the positive emotions are more diffuse affective states, lacking clear appraisal dimensions and action tendencies (Frijda 1986). Due to the broadness of these emotions, they may not match with a particular identity.

In contrast to the positive emotions, negative emotions are highly differentiated and contain specific appraisal tendencies and action readiness states (Frijda 1986; Raghunathan, Pham, and Corfman 2006), which may be underlying the specific emotion profiles that emerged for each identity. To that point, the remaining discussion will focus on the negatively valenced emotions. Focusing on negatively valenced emotions also avoids a potential confound when examining emotion regulation and choosing emotion states: if an individual chooses to experience or enhance their experience of a positive emotion, is it due to the fact that the emotion matches their identity’s emotion profile, or because it is hedonically pleasing? For positive emotions, it is difficult to disentangle these two explanations. For negative emotions, in contrast, it cannot be due to the hedonically pleasing components of the emotion, as by definition negative emotions are unpleasant. Thus, the remaining discussion and empirical tests will focus on negative emotions which are associated with specific identities. This does not preclude the association of specific positive emotions with identities, but allows for more parsimonious tests of the current theory. At the very least, however, these results provide a set of emotion profiles that can be leveraged to test the theory described here.

Specifically, the pretest data afford two emotion profiles that are of particular interest: athlete-anger, volunteer-sadness. These social identities had strong associations to each of these
emotions and, importantly, had contrasting profiles. These contrasting profiles allow a more parsimonious test of the theory, as individuals with a salient athlete (volunteer) identity should prefer to experience anger (sadness), and should regulate their emotions to avoid sadness (anger). Pretest one thus provides a useful starting point for understanding the associations between emotions and social identities. However, the design of this pretest focused solely on the usefulness of these emotions toward specific identities—no other assessments were made. So while anger may be useful for athletes, it is unclear whether combining cues relevant to the athlete identity with angry emotional components would be evaluated well. Specifically, is there more to the association besides just usefulness? One starting point for understanding the implications of emotion profiles would be to examine advertising messages. Both identity-relevant marketing and emotional appeals have received great attention in recent research (e.g., Agrawal, Menon, and Aaker 2007; White and Dahl 2007) and practice (e.g., Burger King’s “I’m a Man!” campaign, 2009), suggesting that examining how emotion profiles (the confluence of identity and emotion) impacts advertising effectiveness. Pretest two attempts to assess (for the athlete-anger and volunteer-sadness profiles) whether marketing concepts are influenced by the emotion profile, with a particular focus on the judgments of advertisements that incorporate both the identity and its corresponding emotion profile.

**Pretest 2: Emotion Profiles and Advertising Judgments**

In order to further understand the concepts implicated in the emotion profiles identified in pretest one, a second pretest was run. In this pretest, participants read a short description of a fictional company that was either an athletic equipment company or a volunteer organization.
Following the brand description, participants were shown mock-ups for a print advertisement and a radio spot, which were manipulated via color and music choices to create either an angry or sad emotional tone. Participants were then asked to evaluate the effectiveness, persuasiveness, design elements of the marketing materials, and appeal to the targeted audience. Questions regarding the success of the ad at targeting the relevant market were included in order to see whether consistency with the emotion profile would impact the main dimension of identity-marketing success: ability to strategically target a selective sub-market (Reed 2004). In all these measures were meant to capture the types of advertising judgments that might be influenced by emotion profiles: does the emotional tone match the target market, will the target market be persuaded by these materials, and how effective will these materials be in creating new growth. All of these characteristics are judgments that may be used in forming an impression of an advertisement—will they be influenced by emotion profile-consistency?

One hundred ninety-six individuals participated in the pretest, which was part of an hour-long behavioral lab session, along with other studies. The average age of participants was 21 (age range 18-30), and 61% were female. For their participation, individuals were paid $10. The pretest used a 2 (brand identity: athlete, volunteer) by 2 (ad emotion: anger, sadness) between-subjects design. Participants read one of two brand descriptions:

**Athlete:** Pinnacle is an athletic company that provides uniforms and equipment to college and professional sports teams. Their brand name comes from the idea that top athletes are at the pinnacle of success—the top level, the unbeatable. Reflecting that, their slogan is “Raise Up,” suggesting that the athletes who use their brand will be able to rise above all other competitors.

**Volunteer:** Pinnacle is a charitable organization that provides food and volunteers to homeless shelters and soup kitchens. Their brand name comes from the idea that volunteers are at the pinnacle of caring—the top level, the most caring. Reflecting that, their slogan is “Raise Up,” suggesting that the volunteers who work with their company can help raise the spirits and lives of those they aid.
Following the brand description, participants also read about the marketing materials they would view:

*Anger:* For their print campaign, Pinnacle has designed a red-and-black layout. In the radio advertisements, the introduction to the ad begins with some heavy-metal music and then a voice-over describes the company and its locations. On the next page we will show you an example layout of the print campaign, and allow you to listen to a sample of the music for the radio ad.

*Sadness:* For their print campaign, Pinnacle has designed a light blue and gray layout. In the radio advertisements, the introduction to the ad begins with some quiet jazz music and then a voice-over describes the company and its locations. On the next page we will show you an example layout of the print campaign, and allow you to listen to a sample of the music for the radio ad.

These two components were combined to form four unique brand vignettes. From these brand vignettes, participants went to the next page of the study and were presented with a mock-up print ad, which were either red and black in the angry condition or blue and gray in the sad condition. All components of the ad (text boxes, clip art, brand logo) were the same, only the colors were different, leveraging research on the emotionality of colors which suggests that individuals have distinct color-emotion associations, such as red-angry (“seeing red”) and light blue-sad (“feeling blue;” Valdez and Mehrabian 1994). In addition to the mock print ad, participants could also push a button to hear a 10 second sample of the music which would play during the radio advertisement. These songs had been identified in a pretest, such that the angry song was rated as significantly angrier ($M = 4.69$) than the sad song ($M = 2.64$), $p < .01$, and the sad song was rated as significantly sadder ($M = 4.73$) than the angry song ($M = 3.31$), $p < .01$. Both songs were equally unfamiliar and equally favorable, both $p > .50$.

From these simulated marketing materials, participants were asked to rate the materials on a variety of dimensions: overall effectiveness (single-item), how much growth will the firm experience due to these ads (single item), advertising evaluations (seven items), and success of
targeting (two items). After completing the measures, participants were thanked, debriefed, paid and dismissed.

