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► To cite this version:

Aysen Bakir, Elodie Gentina, Luciana de Araújo Gil. What shapes adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands? The role of self-worth, self-construal, gender and national culture. *Journal of retailing and consumer services*, 2020, 57, pp.102208 -. 10.1016/j.jretconser.2020.102208 . hal-03491430

HAL Id: hal-03491430

<https://hal.science/hal-03491430v1>

Submitted on 22 Aug 2022

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What shapes adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands? The role of self-worth, self-construal, gender and national culture

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Submission: May 16, 2020

Declarations of interest: none

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What shapes adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands? The role of self-worth, self-construal, gender and national culture

Abstract

Purpose

The main growth of the luxury market comes from Generation Z. This study addresses the research gap on the effects of adolescents' self-construal and contingencies of self-worth (CSW), both extrinsic (social approval and competition) and intrinsic (family support and virtue), on their attitudes toward luxury brands across cultures. The results show that extrinsic domains of CSW (competition and social approval) are associated with more pronounced attitudes toward luxury brands. In contrast, the intrinsic domains of CSW (virtue) are associated with weaker attitudes toward luxury brands. Our model also investigates the effect of two moderators: national culture and gender. This research samples 1,087 teenage consumers (343 French, 357 American, and 387 Chilean teens). The paper highlights the contributions of the findings to luxury research, and illustrates their practical value for luxury companies interested in targeting Generation Z from different cultures.

Keywords: adolescence; luxury brands; contingencies of self-worth; individualism-collectivism; national culture; self-construal

1. Introduction

Luxury goods accounted for €920 billion (€1 trillion) globally in 2018, with €920 billion spent on personal luxury goods and €590 billion (~\$660 billion) on experiential luxury. The global luxury market is projected to top €1.5 trillion by 2025 (Forbes, 2019). Today, Gen Y, i.e. those born between 1978 and 1994, represent 32% of spending in the personal luxury market (BCG-Altgamma, 2019). Generation Z, those born between 1995 and the mid-2000s (Dingli and Seychell, 2015), is considered to be the first cohort of *digital natives*; they have abandoned computers in favor of mobile devices and online social networks to a greater extent than Generations X or Y, who are considered “digital immigrants” (Gentina and Delécluse, 2018). Most importantly, members of Gen Z expect their favorite luxury brands to be as reactive as their friends on online social networks, interact with them in the same way, search for meaningful experiences and have been described as “less acquisitive – experience first” (Chandon et al., 2017). Moreover, members of Gen Z wield a powerful influence in the luxury market and have a different set of values and ideas than Gen Y. Accordingly, Gen Zs “are more influenced by sustainability and more active in the second-hand luxury market than average” (BCG-Altgamma, 2019).

Despite the apparent significance of this market, little attention has been paid to luxury consumption among Gen Z consumers who go through a life stage period of identity construction, between childhood and full-fledged adulthood, marked by unique characteristics such as high public self-consciousness, brand consciousness (Eastman and Liu, 2012) and a tendency toward low self-esteem (Gentina and Chandon, 2013). More research is needed to better understand these young consumers’ development of attitudes toward luxury brands (Kapferer and Laurent, 2016). In this study, we focus on adolescents from Generation Z, ages 14 to 18 years, not only because adolescence is the crucial stage of self-worth development (Dusek and Flaherty, 1981) but also because adolescents are

currently a lucrative market for luxury products and markets (Gentina et al., 2016). In particular, brand loyalty and luxury brand consumption tend to be prevalent among teenagers because such products can reinforce their self-perceptions (Gil et al., 2012). Marketing studies have addressed the underlying motivations and mechanisms that define young consumers' attitudes toward luxury brands (Gentina et al., 2014; Gentina et al., 2016; Gil et al., 2012, 2017), and find that adolescents, in their quest to develop their self-identity, purchase luxury goods as a tool to define and display these emerging identities (Gil et al., 2012). Other research notes the impact of personality factors (e.g., self-esteem, Truong and McColl, 2011; Tsai, 2005) and reference groups (Dholakia and Talukdar, 2004) on attitudes toward luxury brands. However, little is known about how self-worth might affect adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands (Rhee and Johnson, 2012).

Adolescence is a critical period of self-concept development, characterized by feelings of unease and self-doubt, and low self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1979). Self-concept refers to the way individuals see themselves. Two constructs that may help explain self-esteem stability are contingencies of self-worth (CSW) and self-construal (Brockner and Chen, 1996). Crocker and Wolfe (2001, p. 594) define contingencies of self-worth (CSW) as "a domain or category of outcomes on which a person has staked his or her self-esteem, so that person's view of his or her value or worth depends on perceived successes or failures or adherence to self-standards in that domain." Contingencies of self-worth are embedded in external (competition and social approval) or internal (family support and virtue) aspects. Studies have shown that people have more stable self-esteem when they rely on more internal and fewer external contingencies because internal contingencies are likely to be more resistant to challenge (Crocker et al., 2003). Moreover, self-construal refers to the way in which one thinks about and defines oneself. Importantly, self-construal is not only a way of viewing oneself but also

a way to understand one's relationship to the larger social world (Markus and Kitayama, 1998).

In addition, because adolescent boys and girls proceed along different developmental pathways (Chodorow, 1978) and while prior research in adolescent consumer behavior has focused on self-construal and/or attitude toward luxury brands in single nations (Gil et al., 2012), the present study incorporates two moderators whose influence on the development of attitude toward luxury brands has been ignored: gender and national culture. We aim to explore the different routes through which self-construal, intrinsic and extrinsic domains of CSW may prompt the development of adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands, and how and why both gender and national culture plays a role in these mechanisms.

The present study has two main objectives. The first is to develop an empirical model that tests the effects of self-construal (independent vs. interdependent) and intrinsic and extrinsic domains of CSW on attitudes toward luxury. We provide more detailed insights into how the different domains of CSW affect attitudes toward luxury brands, which helps clarify which elements are rooted in external (competition and social approval) or internal (family support and virtue) aspects. While studies focusing on cultural and personal factors have also been called for (Kauppinen- Räsänen, 2018), the second objective is to investigate the effects of gender and national culture on the different relationships between self-construal, CSW and attitudes toward luxury. We focus on three countries: France, the US and Chile. Hofstede (2001) characterizes the US as a highly individualistic national culture. France is a less individualistic but a more interdependent nation than the U.S. In contrast, the Chilean national culture is characterized as a collectivist, interdependent culture.

