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This article proposes that compared with a promotion regulatory focus, a prevention focus increases sensitivity to the advertiser's manipulative intent. Specifically, when message cues make manipulative intent moderately salient, prevention-focused people are more likely to activate persuasion knowledge and give less favorable brand evaluations than promotion-focused people. When message cues make manipulative intent highly salient or when manipulative intent is not salient, brand evaluations do not differ across regulatory foci. In addition, externally priming suspicion of manipulative intent makes promotion-focused people react similarly to prevention-focused people, suggesting that regulatory focus affects vigilance against persuasion.

Vigilant Against Manipulation: The Effect of Regulatory Focus on the Use of Persuasion Knowledge

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In the net section, e describe research on persuasion kno ledge and regulator focus and develop h potheses about the effects of regulator focus on the use of persuasion kno ledge. We report three studies to test h potheses and process and conclude ith implications for further research.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Message Cues and Persuasion Knowledge

Persuasion kno ledge helps consumers identif hen someone is tr ing to persuade them and ho to respond to these persuasion attempts in a a that achieves their o n goals (Friestad and Wright 1994). Persuasion kno ledge consists of various beliefs, such as determining hich persuasion tactics marketers use; ho these tactics affect ps chological mediators, such as getting attention, generating interest, or inducing emotion; hich tactics are effective or appropriate in different situations; and hat the firms' goals and motives are. Activation of persuasion kno ledge usuall entails suspicion about the marketer's ulterior motives, skepticism to ard advertising claims, and perceptions of firms or marketing agents as deceptive or manipulative. Suspicion of firms' ulterior motives or manipulative intent leads to resistance to persuasion, resulting in less fayorable brand or agent attitudes (Campbell 1995; Campbell and Kirmani 2000; Jain and Posayac 2004).

We propose that hen people process advertisements, the tendenc to activate persuasion kno ledge ma depend on t o factors: (1) the e tent to hich message cues make manipulative intent salient and (2) regulator focus. Message cues that increase the salience of the adyertiser's manipulative intent or ulterior motive are likel to activate persuasion kno ledge (Campbell and Kirmani 2000). For e ample, advertisements that use certain t pes of attentiongetting tactics, such as dela ed sponsor identification, a borro ed interest appeal, or negative comparisons, increase perceptions of the firm's manipulative intent, thus resulting in less fayorable brand evaluations (Campbell 1995; Jain and Posayac 2004). Moreover, message cues that might be potentiall misleading or deceptive, such as disclosures (Johar and Simmons 2000) and incomplete comparisons (Barone et al. 1999), ma activate persuasion kno ledge, at least among consumers ho recogni e them as persuasion tactics.

We propose that message cues are likel to yar in terms of the salience of manipulative intent. Some message cues (e.g., a biased source) make manipulative intent highl salient, hereas other cues (e.g., an independent source) make manipulative intent less salient. In bet een these t o e tremes are cues that ma make manipulative intent moderatel salient, referred to as ambiguous cues, because the ma have multiple interpretations (Hoch 2002), one of

hich is an inference of manipulative intent. For e ample, an incomplete comparison (e.g., Brand X is better than the leading brand) ma be interpreted as indicating Brand X's superiorit or ma raise suspicion about h the advertiser did not specif the leading brand. For ambiguous cues, situational or individual characteristics ma determine

hether manipulative intent becomes more salient than another interpretation. We suggest that people's regulator focus affects ho the react to ambiguous message cues. We suggest that prevention-focused people are more likel than promotion-focused people to interpret ambiguous cues as reflecting manipulative intent.

Regulatory Focus and Persuasion Knowledge

According to regulator focus theor, people can attain their goals in t o a s, each involving the use of an alternative regulator focus (Higgins 1987; Higgins et al. 1994). Promotion-focused people perceive their goals as hopes and ideals. Thus, the are sensitive to the presence or absence of such positive outcomes and are inclined to approach matches to their goals. In contrast, prevention-focused people perceive the same goals as duties and obligations. Thus, the are sensitive to the absence or presence of these negative outcomes and are inclined to avoid mismatches to their goals. Promotion- and prevention-focused people have been sho n to e hibit different ps chological states during the process of goal attainment (Cro e and Higgins 1997; Liberman et al. 1999). Whereas promotion-focused people are likel to pursue their goals ith eagerness, preventionfocused people are likel to pursue their goals ith vigilance.

This fundamental difference in the use of approach yersus ayoidance strategies ma affect yarious consumer behaviors, such as information processing (Pham and Higgins 2005), h pothesis generation (Liberman et al. 2001), and memor (Higgins et al. 1994). For e ample, Pham and Higgins (2005) suggest that during information search, promotion-focused people's approach tendencies make them more likel to focus on positive signals about the available options during search. In contrast, preventionfocused people's ayoidance tendencies make them more likel to focus on negative signals. Because the use of persuasion kno ledge entails negative attributions about the advertiser's manipulative intent, this suggests that promotion- and prevention-focused people activate persuasion kno ledge differentl hen yie ing an advertisement.