*Results.* Participants were first asked to make an overall rating of how effective they thought the advertisement would be on a sliding scale from 0=extremely ineffective to 100=extremely effective. These ratings were subjected to a two-way ANOVA with identity (athlete, volunteer) and emotion (anger, sadness) as predictors. No significant main effects arose. However, a significant interaction between emotion and identity was revealed, \(F (1, 192) = 24.758, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .114\). Follow-up contrasts show that participants who evaluated the volunteering company believed that the sad advertisements would be more effective than the angry ads (29.48 vs. 15.74), \(F (1, 192) = 15.550, p < .001\). In contrast, those who evaluated the athletic company believed that its advertisements would be more effective if they were angry, rather than sad (26.80 vs. 16.02), \(F (1, 192) = 9.569, p < .005\).

After providing the effectiveness ratings, participants were then asked to estimate how much Pinnacle’s market would grow (in percent) following the introduction of these ads. Participants were asked to enter a number from 0-100%. These growth estimates were subjected to a two-way ANOVA with identity and emotion as predictors. There were no significant main effects of either emotion or identity, however a significant interaction between the two emerged: \(F (1, 192) = 16.612, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .080\), seen in table 2. Follow-up contrasts show that when participants were evaluating an athletic brand, they thought angry advertisements would grow the market more than sad advertisements (9.37% vs. 3.78%), \(F (1, 192) = 8.892, p < .005\). On the other hand, when participants were evaluating a volunteering company, they believed the advertisements would grow the market more when they were sad versus angry (10.46% vs.
5.24%), \((F (1, 192) = 7.739, p < .01)\). It is important to note that participants were not allowed to enter negative numbers, however, several did write in their open-ended comments that they believed these ads would damage Pinnacle’s market, implying negative growth (e.g., “This advertisement does not suit the brand identity of Pinnacle,” “The advertisement sends the wrong message and also speaks to the wrong audience.”). Future studies employing this design might allow participants to indicate negative growth, in addition to any positive advertising effects.

From that question, participants moved on to a set of judgments about the advertisement. These questions allowed participants to indicate their agreement with a 1=disagree completely to 9=agree completely scale, where the prompts asked: (1) the ad design fits with Pinnacle, (2) the print advertisement is persuasive, (3) the radio ad is persuasive, (4) the ad campaign is believable, (5) the campaign fits the target market, (6) I like this campaign, and (7) the tone of the ad fits the message. Factor analysis revealed that these seven items all loaded onto one factor, thus an index was created by averaging all items (\(\alpha = .934\)). This ad judgment index was subjected to a two-way ANOVA with identity (athlete, volunteer) and emotion (anger, sadness) as predictors. Again, there were no significant main effects of either emotion or identity, but a significant interaction between the two emerged, \((F (1, 192) = 52.822, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .216)\).

Follow-up contrasts showed that participants evaluating the athletic company’s marketing materials thought they were better when they created an angry tone rather than a sad one (3.102 vs. 2.058), \((F (1, 192) = 16.001, p < .001)\). Participants who evaluated the volunteer company saw the sad advertisements as more fitting than the angry ones (3.676 vs. 2.037), \((F (1, 192) = 39.414, p < .001)\).

Finally, participants were asked to indicate how successful the advertisement was at targeting the relevant consumer segment on two items, which were two 100-point scales:
Discussion. The first pretest assessed whether participants believed that certain emotions are *useful* to specific social identities, and found that there are indeed associations between identities and emotions: revealing emotion profiles for each identity. Building upon the findings from the first pretest, the second attempted to understand what the implications of these identity-emotion associations are. In this pretest, two identities were used (athlete and volunteer) along with two emotions (anger and sadness). Here, identity was manipulated at the brand level, such that the company would be seen as a signal of a particular identity (athlete or volunteer) due to its product line and positioning statement. Using music and color to manipulate the emotional content of advertisements, participants were asked to evaluate a single advertisement. Across a
variety of judgments, participants evaluated the brand which utilized an identity-consistent emotion in its advertising (e.g. athlete-anger, volunteer-sadness) as better than the brand expressing an identity-inconsistent emotion. Specifically, angry athlete ads and sad volunteer ads were seen as more effective, creating more market growth, were more persuasive, and better at targeting the relevant market segment than sad athletic brands or angry volunteer companies. These results provide further support for the existence of identity-specific emotion profiles, and suggest that experiencing identity-consistent emotions has implications for a variety of marketing judgments.

While the first two pretests present evidence for associations between identities and emotions, and suggest that these emotion profiles influence judgments, neither pretest examined actual emotion experience or an active social identity. Therefore, the studies which follow assess the influence of identity-specific emotions (emotion profiles) on consumer outcomes. Study one assesses the impact of emotion profiles on persuasion, study two examines how emotion profiles drive the selection of emotional experiences, and study three connects the theory to emotion regulation, consumer preferences and consumption.

**Study 1: Emotion Profiles and Persuasion**

The first pretest suggested that there are connections between specific emotions and individual social identities, while the second demonstrated that these emotion profiles impact judgments of brands’ advertising copy. In particular, in the second pretest, companies who utilized an emotion profile-consistent emotion were judged as more persuasive and more effective. The first study thus builds on these results, investigating whether emotional
advertisements that are consistent with an identity’s emotion profile will be more effective than ads which are inconsistent with that profile. Importantly, this study moves to the individual consumer as the social actor, where he or she has an active identity and then encounters an emotional stimulus—what are then the downstream effects of emotion profile-consistency or inconsistency?

This study builds upon research within consumer behavior that looks at the impact of specific emotions on advertising effectiveness (e.g., Edell and Burke 1987). Recent work on emotions and persuasion has emphasized that compatibility between the persuasion target and the specific emotion enhances persuasion (Agrawal, Menon, and Aaker 2007). For instance, Agrawal and colleagues (2007) looked at whether an advertisement was self- or other-focused (e.g., about “me” or about “my family”), and how discrete emotions with self- or other-focused appraisal dimensions influenced the match between the target and persuasion. The authors found that indeed, advertisements that were self-focused and contained a self-focused emotion (e.g., pride) enhanced the relevance and importance of the advertisement, versus ads which were self-focused but contained an other-focused emotion (e.g., empathy). Following this theory of enhanced compatibility, study 1 seeks to test whether advertisements which match the emotion profile of the active identity are seen as more persuasive.