2. Theoretical background and hypotheses

2.1. Linking self-construal with attitudes toward luxury brands

Research in social psychology has focused on the role of a range of individual level characteristics and how they might shape personal values (Elizur and Sagie, 1999), such as self-construal (Cheng and Kwan, 2008). Self-construal theory centers on understanding the role of self-views in relation to others. Markus and Kitayama (1991) identified two types of self-construal: independence and interdependence. Independence requires “construing oneself as an individual whose behavior is organized and made meaningful primarily by reference to one’s own internal repertoire of thoughts, feelings, and action, rather than by reference to thoughts, feelings, and actions of others” (Markus and Kitayama, 1991, p. 226), whereas interdependence involves “seeing oneself as part of an encompassing social relationship and recognizing that one’s behavior is determined, contingent on, and, to a large extent, organized by what the actor perceives to be thoughts, feelings, and actions of others in the relationship.” (Markus and Kitayama, 1991, p. 227). Overall, self-construal involves individuals’ perception of themselves in relation to others (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

Prior consumer research has studied issues such as the relationships between independent or interdependent self-construal and advertising appeal types (i.e. individualist or collectivist), influence on brand attitudes (e.g. Aaker and Schmitt, 2001), brand evaluations (Agrawal and Maheswaran, 2005), and actual purchase behavior (Millan and Reynolds, 2014). However, an issue that remains largely unexplored is whether, how, and to what extent independent/interdependent self-construal affects attitudes toward luxury brands.

Luxury products more visible in public are those that depend on the consumption behavior of others. Consumers with interdependent self-construal need others to define them, and place importance on prestigious and luxury brands, which enables them to impress others and enhance their ideal self (Sirgy et al., 1997). For instance, Clark (2006) shows that social

consumption motivation, driven by the need to receive social approval, predicts the preference for prestige sensitivity. Aghaei et al., 2014 have found that individuals with interdependent self-construal have stronger intentions to purchase luxury goods. In particular, during adolescence, individuals increasingly rely on new significant others, i.e. their peers (Goodrich and Mangleburg, 2010; Mangleburg et al., 2004), and thus enhance their interdependent self-concept through group affiliation, using luxury products (Gentina et al., 2014), especially the popular ones. Therefore, their interdependent self is enhanced through luxury consumption. Hence the following hypothesis:

H1a: Interdependent self-construal relates positively to attitudes toward luxury brands.

Prior research has shown mixed results concerning the relationship between independent self-construal and the way individuals consume luxury items. For instance, individuals with independent self-construal place a high value on being unique and different from others. This independence can be expressed through the consumption of expensive and/or scarce luxury goods, which many others may not be able to afford (Tepper and Hoyle, 1996). Conversely, others have shown a negative correlation between independent constructs and status symbol consumption (Kastanakis and Balabanis, 2005), such as luxury products. Kastanakis and Balabanis (2005, p. 1405) explains that “in line with Leibenstein's (1950) mathematical demonstration, the signaling value of a luxury good disappears (for the person with higher need for uniqueness) when many people own this; that is, when this luxury eventually becomes a mass symbol.” These inconclusive findings highlight the need for more research that explores the relationship between independent self-construal and luxury consumption.

During adolescence, individuals assert independence while seeking approval from their peers. To conform to their peer group, they value luxury brands that appeal to mass-

market consumers (Gentina et al., 2016). Based on prior findings, we formulate the following exploratory hypothesis:

H1b: Independent self-construal relates negatively to attitudes toward luxury brands.

2.2. Linking self-construal and CSW

We believe that self-construal sensitizes individuals to using or forgoing certain contingencies of self-worth (CSW). The concept of contingencies of self-worth (CSW), introduced by Crocker and Wolfe (2001), pertains to areas in which people define their self-worth; they thus observe and monitor these areas to determine their sense of self-worth (Cheng and Kwan, 2008). Different CSWs predict different types of behaviors, which implies that CSWs may be domain specific. Accordingly, understanding the relationship between self-worth and behavior requires knowledge of the domains of the contingencies on which individuals base their self-esteem. A key insight stems from the types of contingencies that people use to determine their self-worth (Crocker et al., 2003). The CSW model defines seven main domains of outcomes, grouped into two categories: internal CSW (God's love, family support, and virtue) and external CSW (academic competencies, competition, approval from generalized others, and appearance). In the US, the Institutional Review Board asked us to drop the God's love subscale, due to privacy concerns of American teens. Moreover, as described in the method section, because academic competence and appearance have items with low communality, they were excluded from further analyses. For these reasons, the current study focuses on four CSW domains that provide essential internal and external sources of self-esteem: competition, approval from others (external), family support and virtue (internal).

2.2.1. Competition dimension

The competitive dimension of CSW refers to a sense of feeling superior to others and surpassing people in some form of competition (Crocker et al., 2003). Typical attributes related to independent self-construal are autonomy, self-reliance, uniqueness, and competition (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Prior research has experimentally demonstrated that individuals with high levels of independent self-construal display more competitive strategies than those with high levels of interdependent self-construal (Oetzel, 1998). Another study has shown a significant negative relationship between competitive attitude and interdependent self-construal (Fernandez et al. 2008). Hence the following hypotheses:

H2a: Independent self-construal relates positively to the competition dimension of CSW

H2b: Interdependent self-construal relates negatively to the competition dimension of CSW

2.2.2. *Virtue dimension*

An internal source of CSW is virtue (Coopersmith, 1967). Van Oudenhoven et al. (2014, p. 2) define virtue as “morally good traits that everyone either may possess or can learn.” Observing a moral code may lead people to feel higher self-worth (Solomon et al., 1991). In the field of business ethics, research indicates that business practitioners from high interdependence cultures place less value on the importance of moral values, because they are more influenced by informal, professional, organizational norms than their counterparts from individualistic cultures (Ang and Leong, 2000; Vitell et al., 1993). Armstrong (1996) notes that independent cultures place greater importance on ethical problems; they are more likely to endorse virtue as a CSW (Cheng and Kwan, 2008). Thus, the virtue dimension is prominent among individuals with independent self-construal. Hence the following hypotheses.

H2c: Independent self-construal relates positively to the virtue dimension of CSW

H2d: Interdependent self-construal relates negatively to the virtue dimension of CSW

2.2.3. *Social approval dimension*

Acceptance from others and others' view of the self are important inputs in some people's self-worth (Crocker et al., 2003). During adolescence, individuals experiment with new identities by identifying with their peer group. Because adolescents are unsure of their own identities, they are motivated to comply with the expectations of their peers (Mangleburg et al., 2004). In psychology, most studies underline that when individuals construct themselves in an interdependent way, they are more oriented toward goals of conforming to social norms (Trafimow et al., 1991; Ybarra and Trafimow, 1998). In consumer behavior, Zhang and Shrum, 2009) explain that individuals with interdependent self-construal are more concerned with fitting in and not embarrassing group members, and focus on social norms. Therefore, we posit that:

H2e: Interdependent self-construal relates positively to the social approval dimension of CSW

H2d: Independent self-construal relates negatively to the social approval dimension of CSW

