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ANTICIPATED AFFECTIVE REACTIONS IN GIFT-GIVING DECISIONS

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ABSTRACT

Gift-givers don't always give what receivers want. This mismatch has often been attributed to givers' failure to understand receivers' preferences. We propose that the cause lies deeper, in the differing motivations of the giver and the receiver. We find that the giver pursues and derives enjoyment from the receiver's spontaneous display of affective reactions (i.e., facial, vocal, or gestural expressions of emotion), more than from the receiver's overall appreciation, as assumed in prior research. The distinction between the receiver's affective reactions and the receiver's overall appreciation arises because affective responses can occur before the receiver has formed the more deliberative assessment of overall appreciation. Thus, the giver often chooses gifts to maximize the receiver's affect display, and forgoes gifts that could yield higher receiver appreciation. Consistent with this "smile-seeking" motive of the giver, we find that the preference discrepancy is mitigated when the giver cannot observe the receiver's reactions. The giver's "smile-seeking" motive also colors giver's reported beliefs about the receiver's preference. Across fourteen studies, we present findings that uniquely support the "smile-seeking" motive, and are not explained by existing gift-giving accounts or other alternative explanations.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

People love the idea of gifts, but most people don't excel at choosing them. Americans return or exchange up to 30% of gifts purchased in stores every year (NRF 2013), and even gifts that people keep are typically not what they most value (Sherry, McGrath, and Levy 1992). This economic inefficiency of the gift market has been notoriously discussed in terms of the "deadweight loss of Christmas" (Waldfogel 1993), and the puzzle of gift-giving has been the object of a great deal of research. Most academic studies, as well as lay wisdom, explain givers' failure to choose the "best" gifts for their receivers based on givers' misprediction of what receivers would appreciate the most (e.g., Baskin et al. 2014, Gino and Flynn 2011, Lisa, Gino and Fitzsimons 2015, Zhang and Epley 2012).

In the present research, we show that a cause of the mismatch in giving may lie deeper, in the different motivations of givers and receivers. We propose, 1) that the gift attributes that inspire the strongest initial display of affective reactions (i.e., facial, vocal, or gestural expressions of emotion, APA 2006) are often not the attributes that ultimately induce the most favorable appraisal and appreciation from the receivers; and 2) that a giver primarily pursues and derives enjoyment from the receiver's spontaneous display of affective reactions, rather than receivers' overall appreciation, as at least implicitly assumed in prior research. Hence, when the anticipated affect display misaligns with anticipated appreciation, the giver's "smile-seeking" motive will often lead the giver to choose gifts that will maximize the receiver's affect display, and to pass over other gifts that would yield higher receiver appreciation.

We test the differing motives of givers and receivers in a series of 14 studies, investigating all three phases of gift giving: before, during, and after the gift exchange. We measure

givers' beliefs before the exchange about the receiver's display of affective reactions and about the receiver's overall appreciation for the gift, and test givers' and receivers' preferences between reaction-maximizing gifts and appreciation-maximizing gifts. We compare the giver's choice with the receiver's preference during the exchange, and compare the receiver's actual affect display to the receiver's appreciation upon receiving gifts. We examine how the receiver's affect display and overall appreciation differently contribute to the giver's and the receiver's enjoyment after the gift exchange.

Across the studies, our findings identify the pivotal influence that anticipated affective reaction has in gift-giving decisions. These results uniquely support the "smile-seeking" motive, and cannot be explained by existing theories of gift-giving, including mistaken beliefs. The findings suggest that the smile-seeking motive may contribute to givers' miscalibrations of their receiver's preference via motivated reasoning (Kunda 1990). The present research bridges a conceptual gap between the extant empirical research on gift giving, which emphasizes preference calibration, and a broader literature that identifies the affective motives and consequences of social interactions (Baumeister and Leary 1995, Leary 1995, Belk and Coon 1993, Sanfey 2007).

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Choosing Gifts to Maximize Appreciation

A gift-giver who is genuinely trying to give a good gift often needs to rely on her beliefs about what the receiver will appreciate and how the receiver will react. However, the giver often faces considerable difficulty in gauging the receiver's preferences. These difficulties arise from a variety of factors, including a lack of information (Belk 1976), discrepant evaluations of the relationship (Otnes, Zolner and Lowrey 1994), differences in psychological distance (Baskin et al. 2014), and contextual differences between the giver and the receiver (Teigen, Olsen and Solas 2005).

As prior research has focused on the giver's predictions of what the receiver will appreciate, it has for the most part neglected to consider the receiver's affective reaction as a separate factor motivating the giver. Some researchers have theorized that givers may intend to induce positive affect and positive reaction from the receiver (Ruth, Otnes and Brunel 1999, Sherry 1983), such as surprise (Vanhamme and de Bont 2008). However, in empirical research on gift giving, the receiver's display of reaction has been treated as a direct behavioral consequence that indicates the receiver's appreciation. This established view stems from the appraisal theory of emotion (Frijda 1986, Lazarus 1982, Scherer, Schorr and Johnstone 2001), which posits that affective responses result from appraisal (i.e., interpretations and explanations of circumstances, Aronson 2005). From this perspective, the receiver is assumed to react positively if they receive what they want. Empirical research has thus explained suboptimal gift choices in terms of the giver's mistaken beliefs, such as mispredicting what the receiver would choose (Laran 2010), would enjoy the most

(Baskin et al. 2014, Choi et al. 2006, Cavanaugh et al. 2015), would perceive as costly or effortful (Flynn and Adams 2009, Zhang and Epley 2009), or would consider thoughtful (Gino and Flynn 2011, Steffel and LeBoeuf 2014, Ward and Broniayczek 2015, Williams and Rosenzweig 2016, Zhang and Epley 2012).

This approach has proven fairly useful in explaining suboptimal gift choices. However, assuming the giver's motive is solely to match the receiver's preference reduces gift-giving to a cognitive exercise in which givers try to guess "the right answer" (e.g, Waldfogel 1993). This view neglects the deep affective and social motives that often underlie gift-giving behaviors. In particular, prior qualitative and conceptual research has stressed the importance of the affective and social consequences of gift giving, such as inducing positive social interactions, building trust, and facilitating bonding (e.g., Belk and Coon 1993, Mauss 1954, Ruth et al. 1999, Lawler 2001), all of which involve the communication of affect displays.

More importantly, the giver's social motives can fundamentally influence how the giver accesses information and constructs judgments (Kunda 1990, Higgins 1996, Epley 2004, Epley et al. 2004), and hence color the giver's beliefs about the receiver's preference. In other words, when the giver doesn't know what the receiver wants, the giver's motivation to induce a desirable affective reaction can shape the giver's judgments about what the receiver wants. Thus, instead of causing the giver's suboptimal choices, the giver's mistaken beliefs may arise from what the giver wants, in the same way as the giver's choices do.

2.2 The Importance of Affect Display in Social Interactions

Affect display plays a uniquely important role in social interactions. Social interactions involve interpersonal outcomes and necessitate communication, typically via the display and perception of affective reactions, unlike individual behaviors that only involve intraper-

sonal outcomes and considerations of one's own utility. It is therefore important to consider whether a person's display of affective reaction can deviate from the person's appreciation of utility.

It has been increasingly recognized in recent years that affective responses can occur without extensive perceptual and cognitive encoding (Berridge and Winkielman 2003, Forgas 2002, Zajonc 1980, 2000). Affective display often reflects a spontaneous affective response, occurring before more complex cognitive processes (Zajonc 1980, 2000), whereas appreciation results from an overall appraisal that is initially informed by the spontaneous affective response but then incorporates more deliberative cognitive evaluation (Cohen, Pham and Andrade 2006). Therefore, although a person's appreciation of a gift partially reflects the initial display of affective reactions, the person's eventual appreciation may systematically deviate from the initial affective reaction.

Despite not necessarily reflecting perceived value, affective reactions are central to the interpersonal communication of attention, social feedback, and emotional connections, which have been theorized as fundamental human needs as far back as Aristotle (Baumeister and Leary 1995, Cacioppo and Patrick 2008, Maslow 1943, Mead 1934). Because people need affective connections with others, the communication of positive affect display is inherently gratifying. For example, a genuine smile and a warm hug are almost always pleasant as they trigger secondary positive affective reactions (Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson 1994, Moody et al. 2007). Abundant research has found that the exchange of positive affect display with others provides important psychological and physiological benefits (Cohen 2004, Lakin and Chartrand 2003, Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal 1990, Uvnas-Moberg 1998), whereas a lack of affective display in one's social environment is detrimental to both psychological and physical well-being (Ainsworth 1979, Cacioppo et al. 2002, Rook 1984).

Given how pervasive and inherently rewarding affective reactions are, surprisingly little is known about how anticipated affective reactions of other people shape one's decision-making for them. The limited evidence in support of the motivating role of affect displays comes from research on infant and primate behaviors (De Waal et al. 2008, Sorce et al. 1985, Tronick 1989), including infants' tendency to spontaneously repeat behaviors to induce a caretaker's smile and laugh (Tronick 1989). In adult behavior, however, affect display has typically been assumed by decision researchers to be merely a behavioral consequence and indicator of appraisal (Lazarus 1982; see Van Kleef 2009). Consequently, recent theorizing (Van Kleef 2009, Van Kleef et al. 2010) has called for empirical research to investigate the motivating influence of affect displays in common social behaviors, independent of the appraisal information conveyed.

We consider gift giving an ideal context in which to investigate the motivating role of affect display, disentangled from appraisal. The receiver's affective reaction to a gift is typically spontaneous and can therefore systematically differ from the receiver's subsequent and more deliberative appreciation. Therefore, by comparing what givers choose with what receivers appreciate, we will be able to distinguish between the influence of the anticipated receiver reaction and the anticipated receiver appreciation in motivating the giver.

For the giver, we posit that anticipated receiver affective reactions, which are a direct source of feedback and motivation, may play a more crucial role in her decision than anticipated receiver appreciation. Conversely, from the receiver's perspective, his own affective reaction is likely a fairly fleeting aspect, representing only part of the receiver's overall appreciation. To distinguish between the two factors, we focus on situations where we expect the receiver's affect display to deviate from their overall appreciation. This approach is different from prior research that typically examined situations in which the receiver's reaction would be well aligned with their appreciation.

2.3 The Neglected Role of Anticipated Affect Display in Choosing Gifts

We propose that the giver has a “smile-seeking” motive, pursuing the receiver’s display of positive affective reactions. Because of the smile-seeking motive, the giver favors gifts with higher sensory, hedonic, and immediate value, and devalues gifts that provide more deliberative, practical, and lasting value, even when the giver knows the latter type of gifts would be equally appreciated or more appreciated by the receiver. Driven by the smile-seeking motive, the giver’s gift choice will often deviate from the preferences of the receiver, whose overall appreciation of the gift represents a more balanced incorporation of both sources of value. For example, a giver will prefer to give a colorful bouquet of flowers that would make the receiver smile, whereas a receiver will prefer to receive a book they would enjoy reading. This discrepancy between givers and receivers motives is distinct from givers thoughtlessly or selfishly choosing unappreciated gifts (Belk and Coon 1976, Wolfinbarger 1990), such as giving candies to a diabetic patient or giving their spouse a vacuum cleaner.

The smile-seeking account generates unique predictions for givers and receivers before, during and after gift giving. First, the giver will prefer a reaction-maximizing gift over an appreciation-maximizing gift, even when the giver can anticipate the misalignment between the receiver’s display of affective reactions and the receiver’s overall appreciation of gifts. Second, as a result, the giver’s choice will mismatch the receiver’s preference when there is a misalignment between the receiver’s affect display and appreciation. Third, after giving a gift, the giver will primarily derive enjoyment from the receiver’s display of affective reaction when receiving the gift, even when the giver can also perceive or infer the receiver’s differing overall appreciation.

These predictions critically hinge on the receiver's affect display being available to the giver. For example, if the giver and the receiver will be apart during the gift exchange, or if the receiver is known to be emotionally inexpressive, then the giver will be less likely to prioritize those attributes that induce affective reactions. As such, the giver will tend to choose a gift that better matches the receiver's preferences, but the giver will also derive less personal enjoyment from giving. This proposed moderator will be central to testing the smile-seeking account, because prior theories predict that gift decisions will depend on the giver's beliefs about what receivers would choose for themselves (Baskin et al. 2014, Belk 1976, Laran 2010, Ward and Broniayczek 2015), rather than the expected visibility of the receiver's affect display.

CHAPTER 3

EMPIRICAL STUDIES

We present 9 studies in detail, with additional replications reported in the appendix. Study 1A and 1B establishes the predicted discrepancy between the preferences of givers and receivers, first by analyzing liked and disliked gifts and then by measuring preferences between pre-defined gift choices. Study 2A, 2B and 2C confirms the misalignment between receiver's reaction and receiver's appreciation, and demonstrates the resulting discrepant preferences in dyads of givers and receivers with real gift cards involving a representative reaction-appreciation tradeoff. Study 3A and 3B tests the key moderator - how the availability of receiver's affective reaction mitigates giver's choice, in both a vignette study and a field survey. Study 4 further demonstrates that only anticipated reaction mediates giver's choices, whereas both anticipated reaction and anticipated appreciation mediate receiver's preferences. Last, Study 5 investigates the consequences of real gifts for both givers and receivers in a longitudinal field survey, and identifies the unique influence of receivers' affective reactions on the givers' post-exchange enjoyment. Across the studies, we find results that uniquely support the "smile-seeking" motive and are incompatible with alternative accounts including psychological distance, thoughtfulness signaling, social norms, goal conflict, or individual differences.

In Study 1, we demonstrate the predicted preference discrepancy between givers and receivers. First, in Study 1A, we compare givers' and receivers' overall liking of gifts they had actually given or received, and in Study 1B we examine givers' and receivers' preferences for prospective gift options.

3.1 Study 1A: Recalling Favorite Gifts

In Study 1A, we asked participants to list a liked and disliked recent gift, either as givers or receivers, and had the listed gifts coded by independent raters. We used a mixed design with 2 (giver vs. receiver) between-subjects conditions and 2 (favorite vs. least favorite gift) within-subjects conditions. We predict that givers are happiest with gifts that tend to elicit desirable affective reactions, whereas receivers are happiest with gifts that tend to provide the most favorable overall evaluation.

3.1.1 Method

We recruited 80 participants ($M_{age} = 34$, 50% Male) from Amazon Mturk for \$1 each, and randomly assigned each participant to either the giver condition or the receiver condition. In the giver condition, we asked participants to list two gifts they had given in the past two years, first a gift for which “the experience made you very happy,” then a gift for which “the experience did not make you very happy,” and to briefly describe each gift and their relationship with each gift receiver (see the Online Appendix for detailed study materials and additional statistical analyses for all studies). In the receiver condition, the questions were identical, except that participants were asked to list gifts they had received. All participants then completed standard attention-check, gender and age questions that we used in all the online studies.

