How and Why Conversational Value Leads to Happiness for Experiential and Material

Purchases

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Keywords: experiential vs. material purchases, conversational value of the purchase, purchaserelated happiness There is this core part of people where they want to express things about themselves...It's just one of the things that I think makes us human.

-Mark Zuckerberg (2011)

Communicating about oneself or about something relevant to oneself is a core part of human nature and a ubiquitous behavior (Argo, White, and Dahl 2006; Berger and Schwartz 2011; Moore 2012). When people talk to each other, marketplace offerings feature prominently. For example, 3.3 billion brand impressions are formed daily in consumer conversations (Keller and Libai 2009). These conversations enable the spread of information (Goldenberg, Libai, and Muller 2001), influence what people buy (Nam, Manchanda, and Chintagunta 2010), and affect how they feel about their purchases (Gatignon and Robertson 1986).

This article focuses on the conversational value of two purchase types: experiential (those made with the intention of living through an event or a series of events; e.g., a movie at the theater) versus material (those made with the intention of gaining ownership and possession, typically over a tangible good; e.g., an electronic gadget). *Conversational value* is defined here as the likelihood that the consumer talks about a purchase in a social interaction. Over time, a purchase with high conversational value is talked about more often than a purchase with low conversational value.

The conversational value of purchases is important because interpersonal communication is associated with multiple benefits, including stronger memory of the shared event (Langston 1994), learning (Bandura 1977), improved social relationships (Collins and Miller 1994; Gable, Gonzaga, and Strachman 2006), gain of support and confirmation (Gatignon and Robertson 1986), alleviation of stress and tension (Pennebaker 1993), and greater positive affect and wellbeing (Gable et al. 2004; Mehl et al. 2010). Following this logic, consumers' well-being should benefit from purchases that facilitate consumer conversation.

The present investigation examines conversational value as a mechanism responsible for the different levels of happiness consumers derive from experiential and material purchases i.e., purchase-related happiness. It predicts that experiential purchases are more conducive to interpersonal conversations, which helps explain why they afford consumers greater happiness than do material purchases (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003).

Further, this work integrates the extant literature to advance insight into what drives the (predicted) higher conversational value of experiences as compared to that of objects. It tests and finds support for the idea that the higher conversational value of experiences stems, at least in part, from consumers' perceptions that experiences are more self-disclosing, more likely to elicit social approval, and more unique (Carter and Gilovich 2012; Rosenzweig and Gilovich 2012; Van Boven, Campbell, and Gilovich 2010). Given these results, this investigation posits that the difference in conversational value between objects and experiences is qualified by consumers' motivation to foster a relationship with the conversation partner. Specifically experiential purchases should be people's preferred topic of conversation when they intend to develop a social relationship, but this preference should attenuate or disappear when social bonding is not a goal. Together these examinations unearth a critical underlying motivation responsible for the conversational value of a purchase.

Next, we offer a theoretical discussion supporting the conceptual model, which is summarized in figure 1.

Insert figure 1 about here

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THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Experiential versus Material Purchases and Conversational Value

The first link of our process mechanism proposes that experiential purchases have higher conversational value as compared to material purchases due to positive characteristics associated with experiential purchases. This proposition finds support in the interpersonal communication and the experiential versus material purchases literatures. First, experiential purchases are closer to and more representative of a person's true self (Carter and Gilovich 2012), making them particularly diagnostic of the speaker and appropriate for self-narratives. This aspect is likely to encourage verbal sharing since a major function of conversation is to allow "the speaker to convey to other individuals a lot of information about him/herself as a person" (Dunbar, Marriott, and Duncan 1997, 241). People also tend to share about topics that help them build a positive social image (Barasch and Berger 2014; Mangold and Faulds 2009). Since individuals associated with experiences are frequently seen more favorably than those associated with objects (Van Boven et al. 2010), talking about one's experiences (vs. objects) fits with people's desire to be seen in a positive light (Goffman 1974; Wojnicki and Godes 2008). Further, experiences are perceived as more unique (Rosenzweig and Gilovich 2012), potentially making them a more captivating topic of conversation, thus appealing to the listener's interest (Berger and Schwartz 2011). Based on these notions, this work predicts that experiential purchases have higher conversational value than material purchases; and that this difference emerges, at least in

part, from factors previously shown to differ across the two purchase types—i.e., self-narrative provided by closeness to the self, social approval, and interest associated with uniqueness.

Overall, these characteristics of experiential and material purchases are likely to influence the conversational value of the purchase because they are associated with social goals—i.e., selfdisclosing, projecting a positive social image to others, and communicating unique information are all potentially conducive to social relationship development. In this sense, the higher conversational value of experiential purchases-i.e., people's stronger inclination to talk about experiences (vs. objects)—appears fundamentally built on people's belief that conversations about experiences are more likely to promote social ties. Since building social relationships figures among the motives why consumers engage in conversations (Berger 2014), when this motive is present people should naturally be more inclined to share about an experiential purchase than a material one. This perspective raises the possibility that the superior conversational value of experiential purchases may be dampened or eliminated if the goal of forging a relationship is absent. Under this condition, the perceived social bonding potential of conversing about experiences becomes less relevant, thus attenuating or neutralizing the difference in conversational value. Following this rationale, we posit that the motive to build a social relationship with the conversation partner is a necessary condition for the higher conversational value of experiences to emerge. When people are not motivated to establish a social tie, objects and experiences are equally suitable for conversation. We provide an expanded discussion about our social motives theory when we introduce experiment 4.

Conversational Value and Purchase-Related Happiness

A long history of research has shown that conversing brings benefits as varied as psychological adjustment, physical health, decreased stigmatization, liking for others, and healthy personality (Collins and Miller 1994; Corrigan and Matthews 2003; Cozby 1973; Frattaroli 2006; Jourard 1959; Omarzu 2000; Rimé et al. 1998). Past evidence also suggests several ways that conversing increases happiness. For example, talking (vs. not talking) about daily positive topics leads the teller to experience greater positive affect and personal well-being (Gable et al. 2004). Conversing with others also enables the teller to gain support and confirmation (Gatignon and Robertson 1986), helps the teller to learn (Bandura 1977) and make sense of the shared topic (Finkenauer and Rimé 1998), allows the teller to re-experience the topic (Gable et al. 2004), and prolongs the duration of the topic's positive effects (Verduyn, Van Mechelen, and Tuerlinckx 2011). Of particular interest to our investigation, Mehl et al. (2010) find that happiness is related to spending less time alone and more time engaging in substantive conversations. Jointly, these notions support our proposition that sharing about one's experiential and material purchases is likely to increase the happiness that person gains from those purchases.