2.2.4. *Family dimension*

Family support is central to adolescents' feelings of self-worth (Harter, 1986), especially due to the many changes that people undergo during this stage of development. During this process, individuals also struggle to develop a self-identity and distance themselves from their parents, even as they experience strong attachment needs to their parents to feel secure. A healthy transition to adulthood relies on emotional support from parents (Gentina and Chandon, 2013). Because individuals with interdependent self-construal view their close relationships as central to their sense of self, we suppose that adolescents with high interdependent self-construal are more motivated to develop close relationships with family. Family support is a source of self-worth (Cross and Vick, 2001; Cross et al., 2003). In contrast, individuals with high independent self-construal seek to accomplish their

personal goals rather than seek social support from others, including their family. Hence the following hypotheses:

H2g: Interdependent self-construal relates positively to the family dimension of CSW

H2h: Independent self-construal relates negatively to the family dimension of CSW

2.3. Linking CSW with attitudes toward luxury brands

This study contributes to luxury research by examining attitudes toward luxury brands, which refers to what adolescents think about luxury brands, and their personal opinion about luxury brands (Dubois and Laurent, 1994; Dubois et al., 2005). Further, individual's self-confidence (i.e., their self-esteem) can also influence consumption of luxury goods (Truong and McColl, 2011). Prior studies have shown a significant relationship between self-esteem and the consumption of luxury products for self-directed pleasure, suggesting that individuals can maintain or boost their contingencies of self-worth by purchasing luxury goods (Truong and McColl, 2011). Schade et al. (2016) also found that the social-adjustive function, defined as the propensity to acquire brands for social approval, influenced the tendency among Gen Y (ages 16 to 25) to purchase luxury brands. In order to convey their self-identities, social functions played an important role in stimulating the desire to acquire luxury brands among late adolescents.

Accordingly, late adolescents tend to purchase luxury brands that appear compatible with their beliefs, attitudes, and values. Through the value-expressive function, luxury brands help consumers communicate facets of their self-identity (e.g. success, sophistication) to others (Hudders and Pandelaere, 2012). Some prior marketing research involving adolescents ages 12 to 18 who are striving to develop their self-identity shows that they need to purchase luxury goods as a tool to define and display these emerging identities (Gentina et al., 2016; Gil et al., 2012, 2017).

However, no research has tested the relationship between CSW and attitudes toward luxury brands among teenagers. Contingent self-worth differs from the basic level of self-esteem (i.e., high/low): rather than people's overall positive or negative evaluation of their self-worth, CSW pertains to the extent to which a person's self-worth is actually invested in a specific domain (Crocker and Wolfe, 2001). The different dimensions of CSW (competition, social approval, family support, virtue) may thus relate directly to adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands.

2.3.1. Competitive dimension. Material accomplishment enables individuals with contingent self-worth in the competition domain to achieve a sense of superiority in terms of owning better gadgets and more luxurious products (Nagpaul and Pang, 2017). Research has shown that the desire to demonstrate social superiority to others (i.e., status seeking) motivates individuals to possess luxury goods (Tsai, 2005).

Adolescence is a time of particularly heightened insecurity because teens distance themselves from their parents in order to belong to a peer group, and are also hypercritical of themselves (Chaplin and John, 2007). Adolescents employ material possessions to demonstrate their superiority over others and achievements (Banerjee and Dittmar, 2008). Because materialism is positively related to adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands (Gil et al., 2012; Kamal et al., 2013), we suggest that teenagers with high levels of this competition dimension likely develop positive attitudes toward luxury brands, because consuming such brands enables them to exhibit their superiority. Thus, we predict:

H3a: The competition dimension of CSW relates positively to attitudes toward luxury brands.

2.3.2. Virtue dimension. Internal sources of self-worth, such as virtue, are not related to the pursuit of financial success (Park et al., 2017). People who espouse moral values (e.g., volunteering, helping others, and sense of community; Kasser, 2016) or consider the

consequences of their actions on others (i.e., high communal well-being) also exhibit less materialistic values (Chowdhury and Fernando, 2013). A high level of the virtue dimension may mitigate the development of positive attitudes toward luxury. Hence the following hypothesis.

H3b: The virtue dimension of CSW relates negatively to attitudes toward luxury brands.

2.3.3. Social approval dimension. Consumers who purchase luxury products are concerned with how others view them and are more susceptible to interpersonal influence (Yim et al., 2014). This can explain why motivations for consumption of luxury brands are primarily based on others' evaluations (Bushman, 1993).

During adolescence, individuals have a strong need to belong to peer groups and conform to others' expectations (Bearden et al., 1989). Research on adolescent consumers affirms a positive relationship between social consumption motivations and attitudes toward luxury brands (Gil et al., 2012). In addition, peer pressure and popularity affect adolescents' attitudes toward luxury products (Gil et al., 2017). Schade et al. (2015) found that Gen Y (ages 16 to 25) convey their self-identities to others by consuming luxury brands with value-expressive functions. Consistent with this reasoning, a strong social approval dimension of CSW may encourage positive attitudes toward luxury brands, because consuming these brands can help teens perceive that they will attain social acceptance from others. Hence the following hypothesis.

H3c: The social approval dimension of CSW relates positively to attitudes toward luxury brands.

2.3.4. Family support dimension. Adolescents receiving family support are less likely to rely on possessions because they feel a lesser need to compensate for their lack of attachment by purchasing material products (Chaplin and John, 2010). Prior studies indicate

that when people focus on intrinsic CSW, including family support, they are less likely to display materialism (Nagpaul and Pang, 2017; Chaplin and John, 2010). Adolescents who lack sufficient parental support to develop a healthy self-concept are more likely to express positive attitudes toward luxury brands as a means of self-expression. Therefore,

H3d: The family support dimension of CSW relates negatively to attitudes toward luxury brands.

Based on the considerations outlined above, further hypotheses are developed to test the moderating effects of gender and national culture on the relationships between self-construal, CSW and attitudes toward luxury brands.

3.1. Self-construal, CSW and luxury behavior explained by gender

3.1.1. Gender and CSW competition. Various theoretical frameworks have been identified to explain differences based on personality traits and self-construal (Cross and Madson, 1997) and social role theory (Eagly et al., 2000). Drawing on self-construal theory, Cross and Madson (1997) associate independent self-construal with men and interdependent self-construal with women. From an early age, females are expected to be social and nurturing, whereas males are encouraged to be independent and assertive. These cultural norms are largely socially constructed and are supported by the essentialist perspective on gender.

Moreover, Social Role Theory (SRT) (Eagly et al., 2000) suggests that males and females acquire different skills to fulfill their specific gender-role requirements, and hence meet societal expectations. Accordingly, males are characterized by agentic orientation, focusing on assertiveness and competitiveness. In contrast, females are characterized by communal orientation, focusing on harmony and close social relationships. Specific gender-role expectations lead men to be more individualistic and show that they are superior in order to build their self-esteem (Wieland and Sarin, 2012). Studies have also shown that men are

more competitive than women (Niederle et al., 2009; Niederle and Vesterlund, 2007; Vandegrift and Yavas, 2009). Thus, we predict that:

H4a. The positive relationship between independent self and CSW competition is stronger for males than for females.

H4b. The positive relationship between CSW competition and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for males than for females.