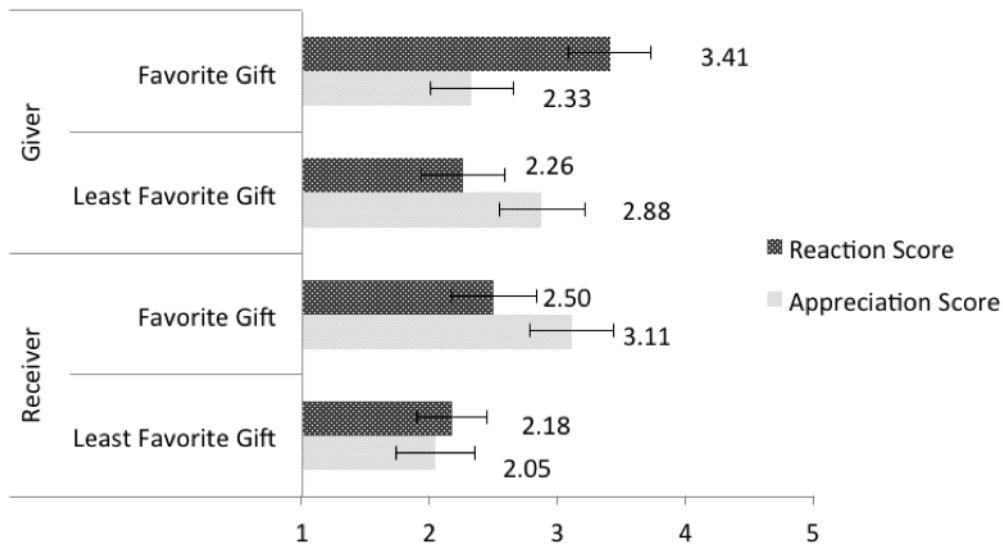
3.1.2 Coding

We randomized the order of the gifts people had listed and had each gift rated by two independent coders on two separate items. The coder ratings distinguished between the two dimensions of the gift-exchange experience identified in our account: reaction and appreciation. The reaction question measured the anticipated display of affective reactions to the gift (“*How positively do you think a receiver would react to this gift?*”). The appreciation question measured the anticipated overall appreciation for the gift (“*How positively do you think a receiver would evaluate this gift overall?*”). Both items were rated on 5-point scales, ranging from “just a little” to “very much”. The ratings showed high inter-coder reliability ($r_{reaction} = 0.85$, $r_{appreciation} = 0.89$), and each item was averaged.

3.1.3 Results

Examples of frequently listed items include flowers as the giver’s favorite, books as the receiver’s favorite, money as the giver’s least favorite, and packs of socks as the receiver’s least favorite. The coders’ ratings supported the predicted discrepancy between givers’ and receivers’ preferences. Givers’ favorite gifts were rated by the coders as generating greater positive reaction than appreciation (3.41 vs. 2.33, $t(37) = 3.79$, $p < 0.001$). By contrast, receivers’ favorite gifts scored lower for reaction than for appreciation (2.50 vs. 3.11, $t(41) = -2.39$, $p = 0.021$, figure 1), suggesting that the receivers’ reaction is relatively more important for givers than receivers.

Figure 3.1. Givers' and Receivers' Retrospective Gift Preferences (Study 1A)



Moreover, receivers' least favorite gifts scored similarly low for both reaction and appreciation (2.18 vs. 2.05, $t(41) = .60$, n.s.), but givers' least favorite gifts scored lower for reaction than for appreciation (2.26 vs. 2.88, $t(36) = -3.10$, $p < 0.001$). In fact, the scores of givers' least favorite gifts were markedly similar to receivers' favorite gifts (2.26 vs. 2.50, $t(36) = 0.31$, n.s.; 2.88 vs. 3.11, $t(36) = 0.34$, n.s.). This resemblance suggests that the type of gifts receivers enjoy such as books and money, are often not enjoyed by the givers, due to the lack of affective reactions the gifts tend to elicit.

Logistic regression analyses confirmed that reaction and appreciation had different influences on givers' and receivers' assessments of the gift. For givers, reaction predicted whether the gift was listed as liked ($\beta_{reaction} = 1.00$, $Wald = 13.7$, $p < 0.001$, $\beta_{appreciation} = -0.42$, $Wald = 2.41$, $p = 0.120$). For receivers, both factors predicted whether gift was liked, but appreciation had a stronger effect ($\beta_{reaction} = 0.57$, $Wald = 4.00$, $p = 0.045$, $\beta_{appreciation} = 1.15$, $Wald = 16.0$, $p < 0.001$). Overall, these results sup-

port our hypothesis that givers and receivers derive enjoyment from different dimensions of the gift-exchange experience.

3.2 Study 1B: Selecting Gifts

Next, we test the proposed discrepancy between givers' and receivers' preferences, among gift options for an upcoming gift occasion. We used a mixed design with 3 (giver-choice vs. receiver-preference vs. giver-prediction) between-subjects conditions and 9 (pairs of choices) within-subjects conditions in Study 1B. We predict that givers will prefer to choose gifts that are considered more likely to elicit desirable reactions, compared with gifts that the receivers will prefer and appreciate more. We also predict that the smile-seeking motive will influence how givers assess and construct judgments when making predictions. As a result, we expect givers' predictions to be anchored on what the givers would want to give, and to differ from the receiver's preferences.

3.2.1 Pretest

We selected nine ordinary types of gift items similar to those mentioned frequently in Study 1A, (dinner reservations, concert tickets, iTunes songs, ice cream vouchers, snacks, wallets, kitchenware, Amazon e-gift cards, and money). For every gift category, we generated a pair of options: an option with more immediate benefits, which was expected to yield a more favorable anticipated affective reaction, and an option with more long-term benefits, which was expected to be more appreciated.

For example, participants chose between a Michelin 2-star restaurant booked for the upcoming weekend, and a Michelin 3-star restaurant that would only be available in three

months. We posit that the sooner reservation tends to yield a more positive affective reaction because temporal proximity enhances visceral appeal (Hoch and Loewenstein 1991) and thereby affective responses. Conversely, the higher-rated restaurant reservation would be more appreciated overall, because assessing quality involves a less instantaneous and more deliberate evaluation.

We confirmed that each pair of options was perceived as a tradeoff between reaction and appreciation in a pre-test conducted on Amazon Mturk ($N = 67$). We asked participants to imagine being a gift-giver and to rate the receiver's reaction and appreciation for each gift on 7-point scales similar to those in Study 1A. We found that the options with more immediate benefits were considered more reaction-inducing than appreciation-inducing (4.92 vs. 4.51, $t(66) = 7.13$, $p < 0.001$), while the options with more long-term benefits were considered less reaction-inducing than appreciation-inducing (4.90 vs. 5.15, $t(66) = -3.30$, $p = 0.002$; repeated-measures ANOVA interaction $F(1, 66) = 51.1$, $p < 0.001$). We confirmed the reaction-appreciation tradeoff in all the pre-defined choice pairs used in our studies (see table 1 in appendix).

Since they face a reaction-appreciation tradeoff, we predict that givers will prefer to give the reaction-inducing gifts over the appreciation-inducing gifts, in contrast to receivers' preference. This prediction is the opposite of what might be predicted by some other accounts. In particular, recent findings suggest that gift-givers often overweigh desirability and underweigh feasibility in their selection of gifts, due to the givers' greater psychologically distance from the outcome (Baskin et al. 2014). In our context, reaction-inducing options (e.g., sooner reservation, quicker delivery) could also be more feasible, and the appreciation-inducing options (e.g., fancier restaurants, larger kitchenware set) may represent greater desirability. We predict that givers' desire for receiver affective reaction will dominate in these choices, such that givers will nevertheless be more likely than recipi-

ents to prefer the reaction-inducing gifts over the appreciation-inducing gifts, any construal differences aside.

3.2.2 *Method*

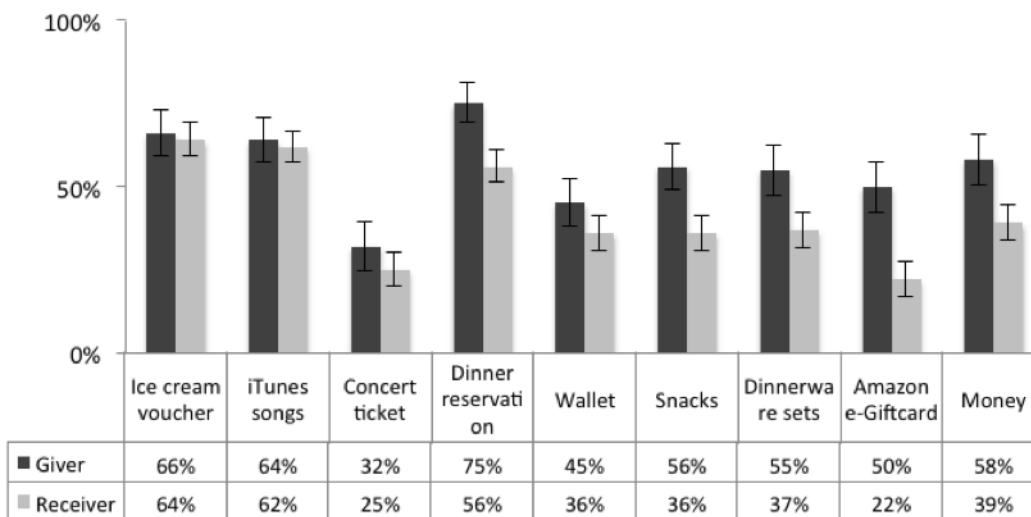
We recruited 317 participants ($M_{age} = 35$, 50% Male) from Amazon MTurk for \$1 each. We first asked participants to list the name of a good friend, and then randomly assigned participants to three conditions (giver-choice vs. receiver-preference vs. giver-prediction). In the giver-choice condition, we asked participants to imagine that they were choosing a gift for their friend, and to indicate which option in each pair they would prefer to give. In the receiver-preference condition, we asked participants to instead imagine they were receiving a gift from their friend, and to indicate which option in each pair they would prefer to receive. In the giver-prediction condition, we asked participants to imagine they were choosing a gift for their friend, and to indicate which option in each pair they believe the receiver would prefer to receive. In all conditions, participants were asked to assume that options in each pair cost the same.

After the key measure, we included process measures (see online appendix) that had been suggested as potentially relevant to interpersonal choice in prior research, including empathy (Davis 1980), self-control (Laran 2010), hyperopia (Kivetz and Simonson 2002), and patience, for both themselves and their friend. Last, we asked participants to rate interpersonal closeness to the friend they had listed on a 10-point scale.

3.2.3 Results

Comparing givers' and receivers' prospective gift choices, we found the same preference discrepancy as in Study 1A. Givers preferred to give the gift options with more immediate benefits, whereas receivers were relatively more likely to prefer the options with more long-term benefits (average across the nine items: 55.3% vs. 42.0%, repeated-measures ANOVA $F(1, 206) = 13.2, p < 0.001$, figure 2). The discrepancy was significant for 6 of the nine choices, and directional for the other 3. In other words, givers often chose to give the option that was anticipated to yield a more positive affective reaction, and passed over the option anticipated to result in more favorable overall appreciation.

Figure 3.2. Givers' and Receivers' Prospective Gift Preferences (Study 1B)



Furthermore, giver's predictions of what receivers would prefer were similar to what givers chose (repeated-measures ANOVA $F(1, 211) = 0.32, p > 0.25$), both of which were different from what receivers actually preferred ($F(1, 211) = 10.6, p = 0.001$). The similarity of givers' predictions to givers' choices, but not to recipients' preferences, is consistent

with both the information account and our motivational account. According to the information account, givers base their choices on their predictions of the receivers' preference, and when those predictions are mistaken, they will choose gifts that are at odds with receivers' actual preferences (Baskin et al. 2014, Zhang and Epley 2009). This account does not explain, however, why givers would believe that receivers prefer a reaction-maximizing gift over an appreciation-maximizing gift, particularly since givers accurately predicted the differences between receiver's affective reactions and overall appreciation across the gifts in the pretest.

The motivation account bridges the gap. Because judgments are susceptible to motivated reasoning (Kunda 1990), the giver's preferences can influence how they access, construct, and evaluate information, ultimately influencing their predictions. More specifically, predicting others' preferences involves an anchoring and insufficient adjustment process (Epley 2004, 2005), in which givers may make predictions anchoring on the option they would prefer to give.

As a result, both givers' predictions and their choices would stem from the smile-seeking motive. Givers accurately predicted a misalignment between receiver reaction and receiver appreciation when explicitly asked to predict them simultaneously in the pretest, but anchored on the reaction when predicting what the receiver would want or choosing for the receiver, reflecting the consistent influence of a smile-seeking motive. We will test this process more directly in Study 2. We then identify a key moderator supporting the motivation account over the information account in Study 3, and demonstrate that the giver's preferences for the reaction-maximizing persists even when they know the receiver would prefer the other option in Study 4.

As we report in more detail in the online appendix, our process measures did not find any evidence that prior accounts of gift giving help explain the preference discrepancy. For example, people may feel guilt (Kivetz and Simonson 2002) or goal conflict (Laran 2010)

when choosing gifts for themselves but not when selecting gifts for others. However, givers who were higher in the general tendency for hyperopia (Haws and Poynor 2008) or who had larger self-other guilt differences were not more likely to choose the reaction maximizing gifts, as the hyperopia explanation would predict. Likewise, givers who were higher in self-control (Tangney et al 2004) or who had larger self-other differences in goal conflict (Laran 2010, Study 2) did not choose differently. Other process measures representing alternative explanations such as empathy, patience and impulsivity, also had no effect.

In sum, in Study 1B we found that the smile-seeking account gives rise to a giver-receiver preference discrepancy during gift exchange, consistent with the preference discrepancy after gift exchange we found in Study 1A.

3.2.4 *Discussion*

In Study 1, we found evidence for the proposed giver-receiver preference discrepancy both in happiness derived from actual gifts and in prospective gift preferences among pre-defined gift options. These findings suggest that the giver-receiver discrepancy occurs because givers prioritize affective reaction while receivers care more about overall appreciation. This motivation-based preference discrepancy thus differs conceptually from previously identified discrepancies that were explained by givers' mistaken beliefs about receivers' preferences due to information asymmetry or failure of perspective-taking (e.g., Baskin et al. 2014, Choi et al. 2006, Cavanaugh et al. 2015, Gino and Flynn 2011, Laran 2010, Ward and Broniayczek 2015, Ziegler and Tunney 2012). These results are also not explained by givers attempting to relieve receivers' guilt from indulgence (Kivetz and Simonson 2002, Thaler 1985), as that account would predict a match between givers' and receivers' post-exchange preferences.

