Separating thoughts from the self by selling them to others: the moderating role of self-esteem / Separar los pensamientos del yo al venderlos a otros: el rol moderador de la autoestima

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Abstract: This research introduces a new approach for separating people from their thoughts by anticipating selling them to others. Participants were asked to write down either positive or negative thoughts about fast food on different pieces of paper. Then, participants were randomly assigned to role-play the part of either potential buyers or sellers for an advertising campaign. Finally, all participants indicated their self-esteem (as an additional predictor) and their attitudes towards fast food (as the dependent measure). For high self-esteem participants, anticipating selling thoughts to others reduced the impact of thoughts on attitudes, suggesting that distancing thoughts from a location with high validity (the self) reduced the perceived value of their thoughts. In contrast, for low self-esteem participants, anticipating selling thoughts increased their usage, suggesting that separating thoughts from a location with low validity (the self) increased the perceived value of those thoughts. These findings suggest that thoughts can be associated with high or low validity depending on individual differences in self-esteem.

Keywords: thought separation; self-validation; unhealthy food; self-esteem; attitudes

Resumen: Esta investigación presenta un nuevo enfoque sobre la separación del propio pensamiento a través de la anticipación de su venta a otras personas. En este estudio, los participantes primero escribieron sus pensamientos posivos o negativos sobre la comida rápida en varias fichas de papel. Después, fueron asignados aleatoriamente al rol de clientes potenciales o de vendedores en una campaña publicitaria para promocionar el consumo de este tipo de comida poco saludable. Al final, todos los participantes evaluaron su autoestima (como predictor adicional) y sus actitudes respecto
a la comida rápida (como medida dependiente). Para los participantes con alta autoestima, anticipar la venta de sus propios pensamientos a otros reducía el impacto de esos pensamientos sobre sus actitudes. Esto sugiere que alejar los pensamientos de una fuente con alta validez (el yo) redujo su impacto sobre las actitudes. Por el contrario, para los participantes con baja autoestima, anticipar la venta de sus pensamientos incrementaba su uso, lo que sugiere que alejar los pensamientos de una fuente con baja validez (el yo) incrementaba su impacto sobre las actitudes. Además, los resultados de este estudio sugieren que los pensamientos pueden asociarse con un nivel de validez alto o bajo en función de las diferencias individuales en autoestima.

**Palabras clave:** separación de pensamientos; autovalidación; comida no saludable; autoestima; actitud

The dualist philosophy of René Descartes holds that mental phenomena are non-physical. According to this classic dualism notion, a thought cannot literally be treated as an object because it does not have a material or physical nature. Although this view assumes that thoughts cannot be treated as material objects, our language is replete with metaphorical analogies suggesting that thoughts can be understood and treated as if they were real (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For example, people talk about having, acquiring, borrowing, holding, losing and abandoning their thoughts. Furthermore, as we review next, recent research suggests that thoughts can be understood and treated as if they were physical objects.

Specifically, Briñol, Gascó, Petty, and Horcajo (2013) examined the extent to which people can move from metaphorical analogies of thought to a more literal view of thoughts as physical objects. In one of the studies in this series, participants were first asked to write down either positive or negative thoughts about the Mediterranean diet on a piece of paper. Then, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: thought disposal, thought protection or a control condition. Those in the thought disposal condition were asked to take the page on which they had written their thoughts and place it in a trash can. In the thought protection condition, participants were asked to take the page on which they had written their thoughts, fold it up and keep it in a safe place such as their pocket, wallet or purse. In the control condition, participants were asked to merely fold the corners of the page where the thoughts were written and leave it on the table. After performing one of these actions, all participants were asked to rate their attitudes regarding the Mediterranean diet. Instead of viewing body and mind in opposition, this research provided evidence for a more reciprocal view in which body and mind work in conjunction (see also Briñol, Petty, & Belding, 2017). Consistent with an integrated mind–body approach, physical disposal of one’s thoughts was expected to lead to mental disposal as well. Thus, when thoughts were physically discarded, participants were expected to use their thoughts less in forming their judgments than in the control condition. In contrast, protecting one’s thoughts was expected to lead to more usage in forming judgments than in the control condition.