The study used a 3 (identity: athlete, volunteer, control) by 2 (emotion: anger, sadness) between subjects design. The prediction is that participants primed with an athlete identity will have more positive attitudes and higher behavioral intentions towards an angry advertisement, but participants primed with a volunteer identity should have higher attitudes when presented with a sad advertisement. Additionally, the emotion profile-consistent advertisement should be seen as more relevant, as it more effectively communicates with the target market, similar to the
results in study 1. The control participants should not differ in their responses to the two advertisements.

Participants and Procedure. Eighty-three participants completed this study, where the average age was 20 years (age range 19-32), and 52% of the participants were female. Individuals were randomly assigned to one of the six conditions (athlete-anger, athlete-sadness, volunteer-anger, volunteer-sadness, control-anger, control-sadness). Participants were paid $10 for their involvement in an hour-long lab session, in which this study was one of multiple experiments.

Participants first engaged in a “writing task” which included an identity prime. They were instructed to write about a time when they performed as an athlete (volunteer), and were asked to describe it in such detail that someone reading the story would experience it as if it were happening to them. This type of writing task is common in the social identity and consumer behavior literatures (e.g., Reed 2004), and has been shown to reliably increase the salience of the target identity. Individuals in the control conditions were simply asked to write about their day yesterday.

Immediately following the writing task, participants were then presented with an ostensibly unrelated “advertising evaluation” study. In this study, participants were told that they would be reading a print advertisement, and then evaluating it on a variety of dimensions. The ad (see figure 2) was promoting STD testing, a relevant topic for undergraduate lab participants, yet equally unrelated to either the athlete or volunteer identities. To manipulate the emotion of the advertisement, two copy changes were made. In the angry ad, the headline read “How could you do this to me!” and in the sad ad, it read “How could you do this to me?” In addition to the
headline, the picture in the angry ad was of a woman expressing anger, while the sad ad was the same woman expressing sadness. The pictures were taken from a validated set of facial expressions (Beaupré and Hess 2005).

After viewing the advertisement, participants were then asked to evaluate the ad on a set of scales: attitude toward the advertisement, relevance, and behavioral intentions. Once they had completed these measures, participants were debriefed, thanked, paid and dismissed.

**Results.** Participants were first asked to rate their attitude toward the advertisement on a 10-item scale (good, pleasant, nice, irritating, interesting, annoying, positive, favorable, believable, effective: Williams and Drolet 2005). Each item was presented as a 100-point sliding scale from 1= not at all to 100= extremely. The ten items were subjected to a factor analysis, and one factor emerged, thus the items were averaged to create one index of Aad ($\alpha = .82$). A two-way ANOVA was then run on the Aad ratings, with identity and emotion as predictors. A significant main effect of identity emerged ($F(2, 77) = 6.631, p < .01, \eta_p^2 = .147$), such that the ratings from the volunteer participants were significantly lower ($M = 30.96$) than either the athlete ($M = 44.91$) or control conditions ($M = 40.66$), both $p < .05$. However, this main effect was qualified by a significant interaction between emotion and identity ($F(2, 77) = 8.895, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .188$). As predicted, for those participants with an active athlete identity, attitude toward the advertisement was higher when the ad was angry than when it was sad (51.89 vs.
In contrast, participants with an active volunteer identity rated the sad advertisement as higher than the angry ad (40.17 vs. 23.71), \( F(1, 77) = 9.757, p < .01 \). In the control condition, there was no difference between the angry (\( M = 41.29 \)) and the sad advertisements (\( M = 40.03 \), \( p > .75 \), consistent with the hypothesized effect of emotion profile-consistency on advertising effectiveness.

In addition to attitude toward the advertisement, participants also completed a two-item 7-point measure of ad relevance (meaningful, relevant: Williams and Drolet 2005). These two items loaded onto one factor, and were averaged to create a relevance index (\( \alpha = .540 \)). This measure was subjected to a two-way ANOVA with emotion and identity as predictors. There were no significant main effects of either identity or emotion, but the hypothesized interaction emerged: \( F(2, 77) = 4.063, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .095 \). Follow-up contrasts showed that for participants with an active volunteer identity, the sad advertisement was seen as significantly more relevant than the angry advertisement (3.14 vs. 1.86), \( F(1, 77) = 4.149, p < .05 \). In the athlete condition, the angry advertisement was marginally more relevant than the sad advertisement (3.79 vs. 2.68), \( F(1, 77) = 3.531, p = .064 \). Again, in the control condition there was no difference between the angry (\( M = 3.53 \)) and sad advertisements (\( M = 3.07 \), \( p > .40 \).

Finally, participants were also asked to indicate the likelihood that seeing this ad would change their behavior (1= not at all likely to get tested, 7= extremely likely to get tested). This single-item measure of behavioral intentions was subjected to a two-way ANOVA with emotion and identity as predictors. There were no significant main effects of either emotion or identity. However, a significant interaction between emotion and identity emerged \( F(2, 77) = 4.021, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .095 \). As with both aAd and relevance, participants with an active volunteer identity indicated a greater likelihood to change their behavior after viewing a sad advertisement than
after viewing an angry ad (3.91 vs. 1.86), \(F(1, 77) = 5.628, p < .05\), seen in table 3. Those participants with an active athlete identity were marginally more likely to change their behavior after viewing an angry ad than after a sad ad (4.21 vs. 2.93), \(F(1, 77) = 2.511, p = .11\). Again, in the control condition there were no differences between angry (\(M = 3.40\)) and sad (\(M = 3.33\)) advertisements, \(p > .90\).

Discussion. Study 1 finds support for the hypothesized influence of emotion profiles on persuasion. As predicted, participants with an active athlete identity showed more favorable attitudes, higher relevance, and increased likelihood of behavior change when they were presented with the advertisement that was angry: consistent with the athlete identity’s emotion profile. In contrast, participants with an active volunteer identity showed more favorable outcomes (aAd, relevance, and behavioral intentions) when presented with a sad advertisement, which is consistent with the volunteer emotion profile. Control participants were equally affected by the angry and sad advertisements. Taken together, the ads which were consistent with the active identity’s emotional profile had more persuasive impact than those ads which were inconsistent with the active profile.

Interestingly, this study demonstrates an effect of identity salience on advertisements which contained no reference to the active identity. Traditional research on identity in consumer behavior demonstrates identity-consistency effects for brands, products and advertisements which overtly match the active identity (e.g., “Olympic athletes use Brand X!”). However, study
I made no such claims, but instead leveraged the central proposition: when an identity is active so too is its emotion profile. By incorporating an emotion which is consistent with the emotion profile, identity relevance was achieved, and greater persuasion resulted.