Next, we directly examine the separate aspects of our account: receivers' actual reaction and appreciation, givers' beliefs about receivers' reaction and appreciation, and the discrepancy between giver choices and receiver preferences.

3.3 Study 2A: Misalignment Between Receivers' Reactions and Appreciation

Intertemporal tradeoffs are prevalent in consumer decisions (Bartels and Urminsky 2015, Soman et al. 2005, Urminsky and Zauberan 2016). Such tradeoffs between temporal immediacy and monetary value are common in gift choices, such as when purchasing gift cards with different values and redemption dates, choosing between gifts with different delivery times, or booking dining or performances available on specific dates.

We posit that intertemporal tradeoffs are one common situation in which the proposed misalignment between reaction and appreciation arises. Prior research on temporal discounting has shown that the evaluation of temporal proximity is often spontaneous and affective, whereas the evaluation of monetary value is more deliberative and calculated (Hsee and Rottenstreich 2004). This suggests that temporal proximity will typically elicit a more desirable display of affective reactions, whereas a larger quantity or higher monetary value will yield more favorable appreciation.

In Study 2, we used choices between smaller-sooner and later-larger Starbucks gift cards to capture the broader intertemporal tradeoff between immediacy and magnitude in gift-giving. One card was worth five dollars and immediately redeemable, and the other card was worth six dollars and redeemable in two weeks. Both cards featured "thank-you" designs pre-tested to have similar visual appeal ($t(103) = -0.88$, n.s.), with the effective date and monetary value printed on the back.

We first examined the actual reactions and appreciation elicited in receivers by each card in Study 2A. Then we tested whether givers accurately predict the receivers' reactions and appreciation in response to each card in Study 2B. Last, we compared givers' choices and receivers' preferences in actual dyads in Study 2C.

3.3.1 *Method*

We recruited 115 student participants ($M_{age} = 27$, 45% Male) for a "Perception and Reaction Study" in the labs of a large Midwestern university for \$2 each. Participants consented to being videotaped and photographed, and then viewed and evaluated a series of images. After participants finished evaluating the images, they were thanked and given one of the gift cards (either \$5 redeemable immediately or \$6 redeemable in two weeks, randomly assigned) while being videotaped. Participants did not know that there was another gift card besides the one they received.

After participants read the information on the gift card, they each had a photo taken with the gift card, filled out a brief questionnaire to evaluate the gift card and the experience, and were debriefed and paid.

3.3.2 *Key Measure*

For the display of affective reactions we asked two independent coders, unaware of the hypotheses, to rate each receiver's affect display after getting the gift card from the videos and photos. We designed a 7-point pictorial coding scale (figure 3) corresponded to different levels of positive facial expressions based on the Duchenne Smile definition

(Ekman, Davidson, and Friesen 1990). The coders were also asked to note any negative affect observed from the participants.

Figure 3.3. Pictorial Coding Scale for Observed Display of Affective Reactions (Study 2A)



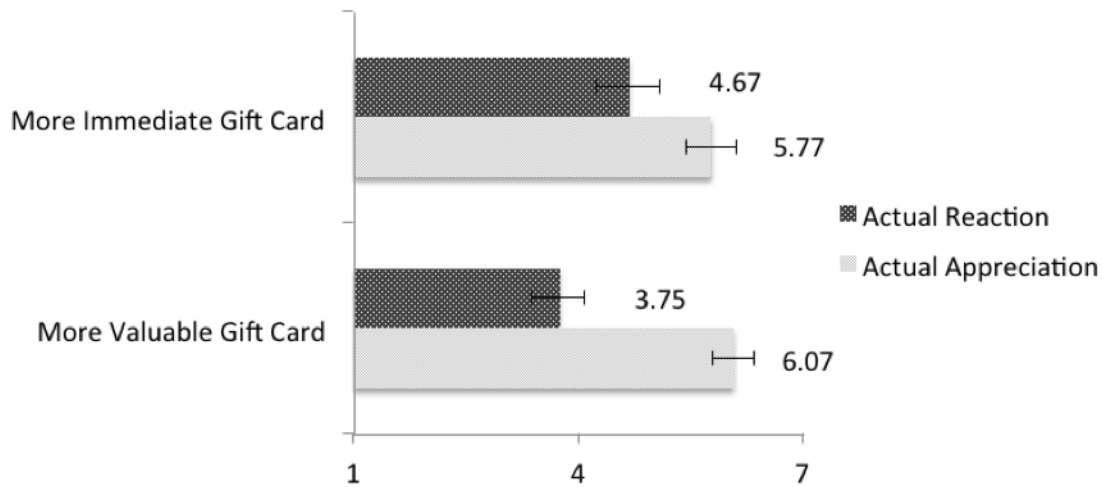
For overall appreciation, we asked each participant “*How useful do you find this gift card overall?*” and “*How valuable do you find this gift card overall?*” on 7-point scales (1 = just a little, 4 = fairly, 7 = very much), and averaged the two ratings.

3.3.3 Results

Participants smiled, albeit to different degrees, after receiving the gift cards ($M = 4.21$, a moderately positive smile, $SD = 1.6$; $Min = 2$, a neutral face), and none displayed visible signs of negative affect. We have proposed that givers anticipate stronger affective reactions when the receiver receives a gift with more immediate benefit. The receivers in this study did visually demonstrate more positive affective reactions to the sooner card than to the more valuable card, based on the coders’ ratings of the photos and videos (4.68 vs. 3.75, $SD = 1.6$ vs. 1.4, $t(112) = 3.35$, $p = 0.001$, figure 4).

By contrast, participants did not appreciate the sooner gift card more than the more valuable gift card in their self-report rating (5.77 vs. 6.07, $SD = 1.3$ vs. 1.0, $t(112) = -1.39$, $p = 0.169$), directionally favoring the more valuable gift card. Thus, the difference in affective display was inconsistent with receivers’ subsequent overall appreciation for the gifts (repeated-measures ANOVA interaction $F(1, 112) = 14.4$, $p < 0.001$).

Figure 3.4. Observed Reaction and Self-Reported Appreciation to Gift Cards (Study 2A)



These results support the predicted misalignment between reaction and appreciation. In particular, these findings contradict the assumption that affect display is merely a direct behavioral consequence of overall appreciation (Lazarus 1982). Instead, the observed misalignment between the receivers’ displayed affective reaction and their rated appreciation is consistent with our account, in which affect display reflects the initial affective response whereas appreciation incorporates both the initial response and more deliberative appraisal. Next, we test whether givers correctly anticipate this discrepancy.

3.4 Study 2B: Givers’ Predictions of Reaction and Appreciation

3.4.1 Method

We recruited 105 participants ($M_{age} = 31$, 57% Male) from the same subject pool as Study 2A, for \$1 each. We showed them both gift cards, and asked them to estimate the receivers’ reactions to and their appreciation of each gift card, using the same 7-point scales as in Study 2A. Participants also predicted which option receivers would prefer to get.

3.4.2 Results

Participants accurately predicted that receivers would display more enthusiastic affective reactions for the sooner gift card (5.73 vs. 4.65, $t(104) = 8.35$, $p < 0.001$) as observed in Study 2A. In contrast to the results of Study 2A, however, participants inaccurately predicted that receivers would also have more favorable appreciation of the sooner gift card (5.46 vs. 4.71, $t(104) = 4.77$, $p < 0.001$).

While givers correctly anticipated the difference in affective reaction between the two gift cards, they did not predict the misalignment between receiver reaction and receiver appreciation for the gift cards observed in Study 2A. Furthermore, a majority of gift-givers (80.0%) mispredicted that receivers would prefer to receive the sooner card. However, this givers' mispredictions of receiver preferences was not based on their mistaken beliefs about appreciation. Instead, a multiple regression reveals that the givers' mispredictions of receivers preference was based on their beliefs about the receivers' affective reaction ($\beta = 0.112$, $t(104) = 3.17$, $p = 0.002$), rather than receivers' appreciation ($\beta = 0.038$, $t(104) = 1.27$, $p = 0.207$).

These results suggest that givers are fairly accurate at predicting receivers' affective reactions. As in Study 1B, these anticipated affective reactions in turn influenced givers' reported estimates of receivers' preferences. Thus, the givers' motive to induce positive receiver reaction colors their beliefs about receivers' preferences.

3.5 Study 2C: Comparing Giver's Choice and Receiver's Preference in Dyadic Gift Giving

3.5.1 Method

We recruited pairs of friends ($N = 116$, $M_{age} = 19$, 47% Male, $M_{close} = 6.3$) to come to a research lab in a large Midwestern university for \$3 each. The pair were separated into different rooms given a very easy team game which they all won. Then, we randomly assigned one person to be the giver and one to be the receiver in a gift-giving interaction. The givers were told to choose one of the Starbucks gift cards to thank their partner with. The receiver was told they would receive a gift card, and asked about their preference between the two cards. Participants then completed the gift card exchange, filled out measures of interpersonal closeness, gender, and age, and were debriefed and paid.

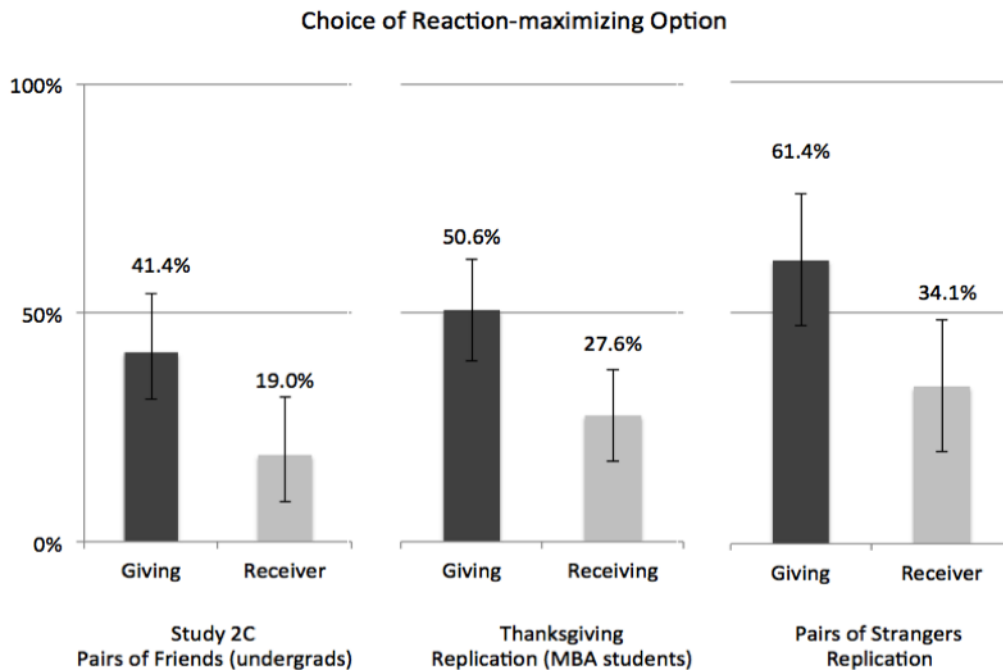
3.5.2 Results

Givers were more likely than receivers to choose the sooner gift card (41.4% vs. 19.0%, $\chi^2 = 6.9$, $p = 0.015$, figure 5), which was both believed to induce (Study 2B) and actually induced (Study 2A) stronger affective reactions. Thus, givers' choices were consistent with a greater concern for the anticipated display of affective reactions from the receiver, whereas receivers' choices were more consistent with their own overall appreciation. The giver-receiver preference discrepancy was robust to mood, interpersonal closeness, gender, and age.

3.5.3 Replications

We also tested the discrepancy between givers' and receivers' gift card choice in two other studies (see the online appendix for details). In one study, with pairs of strangers ($N = 88$, $M_{age} = 26$, 48% Male, $M_{close} = 4.5$), givers again were more likely than receivers to select a lower-valued sooner gift card (61.4% vs. 34.1%, $\chi^2 = 6.6$, $p = 0.018$). These results extend the givers' focus on anticipated affective reactions to interactions between strangers with no potential for future reciprocation.

Figure 3.5. Actual Discrepancy of Gift Card Preferences Between Givers and Receivers (Study 2C & Replications)



In another study, with 155 MBA students ($M_{age} = 29$, 61% Male), we replicated the giver-recipient discrepancy both between and within subjects. Participants were more likely to choose a lower-valued sooner card as a gift than for themselves (72.4% vs. 49.4%, $\chi^2(1) = 8.59$, $p = 0.005$). Givers were more likely to choose the sooner card as a gift than

to say they would prefer to receive it themselves (72.4% vs. 35.5%, $\chi^2 = 4.82$, $p = 0.036$), whereas receivers were more likely to say they would have given the sooner card as a gift than to select it for themselves (65.8% vs. 49.4%, $\chi^2 = 20.8$, $p < 0.001$).

The within-subjects results, in particular, cannot be explained by standard accounts of egocentric social projection, in which people anchor their prediction of others' attitudes or preferences on their own (Epley 2008, Tamir and Mitchell 2013). Instead, the same person focused on maximizing the receiver's positive affect display when choosing as a giver, and focused on maximizing own appreciation when choosing as a receiver.

3.5.4 Discussion

In Study 2, using actual gift cards, we documented the misalignment between receiver reaction and receiver appreciation (Study 2A). We found that givers correctly anticipate the differences in receivers' affective reactions, but mistakenly base their predictions of receivers' preference on reactions rather than on appreciation (Study 2B). Moreover, givers were consistently more likely than receivers to choose a reaction-maximizing gift over a appreciation-maximizing gift (Study 2C and replications). Overall, these findings suggest that the giver-receiver preference discrepancy is due to the givers' smile-seeking motive to prioritize the receivers' reaction in gift choices over the receivers' appreciation.

While our tests in Study 2 have focused on direct intertemporal tradeoffs, our account predicts that as long as gift options involve a tradeoff between a reaction-maximizing attribute and an appreciation-maximizing attribute (e.g., sensory appeal versus versatility, excitement versus functionality), a similar giver-receiver preference discrepancy will arise. For example, in another replication with 112 MBA students ($M_{age} = 30$, 61% Male) recruited in the winter, we found the giver-receiver preference discrepancy (51.5% vs. 18.6%,

$\chi^2 = 11.99, p < 0.001$) between two equally priced items that could both be used immediately. Givers preferred to give a fuzzy winter hat-and-scarf set, a gift that has more sensory appeal in winter, whereas receivers preferred to get the year-round sports shirt, a gift that has more versatile uses.

The smile-seeking account further predicts that when a giver is unlikely to obtain affective reactions from a receiver, the givers' preference for reaction-maximizing options will be mitigated. Next, we directly investigate the predicted moderation by the availability of affective reactions, in two ways. First, we manipulate whether the receiver is affectively expressive (Study 3A), and then we measure whether the giver will be present when the receiver gets the gift (Study 3B).