As predicted, results indicated that attitudes reflected the direction of participants’ thoughts in the control condition. However, participants who protected
their thoughts showed a more pronounced effect of thought direction on attitudes than in the control condition. In contrast, the effect of thought direction on attitudes was attenuated for those in the thought disposal condition compared to the control group. Therefore, how people treated their thoughts affected whether they used their thoughts (i.e., just as tossing a physical object away means it can no longer be used, so too did the same effect occur when one’s thoughts were discarded). These same effects were observed in conceptually similar studies using other attitude objects (e.g., evaluations of one’s own body) and other inductions of thought disposal (e.g., moving thoughts to the recycle bin on the computer; Briñol et al., 2013; for a review, see Briñol, Petty, Santos, & Mello, 2017).

An interesting implication embedded in these findings is that techniques involved in some mindfulness treatments that often promote distancing oneself from one’s own thoughts can backfire, at least for some people and in some situations, particularly those in which positive thoughts are present (e.g., Luttrell, Briñol, & Petty, 2014). The research by Briñol et al. (2013) also suggests a new, simple strategy for magnifying thought impact by having people develop a closer relationship with their positive thoughts (e.g., physically carrying them).

These initial studies on treating one’s thoughts as physical objects opened the possibility of many other interventions that can vary the actions performed with physical manifestations of thoughts. For example, in the present study we examine for the first time whether anticipating buying and selling thoughts can influence subsequent thought use in forming evaluations. More specifically, the present study examines to what extent thoughts can be expected to be bought and sold as if they were commercial products. In doing so, we aim to introduce a new approach for separating from one’s thoughts by taking the role of a seller, with implications also for endowment (when taking the role of a buyer).

In sum, recent research has shown that thoughts can be more impactful when they are placed in locations associated with high validity (e.g., one’s pocket) rather than locations associated with relatively low validity (e.g., a trash can). We propose that in the same way as locations such as one’s pocket or a trash can vary in perceived validity, so too can the origin and destinations of thoughts. Specifically, thoughts can be perceived as coming from the self or from others, and these different origins can be associated with high or low validity depending on the person and the situation.

The self can be perceived as a valid or invalid origin

Recent research has demonstrated that the validity of the self as an origin of thoughts can be perceived as either high or low (Gascó, Briñol, Santos, Petty, & Horcajo, 2018). In a study demonstrating this, participants were first asked to generate either positive or negative thoughts about different attitude objects, including different diets and plastic surgery. Then, participants were induced to believe that their thoughts either came from themselves or from an external source. Results indicated that when participants were induced to believe their thoughts originated from the self
(vs. an external source) they relied on them more to form their attitudes. An important assumption behind this initial finding was that the self is associated with high validity by default. This is consistent with the idea that most people score above the mid-point on self-esteem scales (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Additionally, the idea that the self is likely viewed as a more valid origin of thoughts than others is also consistent with the link between the self and a number of validity features (e.g., using personal pronouns boosts thought impact on attitudes, people think they know more about themselves than others do, the epistemic authority of the self; Brock & Shavitt, 1983; Kruglanski et al., 2005; Ottati, Price, Wilson, & Sumaktoyo, 2015).

However, one could also argue for the contrary. That is, an external origin could be associated with more validity because people often explicitly look for external validation to be sure that their ideas are correct (Festinger, 1954). That is not only because others are a source of accuracy especially when there is agreement and consensus among them, but also because people want to affiliate with others.

In line with this reasoning, recent research by Gascó et al. (2018) tested the assumption that the self can be perceived as a high or low valid source depending on the assumptions one makes about the source. In one study of this series, participants first read about bariatric surgery and were then randomly assigned to write down either positive or negative thoughts about it. Then, they were randomly assigned to believe that their thoughts came from the self or to believe that their thoughts had an external origin related to the businesses performing bariatric surgery. The key feature of this study was that the origin of one’s thoughts (self or other) was made to appear either high or low in validity. On the one hand, for the high-validity condition, the self was said to be an accurate, certain and useful source of thoughts. Similarly, the external origin was made to seem valid by telling participants that bariatric surgery companies genuinely care about the health of their clients. On the other hand, for the low-validity condition, the self was said to hold many biases. Similarly, the external origin was described as heartless businesses focused exclusively on making a profit from their clients. Finally, all participants reported their attitudes towards bariatric surgery.