Summary of Proposed Model and Overview of Empirical Work

Our overarching hypothesis is that conversational value can account for the previously documented superiority of experiences (vs. objects) in advancing consumer happiness. Across two different operationalizations of purchase type, findings from studies 1 and 2 directly support this hypothesis: people attribute higher conversational value to experiences (vs. objects); and this difference can account for experiences' greater ability to advance consumer happiness. In addition, experiment 2 shows that the difference in conversational value is driven by people's

perceptions that experiential purchases are more self-disclosing, better able to create a favorable image, and more unique. Experiment 3 employs a real-choice procedure to demonstrate that people indeed are more inclined to share about their experiences (vs. objects). Last, experiment 4 manipulates social relationship motives and demonstrates that motivation to build a social relationship with the conversation partner is a necessary condition for and a critical force behind the greater conversational value of experiential (vs. material) purchases.

EXPERIMENT 1

Experiment 1 tests the hypothesized mediating role of conversational value in the relation between purchase type and purchase-related happiness. We employ a procedure in which the focal purchase is held constant (i.e., a BBQ grill) and manipulate the way that grill owners frame it in their minds (i.e., as an object vs. an experience; Carter and Gilovich 2012; Rosenzweig and Gilovich 2012). Keeping the focal purchase constant affords us control over the nature of the purchase. This, in turn, avoids the possible criticism that our results emerge from analyses comparing nonequivalent purchases (e.g., experiential purchase [e.g., a visit to a museum] vs. material purchase [e.g., a new lamp]). This procedure also rules out alternative explanations associated with inherent characteristics of experiential versus material purchases.

Procedures

One hundred and three Amazon Mechanical Turk (Mturk) participants completed the study in exchange for financial compensation (females = 67%; $M_{age} = 33.94$, SD = 11.46). The

experiment was available only to participants with IP addresses from the United States or Canada, and required a history of approval rate equal to or above 97%, with a minimum of 50 tasks previously approved (these criteria were used in all our studies involving Mturk participants). The materials across all our four experiments were in English. To encourage the enrollment of grill owners, the study's description mentioned that, "We are particularly interested in people who have a BBQ grill at home."

The study employed a between-subjects design (BBQ grill framed as: an object vs. an experience) in which participants were first asked to "think about the BBQ grill you own." To manipulate the material versus experiential frame, participants were encouraged to think and write about that BBQ grill either in terms of its material or experiential properties. Participants in the material (experiential) framing condition read, "Grills are something people keep (use) for some time. Naturally, when you purchased it, your goal was that during the time you own (use) the grill, you liked the object (the experience of using it). Please recall some details of that object (experience). Make sure you focus on the aspects of the object (experience). Describe specific characteristics of that object (experience) and what it is like to have that object (experience)" (see web appendix A for the complete manipulation text). These instructions were given to encourage the participants to think about the purchase in the way it was framed to them.

Assessment of Focal Constructs. First, to measure purchase-related happiness, experiment 1 adopted Van Boven and Gilovich's (2003) two-item scale ("When you think about that object/experience, how happy does it make you?"; "How much does that object/experience contribute to your happiness in life?"; 1 = Not at All; 7 = Very Much; r = .701). We measured the dependent variable—purchase-related happiness—before the (predicted) mediating

variable—conversational value—to avoid making salient to participants the (proposed) higher conversational value of experiential purchases, which could artificially influence their reporting of purchase-related happiness. Next, participants answered a five-item measure of conversational value ("That object/experience makes for a good conversation."; "I want to talk to others about that object/experience."; "That grill is a good topic to talk about."; "I desire to talk to people about that object/experience."; "I feel excited about telling others about that object/experience."; 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; α = .956). Last, participants indicated whether they had a grill at their house and provided basic demographic information.

Results

Six participants were excluded for indicating that they did not have a BBQ grill at their house, leaving a final sample of 97 participants. All results hold when these six excluded participants are included in the analyses.

Measurement Model. The measurement model posits that two separate factors account for the covariance in the measures—i.e., conversational value and purchase-related happiness. We conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (Amos) and found supporting evidence for the two-factor model, as all critical criteria for model fit were met ($\chi^2(13) = 15.8$, p = .258, RMSEA = .048, TLI = .993, CFI = .996, GFI = .956, SRMR = .017; Bagozzi and Yi 2012; Hu and Bentler 1998, 1999). In contrast, a one-factor model fails to meet important criteria for model adequacy ($\chi^2(14) = 41.1$, p < .001, RMSEA = .142, TLI = .937, CFI = .958, GFI = .902, SRMR = .053).

Given our theoretical model and the superior fit of the empirical two-factor model, our analyses treat conversational value and purchase-related happiness as separate constructs.

Purchase-Related Happiness. An ANOVA shows that participants who frame the BBQ grill as an experience report significantly greater happiness than participants who frame it as an object ($M_{exp} = 5.37$, SD = 1.35 vs. $M_{mat} = 4.66$, SD = 1.47; F(1, 95) = 5.89, p = .017, Cohen's d = .50). This result replicates the basic phenomenon of interest—the happiness superiority of experiential (vs. material) purchases.

Conversational Value Mediation. A bootstrap test (PROCESS, model 4; Hayes 2013) shows that, in the mediator model, purchase type influences conversational value ($\beta = .84$, SE = .30, t(95) = 2.79, p = .006). In the dependent-variable model, conversational value influences purchase-related happiness ($\beta = .64$, SE = .07, t(94) = 8.60, p < .001) whereas the previously significant effect of purchase type on purchase-related happiness ($\beta = .71$, SE = .29, t(95) = 2.42, p = .017) is reduced to non-significant ($\beta = .16$, SE = .22, t(94) = .73, p = .466). Further, results confirm the indirect effect of purchase type on purchase-related happiness through conversational value (indirect effect: $\beta = .53$, SE = .20, CI(95%) = [.166, .999]).

Discussion

Experiment 1 provides initial evidence for the proposed conversational value model. Results show that, when people frame a purchase in experiential (vs. material) terms, they attribute higher conversational value to it; conversational value is positively associated with purchase-related happiness; and it mediates the effect of framing of purchase type on purchaserelated happiness.