3.6 Study 3A: Giving to an Inexpressive Receiver

We first test the availability of affective reaction as a moderator, in a hypothetical scenario involving the well-known fictional character Ironman. Over ninety percent of our participants were familiar with the leading character in the namesake blockbuster franchised movie series, portrayed by Robert Downey Jr. In actual interactions, the observability of affective reactions may be confounded with other potentially relevant factors, such as the giver-receiver relationship. However, because Ironman can appear either with expressive facial reactions or behind a mask that obscures his reactions, this setting provides an independent manipulation of the observability of the receiver's reaction. We predict that a giver will be less prone to give the reaction-maximizing option to the receiver if the giver will be unable to observe the receiver's reactions.

3.6.1 Method

We recruited 135 participants ($M_{age} = 36$, 45% Male) from Amazon MTurk for \$1.50 each. Participants were randomly assigned to either the observable or unobservable conditions, and read a scenario in which they and Ironman (figure 6a) were neighbors. We then showed participants six images of Ironman labeled with primary emotional states (calm, happy, sad, angry, surprised, and disapproving), that only differed in whether Ironman was revealing his face (observable-reaction, figure 6b), or has his visor covering his face (unobservable-reaction condition, figure 6c).

Figure 3.6. First Image of Ironman (Study 3A Stimuli)



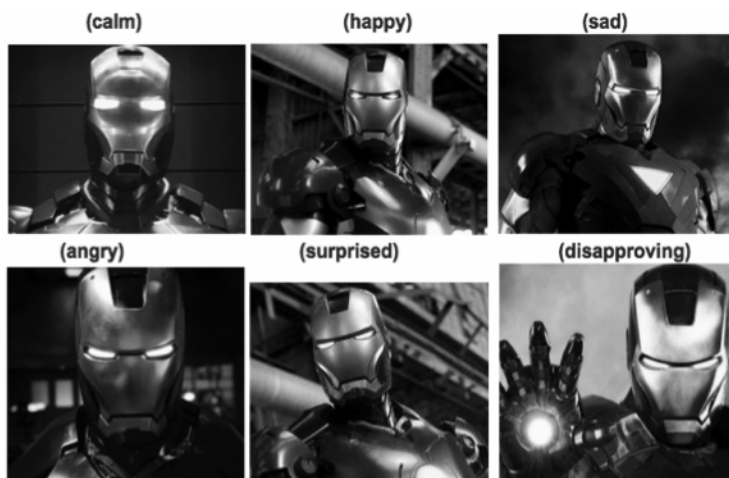
Next, participants chose between two house-warming gifts for Ironman: a fifty-dollar immediately redeemable Home Depot gift card or a sixty-dollar Home Depot gift card (on sale for fifty dollars) which would be redeemable in two weeks. Both gift cards cost the giver the same amount, would be delivered the next day, and would have no expiration date (as in Study 2). We validated that givers anticipated a more positive affective reaction from the sooner gift card (5.91 vs. 5.17, $t(103) = 5.31$, $p < 0.001$), but predicted similar

appreciation of both gift cards (5.68 vs. 5.69, $t(103) = -0.08$, $p > 0.25$; repeated-measures ANOVA interaction $F(1, 103) = 36.0$, $p < 0.001$).

Figure 3.7. Ironman Images in Observable Condition (Study 3A)



Figure 3.8. Ironman Images in Unobservable Condition (Study 3A)



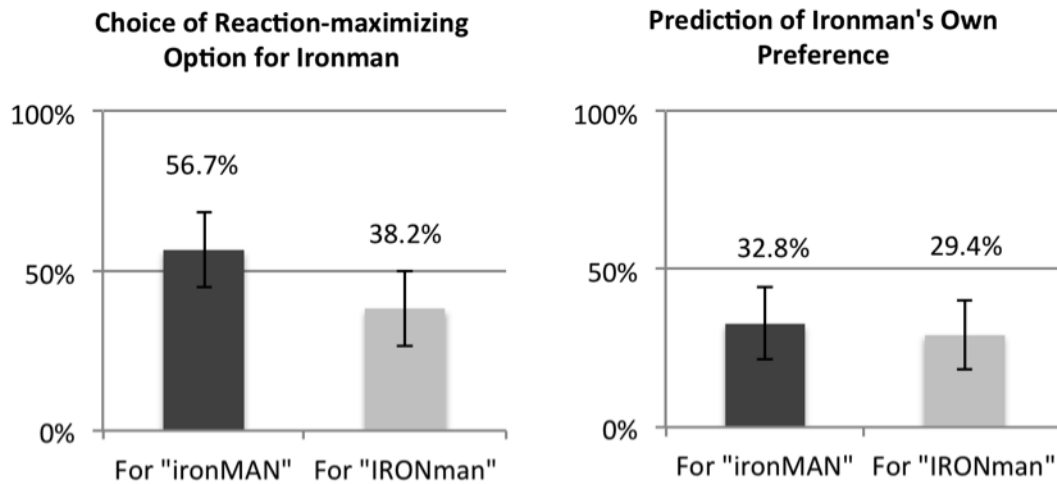
Participants rated how easily they imagined seeing Ironman smile, as a manipulation check. We measured potential confounds by having participants rate how easily they could imagine Ironman having “warm fuzzy feelings” and their perceptions of Ironman’s intelli-

gence, wealth, power, and patience. We also collected their beliefs about Ironman's own preference between the gift cards.

3.6.2 Results

Participants reported that it was easier to imagine Ironman smiling in the observable condition after seeing photos of the unmasked Ironman ($M = 5.3$, $SD = 1.3$), compared with participants in the unobservable condition who had only seen photos of the masked Ironman ($M = 3.9$, $SD = 1.9$; difference $F(1, 133) = 9.5$, $p < 0.001$). This confirms that the perceived availability of affective reactions was successfully manipulated.

Figure 3.9. Givers' Choices in Observable Condition and Unobservable Condition (Study 3A)



Nevertheless, participants in both conditions otherwise perceived Ironman the same, finding it equally easy to imagine Ironman having warm fuzzy feelings ($M = 3.3$ vs. 3.5 , $SD = 1.5$ vs. 1.5 ; $F(1, 133) = 0.23$, $p > 0.25$) and rating Ironman's human traits at similar levels ($p_{powerful} = 0.10$, other $ps > 0.25$). Therefore, our manipulation influenced how

participants anticipate observing the receiver's affective reactions, but not participants' perceptions of the receiver's emotionality or personality.

As predicted, participants were more likely to give Ironman the reaction-maximizing sooner but less valuable gift card in the observable condition than in the unobservable condition (56.7% vs. 38.2%, $\chi^2 = 4.62$, $p = 0.039$, figure 7). Simply making it more difficult for participants to imagine the receiver's affective reaction reduced their preference for the sooner gift.

However, the manipulated availability of affective reactions did not affect their predictions of which gift card Ironman would prefer if he were choosing for himself (29.4% vs. 32.8%, $F(1, 133) = 0.18$, n.s.). Furthermore, the difference in gift choices persisted when controlling for participants' predictions of what the receiver would choose for himself ($F(1, 132) = 4.51$, $p = 0.036$). Thus, while the potential for a gift to yield affective reactions can color predictions of the receiver's preferences (Studies 1B and 2B), the differences in givers' choices were not due to differences in their predictions about the receiver, contrary to prior information-based accounts (Baskin et al. 2014, Laran 2010,). Instead, givers' choices differed based on perceived differences in reaction observability, independent of the givers' predictions.

3.6.3 *Replication*

In another study ($N = 332$), we manipulated how soon a gift-receiver departing for a trip would provide feedback to the giver, either soon after receiving the gift, or after the end of the trip. We again found that givers' preference for reaction-inducing gifts was marginally attenuated when the feedback was delayed (60.9% vs. 48.2%, $\chi^2 = 3.16$, $p = 0.086$), consistent with results of Study 3A, whereas receivers' preference for gifts were similar

irrespective of when the receiver would be able to provide feedback (30.9% vs. 38.4%, $\chi^2 = 1.04, p > 0.25$). This study confirms that the giver-receiver discrepancy is attenuated when the giver does not anticipate observing the receivers' reaction.

3.7 Study 3B: Anticipating Receiver Reactions at Christmas

Study 3A provides causal evidence for the moderating role of the observability of affective reactions. In Study 3B, we test naturally occurring variation in this moderator, in a survey of actual Christmas gifts. Christmas gifts may be presented in person or opened in the absence of the giver, such as when the gift is from someone far away or who is traveling. The smile-seeking account predicts that when givers anticipate not being present to observe the receiver's reaction to the gift, the anticipated receiver reaction will be less important for the givers' decisions, and the givers' will therefore be less likely to favor reaction-maximizing gifts.

3.7.1 Method

We recruited participants who had already prepared at least three Christmas gifts to participate in a survey on Dec 22, 2015, three days before Christmas. Participants (94.7%, $N = 198$, $M_{age} = 33$, 55% Male) listed the three gifts they had prepared, the three receivers' first names, and their relationship with and closeness to each gift receiver. Next, participants rated each gift on the 7-point reaction and appreciation scales. Last, participants indicated whether they would be present when each gift was received.

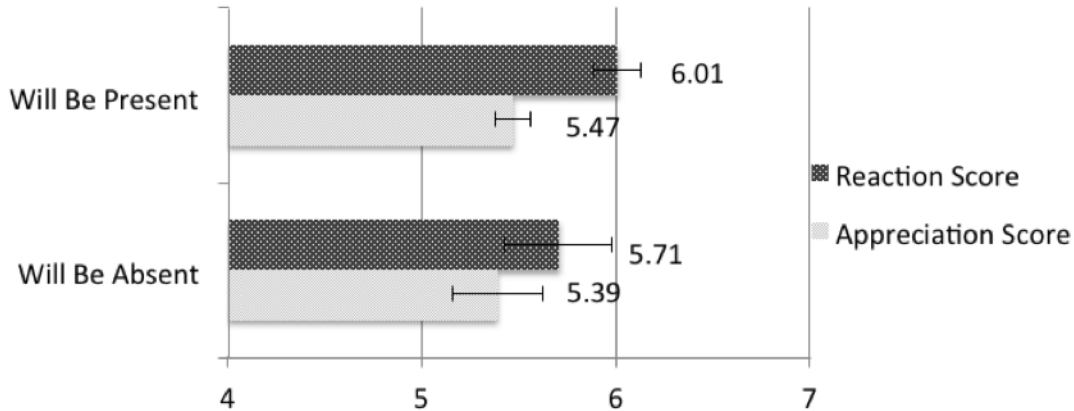
In addition to collecting self-report measures, we also asked two research assistants who were blind to the purpose of the study to independently code the 594 listed gift items

on the 5-point reaction and appreciation scales. The two coders' scores were positively correlated ($r_{reaction} = 0.56$, $r_{appreciation} = 0.60$, $ps < 0.001$), and were averaged. Examples included cordless drills, coded as high appreciation and low reaction; sweaters and movies, coded as medium appreciation and reaction; and cupcakes, coded as high reaction and low appreciation. The coders' average scores correlated with participants' own ratings ($r_{reaction} = 0.34$, $r_{appreciation} = 0.35$, $ps < 0.001$), validating the coding.

3.7.2 Results

Givers' chose gifts that they perceived as inducing stronger affective reactions when they anticipated being present during gift reception ($M_{reaction} = 6.01$ out of 7, $SD = 1.01$), compared with when they anticipated not being present during gift reception, controlling for individual fixed effects ($M_{reaction} = 5.71$, $SD = 1.20$, $F(1,590) = 6.78$, $p = 0.009$, figure 8). This was due to the different gifts that givers chose, rather than a difference in how givers rated similar items, as the coders' ratings of the gifts also confirmed the gifts were more reaction-inducing when the giver anticipated being present ($M_{reaction} = 2.98$ vs. 2.75 out of 5, $SD = 0.74$ vs. 0.61 , $F(1,590) = 8.35$, $p = 0.004$). By contrast, givers chose gifts that they saw as resulting in a similar level of appreciation whether or not they would be present during gift reception (self-report $M_{appreciation} = 5.47$ vs. 5.39 out of 7, $SD = 1.35$ vs. 1.43 , $F(1,590) = 0.048$, $p > 0.25$; coders' rating $M_{appreciation} = 2.83$ vs. 2.67 out of 5, $SD = 0.79$ vs. 0.71 , $F(1,590) = 2.61$, $p = 0.11$).

Figure 3.10. Christmas Gifts When Anticipating Being Present Versus Absent During Gift Reception (Study 3B)



While the relationship between giver and receiver may influence both the type of gift chosen and whether the giver is present, interpersonal closeness did not explain our results. Givers chose more reaction-inducing gift for closer others (self-report: $F(1,589) = 3.28$, $p = 0.071$; coder rating: $F(1,589) = 6.46$, $p = 0.011$), but the effect of anticipated presence on reaction-inducing gifts held controlling for closeness (self-report: $F(1,589) = 85.4$, $p < 0.001$; coder rating: $F(1,589) = 11.9$, $p = 0.001$).

3.7.3 Discussion

These results provide further evidence that givers' choices are shaped by their anticipation of affective reactions to their gifts, as predicted by the smile-seeking account. When the givers anticipate not being able to observe their receiver's affective reactions, they chose gifts less likely to induce positive receiver reactions. However, this did not mean choosing worse gifts when they would not be present, as they gave gifts that they expected to induce a similar level of appreciation whether they were present or not.

In both a hypothetical experimental vignette study (Study 3A) and a field survey (Study 3B), we found that the anticipated observability of affective reactions moderated givers' preference for reaction-inducing gifts. These results are incompatible with the assumption in prior accounts of gift giving that givers are primarily motivated by receiver appreciation (e.g., Gino and Flynn 2011, Waldfogel 1993), instead, these results suggest that givers are also uniquely motivated by the receiver's affective reactions that givers anticipate observing. In the last two studies, we directly test the relative weight givers put on receivers' affective reactions vs. overall appreciation, first in hypothetical choices (Study 4) and then in a field survey of post-exchange satisfaction with actual gifts (Study 5).

We also note that while some of our studies focused on specifically intertemporal tradeoffs, the gifts people listed in Studies 1A and 3B suggest broader sources of tradeoffs between reaction-inducing and appreciation-inducing gifts, such as tools versus desserts. We theorize that, whenever gift options involve a tradeoff between a reaction-maximizing attribute and an appreciation-maximizing attribute, a similar giver-receiver preference discrepancy can arise (table 1). In the next study, we test product-level distinctions, such as hedonic versus utilitarian products (also see Williams and Rosenzweig 2016 for related findings) and "vice" versus "virtue" products.