Specificall, e propose that because promotion-focused people attempt to approach matches to the desired end state, the are likel to focus on positive information and use approach strategies hen vie ing an advertisement. Given the goal of making a good decision about the product, the ma think in terms of ho the ad information can help them make a purchase decision. Promotion-focused people evoke negative persuasion kno ledge onl hen presented ith cues that make manipulative intent highl salient. Thus, their brand evaluations are likel to be more favorable hen message cues make manipulative intent less or moderatel salient than hen message cues make manipulative intent highl salient.

In contrast, because prevention-focused people attempt to avoid mismatches to the desired end state, the are more likel to focus on negative information and use avoidance strategies hen vie ing an advertisement. In attempting to make a good decision, the ma think in terms of ho to avoid being undul persuaded. Thus, the ma be vigilant against manipulation, leading to activation of negative persuasion kno ledge and greater skepticism about ad claims, even in the presence of ambiguous cues. This suggests that their brand evaluations are likel to be more favorable hen message cues make manipulative intent less salient than

hen message cues make manipulative intent moderatel or highl salient. This leads to the follo ing h potheses:

- H₁: Compared ith a promotion focus, a prevention focus leads to less fayorable brand evaluations in the presence of ambiguous cues. Brand evaluations are equall unfayorable across levels of regulator focus in the presence of cues that make manipulative intent highl salient and equall fayorable in the presence of cues that make manipulative intent less salient.
- H₂: Persuasion kno ledge mediates the effects of regulator focus and salience of manipulative intent on brand evaluations.

Finall, as ementioned previousl, our predictions are based on differences in direction, rather than depth, of processing across regulator foci. We do not claim that yigilance increases the amount of processing devoted to the adyertisement; rather, preyention-focused people are more sensitive to manipulative intent. Moreover, although the notion that regulator focus entails differences in direction rather than depth of processing is similar to that of Pham and Aynet (2004), our process is different from that of Pham and Aynet, ho observed that promotion-focused people are more likel to base judgments on their subjective affective reactions to the advertisement, hereas prevention-focused people are more likel to base judgments on the substance of the message. In contrast, e claim that both prevention- and promotion-focused people e amine the message content, but their reactions to the content differ.

STUDY 1

The objective of Stud 1 as to test H_1 and H_2 . The stud emplo ed a 2 (regulator focus: promotion versus prevention) \times 3 (salience of manipulative intent: lo , moderate, or high) bet een-subjects design. Respondents ere 129 undergraduate students ho received course credit for participation and ho ere randoml assigned to treatments.

Manipulations

We manipulated regulator focus b priming ideals (promotion) or oughts (prevention). In the promotion-focus condition, respondents ere asked to think about their past hopes, aspirations, and dreams and to list t o of them. In addition, the ere asked to think about their current hopes, aspirations, and dreams and to list t o. In the preventionfocus condition, respondents thought about their past duties, obligations, and responsibilities and listed t o; the also thought about their current duties, obligations, and responsibilities and listed t o. This manipulation has been sho n to be effective in other studies (e.g., Pham and Aynet 2004).

Respondents sa a one-page print advertisement for the target brand of digital cameras, called Calan. The advertisement contained a headline, a picture of the camera, and three sets of claims in the cop (see Appendi A). We manipulated the salience of manipulative intent through the second claim, hich varied the source of a stud and the t pe of comparison. Specificall, the target claim reported results from a stud in hich consumers rated Calan as producing better qualit pictures than the leading brand. We e pected that this incomplete comparison ould be more ambiguous than a comparison that specified the lead-

ing brands, such as Canon and Kodak. A bet een-subjects pretest on a different group of 57 respondents from the same population sho ed that the incomplete comparison claim as perceived as more ambiguous than the specific comparison claim ($M_{\text{specific comparison}} = 2.59$, M_{ambigous} comparison claim ($M_{\text{specific comparison}} = 2.59$, M_{ambigous} comparison = 3.50; F(1, 55) = 4.13, p < .05; 1 = not at all ambiguous, and 7 = e tremel ambiguous). Thus, the incomplete comparison made manipulative intent moderatel salient because some people might be suspicious that the firm as intentionall omitting the name of a mediocre referent brand.

In addition, the stud as attributed to either an independent source (i.e., *Consumer Reports*) or a biased source (i.e., the Calan compan). When the source as biased, the adyertiser's manipulative intent as highl salient. The pretest also established that perceived manipulative intent

as higher hen the source of a stud as biased than hen it as independent. Specificall, t o groups of respondents ere presented ith a claim regarding a stud b either an independent source or a biased source and ere asked to rate the e tent to hich it reflected an attempt to persuade b inappropriate, unfair, or manipulative means on a seven-point scale (higher numbers indicated greater manipulativeness). The claim as perceived as more manipulative hen the source as biased than hen it as independent ($M_{biased} = 5.33$, $M_{independent} = 4.30$; F(1, 55) = 4.51, p < .04).