While study 1 demonstrates the effect of emotion profiles on persuasion, it did not assess whether individuals would choose to experience identity consistent emotions. Returning to the idea that consumers can actively manage their emotional experiences, study two allows participants to select from a set of emotional experiences, which may or may not be consistent with their active emotion profile. As such, the next study provides a first look at a form of emotion regulation motivated by emotion profiles: situation selection (Gross 1998).

**Study 2: Emotion Profiles and Choice**

One way that individuals can manage their emotional experiences is through what situations they select to engage in during their day-to-day lives. If given the opportunity, individuals should select interactions and experiences which are aligned with the emotion profile of their active identity—athletes selecting angry experiences, and volunteers choosing more sad experiences. The current study asks participants to listen from songs chosen from an array of eight alternatives, four of which were pretested as angry songs and four sad songs. Participants were instructed to “create a playlist” from these songs which they would listen to while waiting for another study to begin. Thus, the prediction is that participants will select stimuli which contain emotion profile-consistent emotions, and avoid those stimuli which are emotion profile-inconsistent.
In addition to choosing amongst emotional stimuli, the experiment was also designed to assess how much participants would value each type of emotional experience. To that end, participants were re-presented with the list of songs and asked to provide a ticket price they would be willing to pay to attend a 2 hour concert that that band headlined. This measure assesses the willingness-to-pay for specific emotional experiences, and provides a continuous measure (bounded at $0) with which to validate the discrete choice task.

The study used a 3 group (identity: athlete, volunteer, control) design, with choice stimuli of two types (emotion: anger, sadness). We expect that participants primed with an athlete identity will select more angry songs, while participants primed with volunteer identity will select more sad songs. Therefore, the main dependent variable is the songs chosen and whether the distribution of songs (sad songs versus angry songs) varies between identities. The prediction is that participants with an active athlete identity will select fewer sad songs (more angry songs) than participants with an active volunteer identity. Additionally, participants with an active athlete identity should be willing to pay more money to see an angry band perform than a sad band, but just the reverse for participants with active volunteer identities.

Participants and Procedure. One hundred and three individuals participated in this study, where the average age was 20 years (age range 18-30) and 53% were female. Study participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions (athlete, volunteer, control) and were exposed to all eight emotional songs (4 angry, 4 sad). Participants were paid $10 for their involvement in a one-hour lab session containing multiple studies, of which this was one.
As in study one, participants first completed a “writing task” where they wrote about a time that they performed as an athlete or volunteer (Reed 2004). Again, those participants in the control condition simply wrote about their day the day before.

After writing about the focal identity, participants proceeded to the ostensibly unrelated second task. In the “music preferences” task, participants were told that they would be selecting 4 songs to create a playlist that they would listen to while waiting to start the next study in the session. To create the playlist, participants were presented with 8 songs: each song was labeled with a letter (i.e., Song A, Song B, etc.), and had a button where participants could listen to a 15-second sample of each particular song. Four of the eight songs were sad songs and the other 4 were angry songs. These had been pretested to reliably elicit either anger or sadness. In the pretest 47 participants rated the emotions they experiences while listening to a 15-second excerpt of the song (7-point scale, 1=not at all to 7=extremely). They rated each song across fifteen emotions: happy, depressed, angry, proud, upbeat, excited, sad, inspired, relaxed, annoyed, cheerful, upset, anxious, hopeful, and energized. The angry songs were rated as more angry ($M = 4.83$) than the sad songs ($M = 2.61$), $p < .01$, and the sad songs was seen as sadder ($M = 3.86$) than the angry songs ($M = 2.37$), $p < .01$. The two sets of songs were equally unfamiliar to participants (0-100 scale: $M_{\text{angry}} = 8.79$, $M_{\text{sad}}= 2.37$), $p > .40$, and did not substantially differ across the remaining emotions.

Thus, the songs provided to participants represent the emotional situation, from which they could select a set that either matched or mismatched their active emotion profile. Following the choice task, participants were presented with the full list of songs (and their accompanying 15-second samples) and asked to provide a willingness to pay for tickets to see each band perform. After completing the WTP task, participants were debriefed, thanked, and paid.
Results. The first variable of interest is whether the identity which was activated in the writing task impacted the number of songs chosen, of a particular type. To examine this, the number of sad songs chosen was subjected to a binomial regression, with the maximum number of sad songs a participant could have chosen set to 4. In this regression, identity was included as a predictor, with three levels. For dummy-coding the three levels, the control condition was the left-out level, and thus significance tests of the beta-weights will be run in comparison to the control condition. The Wald Chi-Square test revealed a significant effect of identity on the number of sad songs selected, ($\chi^2 (2) = 16.806, p < .001$). Importantly, the coefficient for the athlete participants was significant ($\beta = -.558, \chi^2 (1) = 4.588, p < .05$) and negative, implying that for individuals with an active athlete identity, they had a significantly lower likelihood of choosing a sad song than did participants in the control condition. In contrast, the coefficient for the participants with an active volunteer identity was significant ($\beta = .522, \chi^2 (1) = 4.505, p < .05$) and positive, indicating that volunteers had a significantly higher probability of choosing a sad song than did those participants in the control condition, illustrated by the choice proportions in figure 2. Since the beta for the athlete condition is significantly different from zero and negative, but the beta for the volunteers is significantly different from zero and positive, these two conditions are also significantly different from each other, suggesting that as volunteers are most likely to choose sad songs, athletes are the least likely to choose the sad songs, fully consistent with the proposed theory.

Insert figure 2 about here
This finding was further confirmed by examining the willingness-to-pay information. Participants were asked to provide a WTP for tickets to see each band play, rating all eight songs. These ticket prices were then averaged to create an average ticket price for the sad bands and the angry bands. Finally, the premium for sad songs was calculated by subtracting the WTP-angry from WTP-sad. This sad premium was subjected to a one-way ANOVA with identity as a predictor, and a significant effect of identity was found, \((F(1, 100) = 11.127, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .182)\). Follow-up contrasts show that the sad premium was significantly different across the three identity conditions, such that participants with an active athlete identity would pay significantly less to see sad bands \((M = -24.54)\) than either the control \((M = 6.03)\) or volunteer participants \((M = 26.46)\), all \(p < .05\).