3.8 Study 4: Anticipated Affective Reaction Uniquely Mediates

Givers' Choices

According to the smile-seeking account, anticipated affective reaction plays a more central role in givers' decisions because givers are motivated by the anticipated interaction with receivers, whereas receivers' preference reflect a more holistic assessment of the gifts, incorporating both their own initial reactions and overall appreciation. We directly test this

process account by comparing how anticipated reaction and appreciation differently factor into givers' and receivers' preferences. This study examined Valentine's Day gift choices in two (giver vs. receiver) between-subjects conditions, with three repeated measures of binary choices.

3.8.1 Gift Options

We generated three pairs of Valentine's Day gift items: a dozen roses in full bloom versus two dozen rose buds that would bloom in a few days; a bouquet of fresh-cut pink flowers versus a pink bonsai plant; and a heart-shaped basket of cookies versus a similar basket of fruit. All options were sold by online retailers at similar prices, for delivery on the Valentine's Day. A pre-test ($N = 104$) confirmed that all the options were seen as highly appropriate Valentine's Day gifts ($M_{appropriateness} > 5.3$ out of 7, significantly higher than the scale mid-point of 4, $t_s > 10$, $p_s < 0.001$).

These pairs represent common gift choice options. Flowers, for instance, are the most popular Valentine's Day gift, with total sales of over \$2 billion (US News 2015). While flowers do induce strong affective reactions from receivers (Haviland-Jones et al. 2005), receivers appreciation is often limited, as flowers look and smell nice for a few days, but die soon after (Lee 2015). The smile-seeking account suggests that the popularity of giving flowers may stem from givers' ardent anticipation of receivers' desirable affective reactions, and givers may not be basing their choices on receivers' appreciation.

The choice pairs selected for the study reflect different common types of reaction-appreciation tradeoffs. Choosing between fresh-cut flowers in full bloom and later-blooming flowers or more durable plants represents a tradeoff between immediate visual appeal and higher overall utility. The choice between a cookie basket and a fruit basket represents

a commonly recognized tradeoff between relative “vice” (unhealthy but enjoyable) vs. “virtue” (less enjoyable but better for you; Wertenbroch 1998).

3.8.2 *Method*

We recruited Amazon MTurk participants on the day before Valentine’s Day for \$2 each. We first screened participants for whether they were currently in a relationship or dating, and entered those in a relationship (77%, $N = 295$, $M_{age} = 35$, 51% Male) into the Valentine’s Day survey, while directing others to a survey comparable in length and pay.

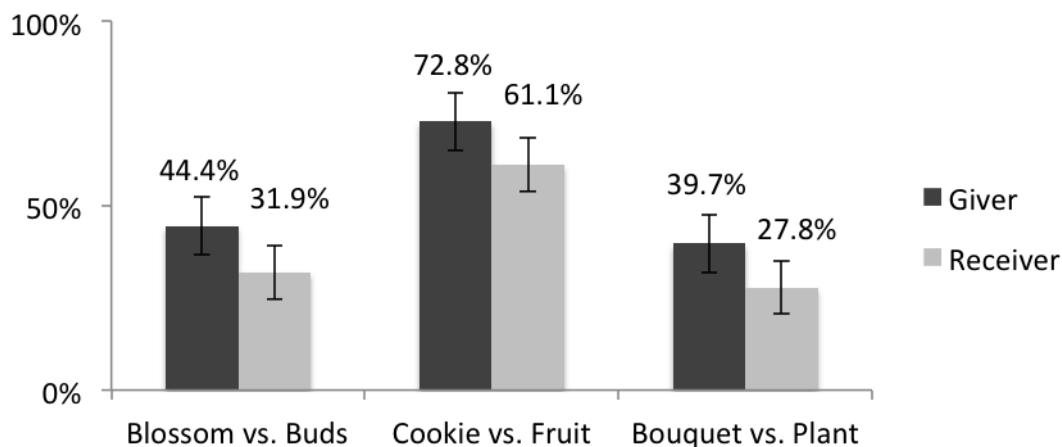
After participants indicated their gender and their partner’s first name, we assigned male participants to the giving condition and female participants to the receiving condition, consistent with a common Valentine’s Day social norm in the US. Next we asked participants in the giving condition to choose in each pair which gift they would prefer to give their partner, and participants in the receiving condition which gift they would prefer to receive from their partner. We also measured anticipation of affective reactions and appreciation for each item. Participants also rated how patient, future-oriented, and utilitarian they considered themselves, to control for possible individual and gender differences in these preferences. Last, we asked participants their relationship status, length of relationship, closeness with partner, and age.

3.8.3 *Results*

In all three pairs, the first option was predicted to yield stronger affective reactions ($M = 5.5$ vs. 5.4 , $t(294) = 2.52$, $p = 0.012$), whereas the second option was predicted

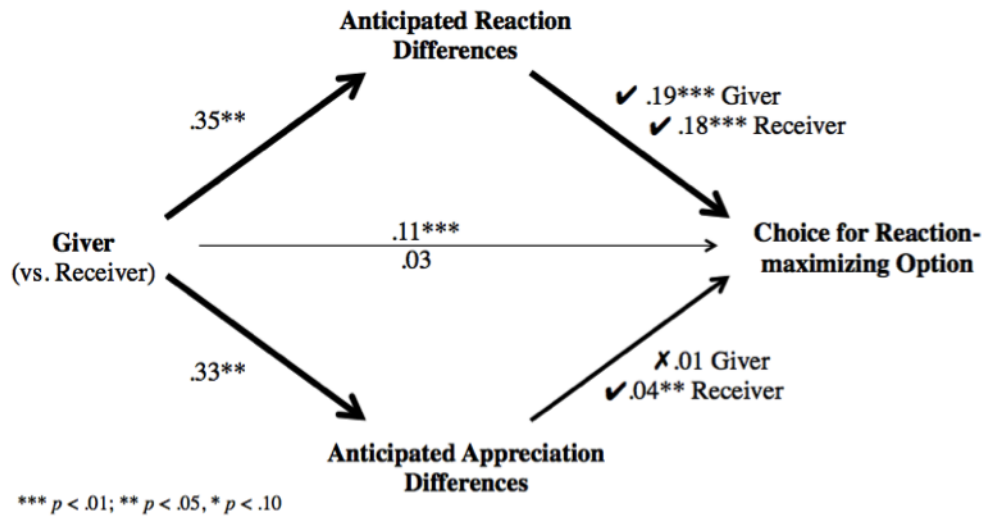
to induce greater appreciation ($M = 3.1$ vs. 4.1 , $t(294) = -14.3$, $p < 0.001$; repeated-measures ANOVA interaction $F(1, 294) = 257$, $p < 0.001$).

Figure 3.11. Valentine’s Day Gift Choices Between Givers and Receivers (Study 4)



We replicated the giver-receiver preference discrepancy across all three choice pairs. Givers were more likely than receivers to choose the reaction-maximizing options (bloom vs. buds 44.4% vs. 31.9%, $\chi^2 = 4.82$, $p = 0.031$; bouquet vs. plant 39.7% vs. 27.8%, $\chi^2 = 4.70$, $p = 0.036$; cookie vs. fruit 72.8% vs. 61.1%, $\chi^2 = 4.60$, $p = 0.035$, figure 9; repeated-measures ANOVA $F(1, 293) = 10.7$, $p = 0.001$). Therefore, even when givers predicted a strong misalignment between reaction and appreciation, givers still chose to forgo the options they expected receivers to appreciate more, in favor of reaction-maximizing options.

Figure 3.12. Anticipated Reaction Differences Mediated Givers' and Receivers' Choice Differences, Whereas Anticipated Appreciation Differences Only Mediate Receivers' Choice Differences (Study 4)



Furthermore, consistent with our smile-seeking account, givers' choices were driven by consideration of anticipated affective reactions, while receivers' preferences reflected both anticipated affective reactions and overall appreciation. In regression analyses with individual-level fixed effects, givers perceived bigger differences in anticipated reactions between each pair of options ($\beta = 0.35$, $p < 0.05$), while receivers perceived bigger differences in anticipated appreciation between options ($\beta = 0.33$, $p < 0.05$). For givers, only the difference in anticipated reaction significantly predicted choice ($\beta_{reaction} = 0.19$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta_{appreciation} = 0.01$, n.s.). However, differences in both anticipated reaction and in anticipated appreciation predicted receivers' preference ($\beta_{reaction} = 0.18$, $p < 0.001$; $\beta_{appreciation} = 0.04$, $p < 0.01$, figure 10). Overall, we find an indirect effect of role on choice via anticipated reaction differences ($\beta = 0.067$, $CI = [0.016, 0.123]$, $p < 0.05$), but no indirect effect via anticipated appreciation differences ($\beta = 0.004$, $CI = [-0.005, 0.018]$, n.s.). These results held when controlling for the individual trait ratings.

3.8.4 Discussion

In Study 4, we examined the differences between givers and receivers in how anticipated reaction and appreciation shape their gift preferences for Valentine's Day. Givers correctly predicted that receivers would react to and appreciate gifts differently, and chose the reaction-maximizing gifts over appreciation-maximizing gift, which deviated from receivers' preferences. Mediation analyses further substantiates that givers base their decision on the anticipated affective reaction and neglect the anticipated appreciation. Beyond corroborating the smile-seeking account, these findings provide a novel explanation for the popularity of fresh-cut flowers, their smile-inducing power, contrary to prior appreciation-based gendered explanations (Guéguen 2011). Even though givers know that receivers would appreciate durable plants more, givers prefer to give the voluptuous beauty of fresh-cut flowers to light up their receivers' faces.

3.9 Study 5: A Longitudinal Field Survey of Givers' and Receivers' Post-Giving Enjoyment

In our last study, we analyze how the gift-exchange consequences for receivers affect givers' post-giving enjoyment. In a longitudinal survey over the Christmas holiday, we tested whether givers' post-giving enjoyment is predicted primarily by their perception of receivers' reaction relative to their perception of receivers' appreciation, as predicted by the smile-seeking account.

3.9.1 Method

We recruited participants who had prepared at least three gifts for the first survey on December 15, 10 days before Christmas 2014. Participants ($N = 111$, $M_{age} = 36$, 60% Male) listed three gifts they had prepared, the three receivers' first names, their relationship and closeness to the receivers, and when the gifts would be delivered to the receivers.

We re-contacted the givers for a second survey on January 20, after the gifts would have been received and experienced for about a month. In this follow-up survey, we first reminded participants ($N = 87$, $M_{age} = 37$, 58% Male) of the gifts and receivers they had listed in the first survey. Participants indicated whether they saw the receivers' immediate reactions, rated their perception of the receiver's display of affective reactions (“*How happy was your receiver initially upon receiving each gift?*”) and the receiver's post-exchange appreciation (“*How happy has your receiver been with each gift nowadays?*”), as well as their own post-exchange enjoyment of the experience (“*How much did you enjoy giving each gift now?*” and “*How good do you consider each gift overall now?*”, averaged), on 1-100 slider scales from “just a little” to “very much”.

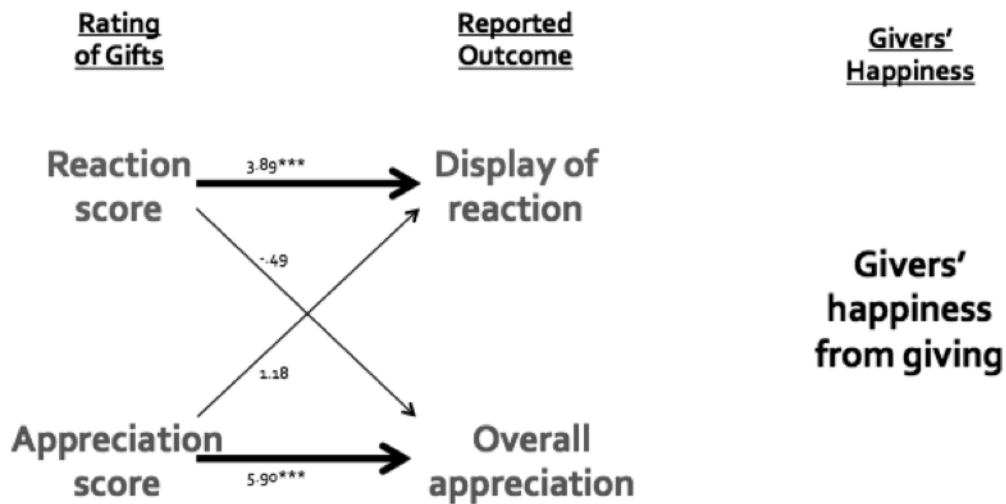
3.9.2 Results

We asked two hypotheses-blind independent coders to code the 261 listed gifts on the 5-point reaction and appreciation scales used in Study 1A. Examples included video-game controllers, coded as high reaction and low appreciation; sweaters, coded as medium reaction and medium appreciation; and gardening tool sets, coded as high appreciation and low reaction. The two coders' scores were positively correlated ($r_{reaction} = 0.72$, $r_{appreciation} = 0.59$, $ps < 0.001$), and were averaged. We found that the reaction and

appreciation scales only weakly correlated with each other ($r = 0.17, p = 0.007$), corroborating the distinction between affective reactions and overall appreciation among common gifts. This result means that among gifts people commonly give each other, the reaction-inducing gifts are often not appreciation-inducing, and vice versa. This disparity highlights the importance of distinguishing between these two aspects of gifts, overlooked in the prior literature.

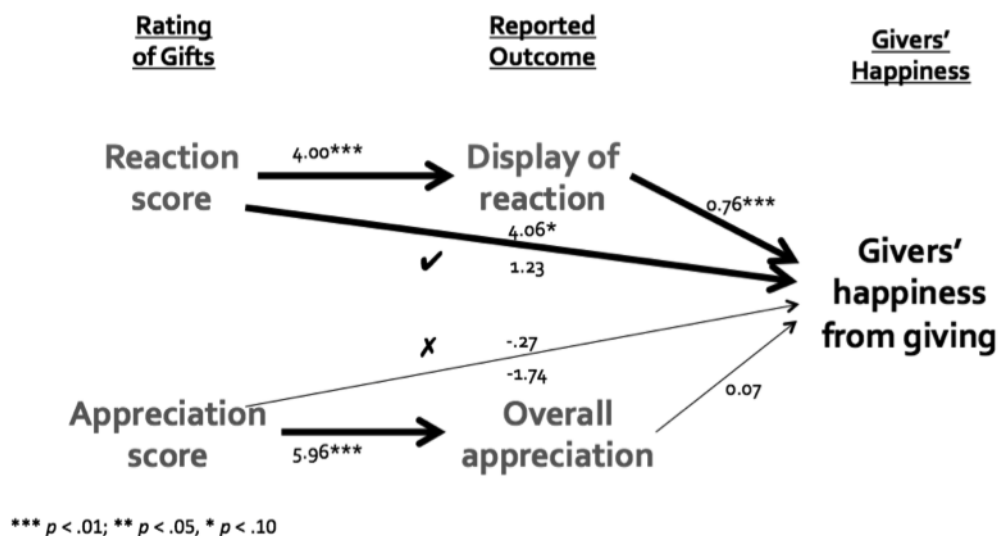
We used regressions with individual-level fixed effects to test the key predictions of the smile-seeking account. First, givers did perceive different kinds of gifts as having different effects on receivers. The gifts rated by coders as more reaction-inducing were seen by givers as having resulted in more positive receiver reactions ($\beta = 3.89, p < 0.001$), but were not seen by givers as more appreciated overall by receivers ($\beta = 0.49, n.s.$). Likewise, the gifts rated by coders as more appreciation-inducing were seen by givers as more appreciated by their receivers ($\beta = 5.90, p < 0.001$), but were not seen as yielding more positive display of affective reactions ($\beta = 1.18, n.s.$, figure 11a). All these results held when controlling for the price of gifts.