3.1.2. Gender and CSW virtue. The business ethics literature shows that females hold a stronger belief in the legitimacy of the social order and moral standards than males do (Chen and Tang 2013; Tang and Chen, 2008; Tang and Sutarso, 2013). Moreover, women tend to be more ethical than men (Chen and Tang, 2013; Tang and Chiu, 2003; Tang and Sutarso, 2013; Wang and Calvano 2015), and engage in fewer unethical and risky behaviors than boys (Myers, 2010; Rhodes and Pivik, 2011). Hence the following hypothesis:

H6a: The positive relationship between independent self and CSW virtue is stronger for females than for males.

H6b: The negative relationship between CSW virtue and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for females than for males.

3.1.3. Gender and CSW social approval. Due to the importance of others' approval and family support, females tend to focus on externalized domains to gain self-worth (Park et al. 2006). Females thus center their self-esteem more on approval from others than do males (Crocker et al., 2003). Other studies have affirmed that women focus more on external factors, such as gaining others' approval, than men in their attempt to reinforce feelings of self-worth (Zeighler-Hill and Myers, 2012).

These gender differences, in turn, affect attitudes toward luxury brands. Females have a more positive attitude toward luxury products than men, and they value luxury offerings in terms of social status and social belonging (Stokburger-Sauer and Teichmann, 2013). Hence the following hypotheses:

H6a: The positive relationship between interdependent self and CSW social approval is stronger for females than for males.

H6b: The positive relationship between CSW social approval and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for females than for males.

3.1.4. Gender and CSW family support.

Parental socialization practices linked to autonomy may also explain gender-specific differences (Lindsey, 2011). Socialization research has shown differences in family support between adolescent girls and boys. Notably, girls present higher levels of family-related factors. For instance, parents tend to have more control over their daughters' behavior than on their sons' behavior, which results in a lower degree of autonomy for girls than for boys (Hill and Lynch, 1983). Parents are generally more worried about their daughters than about their sons. This is purportedly an essential reason why girls are also more controlled by parents (Svensson, 2004), with whom they also have stronger bonds (Svensson, 2003). Hence the following hypotheses:

H7a: The positive relationship between interdependent self and CSW family support is higher for females than for males.

H7b: The negative relationship between CSW family support and attitudes toward luxury brands is higher for females than for males.

3.2. Self-construal, CSW and luxury behavior explained by national culture

3.2.1. Competitive dimension, US. The US is a masculine culture driven by competition, achievement and success (Hofstede, 2001). Substantial research highlights the competitive spirit of US life, business, entertainment, and other domains (Stephens, 1952). An important American value is equality of opportunity and equal chances of success, which encourages competition among individuals, who seek to achieve their own goals and acquire status in society (Stephens, 1952). Because the US is an individualistic, industrialized nation and because competition is important to adolescents (Dreber et al., 2014), the competition dimension of CSW should be central in the US. Contrary to individualistic cultures, such as the US, which place the priority of individual interests above those of groups, more

interdependent cultures, such as Chile and France, value cohesiveness among individuals rather than individual competition (Cox et al., 1991; Leibbrandt et al., 2013). Therefore, the competition dimension may be stronger in the US than in France and Chile. Hence the following hypothesis:

H8a. The positive relationship between independent self-construal and CSW competition is stronger for American teenagers than for French and Chilean teenagers.

H8b. The positive relationship between CSW competition and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for American teenagers than for French and Chilean teenagers.

3.2.2. *Virtue dimension, France.* Van Oudenhoven et al. (2014) show that virtues differ across nations, in terms of their importance and frequency in the types of practices people undertake. Some virtues are important in specific nations, such as *Goodness* (generosity, altruism, courage and smartness), virtues that are frequently mentioned in France, but not in the Hispanic cluster (consisting of Chile) and Anglo-Saxon cluster (consisting of the US). Thus, France has a more distinctive national virtue pattern (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2014).

In the field of business ethics, research indicates that business practitioners from highly collectivistic cultures, such as Asia and Latin America, place less value on the importance of moral values, because they are influenced more by informal, professional, and organizational norms than are their counterparts from individualistic cultures, such as those in Europe and North America (Ang and Leong, 2000; Vitell et al., 1993). Armstrong (1996) notes that individualistic cultures place greater importance on ethical problems; they are more likely to endorse virtue as a CSW (Cheng and Kwan, 2008). For example, French children learn moral values from an early age in school, and young people living in Europe often display high levels of interest in contributing to wider society (Broadbent et al., 2017). Thus, the virtue dimension is prominent in France, and we predict that:

H9a: The positive relationship between independent self and CSW virtue is stronger for French teenagers than for Chilean teenagers and American teenagers.

H9b: The negative relationship between CSW virtue and attitudes toward luxury is stronger for US teenagers than for Chilean and American teenagers.

3.2.3. Social approval dimension, Chile. Hofstede (2001) defines Chile as a collectivist culture. In such interdependent cultures, the focus is placed on developing a sense of “belonging” within a social group and seeking the approval of the group. In interdependent cultures, teenagers’ susceptibility to peer influence has a stronger impact on their attitudes toward luxury brands than it would in independent cultures (Gentina et al., 2014). In collectivistic cultures such as Chile, consuming ostentatious products can advance people’s social identity within groups (Shukla, 2010). Collectivistic cultures also emphasize conformity to social norms, discouraging people from expressing unique ideas or identities (Westwood and Low, 2003). The self gets defined in relation to the larger entity, such that group goals supersede personal goals (Triandis, 1995). People in Latin American countries such as Chile tend to rely on their social networks, which share common beliefs, to determine which products or services to purchase; peers also have strong influences on Chilean youths’ consumption (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2012). Therefore, because the social approval dimension of CSW may be higher in Chile than in France or the US, we expect that;

H10a: The positive relationship between interdependent self-construal and CSW social approval is stronger for Chilean teenagers than for French and American teenagers.

H10b: The positive relationship between CSW social approval and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for Chilean teenagers than for American and French teenagers.

3.2.4. Family support dimension, Chile. In collectivistic cultures, relationships to others, such as family, shape adolescents’ self-identity (Phan, 2005). Whereas American and French parents encourage assertiveness and autonomy (Gentina and Chandon, 2013), Chile, marked by high collectivism, values interdependent self-concepts and the need for social

support, especially from the family. Chileans value and frequently live in extended family households (Bianchi and Mena, 2004). Many children live at home until they get married (Garner, 2015). The family support dimension may thus be stronger in Chile than in France or the US. Hence the following hypotheses:

H11a: The positive relationship between interdependent self-construal and CSW family support is stronger for Chilean teenagers than for French and American teenagers.

H11b: The negative relationship between CSW family support and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for Chilean teenagers than for French and American teenagers.