Discussion. Study two finds preliminary support for the proposed link between social identity, emotion and choice. As expected, participants with an active athlete identity selected to listen to more angry music and avoid sad music, while participants with an active volunteer identity chose more sad music and avoided the angry songs. These findings are consistent with the proposed theory, such that individuals are attempting to select emotional experiences which maintain or enhance consistency with the active emotion profile: experiences of anger for those with athlete identities, but experiences of sadness for those with volunteer identities.

In addition to the choice data, participants also exhibited differences in the values placed upon these different emotional experiences. In particular, volunteers were willing to pay significantly more for those experiences which would deliver a sad affect-laden experience over
an angry one, to the tune of more than a $25 premium for the sad experiences. Athletes, on the other hand, were seeking out angry affective experiences, and thus showed a preference of nearly $25 for angry music tickets over the sad bands. Not only were participants choosing to experience specific types of emotions by selecting those songs which were consistent with their active emotion profile, but they were also willing to pay significantly more for those experiences which were consistent with the active emotion profile. Clearly, the activation of identities and their associated emotion profiles has important implications for both the selection and valuation of affective experiences.

Although study two provides evidence that emotion profiles have implications for actual choice, it leaves two research questions still unanswered. First, it does not address whether individuals would attempt to use emotion regulation to change their currently experienced emotions to achieve consistency with the identity’s emotion profile. What happens when an individual is actively experiencing a consistent or inconsistent emotion and has the opportunity to regulate that ongoing emotional experience—will emotion regulation operate to achieve or maintain emotion profile-consistency? Study three employs a paradigm that allows participants to modulate their emotional responses during an affective experience. Additionally, the previous study began to connect emotion profiles to consumer decisions (choice, WTP), but did not assess actual consumption. Study three will provide participants with an emotion regulating product, and assess whether attitudes toward and amount consumed of the target product are affected by the product’s ability to align participants’ emotions with their active emotion profiles.

**Study 3: Emotion Profiles and Emotion Regulating Products**
The final study is designed to show that products which are positioned as enhancing emotion profile consistency will be preferred, and that individuals will actually consume more of those products which better align their emotional state with the active emotion profile. Study three has a 3 (identity: athlete, volunteer, control) x 2 (emotion: anger, sadness) x 3 (product positioning: enhance emotions, reduce emotions, control) between-subjects design, where the emotion is induced incidentally, and a product is positioned as either increasing or decreasing emotions within an advertisement (Williams and Drolet 2005).

The proposed theory predicts that the athletes will prefer products that reduce emotion if they are experiencing sadness, but not anger, and volunteers will prefer products that decrease anger, but not sadness. Other theories, such as mood repair (Labroo and Mukhopadhyay 2009) and emotion regulation (Gross 1998), would predict that preferences for the emotion regulating product should not differ based on either the salient identity or the specific emotion: all participants are in negative states, thus all should want to decrease their emotions. This unique prediction highlights the core contribution of the current work, emphasizing consistency with identity-specific emotion profiles as a driver of emotion regulation.

This study also investigates whether products can be framed as emotion regulators (Williams and Drolet 2005), and that consumers will prefer those products that regulate emotions in an identity-consistent manner. Additionally, this study extends study 1 to determine whether products can be positioned as identity-relevant without mentioning the identity, but simply through positioning the product as aiding the consumer in achieving the emotional goals of the identity: emotion profile-consistency.
Participants and Procedure. Two hundred eighty-nine individuals participated in this study, where the average age was 24 years (age range 18-66) and 54% were female. Individuals were randomly assigned to one of the 18 conditions. Participants were paid $10 for their involvement in a one-hour lab session containing multiple studies, of which this was one.

Participants were told that they would be participating in two unrelated studies: a writing task, and a product evaluation study. The procedure is as follows: first, participants were primed with either the athlete, volunteer, or neutral identity, as in studies 1 and 2. Next, participants were told that they would be participating in a product evaluation study, where they would be asked to do first watch a movie clip and then try a product. The cover story for this particular study was that often people eat and drink at home, while watching television, and that this study was meant to understand how that process works. This second part of the experiment contained both the emotion manipulation and the product evaluation.

When participants sat down at their cubicle to participate in this study, a cup covered by a lid was sitting on a “placemat” in each cubicle. The printed placemat indicated that participants should leave the cup alone until otherwise instructed. Each cup was numbered, as a way to subsequently track the amount of beverage consumed by each participant. Thus, the sequence each participant experienced was: sit in cubicle, engage in the writing task (identity prime), then complete a product evaluation study—at which point they were instructed to try the beverage.

As in studies 1 and 2, the identity induction was a writing task (Reed 2004). After this task, participants started an ostensibly new study. This study first presented participants with a 45-second movie clip, pretested to reliably elicit either anger or sadness. After viewing the movie clip, participants were told that they would be trying a new beverage, and were asked to enter the number printed on their cup into the computer so that they could receive information about the
flavor of the product they would try. All participants received approximately 200 grams of Revolution Tea’s Orange Chocolate Green Tea. However, depending on condition the tea was described in one of three ways via an advertisement presented on the computer (see figure 3). Specifically, the tea was positioned as either enhancing emotions, reducing emotions, or having nothing to do with emotions. To reflect these three positioning statements, the name of the tea was either IntensiTea (enhance emotions), TranquiliTea (reduce emotions), or HerbaliTea (no emotion consequences).

Once participants were presented with the product information, they were asked to taste the tea, drinking as much or little as they desired. Following the tasting of the tea, they were asked to evaluate the product on a set of measures, including attitude toward the brand, persuasiveness of the advertisement, and thoughts about the product. Finally, they were instructed to place their cup back on the placemat, to be disposed of by the lab assistants. After this, participants were debriefed, thanked, paid and dismissed.

Prior to the start of the experimental session, each teacup was weighed and its starting weight recorded (generally set to be around 200 g). At the end of each session, all of the teacups were collected and re-weighed. This final weight was subtracted from that unique cup’s starting weight to obtain the amount of tea consumed by each participant.
Results. The amount of tea consumed (in grams) was subjected to a three-way ANOVA with identity, emotion, and product positioning as predictors. There were no significant main effects or two-way interactions, however a significant three-way interaction of identity, emotion, and product positioning emerged \( (F(4, 271) = 2.483, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .035) \), seen in figure 4. Decomposing this effect, there were three contrasts which support the proposed theory. First, those participants with an active athlete identity who were experiencing anger consumed more of the tea positioned as enhancing their emotions (IntensiTea, \( M = 52.93g \)) than that tea positioned as reducing their emotions (TranquiliTea, \( M = 14.15g \)), \( p = .056 \). On the other hand, participants with an active volunteer identity who were experiencing anger drank significantly more of the tea positioned as reducing their emotions (TranquiliTea, \( M = 72.14g \)) than either the enhance emotions (IntensiTea, \( M = 34.93g \)), \( p = .058 \) or control (HerbaliTea, \( M = 40.23g \)) products, \( p = .074 \). No other contrasts were significant.