Figure 3.13. Gift Coding Predicts Perception of Different Aspects of Receiver Outcomes in Longitudinal Christmas Survey (Study 5)



Next, we found that givers enjoyed giving gifts more if they perceived the receivers as displaying a stronger affective reaction ($\beta = 0.76, p < 0.001$), but their enjoyment was independent of how they perceived the receivers' overall appreciation ($\beta = 0.07, n.s.$). Overall, giving more reaction-inducing types of gifts resulted in more enjoyment for the giver, to the degree that the giver perceived the receiver as displaying a positive affective reaction (indirect effect $\beta = 2.93, CI = [0.98, 6.58], p < 0.001$). By contrast, giving more appreciation-inducing types of gifts did not result in more enjoyment for the giver via the receiver's perceived long-term happiness (indirect effect $\beta = 0.55, CI = [-0.66, 2.34], p = 0.45$, figure 11b). Simply put, givers enjoyed giving gifts that resulted in positive receiver affective reactions, even when it was at the expense of the receivers' overall appreciation.

Figure 3.14. Givers' Perception of Receiver Reaction Predicted Givers' Enjoyment and Mediated the Relationship Between Reaction Score of Gifts and Givers' Enjoyment, Whereas Neither Appreciation Score of Gifts nor Givers' Perception of Receiver Appreciation Predicted Givers' Enjoyment (Study 5)



Since givers were prompted to report both their perception of receivers' reaction and their perception of receivers' appreciation before indicating their enjoyment of giving, these

findings are not explained by givers anchoring on their potentially more accessible memories of receiver reaction (Deese and Kaufman 1957).

As a further test of the account, we compared the enjoyment of givers when they were present during gift reception (79.9% of gifts), with their enjoyment when they were absent during gift reception. Consistent with the results of Study 3A and 3B, givers enjoyed the gift-giving experience substantially more if they saw the receivers' reactions during the gift exchange ($M_{enjoyment} = 87.1$ vs. 46.3 , $SD = 17.9$ vs. 36.8 ; $F(1, 259) = 79.1$, $p < 0.001$), even controlling for interpersonal closeness ($F(1, 258) = 116$, $p < 0.001$). These results provide additional evidence for the critical moderating role of observing receiver reaction for givers' post-exchange enjoyment, consistent with the smile-seeking account.

3.9.3 Discussion

Using a sample of real Christmas gifts given to close family members and friends, Study 5 confirms the implications of the smile-seeking account for givers' long-term enjoyment from giving gifts, consistent with Study 1A. Givers' enjoyment from giving primarily stemmed from their perceptions of receivers' affective reactions, and was not affected by how they perceived receivers' overall appreciation. In addition, givers' enjoyment from giving was dampened when givers were not present to observe the receivers' affective reactions.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

4.1 Summary

The present research identified a previously unrecognized “smile-seeking” motive, and demonstrates that this motive can play a critical role in gift giving. The receiver’s display of affective reactions shaped givers’ gift choices and enjoyment, in a series of 14 individual studies (see appendix for additional replications) with 2175 participants, involving hypothetical and real choices as well as behavior in the field. As a result, this smile-seeking motive lead givers to choose affective-reaction-inducing gifts more than receivers wanted to receive them or actually appreciated them (internal meta-analysis of all data collected for the giver-receiver preference discrepancy: $F(1, 1435) = 78.9, p < 0.001, \eta_p^2 = 0.052$, table 2).

This discrepancy was consistent across a range of different gift items, populations, gift-receiver relationships and gift-giving occasions, and was mitigated only when the givers could not experience the receivers’ reactions. The giver-receiver discrepancy persisted even when givers accurately predicted that receiver appreciation conflicts with receiver reaction (Study 1B & 4), and in an unreported gift-registry study, when givers were explicitly told receivers’ preference.

These findings were not moderated by perceived social closeness between giver and receiver. This highlights another difference between our account and prior accounts in which giver-receiver preference discrepancies were based on inferences and predictions, which were more accurate for socially close others (Cavanaugh et al. 2015, Ward and Broniayczek 2015, Zhang and Epley 2009). The giver-receiver preference discrepancy was

also robust to mood, gender, and age. None of these measures varied between, correlated with, or moderated choices. Overall, these results suggest a critical revision to prior theories about gift giving, which assumed that the givers' primary goal is to find out and match the receivers' preferences.

Moreover, these findings suggest an overlooked role of social motives in social projection processes, since both givers' choice for others and givers' beliefs about others' preference were colored by the same motive to induce desirable affective reactions (Studies 1B and 2B). Since the givers choices for receivers were also at odds with their own preferences to receive (Study 1C replication II), these results cannot be attributed to simple egocentric social-projection, in which people's estimates of others' preference are anchored on what they would want to receive (Epley et al. 2004, Epley and Gilovich 2006). Instead, these results suggest that givers' underlying motivation influenced how givers accessed information (Kunda 1990, Epley 2004) and they based their estimates of receivers' preferences on what they wanted to give. Even when givers were able to predict the misalignment between anticipated receiver reaction and anticipated receiver reaction, it was the anticipated reaction that dominated givers' reasoning process (Study 2B) and determined gift choices (Study 4).

Our findings cannot be explained by prior accounts of gift-giving, because none of the prior accounts would predict that the giver-receiver preference discrepancy would be reduced by whether the giver can perceive the receiver's reaction in gift exchange (Study 3), or that receivers may react more positively to some gift options that they appreciate less (Study 2 & 5). More specifically, as shown in Studies 2 through 4, these findings cannot be explained by givers having lay beliefs that receivers lack self-control conflict (Laran 2010), by givers having greater guilt when choosing indulgent options for themselves than for others (Kivetz and Simonson 2002), by mispredicting others' future experience (Baskin et

al., 2014, Choi et al. 2006), by signaling relationship status (Ward and Broniayczek 2015), or by concerns about perceived thoughtfulness (Gino and Flynn 2011).

4.2 The Interpersonal vs. Intrapersonal Value of Gifts

The present research highlights the importance of distinguishing between the intrapersonal value of a good (i.e. the benefits a good can bring to an individual) and the interpersonal value of a good (i.e., the positive social interactions elicited by the good). The interpersonal value of a good is contingent on the observable affective reaction induced at the moment of interaction, which typically stems from visceral, sensory and hedonic attributes of the good. In gift-giving, these positive affective reactions guide gift selection before the exchange, and reward the giver during and after the exchange.

By contrast, the intrapersonal value of a good is primarily based on people's internal assessment of the consequences for oneself, rather than external consequences. These internal assessments incorporate not only the consideration of visceral and hedonic attributes, but are more likely to also involve the consideration of cerebral and practical attributes. The present research is the first to demonstrate a systematic disparity between the intrapersonal value and the interpersonal value of a good. This distinction may have broad implications for other common consumer behaviors that occur in an interpersonal context, including joint purchase decisions, joint consumption, surrogate decision-making, and face-to-face sales. It would be useful for future research to explore how intrapersonal value influences interpersonal bonding in the long-term, in gift-giving as well as in other interactions involving affective reactions.

The present research also suggests that the gift may no longer generate interpersonal value after the moment of exchange, and henceforth generate few additional consequences

for the giver-receiver relationship. Even if the receiver may sometimes express gratitude to the giver again sometime after the exchange, these expressions will be typically less affective and often confounded with normative social obligations and politeness (Sherry 1983), and may therefore create little additional interpersonal value. In other types of giving, such as charity donation, asset endowment, or parental purchases, when primarily driven by welfare-improvement motives, the long-term consequences of giving may continue or increase overtime.

4.3 Implications for Gift Shopping

The smile-seeking account sheds light on a number of common gift-giving phenomena that have been documented yet not fully explained by existing theories. For example, economists have long recommended giving cash as gifts to maximize receivers' utility and improve economic efficiency and have been puzzled by people's reluctance to do so (Waldfogel 1993). Our findings suggest that, besides simply underestimating others' willingness to receive cash (Gino and Flynn 2011), givers may also expect cash to not induce as enthusiastic affective reaction. Givers may therefore prefer to give gifts that are less economically efficient but more likely to induce affectionate reactions. In fact, in the few cultures where cash is commonly given as a gift, the cash is typically wrapped in visually appealing envelopes (HRI 2015), which presumably enhances the display of affective reaction during exchange.

The smile-seeking account is likewise relevant to the popularity of giftwrap, flowers, and luxury goods in gift-giving. In particular, the present research suggests strategies that marketers could use to appeal to gift shoppers. For instance, marketers may want to enhance the reaction-inducing attributes of gift products, such as visual presentation, scent,

and immediacy of delivery, which may be less expensive but equally or more effective as adding additional functions or improving the durability of gift products.

The smile-seeking account may also help explain why gift registries have had limited success in reducing giver-receiver discrepancies, with givers often preferring off-registry gifts (Gino and Flynn 2011). In an unpublished study, we pre-tested two gift items that receivers preferred equally, informed givers of the receiver's preference, and found that givers still strongly preferred to be the person to give the reaction-inducing option, even though the receiver would get both gifts. Our findings suggest that informing givers what the receiver wants via a gift-registry will have limited impact if givers are seeking to maximize the receiver's affective reaction. When arranging a registry, a receiver is likely to focus on the future utility he can get from the gifts and relatively undervalue the affective reaction aspect. Thus, receivers might be able to make registries more effective by selecting gifts that not only cater to their preference, but also foster positive affective interactions.

Consumer researchers have become increasingly aware of the role of affect in consumer decisions (Mellers and McGraw 2001, Rottenstreich and Shu 2004, Slovic et al. 2007), and the enduring consequences of transient affect on individual consumer behaviors (Andrade and Ariely 2009, Argo, Dahl, and Morales 2006). However, while prior theories have proposed that a key function of emotions is to facilitate social interactions (Niedenthal and Brauer 2012), little is known about how anticipated interpersonal affect influences social decisions. The present research investigates the distinct impact of anticipated affective consequence on social decisions, and identifies how others' affective display influences social decisions, independently of inferences about the others' appraisal. These findings provide initial evidence that the important interpersonal decisions we make for those around us can be shaped by how we anticipate their ephemeral yet powerful affective reactions, such as a smile, and how likely we are to get a glimpse of it.

APPENDIX A
MAIN APPENDIX

Table A.1: Pretesting Tradeoffs In All Choice Pairs

Study	Gift Options	Anticipated Reaction	Anticipated Appreciation	p	p
Study 1B	Gifts with more immediate benefits	4.92	4.51	.000	.000
	Gifts with more long-term benefits	4.90	5.15	.002	
Study 2	\$5 immediately redeemable gift card	5.73	5.46	.003	.004
	\$6 redeemable-in-two-week gift card	4.65	4.71	.483	
Study 3A	\$50 Home Depot Gift Card, same-day redeemable	5.91	5.68	.004	.001
	\$60 Home Depot Gift Card, redeemable in three weeks	5.17	5.69	.000	
Study 4	Blossoms, Bouquet, or Cookie basket	5.53	3.05	.000	.000
	Buds, Plant, or Fruit basket	5.36	4.06	.000	
Winter Gift (appendix)	Fuzzy winter hat-and-scarf set	4.91	4.85	.650	.028
	Sleek all-year-round sportswear	4.52	4.88	.013	
Farewell Gift (appendix)	Sunglasses	5.73	5.37	.000	.000
	Gloves	5.53	5.79	.022	
Registry Study (appendix)	Cute baby one-piece	5.67	4.92	.000	.000
	Durable toddler pajama set	4.31	5.27	.000	

Table A.2: Summary Of Main Results In All Studies Part I

Study	N	Condition	Giver's Choice	Receiver's Preference	<i>p</i>-value	Effect size
Study 1B	317		55.3%	42.0%	.000	.046
Study 2C	116		41.4%	19.0%	.015	.060
2C Replication 1	88		61.4%	34.1%	.018	.075
2C Replication 2	155		72.4%	49.4%	.005	.055
Study 3A	135	Display Observable:	56.7%	n/a	.039	.034
		Display Unobservable:	38.2%	n/a		
Study 5	295		52.3%	40.3%	.001	.035
Winter Gift (appendix)	112		51.5%	18.6%	.000	.108
Farewell Study (appendix)	332	Display Observable:	61.9%	30.9%	.000	.012
		Display Unobservable:	48.2%	38.4%	.205	
Registry Study (appendix)	139		72.0%	48.4%	.005	.058

Table A.3: Summary Of Main Results In All Studies Part II

Study	N	Condition	Reaction	Appreciation	p-value	Effect size
Study 1A	86	Giver's Favorite Gift:	3.41	2.33	.000	.279
		Giver's Least Favorite Gift:	2.26	2.88	.000	.210
		Receiver's Favorite Gift:	2.50	3.11	.021	.123
		Receiver's Least Favorite Gift:	2.18	2.05	.554	.009
Study 2A	115	More Immediate Gift Card:	6.07	3.75	.001; .169	.114
		More Valuables Gift Card:	5.77	4.68		
Study 3B	198	Display Observable:	6.01	5.47	.009; .826	.011
		Display Unobservable:	5.71	5.39		
Study 5	87	Predicting Receivers' Reaction:	$\beta = 3.89$	$\beta = .49$.000; .751	.220; .022; .088
		Predicting Receivers' Appreciation:	$\beta = 1.18$	$\beta = 5.90$.375; .000	.078
		Givers' Enjoyment:	$\beta = .76$	$\beta = .07$.000; .508	.192
		- When Display Observable:		87.1	.000	.031
		- When Display Unobservable:		46.3		

APPENDIX B
STUDY STIMULI

B.1 Study 1A Stimuli

B.1.1 Question wording: Giver Condition

Giving gifts to others can often make one happy. Please recall a recent time when you gave someone a gift, and the experience made you really happy.