4. Method

4.1. Data collection

Following the protocols of the Institutional Review Board, after obtaining approval and support from school authorities, the authors collected data from 1,087 teenagers (343 French, 357 American, and 387 Chilean). Consistent with the definition of adolescents proposed by Fosse-Gomez (1991), used recently in other research (e.g., Gentina et al., 2014, 2016; Gentina and Delécluse, 2018), the age range of our teen sample was limited to 14 to 18 years old. The researchers distributed surveys to teen students in their classrooms during regular class hours, in the presence of a teacher (who helped maintain order) and a researcher. All participants provided their own assent and obtained parental consent. The students were assured confidentiality and anonymity.

The French participants came from northern France (gender: 50.7% female; mean age: 15.23), the American adolescents were located in the midwest (gender: 53.2% female; mean age: 15.78), and the Chilean adolescents were from midwestern Chile (55.8% female; mean age: 16.48), the three samples have middle- to upper middle-class income. The three samples showed no significant differences in gender ($\chi^2(1) = .71, p = .75$) or age ($t = 1.22, p = .203$), indicating

sampling equivalence. Moreover, whereas 28% of French adolescents and 11% of Chilean adolescents hold at least a part-time job, 43% of American adolescents work part-time. A one-way ANOVA of the impact of adolescents' sources of income on attitudes toward luxury brands provided non-significant results for French, American and Chilean adolescents.¹

4.2. Measures

The Contingencies of Self-Worth Scale (Crocker et al., 2003) assesses how much participants base their self-worth on considerations of competition, virtue, approval from others (peer group), and family support. To measure the individual level factors (self-construal), participants were asked to indicate their level of independent *versus* interdependent self-construal (Markus and Kitayama, 1991), using the measurement scale developed by Gudykunst et al. (1994). Noting the good psychometric properties and overall measurement validity among adolescents in different cultures (Chen et al., 2014), the measure of attitudes toward luxury brands is derived from the short version of a measure of interest in luxury brands, originally created by Dubois and Laurent (1994) and since validated among teenagers (Gil et al., 2012, 2017). Five-point Likert-type scales (1 = “strongly disagree” to 5 = “strongly agree”) were used. Researchers translated the original English surveys into French and Spanish, using translation and back-translation procedures to ensure idiomatic equivalence. The three translated surveys were reviewed by a small trilingual expert group to discuss translation, which ensured conceptual equivalence (Slater and Yanide-Soriano, 2010). The survey was administered in participants' native language during school hours. The items, measurement scales, and descriptive statistics are in Appendix A1.

Appendix A1 here.

¹ Received allowances from parents → Attitudes toward luxury brands: French sample $F = .89, p = .35$; US sample $F = 1.60, p = .20$; Chilean sample $F = .54, p = .46$.

4.2.1. Pre-test of CSW. The first stage involved statistical refinement, using principal component factor analyses with oblique rotation, because of the presumed correlations among the construct's dimensions. An exploratory factor analysis included all indicators of the measurement scale CSW for each group (academic competence, appearance, competition, virtue, approval from others (peer group), and family support). Items were eliminated if they exhibited communalities below .50, factor loadings below .50, or cross-loadings greater than .30 (Kline, 2005). The two subscales, academic competence and appearance, have items with low communalities (< .40), and some items load above 0.4 on more than two factors. We thus dropped the academic competence and appearance CSW subscales. The four factors of the CSW scale (competition, virtue, approval from others (peer group), and family support) explained 73% of the variance, and the alpha values were acceptable (> .70).

4.2.2. Confirmatory factor analyses.

The SEM software package AMOS 24.0 tested both the measurement and structural models on the whole sample (n = 1087). A standard multigroup confirmatory factor analytic model (Model 2) then tested all three samples simultaneously. The following criteria were used to assess fit indicators (Vandenberg and Lance, 2000): 1) Chi-square and degrees of freedom ($\chi^2/df < 5$), 2) Goodness of Fit Index ($GFI > .90$), 3) Tucker–Lewis Index ($TLI > .90$), 4) comparative fit index ($CFI > .90$), 5) root mean square error of approximation ($RMSEA < .10$), 6) Standardized RMR ($SRMR < .10$), and 7) Normed Fit Index ($NFI > .90$). The seven-factor model (competition, social approval, virtue, and family support CSW, interdependent and independent self-construal, attitude toward luxury brands,) fit the data reasonably well ($\chi^2 = 2534.97$, $df = 508$, $p < .001$ [RMSEA] = .05, [GFI] = .92, [CFI] = .90, [TLI] = .90; [SRMR] = .05; adjusted $\chi^2 = 4.99$). The composite reliability (Jöreskog rho) exceeded .80, and convergent validity (ρ_{vc} greater than .50) was confirmed. In support of

discriminant validity, each latent construct extracted more variance from its indicators (ρ_{vc}) than it shared with any other constructs (Appendix A2).

Appendix A2 here.

The comparison of Model 1 (34 items, 1 factor) with Model 2 (34 items, 7 factors) reveals that Model 2 fits significantly better than Model 1 ($\Delta\chi^2 = 6794.25$, $\Delta df = 19$, $p < .001$). Model 2 also indicates good configural invariance (Appendix A3).

Appendix A3 here.

4.2.3. Measurement invariance across gender and cultures. To test measurement invariances, we first examined the factor structures of the measures in each sample separately, using CFA. Next, we conducted multigroup confirmatory factor analysis (MGCFA) fitting a sequence of increasingly restricted models (Steenkamp and Baumgartner, 1998). In an unconstrained model (models 3 configural invariance), factor loadings, item intercepts, and error variances were allowed to differ across groups. In models 4 and 7 (metric invariance), factor loadings were constrained to be equal. In models 5 and 8 (scalar invariance), we maintained the restrictions of the metric invariance model, imposing additional equality constraints on intercepts. All the results are presented in Appendix A3, demonstrating metric and scalar invariances for gender and culture.

3.2.3. Common method variance (CMV). As a second technique, we introduced a new latent common variable factor, such that all observed items are related to it. Common method variance is not a problem if the addition of the new common latent factor does not significantly improve the fit of our model. We compared Models 9 and 10 (Appendix 3), and the two models did not significantly differ ($\Delta CFI/\Delta RMSEA \leq .01$, Cheung & Rensvold, 2002), indicating that common method variance does not pose threat to the validity of our findings.

5. Results

Structural equation modeling (SEM) based on maximum likelihood estimation was used to estimate the conceptual model in Figure 1 (n = 1087).

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

5.1. General model (H1, H2 and H3). We tested the baseline model (Model 11, Appendix A3) in Figure 1 on the total sample of 1087 teens using maximum likelihood estimation and the observed covariance matrix. This model assesses the expected structural relationships for the total sample, with no moderator. The fit of the full model is good ($\chi^2 = 1948.80$, $df = 182$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .06; GFI = .90; CFI = .90; TLI = .90; SRMR = .06; adjusted $\chi^2 = 4.06$). Appendix 5 presents the results for the whole sample.

Consistent with H1a and b, interdependent (vs. independent) self-construal relates positively (vs. negatively) to attitudes toward luxury.