The approach of keeping the focal purchase constant allows experiment 1 to avoid the issue of non-comparability of the purchases participants consider and to obviate possible concerns associated with particularities of experiential versus material purchases. Additionally, experiment 1 brings forward an important implication of this research for practitioners—that the apparently simple strategy of encouraging consumers to frame a purchase in experiential terms (e.g., Experience what it is to prepare the perfect meat.) versus material terms (e.g., Get all the functionalities and elegance you have always expected from a grill.) influences consumers' evaluation of the conversational value of the purchase, and, consequently, the amount of happiness they draw from that purchase. Experiment 1, however, stops short of explaining why experiences are preferred over objects as a topic of conversation. To inquire deeper into the conversational value model, experiment 2 seeks an explanation for people's preference for sharing about experiences (vs. objects).

EXPERIMENT 2 – DRIVER(S) OF CONVERSATIONAL VALUE

Experiment 2 investigates why consumers attribute higher conversational value to experiential purchases and tests experiment 1's replicability. Previous works have advanced a number of constructs that systematically differ between experiential and material purchases. Based on findings from this literature, our model predicts that the greater conversational value of experiences stems, at least in part, from their higher uniqueness (Rosenzweig and Gilovich 2012), stronger association with and closer reflection of the teller's self (Carter and Gilovich 2012), and greater ability to elicit social approval (Van Boven et al. 2010). Because these three constructs are important elements of social interactions (Carter and Gilovich 2012; Cheema and Kaikati 2010; Mead et al. 2011; Rosenzweig and Gilovich 2012; Snyder 1992; Snyder and Fromkin 1980; Tian, Bearden, and Hunter 2001; Van Boven et al. 2010), it is likely that one or more of them lead to people's preference to converse about an experiential (vs. material) purchase. In the predicted two-step mediation model, the first step therefore contains three parallel mediators. Specifically, the model postulates that purchase uniqueness, closeness to the self, and social approval form mediator 1 (M1) and conversational value comprises mediator 2 (M2), with purchase-related happiness as the dependent variable.

Procedures

One hundred and fifty-four Mturk participants completed the study in exchange for financial compensation (females = 53%; M_{age} = 36.01, SD = 11.39). One participant was removed from all analyses for not completing any of the measures, leaving a final sample of 153 participants. We adapted the methodological approach from Van Boven and Gilovich (2003), which allowed us to test the proposed mediation in line with this work. Participants were randomly assigned to recall a material or an experiential purchase they had made in the past. To increase participants' engagement in the task, the questionnaire also asked them to write about the purchase. To control for extraneous effects that market value may cause, the instructions restricted the purchase cost by asking participants to select a purchase of about \$50. Last, the manipulation text followed Van Boven and Gilovich's (2003) instructions that the purchase should be one that turned out well (see web appendix B for the complete manipulation text).

Assessment of Focal Constructs. The questionnaire used 7-point scales (1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; or 1 = Not at All; 7 = Very Much, as appropriate) to measure, in this order, purchase uniqueness ("I perceive that object/experience as unique."; "That object/experience is different from others I have had."; "That object\experience is distinct."; α = .880), conversational value (the same five items as in experiment 1; α = .946), social approval ("I think people have a more positive view of me after learning about my object/experience."; "I think people regard me more highly after learning about that object/experience."; *r* = .874), closeness to the self ("That object/experience reflects who I am as a person."; "That object/experience is close to my sense of self."; "That object/experience is closely associated with my identity."; α = .922), and purchase-related happiness (the same two items as in experiment 1; *r* = .695). Last, participants provided basic demographic information.

Results

Previous works have not elaborated on how interdependent the concepts of purchase uniqueness, social approval, and closeness to the self are, and the present work has equally not theorized on that regard. We thus conducted an exploratory factor analysis to examine the underlying factor structure of the data, since this is the most appropriate method when one is "unsure of how variables would operate vis-à-vis one another" (Matsunaga 2010, 98). We specified five factors to match the proposed conceptual model. This solution indicates that the five constructs indeed hold conceptual independence (table 1).

Insert table 1 about here

Purchase-Related Happiness. An ANOVA indicates that participants report significantly higher happiness from experiential (M = 5.84, SD = .99) than material purchases (M = 5.10, SD = 1.25; F(1, 151) = 16.40, p < .001, Cohen's d = .65).

Next, we conducted a two-step mediation test to examine the proposed mediators.

Overall, this set of analyses indicates that the three pathways forming M1 (purchase uniqueness, social approval, closeness to the self) jointly and equally account for the higher conversational value of experiential purchases; which in turn explains why experiences (vs. objects) advance more purchase-related happiness (figure 2).

Insert figure 2 about here

Two-Step Mediation. Because PROCESS model 6 cannot yet fully accommodate sequential mediation with three variables at one level of the mediation path (i.e., M1 in the present work), these analyses made use of Amos. We conducted four steps of analyses to test the full model of sequential mediation. We first tested the effect of purchase type on the three variables forming the first level of the mediation path—i.e., M1 (step 1). Next, in step 2, we tested the relation between purchase type and conversational value—i.e., M2. In step 3, we analyzed the effects of M1 and M2 on purchase-related happiness. And finally, in step 4, we tested all indirect effects.

Step 1: Effects of purchase type on the three M1 variables: Purchase type significantly impacts all three variables in M1 (purchase uniqueness: $\beta = .58$, SE = .24, p = .015, CI(95%) =

[.111, 1.053]; social approval: $\beta = .63$, SE = .25, p = .012, CI(95%) = [.131, 1.132]; and closeness to the self: $\beta = .68$, SE = .24, p = .006, CI(95%) = [.194, 1.171]).

Step 2: Effect of purchase type on conversational value: In this sequential mediation model, purchase type has a significant indirect effect on conversational value (β = .45, SE = .16, p = .002, CI(95%) = [.178, .823]), while purchase type's previously significant direct effect on conversational value (β = .66, SE = .23, t(151) = 2.80, p = .006) is no longer significant when the three indirect paths are accounted for (β = .20, SE = .18, p = .287, CI(95%) = [-.168, .569]). It is worth-noting that in a simple mediation model where conversational value is the only mediator (PROCESS, model 4) the indirect effect on purchase-related happiness is significant (β = .29, SE = .11, CI(95%) = [.094, .530]). These results suggest that, when purchase uniqueness, social approval, and closeness to the self are in the model, the indirect effect goes through the three M1 variables, but no longer passes through conversational value alone.

Step 3: Effects of M1 and M2 variables on purchase-related happiness: Of the three variables comprising M1, only closeness to the self has a significant direct effect on purchase-related happiness (β = .27, SE = .06, p < .001, CI(95%) = [.140, .395]). Social approval (β = -.05, SE = .05, p = .257, CI(95%) = [-.160, .050]) and purchase uniqueness (β = .08, SE = .05, p = .113, CI(95%) = [-.024, .200]) do not influence purchase-related happiness directly. Importantly, conversational value exerts a significant influence on purchase-related happiness (β = .30, SE = .06, p < .001, CI(95%) = [.174, .433]).