After drinking some of the tea, participants were asked to evaluate the tea on two 9-point scales anchored with 1= Disagree Completely, 9= Agree Completely: “I like this tea” and “I would purchase this tea.” These two scales loaded onto one factor, and as such were averaged to create an attitude towards the tea index (\( \alpha = .911 \)). This attitude index was subjected to a three-way ANOVA with identity, emotion, and product positioning as predictors. No significant main effects emerged, but a significant two-way interaction between identity and product positioning did appear, \( (F(4, 271) = 2.524, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .036) \). Decomposing this two-way interaction
showed that participants with an active athlete identity preferred the enhance emotions (IntensiTea) product more ($M = 5.143$) than control participants ($M = 3.850$), ($F(2, 271) = 3.187, p < .05$), while participants with an active volunteer identity preferred the reduce emotions (TranquiliTea) product more ($M = 5.366$) than the control participants ($M = 4.193$), ($F(2, 271) = 2.220, p < .05$).

Importantly, this two-way interaction is qualified by a significant three-way interaction between identity, emotion, and product positioning, ($F(4, 271) = 4.286, p < .005, \eta_p^2 = .059$). Follow-up contrasts show that for the participants who had an active athlete identity, they had marginally higher attitudes toward the enhance emotions product when they were experiencing anger ($M = 5.786$) than when they were experiencing sadness ($M = 4.500$), ($F(1, 271) = 2.775, p = .097$). In contrast, athletes had higher attitudes toward the reduce emotions product when they were experiencing sadness ($M = 5.542$) than when they were experiencing anger ($M = 3.692$), ($F(1, 271) = 5.119, p < .05$). Volunteers, on the other hand, had the exactly opposite pattern of results, such that they had higher attitudes toward the enhance emotions product when they were experiencing sadness ($M = 5.500$) rather than anger ($M = 3.733$), ($F(1, 271) = 3.906, p < .05$). And volunteers had higher attitudes toward the reduce emotions product when they were experiencing anger ($M = 6.357$), not sadness ($M = 4.375$), ($F(1, 271) = 4.797, p < .05$). This pattern of results follows directly from the proposed theory, such that individuals have more positive reactions toward the products which align their emotional state with that of their active emotion profile.

Participants were also asked to evaluate the product’s advertisement, indicating on a 0-100 sliding scale how persuasive they thought the ad was. These evaluations were subjected to a three-way ANOVA with identity, emotion and product positioning as predictors. A main effect
of product emerged, \( F(2, 271) = 3.775, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .027 \), such that the reduce emotions advertisement (TranquiliTea, \( M = 36.439 \)) was seen as more persuasive than either the enhance (IntensiTea, \( M = 25.475 \)) or control (HerbaliTea, \( M = 28.159 \)) products. This main effect was qualified by a significant three-way interaction between identity, emotion, and product positioning, \( F(4, 271) = 3.968, p < .005, \eta_p^2 = .055 \). This interaction is driven by participants in the athlete condition who experienced sadness seeing the reduce emotions positioning as more persuasive \( (M = 57.500) \) than either the enhance \( (M = 24.857) \) or control \( (M = 27.316) \) advertisements, \( F(2, 271) = 6.184, p < .005 \). In the volunteer condition, participants who experienced anger saw the reduce emotions advertisement as more persuasive \( (M = 42.500) \) than the enhance emotions ad \( (M = 14.667) \), \( F(2, 271) = 4.020, p < .05 \). No other contrasts were significant.

Finally, participants were asked to list thoughts that they had about the product. They were first asked to list thoughts in separate entry line, and then on the next page, were provided with their list of thoughts and asked to evaluate whether each thought was positive, negative, or neutral. Following the procedure described by Tiedens and Linton (2001), a favorability index was constructed by taking the sum of all positive thoughts, subtracting all negative thoughts, and then dividing this by the total number of thoughts. This favorability index (FI) consequently indicates the proportion of thoughts that are favorable towards the product: a positive FI shows a predominance of positive thoughts, a negative FI a preponderance of negative thoughts. This FI was subjected to a three-way ANOVA with identity, emotion, and product positioning as predictors. No significant main effects or two-way interactions emerged, but a significant three-way interaction was revealed \( F(4, 271) = 4.644, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .064 \). Follow-up contrasts show that for those participants with an active athlete identity, they had more positive FI towards
the enhance product when they were experiencing anger \((M = .233)\) than sadness \((M = -.426)\), \((F(1, 271) = 8.061, p < .005)\). However, athletes had more positive FI towards the reduce emotions product when they were experiencing sadness \((M = .292)\) than anger \((M = -.292)\), \((F(1, 271) = 5.634, p < .05)\). In contrast, volunteers had a more positive FI towards the reduce emotions product when they were experiencing anger \((M = .364)\) than sadness \((M = -.192)\), \((F(1, 271) = 4.166, p < .05)\). No other contrasts were significant.

Discussion. Study three replicates the earlier studies in support of the proposed theory: individuals engage in emotion regulation to enhance emotions which are consistent with the identity’s emotion profile or to decrease emotions that are inconsistent with the emotion profile. Using a different type of emotion manipulation, movie clips, this study again showed that participants with active athlete identities attempt to eliminate sadness, while those with active volunteer identities try to reduce anger. Importantly, in this study participants regulated their emotions with a product trial, explicitly connecting the theorized process to consumer decision making and actual consumption.