Consistent with the hypotheses, independent (vs. interdependent) self-construal relates positively (vs. negatively) to the competition (H2a and H2b) and virtue (H2c and H2d) dimensions of CSW, whereas interdependent (vs. independent) self-construal relates positively (vs. negatively) to the family (H2e and H2f) and social approval (H2g and H2h) dimensions of CSW.

Moreover, consistent with H3a and H3c, competition and social approval dimensions of CSW both relate positively to attitudes toward luxury brands. Consistent with H3b, the virtue dimension of CSW relates negatively to attitudes toward luxury brands. However, contrary to our expectations, family support dimensions of CSW do not relate negatively to these attitudes, thus rejecting H3d. The emergence of non-significant results might suggest the presence of moderators to explain our hypotheses. The results of the hypothesis tests are summarized in Appendices A4 and A5.

Appendices A4 and A5 here.

5.2. Impact of gender (H4, H5, H6 and H7).

We simultaneously tested our theoretical model across genders (females and males) in an MGCFA (Appendix 3). The fit of the model is good (Model 12: $\chi^2 = 3045.01$, $df = 960$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .04; GFI = .91; CFI = .91; TLI = .90; SRMR = .06; adjusted $\chi^2 = 3.17$). The tests for the moderating effects of gender used multi-group analyses within the SEM framework (Kline, 2005). A stepwise procedure assessed the invariance of the structural paths for different groups. The first step imposed equality constraints on structural paths (χ^2_H). The second step involved running a baseline model with no parameter constraint, resulting in a χ^2 with additional degrees of freedom (χ^2_N). The test for the moderator effect took the difference in the two values ($\chi^2_N - \chi^2_H = \chi^2_\Delta$), which produced a χ^2 value with degrees of freedom equal to the difference in degrees of freedom of the (χ^2_H) and (χ^2_N) values.

Consistent with H5a, H6a and H7a, multi-group analysis also reveals that gender moderates the relationship between self-construal and CSW virtue, social approval and family support, as evidenced by chi-square difference tests for two groups ($\Delta\chi^2(1) < .05$). Independent self-construal promotes CSW virtue, and interdependent self-construal promotes CSW social approval and family support; all of these relationships are stronger for females. Although the relationship between independent self-construal CSW competition is stronger for males than for girls, the χ^2 difference fails to reach significance when comparing males and females ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = 1.01$ $p = .40$), which rejects H4a.

Moreover, gender moderates the relationship between CSW competition, virtue, social approval, family support and attitudes toward luxury brands, as evidenced by chi-square difference tests for two groups ($\Delta\chi^2(1) < .05$). The positive relationship between CSW competition and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for males than for females (H4b). Moreover, the negative relationship between CSW virtue/family and attitudes toward luxury

brands is stronger for females than for males (H5b and H7b). Finally, the positive relationship between CSW social approval and attitudes toward luxury brands is stronger for females than for males (H6b). The results of the hypothesis tests are summarized in Appendices A4 and A6.

5.3. Impact of national culture (H8, H9, H10 and H11).

We simultaneously tested our theoretical model across three national cultures (343 French, 357 American, and 387 Chilean teens) in a MGCFA (Appendix 3). The fit of the model is good (Model 13: $\chi^2 = 3527.85$, $df = 1440$, $p < .001$; RMSEA = .03; GFI = .91; CFI = .91; TLI = .91; SRMR = .06; adjusted $\chi^2 = 2.45$).

Consistent with H8a, H10a and H11a, multi-group analysis indicates that national culture moderates the relationship between self-construal and CSW competition, social approval and family support, as evidenced by chi-square difference tests for two groups ($\Delta\chi^2(1) < .05$). Independent self-construal promotes CSW competition, and this relationship is stronger for American and French adolescents than for Chilean adolescents. Interdependent self-construal promotes CSW social approval and family support, and all these relationships are stronger for Chilean teens than for French and American teens. Although the relationship between independent self-construal CSW virtue is stronger for French teens, the χ^2 difference fails to reach significance when comparing France and the US ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = .35$, $p = .80$) and Chile ($\Delta\chi^2(1) = .56$, $p = .60$), which rejects H9a.

Moreover, the positive relationship between CSW competition and attitudes toward luxury brands is higher among American adolescents than among French and Chilean adolescents. However, the χ^2 difference fails to reach significance when comparing American

adolescents with their French ($\chi^2\Delta(1) = .99, p = .67$) and Chilean counterparts ($\chi^2\Delta(1) = .92, p = .33$), which rejects H8b.

Consistent with H9b, the relationship between CSW virtue and attitudes toward luxury brands is negative and significant among French adolescents, but not among American or Chilean adolescents. Moreover, consistent with H10b, the relationship between CSW social approval and attitudes toward luxury brands is positive and significant among Chilean adolescents, but not among American or Chilean adolescents. Finally, consistent with H11b, the relationship between CSW family support and attitudes toward luxury brands is negative and significant among Chilean adolescents, but not among American or French adolescents. Multi-group analyses also reveal that culture moderates these three direct relationships among CSW virtue, social approval, family support and attitudes toward luxury brands, as evidenced by chi-square difference tests. The results of the hypothesis tests are summarized in Appendices A4 and A7.

6. Discussion

6.1. Theoretical implications

This study expands our understanding of the self during adolescence by analyzing how two constructs related to the self: self-construal (Brockner and Chen, 1996) and contingency of self-worth (CSW) (Crocker and Wolfe, 2001) explain attitudes toward luxury brands during adolescence.

First, the present study provides new insights into the adolescent self. It sheds light on the association between self-construal and CSW among adolescents across different national cultures (France, Chile and the U.S.), whereas most research in this area has been conducted in the US. The important consequences of independent self-construal on competition and virtue CSW, and the consequences of interdependent self-construal on social approval and

family CSW make the inquiry into preferred sources of adolescents' self a justifiable and socially relevant goal. We also chose emerging adolescence because the self undergoes important changes in this period, including the appearance of a gender gap in self-esteem that lasts until the beginning of adolescence (Bleidorn et al., 2016).

Second, self-worth has long been a strong determinant of consumer behavior, and more specifically of luxury consumption (Meert et al., 2012; Truong and McColl, 2011). However, little research has addressed the different dimensions of self-worth that affect luxury consumption during adolescence. Our research addresses this gap by providing a deeper understanding of the importance of different domains of self-worth that shape adolescents' identity to explain the formation of attitudes toward luxury brands. We show the existence of direct effects on the whole sample (n=1087): competition and social approval domains of CSW are associated with stronger attitudes toward luxury brands. Conversely, the virtue domain of CSW is associated with a decrease in attitudes toward luxury brands.