Step 4: Indirect effects of purchase type on purchase-related happiness: The total indirect effect of purchase type on purchase-related happiness is significant ($\beta = .40$, SE = .12, p = .002, CI(95%) = [.164, .644]). As reported in step 2, the indirect effect of purchase type on conversational value is significant ($\beta = .45$, SE = .16, p = .002, CI(95%) = [.178, .823]). A

parallel multiple mediator test (PROCESS, model 4) shows that the indirect effect of purchase type on conversational value is significant when it passes through purchase uniqueness (indirect effect: $\beta = .15$, SE = .07, CI(95%) = [.039, .365]), social approval (indirect effect: $\beta = .16$, SE = .08, CI(95%) = [.038, .404]), and closeness to the self (indirect effect: $\beta = .12$, SE = .07, CI(95%) = [.014, .324]). Importantly, a contrast test comparing these three indirect effects shows that they explain equivalent proportions of variance in conversational value. Specifically, when compared with each other, none of the indirect effects comes up as a superior path: purchase uniqueness and social approval ($\beta = -.01$, SE = .10, CI(95%) = [-.241, .187]), purchase uniqueness and closeness to the self ($\beta = .02$, SE = .10, CI(95%) = [-.146, .295]). These findings suggest that, among the three mediating variables examined here, none comes up as a dominant driver of the effect of purchase type on conversational value; instead, they jointly, and equally, help explain why experiential purchases have higher conversational value than material ones.

Results from the SEM indicate that conversational value, in turn, significantly mediates the effect of these three drivers on purchase-related happiness: purchase uniqueness (β = .07, SE = .03, *p* = .003, CI(95%) = [.024, .165]); social approval (β = .08, SE = .02, *p* = .001, CI(95%) = [.038, .148]), and closeness to the self (β = .05, SE = .03, *p* = .034, CI(95%) = [.004, .136]). When all four mediating variables (M1 and M2) are in the model, the previously significant direct effect of purchase type on purchase-related happiness (β = .74, SE = .18, *p* < .001, CI(95%) = [.382, 1.097]) is noticeably reduced, but remains statistically significant (β = .34, SE = .13, *p* = .009, CI(95%) = [.081, .622]). To obtain further confirmation that each of the three sequential indirect paths transmits the effect of purchase type on purchase-related happiness, we performed three additional sequential mediation tests (PROCESS, model 6). Findings confirm that the indirect effect is significant when it passes through purchase uniqueness \rightarrow conversational value (β = .10, SE = .04, CI(95%) = [.029, .222]), social approval \rightarrow conversational value (β = .12, SE = .05, CI(95%) = [.028, .259]), and closeness to the self \rightarrow conversational value (β = .09, SE = .04, CI(95%) = [.032, .198]).

Discussion

Experiment 2 incorporates constructs from previous works to deepen the understanding about conversational value. It demonstrates how three characteristics that have been shown to differ between experiential and material purchases help determine people's greater inclination to converse about their experiences (vs. objects). Purchase uniqueness, social approval, and closeness to the self equally contribute to making experiences more conversational, which in turn helps explain why they generate more happiness than do objects. This evidence indicates that a set of social-relationship motives seems to drive the effect of purchase type on conversational value. In this sense, the conversational value of the purchase is multiply determined.

Of note, experiments 1 and 2 counterbalanced the order of the conversational value and purchase-related happiness measures, demonstrating that the results are independent of measurement order. Additionally, experiment 2 distanced the measures of conversational value and purchase-related happiness by including filler items, obviating the possible concern that the relation between the two constructs could have emerged from measurement proximity.

Next, experiment 3 employs an actual-choice procedure to conclusively demonstrate people's greater inclination to share about their experiences versus objects. Adopting an actual-choice procedure is important because recall biases may have interfered with participants'

reporting of conversational value in the first two studies. For example, one could argue that past conversations about experiences might be particularly prone to favorable reconstruction (Mitchell et al. 1997), leading to the (wrong) perception that experiences are more conducive to conversations than objects. A more definitive conclusion about the higher conversational value of experiences, and the associated notion that experiences are more likely to become a topic of conversation, requires an experiment where participants make an actual choice among objects and experiences to share. Experiment 3 takes this approach.

EXPERIMENT 3

Experiment 3 performs a more conclusive examination of our proposition that experiential purchases have higher conversational value than material purchases. This proposition will be supported if people display a preference for talking about an experience instead of an object when they are given the option to share about either. Experiment 3 examines this fundamental notion with a procedure where participants make an actual choice of a purchase to share.

Procedures

One hundred and thirteen graduate students from Católica-Lisbon School of Business and Economics participated in the experiment in exchange for class credit (females = 56%; M_{age} = 22.90, SD = 1.33). Data from all 113 participants were used in the analyses. The experiment employed a within-subjects design. Participants were first introduced to the idea that "we often

spend our money on two types of purchases: objects and experiences." Next, they read explanations of what each purchase type means. Then, they were presented with two similar texts (one for each purchase type) asking them to "please think of two examples of objects/experiences you have purchased in the last 12 months for about 100 Euros each. You bought each object/experience to increase your happiness and enjoyment in life. It turned out well and you did enjoy the purchase. In a few words, write down those objects/experiences." These two texts (one for objects and one for experiences) appeared in random order and were each followed by two slots where participants briefly wrote down the purchases (on average, participants used 2.44 words to describe each of the four purchases) (see web appendix C for the complete manipulation text). We asked participants for two purchases of each type (instead of only one of each type) to attenuate the likelihood that the specific object or experience they recalled had particularities (e.g., high level of intimacy) that could potentially put it in a disadvantageous condition with respect to conversational value. Requesting two examples of each purchase type ensured that participants always had a second option to resort to.

Subsequently, participants read, "In this part of the study, we are interested in learning about interaction and communication. In a few minutes, we will partner you with another participant in this lab and the two of you will engage in a conversation (the type of interaction that normally happens in everyday life between people). In that conversation, we would like you to talk with the other person about one of the four purchases you listed previously. You are free to choose which purchase you will share about." At this point, the four purchase examples that participants had written earlier populated in random order on the online questionnaire and they were asked to "please select the one you want to talk with the other person about (click next to it)." After making their selection, participants answered basic demographic questions and were informed that due to an odd number of participants in their lab session the lab administrator would not be able to pair them up with another person. Participants were then given class credit and released from the laboratory.