The results of this study revealed that when the external origin was associated with properties of high validity, people relied on their thoughts more than when thoughts were perceived to come from an internal origin (self) associated with low validity. These data suggest that what matters for thought usage is the perceived validity of the origin of thoughts, regardless of whether the origin is the self or other sources. This research was important in demonstrating that the validity associated with the self as an origin of thoughts can be experimentally manipulated to be relatively high or low.

Instead of manipulating that variable, in the present study we propose that the validity of the self as a source of thoughts can also vary spontaneously as a function of individual differences in self-esteem (i.e., those high in self-esteem would naturally infer more validity from their own thoughts than those low in self-esteem). In other words, we propose that the self can be perceived as
a more valid source of thoughts for individuals with high self-esteem compared to those with relatively lower self-esteem.

Overview and predictions

The present study introduces a new approach to separating people from their thoughts by distancing themselves from thoughts through a selling paradigm. In the study, participants were asked to write down either positive or negative thoughts towards fast food. Then, participants were randomly assigned to anticipate taking either the role of buyers or sellers in a role-playing task for an apparent advertising campaign. As part of this role-playing, participants expected that they would either buy the thoughts about the fast food diet initially written by other people or sell the thoughts they wrote to others. Finally, all participants reported their self-esteem (as an additional potential predictor) and their attitudes towards the fast food diet (as the dependent measure).

Our prediction was that anticipating selling thoughts to others would decrease thought usage for high (vs. low) self-esteem individuals. This expectation was based on the notion that individuals with high self-esteem would construe selling their thoughts as distancing thoughts from the self, which is a valuable location for them. That is, selling one’s thoughts (vs. buying thoughts from others) moves one’s own thoughts from the self (location with high validity) to another destination with presumably lower validity (others). In contrast, selling one’s thoughts (vs. buying thoughts from others) was expected to increase thought usage for those with low (vs. high) self-esteem. This prediction was based on the notion that anticipating others paying for their own ideas might increase the perceived value of their thoughts. In other words, anticipating selling one’s thoughts moves those thoughts from the self (location with low validity) to another destination with presumably greater validity (other people paying for their thoughts).

Method

Participants and design

Participants were 223 students from a public high school in Albacete, Spain (119 females and 104 males) who voluntarily participated in this study as part of a course on preventing eating disorders ($M_{age} = 15.83$, $SD = 1.36$). They were randomly assigned to conditions in a 2 (Thought Direction: Positive vs. Negative) × 2 (Role-playing: Selling vs. Buying thoughts) between participants factorial design. Participants also reported their Self-Esteem (continuously measured) as an additional predictor. Attitudes towards fast food was employed as our dependent measure. Because no prior research has examined the predicted interaction, we planned for a generic relatively small effect ($f^2 = .04$; Cohen, 1988). Results indicated that the desired sample size ($\alpha = .05$) with these parameters at .80 power was $N = 199$ participants. Our final sample slightly exceeded that estimation and contained $N = 223$ participants.
**Procedure**

The experimental session was presented as a seminar on an eating disorders prevention programme. First, participants received a questionnaire containing several tasks and four blank cards. As part of the first task, participants were told that they were going to participate in a role-playing task in which they would have to play the part of a publicist working on an advertising campaign to promote a certain type of diet. The role of the publicist was to come up with ideas, arguments, slogans and thoughts for the new food campaign. Half of the participants were randomly assigned to generate and write down thoughts in favour of the fast food diet, whereas the other half were asked to generate and write down thoughts against the fast food diet. This induction was designed to manipulate the direction of participants’ thoughts towards the fast food diet. Next, participants were randomly assigned to the buying or selling role-playing conditions. Participants in the selling condition were told that they would be selling their thoughts to another student for their campaign. Participants in the buying condition were told that they would be buying thoughts from another student for their campaign. Finally, all participants reported their attitudes towards a fast food diet as the dependent measure. Participants’ Self-Esteem was also recorded as an additional predictor to be used as a predictor along with the experimental manipulations.

**Independent variables**

**Thought direction**

Participants were provided with four blank cards on which they were instructed to write either positive or negative thoughts about a fast food diet. In the positive thoughts condition, participants were asked to generate thoughts in favour of the diet, whereas in the negative thoughts condition, participants were asked to generate thoughts against the diet. This manipulation has been successful in other studies using the same attitude object (Briñol et al., 2013; Gascó et al., 2018).