This study makes several important contributions. First, we develop and test a theory-based integrative model of adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands. The research is among the first to introduce a psychological process model of how the different dimensions of CSW influence attitudes toward luxury brands. Prior research has made important contributions in identifying the influence of self-worth (Truong and McColl, 2011) as drivers of luxury consumption. Crocker and Wolfe (2001) argue that consumption behaviors are better and more reliably understood as a function of domain-based, rather than global, forms of self-worth. Our contribution is to show that the specific contingencies of self-worth add explanatory power to models of formation of attitudes toward luxury brands, beyond traditional measures of trait-based self-worth. Our research builds on this knowledge to develop a more comprehensive explanatory model that affirms theory-driven links between all of these domains of CSW in the field of luxury during adolescence. Thus, we integrate

these findings to provide a more integrative explanation for why some adolescents may develop positive/negative attitudes toward luxury brands.

The second contribution of our research is that it provides additional insights into the extrinsic and intrinsic nature of self-worth. Marketing research on luxury consumption has primarily focused on understanding the role and function of external motivations (Amaldoss and Jain, 2005), often ignoring the influence of intrinsic motivations (Shao et al., 2019a and b). Few studies in luxury consumption have examined the influence of intrinsic motivations (Tsai, 2005; Truong, and McColl, 2011; Shao et al., 2019). How do intrinsic and extrinsic motives combine to shape adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands? According to research in social psychology (Croke and Wolfie, 2001) and in consumer behavior (Nagpaul and Pang, 2017), the distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic CSW sheds light on the different domains of self-doubt that may influence consumer behavior (Nagpaul and Pang, 2017). Although Nagpaul and Pang (2017) provide support for the dual role of intrinsic and extrinsic contingent self-worth in specific domains as an antecedent of materialistic values, they have only explored the construct of intrinsic contingencies of self-worth globally, without making the distinction between the different intrinsic domains of CSW (e.g., virtue and family support). The current study extends the literature on the association between CSW and consumer behaviors by showing that extrinsic (e.g., competition and social approval) and intrinsic (e.g., family support and virtue) forms of CSW are differently related to adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands, such that extrinsic domains of CSW favor the adoption of attitudes toward luxury brands, whereas intrinsic domains of CSW curb the adoption of attitudes toward luxury brands. Consistent with prior research on materialism (Nagpaul and Pang, 2017), we show that doubts in specific extrinsic domains on which self-worth is staked may lead adolescents to develop attitudes toward luxury brands. Moreover, our results have shown the negative relationship between virtue (an intrinsic form of CSW) and attitudes

toward luxury brands. As a result, these findings explore the construct of CSW as both a potential precursor and possible deterrent to adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands, depending on the extrinsic or intrinsic nature of CSW, respectively.

To the best of our knowledge, this study offers the first investigation of how both gender and national culture moderate the direct relationships between self-construal, the different domains of CSW and attitudes toward luxury brands during adolescence. Not only do we show that intrinsic and extrinsic domains of CSW combine to influence adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands, but we also find that such relationships vary across gender and national cultures.

Results also indicate that attitudes toward luxury rely on different mechanisms for boys and girls. Whereas attitudes toward luxury are associated with CSW competition among boys, they are associated with CSW virtue, social approval and family support among girls, but not among boys. These findings corroborate patterns of research for identity construction in psychology (e.g., Chodorow, 1978), and extend previous findings in marketing (e.g., Winterich et al., 2009). The opposition between morality, social support and approval, which are typical of the female identity; and competition, which is typical of the masculine identity, are evident in the development of attitudes toward luxury brands during adolescence. The significant gender identity development during adolescence (Ge, Conger, and Elder, 2001), and the fact that occurrence of this identity intensifies gender differences (Archer, 1989) suggests that the moderating effects identified in our research might not be transferred to adults.

Research in consumer behavior examining the impact of self-construal and/or CSW on attitudes toward luxury brands among teenagers has focused primarily on singular nations, which entails sampling teens from specific national cultures one by one, rather than making cross-national cultural comparisons. For instance, previous research focuses primarily on

Asia (Singapore) (Gil et al., 2012). Owing to this concentration on teenagers within singular nations, issues regarding the impact of national culture on self-construal and attitudes toward luxury brands remain largely unaddressed. This study introduces unique perspectives from varied national cultures to highlight the importance of the degrees to which various domains of CSW are prominent in three countries with divergent cultures: France, US and Chile. For example, the competition domain is strongest among teenagers in the United States than in France or Chile, whereas family support and social approval domains dominate among teenagers in Chile, and the virtue domain is strongest among teenagers in France. Our findings are consistent with Markus and Kitayama's theory (1991) that people from highly individualistic cultures, such as the US, place importance on achievement and success, and their self-concept is valued based on the degree to which they are independent, which can explain the direct effect of competition. In contrast, people from highly collectivist cultures, such as Chile, define themselves as part of a social group, and their self-concept is valued based on connection to others, which can explain the direct effect of family support. France, contrary to US, has a more unique national virtue pattern, and places importance on virtues of goodness, generosity, altruism, courage and smartness (Van Oudenhoven et al., 2014).

6.2. Practical implications

It has been argued "when promoting luxury brands, marketers have traditionally focused on themes built around extrinsic motivations" (Shao et al., 2019a, p. 366). The positive relationship between extrinsic motivations and attitudes toward luxury brands neglects the importance of intrinsic motivations, which should be considered when developing promotion strategies, specifically for Generation Z. Companies are increasingly recognizing that adolescents from Generation Z influence and change luxury retail needs. This new generation has redefined the notion of value to focus more on intrinsic meaning rather than on extrinsic meaning (Gentina and Delécluse, 2018). Our research has also shown

that intrinsic self-worth (such as family support and virtue) curbs adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands. Marketers can focus on these elements in their communication messages in order to target this segment more effectively.

Specifically, the moderator roles of gender (Gentina and Bonsu, 2013) and national culture (Gentina and Chandon, 2013) add refinement that merits managerial consideration when teenagers are targeted. In particular, different types of contingencies of self-worth influence teenagers' attitudes toward luxury brands, across genders and cultures. When luxury marketers pursue this segment, they should tailor their marketing campaign accordingly. For example, the family support and social approval domains of CSW drives adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands in Chile and interdependent cultures as well as among females. Thus, both Chilean teenagers and female teenagers might respond more to messages underlining that luxury brand consumption strengthens ties with family and peers. Luxury is transforming from "having-to-being and from owning-to-experiencing" (Cristini et al., 2017, p.101). Chilean luxury retailers should develop shareable experiences between adolescents, their peer group and the brand by offering a personalized retail space gathering at a bar, store or teen members' club. Moreover, companies in Chile and companies which target teenage girl consumers could adopt branding strategies to target teen consumer with higher need for social approval, as they are likely to use flashy luxury products to signal their social standing.

The competition domain drives adolescents' attitudes toward luxury brands in the United States and independent cultures as well as among males, so the marketing efforts should depict luxury brands as unique and able to provide differentiation benefits. For instance, digital tools provide opportunities for personalization and customization for one-on-one engagement enhancing the *customer* experience in-store and strengthening the power status of consumers.