Results

Preference of Purchase Type to Share. A z-test assessed whether participants show a preference for sharing about either purchase type. In line with our prediction, a substantial majority of participants (73%) selected an experience to share with the other person, a proportion that is significantly greater than the indifference value of 50% (z = 4.89, p < .001).

Discussion

Engaging in conversations entails making decisions, one of which is selecting topics to discuss (Corrigan and Matthews 2003; Omarzu 2000). Experiment 3 demonstrates that when it comes to purchase-related conversations people systematically prefer to converse about an experience they lived through than a material object they own. That almost three quarters of experiment 3's sample (i.e., 73%) selected an experience to share indicates the higher conversational value of experiences as compared to that of objects. Importantly, this evidence emerges from a procedure where people made an actual choice of a purchase to share (vs. self-reported conversational value), thus assuaging potential concerns associated with recall biases in our previous studies. Finally, while participants in experiments 1 and 2 were asked to write in some detail about the purchase, those in experiment 3 only wrote down a short description of it

(which, on average, contained 2.44 words), hence obviating possible concerns that the assessments of conversational value in our first two studies followed, and were influenced by, a (written) sharing instance.

Thus far, experiments measuring the variables of interest have informed us of the higher conversational value of experiential purchases, its mediating role in the effect of purchase type on purchase-related happiness, and the multiple determinants of the conversational value difference—i.e., purchase uniqueness, social approval, and closeness to the self. The final study aims to add to the evidence by manipulating (vs. measuring) the mechanism forming the first level of the mediation path in our model (M1). More specifically, experiment 4 manipulates social relationship motives, as an overarching theme across the three drivers of conversational value (i.e., M1; purchase uniqueness, social approval, and closeness to the self).

EXPERIMENT 4

The theoretical background section advanced social relationships as a major thread running through the drivers of conversational value. Indeed, a topic's ability to reveal information about the teller, to put the teller under a positive light, and to transmit uniqueness can all be consequential for how much bonding is formed in a conversation about that topic. In other words, closeness to the self, social approval, and purchase uniqueness matter in conversations because they may facilitate one of the main goals of sharing—i.e., to build social relationships (Berger 2014; Brundage, Derlega, and Cash 1977; Derlega and Grzelak 1979; Gatignon and Robertson 1986). In this sense, the higher conversational value of experiences is likely grounded on the belief that talking about experiences (vs. objects) is a better way to build a relationship with the conversation partner. This perspective is consistent with previous research suggesting that experiences allow the consumer to convey more self-related information to the listener (Carter and Gilovich 2012), which people may believe helps them build a relationship with the conversation partner (Altman and Taylor 1973). Plus, evidence indicates that conversations about experiences are less stigmatized and better able to generate liking (Van Boven et al. 2010). Also, since experiences are more unique (Rosenzweig and Gilovich 2012), they may be more interesting to the conversation partner, creating a more engaging and bonding interaction. These aspects seem to imbue experiential purchases with a stronger social component, which manifests when consumers decide which purchase type to share. Put differently, people's motivation for developing social relationships via conversation may be a necessary condition for the higher conversational value of experiences (vs. objects).

Noticeably, this rationale relies on the assumption that people typically go into conversations with the goal of building ties with the conversation partner. This assumption is supported by previous research reporting that people share to achieve goals (Derlega and Grzelak 1979), and that, among those goals, developing social relationships is an important one (Rimé 2009). According to Omarzu (2000, 177) sharing "is by nature a strategic behavior," which "individuals use to influence or act on their social environments." Echoing this notion, marketing and psychology models alike classify relationship development as one of the five principal goals associated with verbal sharing behavior (Berger 2014; Derlega and Grzelak 1979). In essence, people often converse about topics they perceive will help them manage their relationships with the conversation partner (Brundage et al. 1977; Gatignon and Robertson 1986).

Given the importance of relationship building in communication, we argue that purchases perceived to facilitate relationship development (i.e., experiential purchases) are naturally

preferred as a topic of conversation. But what if relationship building is not a primary goal for a conversation? For example, people may make idle conversation to relieve boredom and quiet. In such situations, the goal of social bonding is lower in priority, especially relative to the goal of minimizing effort. Here people may prioritize accessibility issues such as recency and ease of thinking about something to share. Following this perspective, the preference for talking about experiences (vs. objects) should manifest when the individual intends to develop a relationship with the conversation partner, but should not emerge in conversations where the person is unmotivated to forge a bond. In this latter situation, the socially-based forces driving the higher conversational value of experiences (closeness to the self, social approval, purchase uniqueness; experiment 2) are less relevant, which should attenuate or neutralize people's greater inclination to share about experiences.

Based on this rationale, we hypothesize that people's preference for sharing about experiences over objects (as observed in experiment 3) will magnify when people are especially motivated to build a relationship with the conversation partner—in this high-relate situation, the bonding capability of experiences is particularly valuable. Conversely, the preference to talk about experiences should attenuate or disappear entirely when people are not motivated to bond with that person—in this low-relate situation, the ability of experiences to forge social ties becomes irrelevant. Experiment 4 tests this notion by manipulating participants' social relationship motives with scenarios designed to induce high, low (and control) motivations to socially relate. We expect that under normal conditions (i.e., control condition) people will prefer to share about experiences instead of objects, reinforcing the results of experiment 3.

In addition to manipulating participants' relationship motivations, experiment 4 seeks another class of evidence. Specifically, it gathers information from participants on what they believe drove their choice of purchase to share. Based on extant literature (Berger 2014; Caprariello and Reis 2013; Carter and Gilovich 2012; Goffman 1974) and previous qualitative data, we selected a set of reasons intended to be both exhaustive and yet parsimonious. Participants were asked to select one reason from this list that best captures why they chose to talk about that purchase. According to our theorizing, control condition participants who choose to share about an experience (vs. object) should be more likely to attribute their choice to a relationship approach reason. In contrast, control condition participants who choose to share about an object (vs. experience) should be unlikely to select a relationship approach reason, and instead should report that their choice was motivated by reasons associated with other domains. This examination can potentially give us insight into the reasons why people talk about both experiences and objects.