Who received your gift: _____

What did you give the person: _____

Now, please recall a recent time when you gave someone a gift, but the experience did not make you feel specifically happy.

Who received your gift: _____

What did you give the person: _____

B.1.2 Question Wording: Receiver Condition

Receiving gifts from others can often make one happy. Please recall a recent time when someone gave you a gift, and the experience made you really happy.

Who gave you the gift: _____

What did the person give you: _____

Now, please recall a recent time when you received a gift, but the experience did not make you feel specifically happy.

Who gave you the gift: _____

What did the person give you: _____

B.2 Study 1B Stimuli

B.2.1 Nine Pairs of Options

- A big one-scoop waffle cone of the receiver's favorite ice cream now
- Two big one-scoop waffle cones of the receiver's favorite ice cream next week

- A gift voucher for 10 iTunes songs this month
- A gift voucher for 15 iTunes songs, one redeemable per month from this month on

- A back-section ticket for a big concert this weekend
- A middle-section ticket for a big concert in 6 months

- A dinner reservation at a Michelin 1-star restaurant this weekend
- A dinner reservation at a Michelin 2-star restaurant three months from now

- A box of healthy unsalted mixed nuts snack now
- Two boxes of healthy unsalted mixed nuts snack next week
- A set of 6 pieces of sturdy dinnerware shipped and delivered this week
- A set of 10 pieces of sturdy dinnerware shipped and delivered next month
- \$50 Amazon gift card that can be redeemed immediately
- \$75 Amazon gift card that can be redeemed in a month from now
- \$100 cash in a red envelope
- A check in a red envelope, redeemable for \$150 cash in a month
- A name-brand wallet delivered this week
- A designer wallet delivered in a month

B.2.2 Process Measures

Self-control (Tangney et al 2004)

1. I am good at resisting temptation.
2. I have a hard time breaking bad habits.

3. I am lazy.
4. I say inappropriate things.
5. I never allow myself to lose control.
6. I do certain things that are bad for me, if they are fun.
7. People can count on me to keep on schedule.
8. Getting up in the morning is hard for me.
9. I have trouble saying no.
10. I change my mind fairly often.
11. I blurt out whatever is on my mind.
12. People would describe me as impulsive.
13. I refuse things that are bad for me.
14. I spend too much money.
15. I keep everything neat.
16. I am self-indulgent at times.
17. I wish I had more self-discipline.
18. I am reliable.
19. I get carried away by my feelings.
20. I do many things on the spur of the moment.

Hyperopia (Haws and Poynor 2008)

1. I often fail to enjoy attractive opportunities.
2. It's hard for me to make myself indulge.
3. I regret missed opportunities to enjoy rich experiences in the past.
4. I have difficulty pampering myself.
5. "Seizing the day" is difficult for me.
6. I rarely enjoy the luxuries life has to offer.

Patience of self and other:

- Are you generally an impatient person, or someone who always shows great patience?
- Is your friend generally an impatient person, or someone who always shows great patience?

Impulsivity of self and other:

- Are you generally an impulsive person, or someone who always shows great self-control?
- Is your friend generally an impulsive person, or someone who always shows great self-control?

Hyperopia/Guilt of self and other, per Kivetz and Simonson 1999:

- Do you tend to feel guilty when considering luxurious products and services that are pleasurable but not necessary?
- Does your friend tend to feel guilty when considering luxurious products and services that are pleasurable but not necessary?

Goal conflict of self and other, per Laran 2010:

- How do you balance between pleasure and self-control in your life?
- How does your friend balance between pleasure and self-control in his/her life?

B.3 Study 2 Stimuli

B.3.1 Study 2A, 2B, 2C, and the thanksgiving replication of Study 2C - Starbucks Thank-you Gift Cards

Figure B.1. Starbucks Gift Card Option 1



Figure B.2. Starbucks Gift Card Option 2



The card description for Option 1 is “\$5.00 Starbucks Gift Card is Regular promotional gift card. They are immediately valid, and can be redeemed anytime. No expiration date.”

The card description for Option 2 is “\$6.00 Starbucks Gift Card, valid in two weeks - Seasonal promotional gift card. Effective date printed on the sticker in the back. Peel off the sticker to activate. No expiration date.”

In Study 2A, half of the participants received cards with different visual designs, of which the visual design were considered similarly attractive ($M = 4.55$ vs. 4.72 , $SD = 1.65$ vs. 1.48 , $t(103) = -0.88$, $p > 0.25$), and the visual design did not affect the results. For the other half of the participants, both the sooner card and the more valuable card were with the same visual design on the left, and the results held.

The same pair of gift cards were used in Study 2B, 2C, and the thanksgiving replication of Study 2C.

B.3.2 The acquainted strangers replication of Study 2C - Amazon E-Gift Cards

Figure B.3. Amazon Gift Card Option 1



Figure B.4. Amazon Gift Card Option 2



In the replication with acquainted strangers following Study 2C, we used a pair of Amazon E-Gift Cards, one of \$4 value and immediately redeemable code, the other with \$5 value and code redeemable in 10 days.

B.4 Study 3A Stimuli: Home Depot Gift Cards

Figure B.5. Home Depot Gift Card Option 1



Figure B.6. Home Depot Gift Card Option 2



The card description for Option 1 is *“Gift Card worth \$50, which will be delivered to the receiver’s address tomorrow morning and will be immediately redeemable.”*

The card description for Option 2 is *“Gift Card worth \$60, which is on sale for \$50 as a special promotion, and will be sent to the receiver’s address tomorrow morning, but will become redeemable in two weeks.”*

The visual design of the two gift cards were counterbalanced with the descriptions in Study 3A.

B.5 Study 4 Stimuli: Valentine's Day

Figure B.7. One dozen roses in full bloom vs. two dozen rose buds that are about to bloom



Figure B.8. Fruit basket vs. cookie basket, both adorned with a heart shape



Figure B.9. A pink bouquet of fresh flower vs. a flower bonsai plant



All six options were selected from popular online gift stores within a similar price range (\$49.9-\$69.9). We also tested the perceived appropriateness of the six gift items with another four randomly selected Valentine’s Day gift items below. We asked participants to rate “how appropriate is each gift for Valentine’s Day?” on a 7-point scale from “Not Appropriate” (1), to “Very Appropriate” (7). We compared the ratings with the midpoint of the scale (4) in one-sample t-tests. All experimental items were considered appropriate gifts, and significantly more appropriate in comparison to the control items. From left to right, we have running shoes, a water bottle, a book, and one dozen coca-cola. Summary results are listed below.

Figure B.10. Control Stimuli

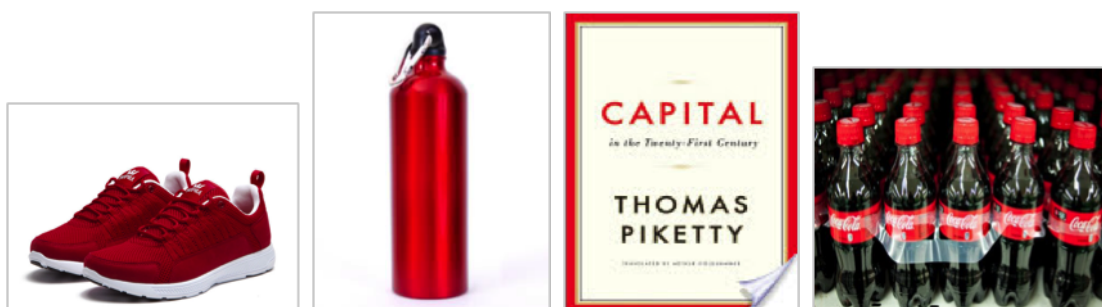


Table B.1: Appropriateness Test Results

Gift Items	Mean	Std. Deviation	One-sample t-tests	p-value	
Cookie Basket	6.18	0.94	23.6	$p < .001$	Experimental Items - All Considered Appropriate
A Dozen Rose Blossoms	6.15	1.00	21.7	$p < .001$	
Two Dozen Rose Buds	6.08	1.00	21.1	$p < .001$	
Flower Bouquet	6.08	0.96	22.2	$p < .001$	
Flower Tree Bonsai	5.85	1.07	17.6	$p < .001$	
Fruit Basket	5.26	1.28	10.1	$p < .001$	
Running Shoes	4.00	1.40	0.04	$p = .972$	Control Items - Considered Less Appropriate
Water Bottle	3.06	1.12	-8.62	$p < .001$	
Book	2.55	1.19	-12.4	$p < .001$	
A Dozen Coke	2.07	1.12	-17.6	$p < .001$	

APPENDIX C

ADDITIONAL STUDIES

C.1 Winter Gift Study

We recruited MBA students ($N = 150$, $M_{age} = 29.6$, 61% Male, $M_{close} = 6.3$) from a mid-western university in the winter time during class breaks. Each participant received a two-page questionnaire about a scenario. In the scenario, participants were asked to imagine that Person A is a member of a student organization in the MBA program. At the end of each quarter, the student organization honors a best volunteer for on-campus student initiatives during the quarter. As the secretary of the organization this year, Person B is in charge of choosing a gift from the campus bookstore today for the award winner Person A. We randomly assigned participants to the two conditions, asking them to either imagine they were Person A (Giver Condition), or Person B (Receiver Condition).

The scenario presented two apparel gift options, “a fuzzy winter hat-and-scarf set” and “a sleek all-year-round sportswear”, both available in the campus gift store and featuring the school logo. In the scenario, the giver would purchase either item with a free voucher from the student organization, and the receiver owns neither piece of apparels. We posited that this choice represents a tradeoff between sensory appeal and versatility, because the fuzzy hat-and-scarf set feels warm and is viscerally more attractive in cold weather, and the sleek sportswear has more versatile uses. We validated the anticipated reaction-appreciation tradeoff in a pretest (repeated-measures ANOVA interaction $F(1, 66) = 5.07$, $p = 0.028$), with givers predicting the hat-and-scarf set would elicit directionally more desirable reaction (4.91 vs. 4.52, $t(67) = 1.58$, $p = 0.122$), and both op-

tions would induce similarly favorable overall appreciation (4.85 vs. 4.88, $t(67) = -0.140$, $p > 0.25$).

The two gift options involved a similar reaction-appreciation tradeoff: a fuzzy wool hat and scarf set that was especially appealing to the senses in the cold weather at the time of the study (the reaction-maximizing option), and a sleek sports shirt that has more versatile uses (the appreciation-maximizing option).

We found that those who imagined themselves as givers were more apt to choose to give the reaction-maximizing option more than receivers preferred to receive it (53.9% vs. 13.6%, $\chi^2 = 24.7$, $p < 0.001$).

C.2 Farewell Study

This study had a 2 (role: giving vs. receiving) X 2 (timing of reactions: sooner vs. delayed) between-subjects factorial design. We manipulated the timing of anticipated affective reactions to be either soon after the gift is given or delayed until after either gift would have been experienced.

We collected 332 online surveys from adult participants ($M_{age} = 34$, 49% Male, $M_{close} = 7.9$) from Amazon M-Turk for \$2. In the giving conditions, we asked participants to imagine a good friend, Alex, was leaving that day for a three-month trip abroad. Alex was going to “a warm and sunny beach in the first month” and then “into the cold mountains in the second two months.” Then, we introduced two farewell gift options: a pair of UV sunglasses that the receiver could use in the first month of the trip (the reaction-maximizing gift) and a pair of Hi-Tech warm gloves that the receiver could use in the second two months of the trip (the appreciation-maximizing gift). The two gifts were priced similarly, and Alex did not own either. In a separate pretest, we validated the reaction-appreciation tradeoff of these

gifts in the context of the scenario ($F(1, 103) = 19.9, p < 0.001$). Next, we assigned givers to either the sooner-reaction or delayed-reaction condition. In the sooner-reaction condition, givers read that Alex would be in contact one day in the middle of the first month (i.e. after he could use the first gift, but before he could use the second gift). In the delayed-reaction condition, givers read that Alex would only be in contact after he returned. Last, we asked participants to choose a farewell gift for Alex between the options and rated how much they would enjoy giving each option. Participants chose which gift they would prefer to receive from Alex and rated how much they would enjoy receiving each option.

Figure C.1. Farewell Study Stimuli



The procedures in the receiving conditions were similar to those in the giving conditions, except that participants imagined themselves going on the trip for three months and their friend Alex choosing a farewell gift for them before the trip.

More givers chose the reaction-maximizing sunglasses than receivers in the sooner-reaction conditions (61.9% vs. 30.9%, $F(1, 163) = 17.5, p < 0.001$). By contrast, fewer givers chose the reaction-maximizing sunglasses in the delayed-reaction conditions, and the discrepancy between givers and receivers' choices was no longer significant (48.2% vs. 38.4%, $F(1, 165) = 1.62, p = 0.21$). Thus, the timing of the reaction moderated the giver-receiver choice discrepancy (interaction $F(1, 328) = 3.96, p = 0.047$).

The enjoyment from giving and receiving accounted for the differences in choices between givers and receivers. Givers predicted they would enjoy giving the reaction-maximizing sunglasses more than giving the appreciation-maximizing gloves in the sooner-

reaction condition (8.2 vs. 7.5 $SD = 1.8, 2.4$), and predicted the reverse in the delayed-reaction condition (7.3 vs. 8.0, $SD = 2.3$ vs. 1.8; interaction $F(1, 163) = 10.3, p = 0.002$). By contrast, receivers in both conditions predicted they would enjoy receiving the appreciation-maximizing gloves more (sooner-reaction condition: 7.9 vs. 8.6, $SD = 2.5$ vs. 1.8; delayed-reaction condition: 7.7 vs. 8.5, $SD = 2.4$ vs. 2.1; $F(1, 165) = 0.02, p > 0.25$).

Thus, in the immediate-reaction conditions, being a giver (vs. receiver) leads to higher anticipated enjoyment from the reaction-maximizing gift option, which explained the givers' higher likelihood of choosing the reaction-maximizing option, yielding a significant indirect mediation effect ($\beta = -3.61, p < 0.05$). In the delayed-reaction conditions, by contrast, although anticipating higher enjoyment from the reaction-maximizing option predicted more choices of the reaction-maximizing option, givers and receivers had similar anticipated enjoyment and therefore made similar choices.

C.3 Registry Study

In this study, we made use of a common gift context—a gift registry—to compare what givers prefer to give with what recipients prefer to receive even when uncertainty about recipients' preferences is eliminated. The study included two between-subjects conditions (giving vs. receiving). The key dependent variable was the relative preference between two key gift items, again, one reaction-maximizing and the other appreciation-maximizing.