**Role-playing**

After writing their thoughts, participants were assigned to role-play the part of either seller or buyer for an advertising campaign. In the selling condition, participants were told that they were going to sell their thoughts to others, thus allowing the buyers to use them in their own advertising campaigns. In the buying condition, participants were told that they would be buying the thoughts generated by others to use them in their own advertising campaign. Participants were explicitly led to believe that the buying and selling prices would be relatively high. By asking them to anticipate the prices as relatively expensive, we intended the forthcoming actions of selling and buying to be very relevant for participants.
Self-esteem
Participants’ self-esteem was measured with a seven-point self-report single-item scale. Specifically, participants were asked, ‘To what extent do you agree with the statement: I am a person with high self-esteem?’ on a seven-point scale anchored at ‘Strongly disagree’ and ‘Strongly agree’, where higher numbers signify greater self-esteem. This measure was not affected by the role-playing manipulation, nor by the direction of thoughts, nor by the interaction between both factors (ps ranging from .20 to .93). Although this measure is composed of a single item, it has been used successfully in previous research as a reliable, valid indicator of self-esteem (Gebauer, Riketta, Broemer, & Maio, 2008; Kwok, Chui, & Wong, 2013).

Dependent variable: attitudes
Participants were told that because their personal views on the topic of fast food might have influenced their responses during the thought generation task, it was important to know their opinions on the topic. To assess attitudes towards the diet, participants rated the fast food diet using three nine-point semantic differential scales (like-dislike, good-bad and positive-negative). These items were taken from previous research using the same attitude object (Gascó et al., 2018). Ratings of these items were highly inter-correlated (α = .79), thus were averaged to create a composite attitude index. Higher values on this index indicated more favourable evaluations of the fast food diet.

Results
Dependent variable: attitudes
The attitude dependent measure was submitted to a hierarchical regression analysis, with manipulated Thought Direction and Role-playing (dummy coded) and Self-Esteem (continuous variable) as the independent variables. The data were submitted to a multiple regression analysis using model 3 of the program PROCESS (Hayes, 2013). This regression analysis revealed a main effect of Thought Direction, $B = 0.569$, $t(219) = 2.480$, $p = .014$, indicating that attitudes were more favourable after participants generated positive thoughts ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.69$) than negative thoughts ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.70$). There was no main effect of Self-Esteem, $B = -0.001$, $t(219) = -0.011$, $p = .991$, or Role-playing, $B = 0.015$, $t(219) = 0.066$, $p = .947$.

As illustrated in Figure 1, the data revealed a marginally significant two-way interaction between Thought Direction and Self-Esteem, $B = 0.395$, $t(217) = 1.795$, $p = .074$, suggesting that there was more thought usage for individuals with high SE, $B = 0.979$, $t (217) = 3.041$, $p = .003$, compared to those with low SE, $B = 0.161$, $t(217) = 0.500$, $p = .618$ (see Briñol & Petty, 2019). The remaining two-way interactions were not significant ($ps > .68$).
More importantly for the current purposes, the analysis revealed the predicted three-way interaction between Thought Direction, Role-playing and Self-Esteem, \( B = -2.472, t(215) = -5.955, p < .001 \). To examine the basis of this interaction, we decomposed it at 1 standard deviation above and below the mean of Self-Esteem (SE) scores. As illustrated in Figure 2 (top panel), among the high SE individuals, there was a significant Thought Direction × Role-playing interaction, \( B = -2.772, t(215) = -4.568, p < .001 \). This two-way interaction revealed that among the high SE individuals, those in the buying condition used their thoughts more than those in the selling condition. That is, within the buying thoughts condition, those who wrote positive thoughts reported more favourable attitudes towards fast food than those who wrote negative thoughts, \( B = 2.431, t(215) = 5.712, p < .001 \). For those in the selling thoughts condition, however, this difference in attitudes between positive and negative thoughts was not significant, \( B = -0.341, t(215) = -0.789, p = .431 \).

In contrast, among the low SE individuals, a very different two-way interaction emerged, \( B = 2.354, t(215) = 3.857, p < .001 \). For the low SE participants, use of thoughts was greater in the selling than in the buying condition. Specifically, within the selling thoughts condition, those who wrote positive thoughts towards fast food reported more favourable attitudes than those who wrote negative thoughts, \( B = 1.295, t(215) = 2.920, p = .004 \), whereas in the buying thoughts condition the opposite pattern significantly emerged, \( B = -1.018, t(215) = -2.526, p = .012 \) (see Figure 2, bottom panel).