Procedures

Two hundred Mturk participants completed the study in exchange for financial compensation (females = 59%; M_{age} = 35.78, SD = 11.46). Data from all 200 participants were used in the analyses. As in experiment 3, all participants were first asked to write down two objects and two experiences they had bought in the last 12 months for about \$100 each. Next, they were randomly assigned to one of the three relate-motivation conditions (high vs. control vs. low). Those in the high- (and low-) relate motivation condition read:

Imagine that you are sitting in a room, waiting your turn for an important interview. This is your second callback, so you know you are a finalist. There is one other candidate in

the room, who is not competing for the same job but is interviewing to be your potential co-worker in this firm (who is competing for the same job). The two of you eye each other and smile (eye each other warily). Will you get the chance to work together? (Who will get the job?)

The other person decides to strike up a conversation, most likely to get to know you better (most likely to feel out how strong a competitor you are). You notice that the other person is interested (is not interested) in building a real relationship with you. You feel the same way, so you definitely want to talk about something that will bring you closer together (you definitely want to talk about whatever will keep that distance between the two of you). As a topic of conversation, which of the four purchases would you be most likely to talk about?

Participants in the control condition read:

Imagine that you are sitting in a waiting room. There is one other person in the room. The other person decides to strike up a conversation. As a topic of conversation, which of the four purchases would you be most likely to talk about?

Next, the four purchases participants had listed earlier populated in random order on the online questionnaire and participants were asked to select the one they would want to talk with the other person.

To gather the rationale behind participants' choices, the questionnaire next showed them a list of "some common reasons that people in the same situation as yours give for the purchase they selected to talk about." Participants were asked to select the reason that best explained their choice. Based on existing literature and our reading of previous qualitative data, we offered them eight possible reasons. Four of these directly involve an approach towards relationship building: "It reveals something personal about me." (self-disclosure; Altman and Taylor 1973; Carter and Gilovich 2012); "I thought the other person would be most interested in it." (concern for the other individual's interest, which would include uniqueness; Berger 2014; Berger and Schwartz 2011; Wetzer, Zeelenberg, and Pieters 2007); "I thought it would be the best way to connect with the other person." (possibility to socially connect; Caprariello and Reis 2013; Rimé 2009); "I thought it would reflect well on me." (social approval; Berger 2014; Goffman 1974; Levy 1959; Van Boven et al. 2010). One reason centers on avoiding personal connection: "I thought it would avoid having to say anything about me." (avoid self-disclosure). The remaining three reasons are associated with domains other than approach to or avoidance of social relationships: "It was easy to think of something to say about it." (accessibility of information; Berger and Schwartz 2011; Zauberman, Ratner, and Kim 2009); "It is the most recent purchase I made." (recency; Berger and Schwartz 2011); and "This purchase made me the happiest." (happiness gained from the purchase; Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). Finally, participants had the option, "None of these reasons apply." These statements, except for the last one, appeared in random order. Less than 5.0% of participants in any individual experimental condition, and only 3.0% (N = 6) across all three conditions, selected "None of these reasons apply.", indicating that the response options covered participants' primary reasons for choosing a particular purchase type to share.

Last, participants answered two manipulation check items ("My intention in that conversation was to build a relationship with the other person."; "I wanted to reduce the distance

between us."; 1 = Strongly Disagree; 7 = Strongly Agree; r = .493), and provided basic demographic information.

Results

Manipulation Check. An ANOVA shows a significant effect of experimental condition on the manipulation check measure. As expected, participants in the high- and low-relate conditions respectively report the strongest and weakest intention of building a relationship $(M_{high} = 5.32, SD = 1.08 \text{ vs. } M_{control} = 4.24, SD = 1.41 \text{ vs. } M_{low} = 2.76, SD = 1.61; F(2, 197) =$ $56.00, p < .001, \eta^2 = .362)$, and contrast tests confirm that all three levels of the relate-motivation manipulation are significantly different from each other (ps < .001). Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the manipulation was successful.

Preference of Purchase Type to Share. Across the three relate-motivation conditions (N = 200), participants show a preference for sharing about an experience (71%), a proportion that is significantly greater than the indifference value of 50% (z = 5.94, p < .001). Critically, results confirm the hypothesized differences within and across the three experimental conditions. In the control condition (N = 69), a significant majority of participants selected an experience (75%; z = 4.15, p < .001), replicating experiment 3's result (where 73% selected an experience). In the high-relate condition (N = 64), an even larger percentage of participants selected an experience (89%; z = 6.24, p < .001). And in the low-relate condition (N = 67), the greater tendency to choose an experience to share disappears (49%; z = .16, p = .870). A logistic regression on the purchase participants chose to share, with control condition as the comparison group, shows the

expected significant differences between the control condition and the high-relate condition (Exp(b) = 2.66, SE = .48, p = .045), and between the control condition and the low-relate condition (Exp(b) = .31, SE = .37, p = .002). These results support our prediction that under normal circumstances people prefer to talk about their experiences relative to their objects (control condition); that this preference for experiences magnifies when people are especially motivated to build a relationship with the conversation partner (high-relate condition); and that it disappears in situations when they are not motivated to develop a relationship with the other person (low-relate condition). See figure 3.

Insert figure 3 about here

Self-Selected Motives for Sharing Preference—within Control Condition. These analyses are based only on the data from participants in the control condition (N = 69). Data from the other two conditions are analyzed separately (below) because their motives were experimentally manipulated. For the control condition, we predicted that reasons associated with developing a relationship (i.e., relationship approach reasons) would predominate among participants who select an experience to share; and that participants who select an object to share would attribute their choice predominantly to other, non-social approach reasons.

Among the 52 control condition participants who chose to share about an experience, 75% selected a relationship approach motivation (one of the four reason-statements associated with an approach towards relationship building, listed earlier) as the primary reason for their choice. In contrast, only 23.5% of the 17 participants who chose to share about an object provided a relationship approach motivation for their choice; and these proportions are significantly different (z = 3.80, p < .001). This finding adds support for the argument that the conversational value of experiences, but not that of objects, is primarily rooted in people's expectation that experiential conversations facilitate social relationship development.

In line with our theorizing, the 17 participants who chose to share about an object justified their choice mostly on a specific non-social approach reason, "easiness of thinking of something to say about the purchase" (52.9%), a proportion significantly higher than that obtained among the 52 participants who chose an experience to share (15.4%; z = 3.11, p < .001). None of the other reasons accounted for more than 12% of the justifications given by participants who chose to share about an object. We caution however that the low number of participants on which this analysis is based ($N_{object} = 17$) indicates that these data must be regarded as exploratory.