Finally, because female teenagers, French teenagers and more globally interdependent cultures assign more importance to virtue and moral values, luxury marketers should ensure the transparency of their messages (e.g., honesty, open dialogue, ethics) and showcase their willingness to take social and environment issues into account as integral parts of brand narrative building. In a recent study, 43% of Gen Z consumers ranked authenticity over content when choosing a brand, and 87% of them said it was important for businesses to give back to communities (Lovell, 2017). In order to form real and more authentic partnerships with influencers and create content of value to adolescents, luxury marketers should invest more in video-led content on YouTube and rethink traditional digital strategies in favor of a more collaborative and transparent way of engaging the new Generation Z of adolescent consumers.

6.3. Limitations and further research

This study represents an initial effort to understand the role of contingencies of self-worth on teenagers' attitudes toward luxury brands. Future research could explore more aspects of luxury, specifically all the social representations surrounding luxury among adolescents. Researchers should also continue to examine this construct, along with the unique impacts of internal or external CSW on other consumption behaviors among teenagers, such as attitudes toward materialism, consumption motivations, or attitudes toward advertising. Researchers might also include purchase intentions. Moreover, this study focused on 14–18-year-old adolescents from Generation Z. Therefore, it would be worth conducting a new study among different age groups or generations (Generation Y, X and baby boomers).

Another limitation of our research is the fact that our sample comprises three countries, making it difficult to generalize the results (Cadogan, 2010). Moreover, we recognize that although France, the US and Chile differ in terms of individualism vs. collectivism, these countries might not fully represent all global regions, in order to provide

accurate population estimates. Future research should also use alternative frameworks of cultural conceptualization (such as subnational cultures, regions, university culture) to produce a more nuanced understanding of the role of culture in the different dimensions of CSW on the dependent variable: attitude toward luxury brands. Other important aspects to be taken into account are religion and ethnicity, which are influential in the formation of societal norms. We also employed cross-sectional data in our model tests, which precludes inferences of causality.

Future research may use longitudinal data to empirically test the causality between CSW and attitudes toward luxury brands

Our study is a first step that explores the effects of intrinsic and extrinsic CSW on attitudes toward luxury brands across cultures. Including additional cultures that represent different positions on the continuum from individualism to collectivism might provide more insights.

Finally, given that consumers' definitions of luxury (Kapferer and Laurent, 2016), and brand image (Bengtsson et al., 2010; Brecic et al., 2013) vary across countries, future research could combine these literature streams to examine teenagers' perceptions and definitions of luxury in different countries.

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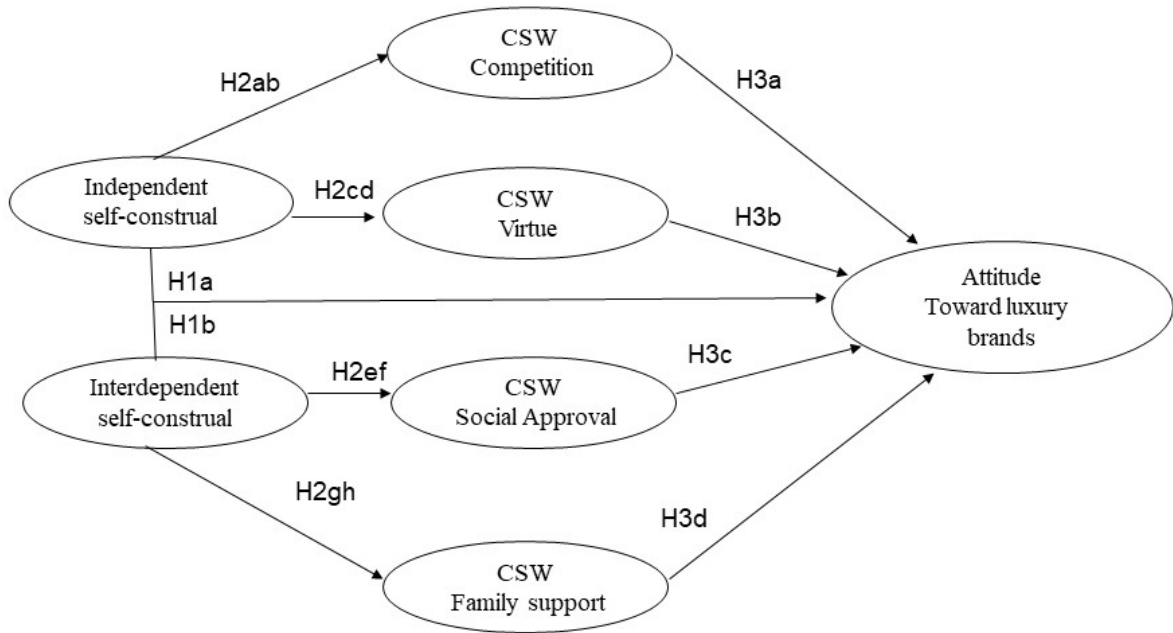
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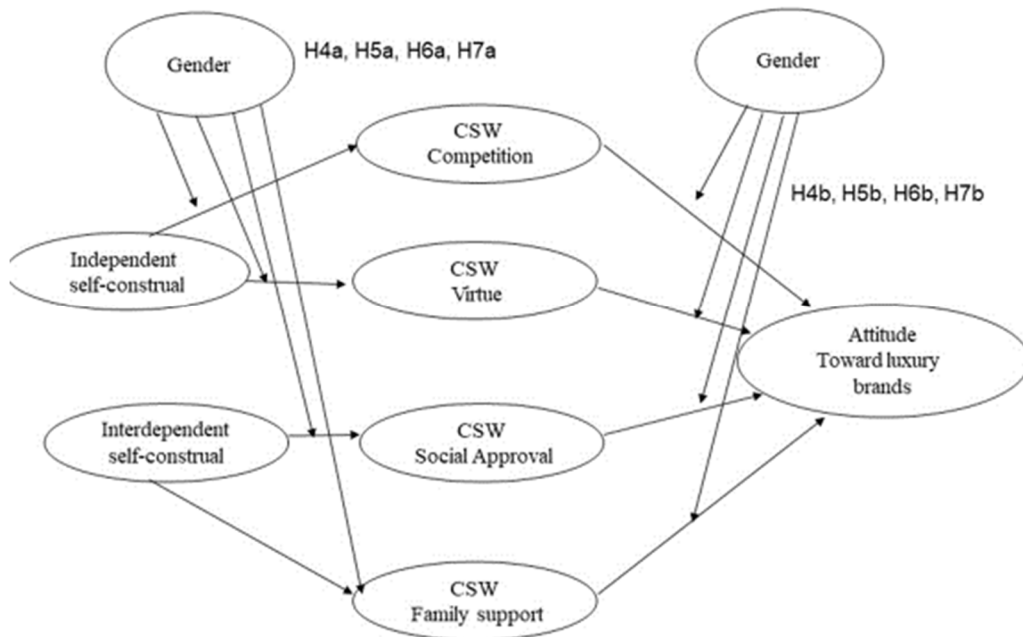
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Figure 1: General model and moderated models

General model



Impact of gender



Impact of national culture