Another way to examine the basis of this interaction is by decomposing it within the buying and the selling thoughts conditions. As illustrated in Figure 3 (top panel), in the buying condition, there was a significant Thought Direction × Self-esteem interaction, \( B = 1.683, t(215) = 5.633, p < .001 \). This two-way interaction revealed that in

![Figure 1. Attitudes towards a fast food diet as a function of thought direction and self-esteem (graphed at ± 1 SD).](image-url)
the buying condition, as self-esteem increased, people became more likely to use their thoughts. That is, among high SE individuals, those who wrote positive thoughts towards fast food reported more favourable attitudes than those who wrote negative thoughts, $B = 2.431$, $t(215) = 5.712$, $p < .001$, whereas for those low in SE, this pattern was reversed, $B = -1.018$, $t(215) = -2.526$, $p = .012$.

However, in the selling thoughts condition, a different Thought Direction × Self-esteem interaction emerged, $B = 1.683$, $t(215) = 5.633$, $p = .007$. As self-esteem increased in the selling condition, people became less likely to use their thoughts. Thus, among low SE individuals, those who wrote positive thoughts towards fast food reported more favourable attitudes than those who wrote negative thoughts, $B = 1.295$, $t(215) = 2.920$, $p = .004$, whereas for those high in SE, a null pattern was found, $B = -0.341$, $t(215) = -0.789$, $p = .431$ (see Figure 3, bottom panel).

**Discussion**

The present study found that participants’ usage of their thoughts varied depending on what they anticipated doing with their thoughts (buying or selling them)
and also depending on their self-esteem. Anticipating selling thoughts to others decreased thought usage for high SE participants compared to anticipating buying, suggesting that they construed selling as distancing thoughts from the self (a valid location for those participants). This finding suggests that some people behaved as if they literally gave their thoughts away and separated them from the self. In contrast, selling rather than buying thoughts increased thought usage for those with low SE, suggesting that the perceived value of thoughts increased by moving them from a location associated with low validity (the self) to a destination with relatively greater validity (others paying for their thoughts).

This research is consistent with the idea that anticipating the same action with thoughts can have different meanings for different people. Our interpretation of the results is that the association of selling and buying with high or low validity is not the same for people high in self-esteem compared to people low in self-esteem. This study suggests that the anticipation of selling to others was associated with high validity by those with low (vs. high) self-esteem because the self

Figure 3. Attitudes towards a fast food diet as a function of thought direction, role-playing and self-esteem (graphed at buying and selling).
is not a valid location. Thus, moving one’s thoughts from a location with relatively low validity (the self) to a location with relatively high validity (others) increased their perceived value and therefore increased thought usage. That is, for individuals with low self-esteem, anticipating others buying their thoughts likely enhanced the perceived validity of their thoughts, thereby increasing thought usage.

Of course, there are some limitations to the present study. For example, although the results support our predictions, the specific meaning that selling had for high and low self-esteem individuals was not measured. Thus, future research should further explore the precise mechanism by which the relationship between anticipated actions and self-esteem fosters thought use. Beyond assessing the perceived validity of thoughts, anticipated actions (selling vs. buying) and locations (self vs. others), our findings should be replicated using more groups (control group with a neutral action), larger samples and inclusion of potential mediation measures (thought validity, see Gascó et al., 2018). Future studies in this paradigm should also include more complete assessments of self-esteem (e.g., using multi-item inventories, measures of automatic associations and meta-cognitive appraisals with regard to the stability, clarity and confidence of self-esteem; DeMarree, Petty, & Briñol, 2007) and actual behaviour of consumption as dependent measures (Horcajo, Paredes, Higuero, Briñol, & Petty, in press; Santos, Briñol, Petty, Gandarillas, & Mateos, in press).