Self-Selected Motives for Sharing Preference—Experimentally Manipulated Conditions. This analysis examines whether the reason-statements participants provide appropriately reflect the experimental condition they were in, and compare these responses to the other conditions. This test allows for an additional manipulation check and reveals an interesting equivalence between the control and the high-relate conditions. As intended by the manipulation, results show that the 64 participants in the high-relate condition based their rationale largely on relationship approach motives (73.4%). This proportion is significantly greater than that for the 67 participants in the low-relate condition (23.8%; z = 5.67, p < .001), but statistically indistinguishable from the proportion for the 69 participants in the control condition (62.3%; z = 1.36, p = .170). Besides confirming the success of the relate-motivation manipulation, these results reveal that the rationale in the control condition is as heavily based on relationship

approach motives as that in the high-relate condition, suggesting that motivation to socially relate is our default mode when talking about purchases.

Consistent with experimental instructions, participants in the low-relate condition (N = 67) based their rationale largely on the reason-statement associated with avoiding a social relationship, "I thought it would avoid having to say anything about me." (44.8%). This percentage is significantly higher than those in the control (4.3%; z = 5.49, p < .001) and the high-relate conditions (1.6%; z = 5.81, p < .001). None of the other reasons accounted for more than 21% of the data in the low-relate condition.

Purchase-Related Happiness as a Potential Reason. Although we have not theorized for or against purchase-related happiness as a potential driver of conversational value, we included it in experiment 4 in recognition that the mediation analyses provided earlier are correlational and therefore do not conclusively establish the direction of the effect. Results of experiment 4 show that the reason-statement "This purchase made me the happiest." appears infrequently—it was selected by four of the 69 participants in the control condition (i.e., 5.8%), and by 10 of the 200 participants across all three relate-motivation conditions (i.e., 5.0%)—indicating that the level of happiness the participant previously gained from the purchase does not seem to play a primary role on whether the purchase gets talked about. This finding weakens a possible argument of reverse causality in our model.

Discussion

Experiment 4 shows that the choice of whether to talk about an experience or an object is strongly influenced by social relationship motives. Results illustrate that when people are especially motivated to build a relationship, their natural preference for discussing experiential purchases magnifies. On the other hand, when the motivation for developing a relationship is removed, people are equally prone to sharing about experiences and objects. Thus, social relationship motives are essential to the preference that consumers typically have for talking about their experiential purchases relative to their material ones. Participants' self-reports of their motivation for sharing confirms this account.

Experiment 4 also suggests a reason why a minority of people prefers to talk about objects. Control condition participants who chose to share about an object reasoned their choice mostly on the easiness of thinking of something to say about the purchase. This finding is consistent with that of Berger and Schwartz (2011) who reported that products that are publicly visible or cued by the environment (thus easy to think of something to say) are frequently the subjects of consumer communications. Though we recommend that this finding be treated with caution, it is among the first (preliminary) evidence to bring out a superior quality of objects (vs. experiences)—a class of purchases that, for the most part, has failed to show its bright side in the literature (see Tully, Hershfield, and Meyvis (2015) for an exception).

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This work presents convergent evidence that, compared to material purchases, experiential purchases have higher conversational value; conversing about one's purchase increases the happiness one gains from that purchase; and conversational value can account for the superiority of experiential over material purchases in generating happiness. These results are consistent with those of Kumar and Gilovich (2015). More importantly, we demonstrate how factors that have been shown to differ between material and experiential purchases—closeness to the self, social approval, and purchase uniqueness—help explain why experiences have higher conversational value than objects. These factors are relevant for the conversational value of the purchase because they are consequential for social relationship development. Accordingly, results show that consumers attribute higher conversational value to experiential purchases only when they intend the conversation to facilitate the development of social bonds. This idea is consistent with the view that people share to achieve specific objectives (Derlega and Grzelak 1979), and our findings add to this research stream by showing that connecting with others is a central objective not only when people share about general everyday events (Gable et al. 2004; Rimé 2009) but also when they talk about specific purchases. Relatedly, these results build on Van Boven et al.'s (2010) insightful work by illustrating that social relationship development is not only an *outcome* of purchase-related conversation but also a *determinant* of which purchase type people select to share.

Finally, our investigation sheds initial light on an explanation for why objects are the preferred topic of conversation for a smaller, but considerable, portion of people (about a quarter of the participants in experiments 3 and 4). Participants in experiment 4 reported that a primary reason for wanting to talk about an object (vs. experience) is that it is easier to come up with things to say about their objects. This finding dovetails with Berger and Schwartz's (2011) conclusion that people tend to talk about products that are cued by the environment or are publicly visible (relative to other products). Compared to the intangibility of experiences, the physical presence of objects is likely to make them more easily cued and to allow the speaker to

refer back to it for additional information and illustrative purposes, both of which contribute to people's perception that it is easy to think of things to say about their objects.

Limitations and Additional Directions for Future Research

While we do not claim that conversational value is the only mechanism transmitting the effect of purchase type to purchase-related happiness, we show that this mechanism alone is significant enough to yield a consistent pattern of results across two experiments, as well as four unreported replication studies available on the web appendixes (D–G). This finding is, however, qualified by the limitations of our research environments (i.e., laboratory and online). As Lyubomirsky, King, and Diener (2005, 806) explained, "because of the limits of the laboratory, only short-term changes in behavior and cognitions that parallel successful life outcomes are assessed." We suggest that future research employ a longitudinal field study to trace naturally occurring purchase-related conversations and consequent purchase-related happiness. Mehl et al.'s (2010) Electronically Activated Recorder (EAR), which unobtrusively tracks spontaneous conversation by periodically recording snippets of ambient sounds, could prove valuable in such an investigation. The EAR methodology, in combination with real-time happiness measures, could provide longitudinal data on changes in happiness related to specific sharing instances in situ. In addition, future research could examine communication channel (Berger and Iyengar 2013) and purchase valence (Nicolao, Irwin, and Goodman 2009) as potential qualifiers of the relations in our model.

Finally, we note that our inquiry focused specifically on the happiness consumers gain from their purchases. While we know that individuals place great weight on the acquisition of material goods and experiences in their pursuit of happiness (Pelletier 2009) and that those acquisitions can indeed have transformational effects on their lives (Arnould and Price 1993; Richins 2013), a prudent user of the knowledge advanced by the present investigation is cognizant that our inquiry is limited to the consumption dimension of people's multidimensional lives. Further, our data do not allow us to make conclusions about long-term purchase-related happiness. Importantly, we do not claim that each specific purchase leaves a substantial and long-lasting mark on someone's general happiness; however, we do believe that each purchase could have a measurable, incremental happiness benefit.