Figure C.2. Six Gift Items



The six stimuli are (left to right, first row then second row):

1. Diaper "cake" (1-month supply of diapers wrapped up like a cake)
2. Cute baby jumpsuit for 12-24 Months
3. Blank photo frame
4. Plush baby blanket (30"x40")
5. Durable pajama set for 2-4 Years
6. Non-irritant baby shampoo set

Of these, there are two key items, item 2 and item 5.

We selected the two baby garment items as the focal comparison. The tradeoff between visual appeal and durability is fairly realistic for parents, because younger kids grow faster. We validated in a pretest ($N = 34$, $M_{age} = 34$, 50% Male) that participants in the context of the experimental scenario equally preferred to receive the two items in a pretest (5.2 vs 5.5,

$SD = 1.7$ vs. 1.5 , $t(33) = -1.1$, n.s.). We also validated the reaction-appreciation tradeoff between the gift items ($F(1, 103) = 86.4$, $p < 0.001$).

We recruited 139 online participants ($M_{age} = 35$, 44% Male) for \$2 each. Participants read a scenario about a birthday party for a baby named Jessie, who was turning 12 months old.

In the receiving condition, we asked participants to imagine a few friends were organizing the birthday party and had set up a gift registry for the party, and were consulting the participant for his or her preferences about receiving the gifts. In the giving condition, we asked participants to imagine they had been invited to the birthday party and the gift registry, and that all gift options on the registry would be given and would be equally appreciated by the receiver. Then everyone read that the birthday party would be held in a month, the guests would bring their gifts to the party, and the receiver would open all the gifts at the party. Next, we asked participants to evaluate all six gift items for baby Jessie, each with a vignette description and an image.

We measured the key dependent variable - givers' and receivers' preferences for the two key items - in three different ways. First, participants indicated how much they would like to give (giving condition) or to receive (receiving condition) each of the six items, on a 7-point scale (1 = just a little, 7 = very much). Second, participants made a binary choice between the two key items, the jumpsuit and pajamas, indicating the one they would prefer to give or to receive. Third, participants rated their strength of relative preference between the two key items on a 9-point bipolar scale (1 = the jumpsuit, 9 = the pajama set).

C.3.1 Results

We found the giver-receiver preference discrepancy in all three dependent measures. When evaluating all six gift options jointly, receivers liked both of the focal gifts equally (5.28 vs. 5.33, $SD = 1.6$ vs. 1.5 , $t(63) = -0.2$, $p > 0.25$.), but givers expressed stronger preferences for the cute jumpsuit than the durable pajama set (5.11 vs. 4.33, $SD = 1.5$ vs. 1.9 , $t(74) = 3.6$, $p = 0.001$; interaction $F(1, 137) = 3.46$, $p = 0.004$), despite being told that receivers had equal preferences. Likewise, givers were more likely to choose the jumpsuit over the pajama set (72.0%), whereas receivers chose both equally (48.4%, $\chi^2 = 8.1$, $p = 0.005$). Last, in a direct comparison between the gifts, receivers' ratings were near the middle point on the bipolar scale indicating similar preference to receive between the two items ($M = 5.0$, $SD = 2.6$), while givers expressed a stronger preference for the jumpsuit ($M = 3.7$, $SD = 2.8$, $F(1, 137) = 7.3$, $p = 0.008$).

Therefore, givers' choices deviating from receivers' preferences were not due to givers' mistake in guessing receiver preferences. Instead, it reflected a separate motive of the givers that leads to their more favorable valuation of reaction-maximizing attributes. The design of the gift registry eliminated givers' potential uncertainty about receivers' preferences, and dissociated giver's specific choices from the receiver's overall welfare. Thus, we ruled out the prediction-error accounts as an alternative account for our preference discrepancy findings. The design also ruled out evaluation-mode asymmetry as a potential alternative explanation. Evaluation-mode asymmetry can contribute to preference reversals, because people often purchase products jointly but consume them separately (Hsee et al. 1999, Yang et al., 2012). For example, if gift givers typically select gifts jointly but expect receivers to evaluate gifts separately, their preferences may differ. However, if givers expect receivers to also evaluate the gifts jointly, the discrepancy would not be attributed to evaluation-

mode asymmetry. Because we emphasized to the givers that all gifts would be opened and evaluated jointly, only the smile-seeking account would account for the giver-receiver preference discrepancy.

APPENDIX D

ADDITIONAL RESULTS FOR STUDY 1B

Our process measures did not find any evidence that competing accounts could explain the preference discrepancy. Specifically, three accounts stand out.

First, since the choice pairs often involve an intertemporal tradeoff, individual patience or impulsivity differences may correlate with participants' preferences. Moreover, if people mistakenly predict others to be less patient and more impulsive than themselves, then this projection error may drive givers to choose more reaction-maximizing options for their receivers. If that was the case, then the self-other difference in reported patience/impulsivity would predict how likely givers chose the reaction-maximizing goals. However, how participants considered themselves in comparison to others regarding patience and impulsivity did not moderate the preference discrepancy (Table 4), and none of these measures correlated with choices (Table 2 & 3). Instead, only individual patience and impulsivity moderated the preference discrepancy (Table 4), suggesting that the preference discrepancy decreases when both givers and receivers were impatient.

Second, since the reaction-maximizing gifts would often bring about sooner gratification, some people may feel guilty when choosing instant gratification for themselves but not when selecting gifts for others (Kivetz and Simonson 2002). If that was the case, then the giver-receiver preference discrepancy would be larger for those with higher hyperopia or than those with lower hyperopia. However, we did not find this to be the case, using measures of hyperopia (Haws and Poynor 2008), self-control (Tangney et al 2004), or self-other difference of guilt-proneness (Table 2, 3 & 4).

Third, the choice pairs also involve goal conflicts, and people may underestimate the extent to which others experience goal conflict, and erroneously believe that others have

greater happiness goals and have lesser self-control goals (Laran 2010). If that was the case, then the differences givers reported between themselves and their friend in terms of goal conflict would predict how likely givers chose the reaction-maximizing goals. Again, we did not find any such effects, using measures of self-control (Tangney et al 2004) or self-other difference of goal conflict (Laran 2010).

APPENDIX E
DETAILED OUTPUTS

E.1 Study 4 Additional Outputs

Table E.1: No correlation between DV (average choice) and individual traits (Study 1B)

		Choice	patience	impulsivity	hyperopia	self-control
Choice	Pearson Correlation	1	-.036	-.014	.061	-.101
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.614	.844	.383	.149
	N	204	204	204	204	204
patience	Pearson Correlation	-.036	1	.630**	-.105	.500**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.614		.000	.132	.000
	N	204	208	208	208	208
impulsivity	Pearson Correlation	-.014	.630**	1	.066	.585**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.844	.000		.346	.000
	N	204	208	208	208	208
hyperopia	Pearson Correlation	.061	-.105	.066	1	-.196**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.383	.132	.346		.005
	N	204	208	208	208	208
self-control	Pearson Correlation	-.101	.500**	.585**	-.196**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.149	.000	.000	.005	
	N	204	208	208	208	208

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table E.2: No correlation between DV (average choice) and self-other differences in individual traits (Study 1B)

		Choice	Δ patience	Δ impulse	Δ guilt	Δ goalconflict
Choice	Pearson Correlation	1	.032	-.005	.055	-.020
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.653	.942	.436	.782
	N	204	204	204	204	204
Δ patience	Pearson Correlation	.032	1	.593**	.166*	-.323**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.653		.000	.017	.000
	N	204	208	208	208	208
Δ impulse	Pearson Correlation	-.005	.593**	1	.407**	-.497**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.942	.000		.000	.000
	N	204	208	208	208	208
Δ guilt	Pearson Correlation	.055	.166*	.407**	1	-.437**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.436	.017	.000		.000
	N	204	208	208	208	208
Δ goalconflict	Pearson Correlation	-.020	-.323**	-.497**	-.437**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.782	.000	.000	.000	
	N	204	208	208	208	208

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table E.3: Only individual patience (and impulsivity, marginally) moderates the effect of Role (Giver vs. Receiver) on DV (average choice). (Study 1B)

Interactions	Type III Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F	p-value
Patience x Role	.392	.392	5.195	.024
Impulsivity x Role	.174	.174	2.274	.133
Hyperopia x Role	.016	.016	.205	.651
Self-control x Role	.120	.120	1.575	.211
Δ patience x Role	.004	.004	.058	.810
Δ impulsivity x Role	.016	.016	.203	.653
Δ guilt-proneness x Role	.046	.046	.601	.439
Δ goal-conflict x Role	.002	.002	.023	.879

Each interaction was run in separate regressions.

Table E.4: Effect of Role on Choices (Study 4)

Source	β	SE	t	p
Intercept	1.371	.060	23.01	<.001
Role (1=giver, 2=receiver)	.108	.037	2.92	.004

DV = Average Choice

(1=chose all reaction-maximizing, 1.33=chose 1 appreciation-maximizing, 1.67=chose 2 appreciation-maximizing, 2=all appreciation-maximizing)

Table E.5: Effect of Role on Difference in Anticipated Reaction (Study 4)

Source	β	SE	t	p
Intercept	-.707	.222	3.18	.002
Role (1=giver, 2=receiver)	.347	.138	2.52	.012

DV = Δ Anticipated Reaction

(Mean reaction rating for 3 appreciation-maximizing options – Mean reaction rating for 3 reaction-maximizing options)

Table E.6: Effect of Role on Difference in Anticipated Appreciation (Study 4)

Source	β	SE	t	p
Intercept	.501	.226	2.22	.028
Role (1=giver, 2=receiver)	.332	.140	2.37	.019

DV = Δ Anticipated Appreciation

(Mean reaction rating for 3 appreciation-maximizing options – Mean reaction rating for 3 reaction-maximizing options)

E.2 Study 4 Mediation Outputs

Table E.7: Effect of Mediators on Choices (Study 4)

Source	β	SE	t	P
Intercept	1.488	.042	35.58	<.001
Role (1=giver, 2=receiver)	.034	.025	1.36	.174
Δ Reaction	.185	.012	15.88	<.001
Δ Appreciation	.027	.011	2.37	.019

DV = Average Choice

(1=chose all reaction-maximizing, 1.33=chose 1 appreciation-maximizing, 1.67=chose 2 appreciation-maximizing, 2=all appreciation-maximizing)

Table E.8: Effect of Mediators on Choices for Givers (Study 4)

Source	β	SE	t	P
Intercept	1.538	.027	57.80	<.001
Δ Reaction	.192	.018	10.56	<.001
Δ Appreciation	.011	.018	.63	.532

DV = Average Choice

(1=chose all reaction-maximizing, 1.33=chose 1 appreciation-maximizing, 1.67=chose 2 appreciation-maximizing, 2=all appreciation-maximizing)

Table E.9: Effect of Mediators on Choices for Receivers (Study 4)

Source	β	SE	t	P
Intercept	1.540	.024	63.19	<.001
Δ Reaction	.182	.015	11.94	<.001
Δ Appreciation	.041	.015	2.69	.008

DV = Average Choice

(1=chose all reaction-maximizing, 1.33=chose 1 appreciation-maximizing, 1.67=chose 2 appreciation-maximizing, 2=all appreciation-maximizing)

E.3 Study 5 Mediation Outputs

Table E.10: Effect of Coded Reaction and Appreciation Scores on Affective Reactions (Study 5)

Source	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	72.284	8.934	8.09	<.001
Coded Reaction Score (1-5)	3.887	1.187	3.27	.001
Coded Appreciation Score (1-5)	1.184	1.331	.89	.375

DV = Affective Reaction Rating (0-100) Note: Respondent-level fixed effects not shown

Table E.11: Effect of Coded Reaction and Appreciation Scores on Overall Appreciation (Study 5)

Source	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	68.180	11.615	5.87	<.001
Coded Reaction Score (1-5)	-.490	1.544	.32	.751
Coded Appreciation Score (1-5)	5.903	1.731	3.41	.001

DV = Overall Appreciation Rating (0-100) Note: Respondent-level fixed effects not shown

Table E.12: Effect of Mediators on Givers' Enjoyment (Study 5)

Source	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	30.965	14.029	2.21	.029
Affective Reaction (0-100)	.756	.135	5.62	<.001
Overall Appreciation (0-100)	.069	.104	.66	.508

DV = Giver Enjoyment Rating (0-100) Note: Respondent-level fixed effects not shown

Table E.13: Effect of Mediators on Givers' Enjoyment (Study 5)

Source	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	33.035	14.566	2.27	.025
Coded Reaction (1-5)	1.230	1.726	.71	.477
Coded Appreciation (1-5)	-1.742	1.925	.91	.367
Affective Reaction (0-100)	.714	.142	5.02	<.001
Overall Appreciation (0-100)	.106	.109	.97	.335

DV = Giver Enjoyment Rating (0-100) Note: Respondent-level fixed effects not shown

Table E.14: Effect of Coded Reaction and Appreciation Scores on Givers' Enjoyment (Study 5)

Source	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	91.886	14.297	6.427	.000
Coded Reaction Score (1-5)	4.059	1.900	2.136	.034
Coded Appreciation Score (1-5)	-.272	2.130	-.128	.899

DV = Giver Enjoyment Rating (0-100) Note: Respondent-level fixed effects not shown

Table E.15: Effect of Coded Appreciation Score on Overall Appreciation (Study 5)

Source	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	69.095	11.222	6.157	.000
Coded Appreciation (1-5)	5.962	1.716	3.474	.001

DV = Overall Appreciation Rating (0-100) Note: Respondent-level fixed effects not shown

Table E.16: Effect of Coded Reaction Score on Affective Reaction (Study 5)

Source	β	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
Intercept	75.000	8.391	8.938	.000
Coded Reaction (1-5)	4.000	1.180	3.391	.001

DV = Affective Reaction Rating (0-100) Note: Respondent-level fixed effects not shown

E.4 Internal meta-analysis

Table E.17: Internal meta-analysis; interpersonal closeness, gender, and age did not moderate.

Variable		Type III Sum of Squares		Mean Square	F	p-value
Preference discrepancy	Hypothesis	14.178	1	14.178	78.851	.000
	Error	258.019	1435	.180 ^b		
Interpersonal closeness	Hypothesis	.013	1	.013	.074	.786
	Error	217.958	1260	.173 ^b		
Gender	Hypothesis	.000	1	.000	.000	1.000
	Error	256.292	1429	.179 ^b		
Age	Hypothesis	.146	1	.146	.813	.367
	Error	256.571	1429	.180 ^b		
Closeness x Role	Hypothesis	.029	1	.029	.167	.683
	Error	217.929	1259	.173 ^b		
Gender x Role	Hypothesis	.000	1	.000	.001	.979
	Error	256.292	1428	.179 ^b		
Age x Role	Hypothesis	.005	1	.005	.028	.867
	Error	256.566	1428	.180 ^b		

Each covariate and interaction was run in separate regressions.

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