**Implications for distance from unwanted, disturbing thoughts**

The present research also has some potential practical implications. For instance, therapists have devoted attention to approaches that focus on separating people from their thoughts (e.g., Leary, Adams, & Tate, 2006). Treatments that promote mindfulness have become particularly popular as a way to teach clients to achieve these goals and to develop a more contemplative, distant relationship with their thoughts. For example, patients engaged in mindfulness treatments are asked to deal with their harmful thoughts by visualizing those thoughts as just going through their minds (Brown, Ryan, & Creswell, 2007). According to acceptance and commitment therapy (Hayes & Strosahl, 2004), clients can also be trained to treat their thoughts as chess pieces and move them on a real chess board (see also Baer, 2006). Many of these techniques have been found to produce a variety of positive psychological and social outcomes (e.g., Gebauer et al., 2018; Kang, Gruber, & Gray, 2013; Mick, 2017).

Consistent with these therapeutic views, the present research has shown that detaching from one’s negative thoughts by anticipating selling them to others can decrease negative evaluations (for those with high self-esteem). However, anticipating the very same action (anticipation of selling thoughts) produced the opposite effect when thoughts were positive for those with high self-esteem. If one assumes that most people have relatively high self-esteem (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), then separating (physically or mentally) from one’s thoughts can be expected to increase well-being when thoughts are negative but to decrease
well-being when thoughts are positive. Our study suggests that the implications would be different for those with low self-esteem. Ironically, for low self-esteem individuals, separating oneself from one’s thoughts by selling them to others makes them start using them. As noted, we argue that this is because they move their thoughts from an origin associated with low validity (the self) to a destination with relatively higher validity (others). This interpretation is consistent with past research suggesting that individuals with low self-esteem are particularly sensitive to the positive feedback received from others (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001).

Implications for endowment effect

There are potential implications of the current work for reinterpreting past research in behavioural economics. That is, the results of anticipating buying versus selling one’s thoughts varied as a function of self-esteem, suggesting that this variable can moderate endowment effects. An endowment effect refers to when people are willing to pay more to retain an object (product, possession, etc.) they already own rather than to obtain the same product owned by another person (Kahneman, Knetsch, & Thaler, 1990, 1991). That is, people would want more money to sell an object that they already possess than to buy the same object that they do not yet possess (Alexopoulos, Šimeša, & Francis, 2015; Greenstein & Xu, 2015; see Van Boven, Dunning, & Loewenstein, 2000 for a review).

The traditional interpretation of this effect is based on loss aversion. This account suggests that a product is assessed as a loss when it is given up and as a gain when it is obtained (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979). Moreover, because losses loom larger than gains, sellers expect to suffer more than buyers expect to profit. As a result, sellers demand more compensation than buyers are willing to provide, resulting in higher selling prices than buying prices for the same product. This traditional explanation is silent with regard to self-esteem.

Another account for the endowment effect is known as the ‘ownership account’, and involves a sense of possession towards an object that results in objects being perceived as ‘mine’ and therefore associated with the self (Belk, 1988; Pierce, Kostova, & Dirks, 2003). This explanation makes predictions about self-esteem as a potential moderator (Morewedge, Shu, Gilbert, & Wilson, 2009). Speculatively, the link between the self and an object should only bring value when the self is associated with high validity (therefore for those with high self-esteem). The results of our study are conceptually consistent with this view by showing that an association with the self does not bring special value to those with low self-esteem. Also consistent with balance theory (Heider, 1958), recent research has shown that ownership and endowment effects are more likely to emerge for people high (vs. low) in either explicit or implicit self-esteem (Cooley & Killen, 2015; Gawronski, Bodenhausen, & Becker, 2007; Horcao, Briñol, & Petty, 2010). Thus, one would expect a stronger endowment effect among people with high self-esteem compared to those with low self-esteem.
Implications for self-esteem

As we have described in the previous sections, one could speculate that the present study has some potential implications both for mindfulness and for endowment. In addition to those domains, the present research might also have additional implications for persuasion. In fact, we found a marginally significant two-way interaction between Thought Direction and Self-Esteem, showing that there was more thought usage for individuals with high self-esteem compared to those with low self-esteem. This interaction reveals that people with high self-esteem relied more on their thoughts when forming their evaluations compared to people with low self-esteem. Therefore, the present findings showed for the very first time that self-esteem can influence persuasion by affecting validity processes, at least under the current high thinking conditions (e.g., high personal relevance, four thoughts listed). When thinking conditions are different (e.g., moderate or low), then self-esteem can influence persuasion by other psychological processes (Briñol & Petty, 2019; Guyer, Briñol, Petty, & Horcajo, 2019).
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