It is worth noting that this study positioned the product as either reducing or enhancing emotions. From the proposed theory, the prediction would be that participants with active athlete identities would prefer the product which enhanced anger, as was observed with participants in the active volunteer condition experiencing sadness. The data did not always show this pattern of preference for emotion enhancement in the emotion profile-consistent conditions, but consistently showed preference for the reduce emotions products in the emotion profile-inconsistent conditions. One reason for this may be that the elimination of negative emotions is a particularly salient goal (Gross et al. 2006; Tamir, Mitchell, and Gross 2008). In order for
participants to express preference for the emotion enhancing product, they would need to overcome this goal entirely, and pursue a solely instrumental (versus hedonic: Higgins 1997) emotion experience. As participants did not need to execute the salient identity after product evaluations (e.g., they were not expecting to perform athletically), the instrumental component of the emotion may have been less valuable. Additional studies that make the identity goals more salient (e.g., participants anticipate a task that engages the specific identity) may increase the instrumental value of emotions and manifest higher preferences for emotion enhancing products in the emotion profile-consistent conditions. Despite the somewhat inconsistent evidence of preference for emotion enhancing products, the fact that participants preferred the emotion reducing product only in the emotion profile-inconsistent conditions represents a sharp departure from existing emotion regulation research, and presents a unique contribution of the current theory.

Summary

Taken together, the results from the pretests and three studies suggest two novel findings. First, social identities are not merely collections of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, but also include connections to specific emotional states. The pretest data support this contention, providing “emotion profiles” for a variety of social identities, and demonstrating a variety of advertising judgments where expressing consistent or inconsistent emotions changes evaluations. Study one went beyond the effect of emotion profiles on social judgments, but showed that advertisements with an emotion profile-consistent emotion are more persuasive. In study two, participants’ were given the opportunity to select between various emotional stimuli and create
an emotional experience which supported their active emotion profile. In study three, participants were asked to both consume and express their preference for products framed as emotion regulators, avoiding inconsistent emotions. Across three different types of emotion manipulations, these studies demonstrate that individuals can use emotions instrumentally, to achieve identity consistency, and that they can strategically regulate their emotions in order to coincide with a salient emotion profile. These two pieces—that identities have emotion profiles, and that individuals regulate their emotions in order to maintain consistency with emotion profiles—tell of a new source for emotion regulation goals (social identity), and describe a process by which emotion regulation is employed to achieve identity-consistent outcomes.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The study of emotions has grown in prominence within the marketing literature. From how specific emotions influence the processing of messages (Raghunathan, Pham, and Corfman 2006), to the consumption decisions consumers make in order to experience certain affective responses (Andrade and Cohen 2007; Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999), marketers are willing to explore the influence of emotions on consumers in a variety of ways. Only recently however, have marketing researchers begun to ask how consumers influence their emotions—controlling, adapting, and molding the emotional experience as it unfolds. The study of emotion regulation is growing rapidly in psychology (see e.g., Clore and Robinson 2000), but only in a few instances does it appear within the consumer domain.

The current framework focuses not on how individuals manage their emotions, but rather when a person is motivated to do so. In particular, social identity and associated emotion profiles
were proposed as a mechanism that could induce people to regulate their emotions. Not only is this research stream novel in that it ties together two previously unrelated concepts, identity and emotion regulation, but it also has deep ties to consumer behavior and implications for judgments and decisions.

Social identity has a long and extensive tradition of research within the consumer behavior literature (e.g., Dolich 1969; Berger and Heath 2007), but it appears that this research perspective has overlooked the role of emotions in enacting a specific social identity. While emotions are occasionally alluded to within the identity literature (see, e.g. jealousy and grief in Belk 1988), it has remained an open question whether specific emotions are connected to specific identities. Given that emotions can be characterized as part of associative networks (Bower 1981), it is reasonable to believe that some of these “emotion nodes” will be connected to social identity-specific networks. The current research product finds evidence for such associations between specific social identities and a set of emotions desirable for that particular identity. Importantly, those findings have consequences for a variety of outcomes: advertising judgments, persuasion, product attitudes, choice, and actual consumption. Building on findings that demonstrate individuals approach products and enact behaviors which are identity-consistent, while avoiding those which are identity-inconsistent (White and Dahl 2007), this paper proposes that individuals will be motivated to regulate their emotions in identity-consistent ways. Specifically, people should enhance their experience of identity-consistent emotions, and reduce their experience of emotions that are inconsistent with the emotion profile of a particular identity.

This paper not only addresses a gap in the marketing literature by enriching our understanding of the concepts contained within an identity, but also provides an essential pre-
condition to emotion regulation, furthering conceptualizations of the emotion management process. Beyond establishing that emotions are included within social identity structures, the current research suggests that identity-marketing appeals can be positioned as identity consistent without ever mentioning the salient identity, but rather by simply leveraging an emotion profile-consistent frame.

Future Research Directions

The implications of social identity emotion profiles are varied, and suggest an assortment of different research directions. For one, are there specific situations where conforming to emotion profiles is particularly important? One could postulate that when an individual is in a situation where he or she is observed by others (public), emotion profile consistency would be of greater concern than when the individual is alone (private). Or, could emotion profile consistency be more important for some identities over others? Also, emotion profiles may interact with or be enhanced by social norms—within the organizational behavior literature, there have been some explorations of gender emotion rules, in that women are expected to express positive emotions but men are expected to express no emotion (Simpson and Stroh 2004). How might these culturally constructed emotion profiles interact or conflict with identity-specific emotion profiles?

Again, the current paper establishes a connection between social identities and emotions, postulating that just as actions, brands, and beliefs are incorporated into the identity concept, so too are specific emotions and emotion profiles. This relationship between identity and emotion has previously gone unnoticed, but may represent an essential motivation to engage in emotion
regulation. The present focus is on situation selection as an emotion regulation strategy that can promote emotion profile-consistency; however there are multiple research questions that can be answered beyond this. For one, the current framework describes the negative state of emotional dissonance as motivating emotion regulation. As of yet, the existing studies are unable to address this as a mediating factor—but experiments building upon the methods presented here could reasonably uncover this psychological process. Moreover, understanding how emotions are incorporated into social identities, their influence on and mediation of prototypical identity effects, and the motivational impetus provided by identity-specific emotions, all provide richer theory within the social identity literature itself.

For instance, study 2 demonstrated that individuals would create situations such that the affective tone was consistent with the emotion profile of the active identity. Left unanswered are questions regarding whether identity-consistent emotions reinforce the identity, making it more salient and central. If an individual is experiencing anger, does it make him or her more likely to also feel like an athlete? Can emotions “prime the pump” of specific identities? Further, are specific identities better suited to specific emotion regulation strategies? Study two showed that individuals with active athlete identities were capable of avoiding sad emotions by using situation selection, but perhaps other identities would be better suited to response modulation, cognitive reappraisal, or others. This paper is simply a first step in understanding how emotions are incorporated into social identities and the motivational consequences of these connections.