Implications for Marketing Professionals and Consumers

Conversational value is both malleable and within the control of the marketing manager, and the present research offers tools for marketing professionals to shape this aspect of their offerings. Experiment 1 (BBQ grill framing) suggests that framing a durable product as an experience is likely to increase consumers' likelihood of talking about it; and this result was replicated in two other studies presented on the web appendixes D and E. Results from experiment 4 suggest that increasing consumers' motivation to build relationships may influence them to talk about their experiences, but not their objects. The key to increasing the conversational value of material products may lie in the relative easiness of talking about them. However, our data on the conversational value of objects are quite preliminary and much future research, both conceptual and empirical, is necessary before making a recommendation.

Consumers often make purchases with the intent of improving their lives and increasing their happiness. A deeper understanding of happiness seems desirable given its relevance to consumers and, more broadly, to society. First, the positivity and pleasantness of happiness in and of itself make it a valuable end goal (Haybron 2003). In addition, happiness leads us to have more positive and nuanced views of others (Chaplin, Bastos, and Lowrey 2010), affords us more flexible cognitions (Carver 2003), and provides us healthier (Fredrickson and Levenson 1998) and longer lives (Veenhoven 2008). As Fredrickson's (1998) broaden-and-build model illustrates, happiness empowers a person to explore, discover, and grow. Hence, happier consumers are potentially more explorative, more prone to learn from their experiences, and to ultimately grow, become better individuals, and live better lives.

DATA COLLECTION INFORMATION

Data for experiments 1 and 2 were collected by the first author in the Spring of 2016 on Mturk. The first author managed the collection of data for experiment 3 in the Spring of 2015 at the LERNE Behavioral Lab at Católica-Lisbon School of Business and Economics. Experiment 3's data collection involved a supervised Research Assistant. Both authors collected experiment 4's data on Mturk in the Summer of 2015. Both authors analyzed all four data sets.

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I dole I	Table	1
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	Component					
Constructs	1	2	3	4	5	
Uniqueness_1			.649			
Uniqueness_2			.964			
Uniqueness_3			.917			
Convers_value_1	.938					
Convers_value_2	.929					
Convers_value_3	.915					
Convers_value_4	.737					
Convers_value_5	.664					
Soc_apprvl_1				926		
Soc_apprvl_2				928		
Closeness_self_1		.920				
Closeness_self_2		.860				
Closeness_self_3		.872				
Happiness_1					.84	
Happiness_2					.88	

Factor Analysis

FIGURE 1

MEDIATION MODEL: SELF DISCLOSURE, SOCIAL APPROVAL, PURCHASE

UNIQUENESS (MED 1) → CONVERSATIONAL VALUE (MED 2)

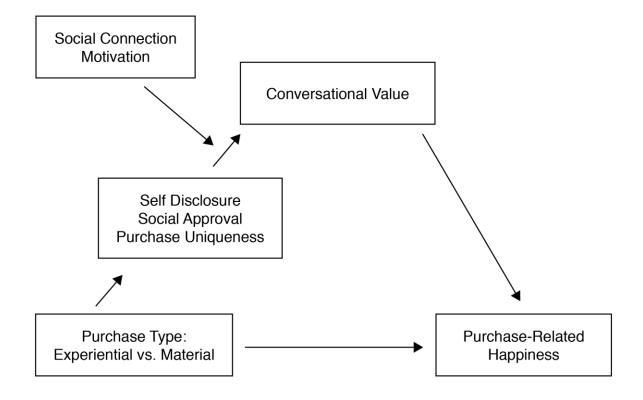
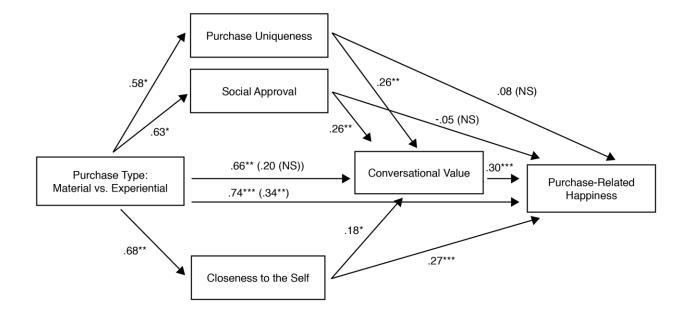


FIGURE 2

RESULTS FOR SEQUENTIAL MEDIATION MODEL

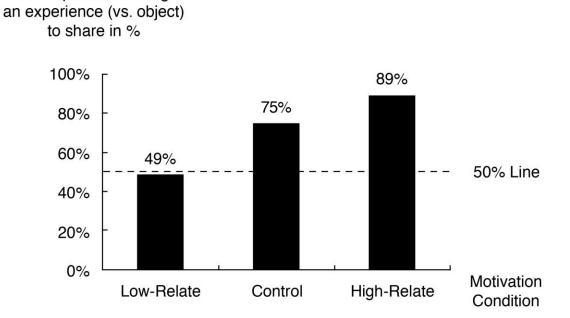


NOTE.--* indicates p-values < .05, ** indicates p-values < .01, *** indicates p-values < .001, NS indicates non-significant

FIGURE 3

LIKELIHOOD OF CHOOSING AN EXPERIENCE TO SHARE

Participants choosing



HEADINGS LIST

1) THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

- 2) Experiential versus Material Purchases and Conversational Value
- 2) Conversational Value and Purchase-Related Happiness
- 2) Summary of Proposed Model and Overview of Empirical Work

1) EXPERIMENT 1

- 2) Procedures
- 3) Assessment of Focal Constructs
- 2) Results
- 3) Measurement Model
- 3) Purchase-Related Happiness
- 3) Conversational Value Mediation
- 2) Discussion

1) EXPERIMENT 2 – DRIVER(S) OF CONVERSATIONAL VALUE

- 2) Procedures
- 3) Assessment of Focal Constructs
- 2) Results
- 3) Purchase-Related Happiness
- 3) Two-Step Mediation
- 2) Discussion

1) EXPERIMENT 3

2) Procedures

2) Results

- 3) Preference of Purchase Type to Share
- 2) Discussion

1) EXPERIMENT 4

- 2) Procedures
- 2) Results
- 3) Manipulation Check
- 3) Preference of Purchase Type to Share
- 3) Self-Selected Motives for Sharing Preference—within Control Condition
- 3) Self-Selected Motives for Sharing Preference—Experimentally Manipulated Conditions
- 3) Purchase-Related Happiness as a Potential Reason
- 2) Discussion

1) GENERAL DISCUSSION

- 2) Limitations and Additional Directions for Future Research
- 2) Implications for Marketing Professionals and Consumers

1) DATA COLLECTION INFORMATION

1) REFERENCES