In addition to expanding our conceptualizations of social identity and the associations incorporated in these identity-networks, this paper also promotes the perspective that emotions can be used instrumentally, in the service of other goals. Emotion profiles may represent only one way in which emotions are seen as useful. Individuals have lay beliefs about the duration of
emotions that influence their reliance on emotion regulation (Labroo and Mukhopadhyay 2009). It is likely, then, that individuals also have beliefs about when certain emotions can help achieve other goals. Indeed, some evidence exists that people believe happiness promotes creativity while sadness enhances analytic processing (Cohen and Andrade 2004), so other emotions and tasks may also be paired in consumers’ minds. Thus, by activating different lay beliefs consumers’ may be more or less motivated to engage in emotion regulation.

Conclusion. This research builds a connection between social identities and emotions, whereby emotion profiles are associated with identities, constraining the types of emotions which are valid for each identity. This represents a new area of research, bridging the gap between emotions and social identities, as well as suggesting a new way in which the emotion regulation process may be initiated. The implications of this relationship may be particularly relevant for marketing, with its prevalent use of identity-relevant persuasive appeals, as certain emotions may or may not reinforce the salient identity within the marketing communication.
REFERENCES


TABLE 1

PRETEST 1: EMOTION PROFILES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anger</th>
<th>Sadness</th>
<th>Fear</th>
<th>Guilt</th>
<th>Hope</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artist</td>
<td>5.10a</td>
<td>5.29a</td>
<td>4.10b</td>
<td>4.00c</td>
<td>5.95a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athlete</td>
<td>4.38a</td>
<td>2.54b</td>
<td>2.79b</td>
<td>2.58b</td>
<td>6.29c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romantic partner</td>
<td>2.65a</td>
<td>2.78a</td>
<td>3.04a</td>
<td>2.43a</td>
<td>6.04b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessperson</td>
<td>2.67a</td>
<td>1.95a</td>
<td>2.38a</td>
<td>2.19a</td>
<td>5.33b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmentalist</td>
<td>4.10a</td>
<td>2.67b</td>
<td>3.52a</td>
<td>2.81b</td>
<td>6.43c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>1.77a</td>
<td>2.41b</td>
<td>2.41b</td>
<td>2.68b</td>
<td>5.76c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party host</td>
<td>1.41a</td>
<td>1.55a</td>
<td>1.64a</td>
<td>1.45a</td>
<td>5.36b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politician</td>
<td>3.27a,d</td>
<td>2.45b</td>
<td>3.27a</td>
<td>2.45b,d</td>
<td>6.55c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>2.57a</td>
<td>2.95a</td>
<td>3.19a</td>
<td>3.24a</td>
<td>6.38b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>1.85a</td>
<td>2.90b,d</td>
<td>2.20a,d</td>
<td>2.10a</td>
<td>6.80c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: scale values ranged from 1 = not at all to 7 = extremely helpful. Within each row, means with different subscripts differ at the $p < .05$ level.
### TABLE 2

**PRETEST 2: EMOTION PROFILES AND ADVERTISING JUDGMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Overall effectiveness</th>
<th>Growth created</th>
<th>Judgments of campaign</th>
<th>Success of targeting</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Athlete</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>26.80</td>
<td>9.37%</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>33.60</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>20.48</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>22.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad</td>
<td>16.02</td>
<td>3.78%</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>12.64</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>14.91</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>15.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volunteer</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>15.74</td>
<td>5.24%</td>
<td>2.04</td>
<td>16.78</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>14.97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad</td>
<td>29.48</td>
<td>10.46%</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>32.09</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>19.22</td>
<td>13.82</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>18.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the overall effectiveness scale ranged from 0=extremely ineffective to 100=extremely effective; growth created was a number participants entered (0-100%); the judgments of campaign scale (7 items) ranged from 1= disagree completely to 9= agree completely; and the success of targeting was assessed with two items ranging from 0= unsuccessful to 100= successful.
# TABLE 3

## STUDY 1: EMOTION PROFILES AND PERSUASION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attitude toward advertisement</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
<th>Intentions to change behavior</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Athlete</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>51.89</td>
<td>3.79</td>
<td>4.21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>14.45</td>
<td>1.64</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad</td>
<td>37.94</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>10.63</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Volunteer</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>23.71</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>1.86</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>9.96</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad</td>
<td>40.17</td>
<td>3.14</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>12.49</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Control</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>41.29</td>
<td>3.53</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>15.61</td>
<td>1.87</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sad</td>
<td>40.03</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>13.94</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>2.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the attitude toward the advertisement scale ranged from 0 to 100 (10 items); the relevance scale (2 items) ranged from 1= not at all to 9= extremely relevant/meaningful; the single-item intention to change behavior scale ranged from 1=not at all to 9= extremely likely.
### FIGURE 1

**STUDY 1: EMOTIONAL ADVERTISEMENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Advertisement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Angry     | **How could you do this to me!**

*Doctors estimate that up to 80% of people who have herpes don’t know it and aren’t getting treated.*

*Protect yourself. Don’t hurt the ones you love.*

*Get tested.*

| Sad       | **How could you do this to me?**

*Doctors estimate that up to 80% of people who have herpes don’t know it and aren’t getting treated.*

*Protect yourself. Don’t hurt the ones you love.*

*Get tested.*
### FIGURE 3

**STUDY 3: EMOTION PROFILES AND EMOTION REGULATING PRODUCTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Advertisement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enhance emotions (IntensiTea)</td>
<td><strong>IntensiTea</strong>&lt;br&gt;An energizing blend of herbs and spices enhance the mind and emotions.&lt;br&gt;<strong>Increase your emotional insights:</strong> IntensiTea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduce emotions (TranquiliTea)</td>
<td><strong>TranquiliTea</strong>&lt;br&gt;A soothing blend of herbs and spices calm the mind and emotions.&lt;br&gt;<strong>Increase your mental control:</strong> TranquiliTea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No emotion regulation (HerbalTea)</td>
<td><strong>HerbalTea</strong>&lt;br&gt;A blend of herbs and spices enhance your health.&lt;br&gt;<strong>Increase your health:</strong> HerbalTea.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURE 4

STUDY 3: EMOTION PROFILES AND CONSUMPTION

![Graph showing tea consumption by emotion and active identity for Athlete, Volunteer, and Control groups.]