Taking the stud source and the t pe of comparison together, e find that salience of manipulative intent as high hen the stud as done b a biased source (Calan) and the comparison as ambiguous (leading brand). Salience of manipulative intent as moderate hen the stud as done b an independent source (*Consumer Reports*) and the comparison as ambiguous (leading brand). Finall, salience of manipulative intent as lo

hen the stud as done b an independent source (*Consumer Reports*) and the comparison as specific (leading brands, such as Canon and Kodak).

Measures

Brand attitude and perceived quality. We measured attitude to ard the brand (A_b) as an average of three sevenpoint items: unfavorable/favorable, dislike/like, and unappealing/appealing (Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$). In addition, perceived qualit as measured relative to other digital cameras as an average of five seven-point items: lo er/ higher qualit , performance, reliabilit , sharp pictures, and st lishness ($\alpha = .90$).

Persuasion knowledge. We measured activation of persuasion kno ledge in t o a s. The first as respondents' assessment of the advertisement's deceptiveness, hich as a measure of skepticism about the advertisement. This measure as an average of three seven-point items that rated the advertisement: unbelievable/believable, not truthful/truthful, and deceptive/nondeceptive ($\alpha = .83$). These items are reverse coded, so higher numbers indicate greater deceptiveness.

The second measure of persuasion kno ledge as based on thought protocols. Respondents ere asked to record all the thoughts, feelings, or impressions the had about the product and/or adyretisement. We coded these thoughts for persuasion kno ledge, including suspicion about the firm's motives or manipulative intent (e.g., I don't believe a stud done b the compan +) and skepticism about ad claims (e.g., With hich leading brands are the comparing?). Intercoder reliabilit as .94.

Manipulation checks and confounds. Recall that our basic premise is that compared ith a promotion focus, a prevention focus increases vigilance against persuasion. As a check to determine hether regulator focus affects suspicion about being persuaded, e asked respondents to indicate their suspicion. The question stated, Before I sa the ad, I suspected the advertisement ould contain undue persuasion (1 = strongl disagree, and 7 = strongl agree). This measure follo ed all the other measures.

Finall, to ensure that regulator focus affects direction rather than depth of processing, e measured depth of processing in t o a s. First, because involvement can lead to greater depth of processing (e.g., Cacioppo, Pett, and Kao 1986), e measured self-reported involvement as a composite of three items on a seven-point scale in response to the question, As ou e amined the ad, ho did ou feel? (involved, interested, engaged; $\alpha = .95$). Second, e assessed the total number of relevant thoughts in the protocols. This reflects the e tent of message elaboration and, thus, depth of processing.

Results

Manipulation check. To test hether a prevention focus induced a higher suspicion level than a promotion focus before participants sa the advertisement, e ran a 2 × 3 anal sis of variance (ANOVA) on participants' reported suspicion of the advertisement's containing undue persuasion. Onl a main effect of regulator focus emerged as significant (F(1, 123) = 4.93, p < .03); prevention-focused respondents reported higher suspicion levels than promotion-focused respondents before the sa the advert

tisement ($M_{promotion} = 4.22$, $M_{prevention} = 4.80$). This proyides support for the basic premise of differential suspicion.

Depth of processing. A 2×3 ANOVA regealed no significant main or interaction effects on either of the t o measures of depth of processing (all ps > .14). The legel of self-reported ingolgement and total number of thoughts

ere the same across conditions (for cell means, see Table 1). Thus, as e e pected, regulator focus did not affect depth of processing.

Brand attitude and perceived quality. H_1 suggests an interaction bet een regulator focus and salience of manipulative intent on brand evaluations. A 2 × 3 ANOVA revealed a significant interaction effect on both brand attitude (F(2, 123) = 3.10, p < .05) and perceived qualit (F(2, 123) = 3.14, p < .05). In addition, there as a main effect of salience of manipulative intent on both measures; specificall , there ere more favorable evaluations as salience decreased (brand attitude: $M_{10} = 4.32$, $M_{moderate} = 3.82$, $M_{high} = 3.05$; F(2, 123) = 8.41, p < .001; perceived qualit : $M_{10} = 4.42$, $M_{moderate} = 4.12$, $M_{high} = 3.41$; F(2, 123) = 9.64, p < .001).

The interaction effect (see Figure 1) as consistent ith H_1 . Prevention-focused respondents formed less favorable brand evaluations than promotion-focused respondents

hen salience of manipulative intent as moderate (brand attitude: $M_{promotion} = 4.41$, $M_{preyention} = 3.23$; F(1, 123) = 7.04, p < .01; perceived qualit : $M_{promotion} = 4.51$, $M_{preyention} = 3.72$; F(1, 123) = 5.73, p < .02). Ho ever, their evaluations ere equivalent hen salience as lo (brand attitude: $M_{promotion} = 4.33$, $M_{prevention} = 4.30$; F < 1; perceived qualit : $M_{promotion} = 4.30$, $M_{prevention} = 4.53$; F < 1) and hen salience as high (brand attitude: $M_{promotion} = 3.21$; F < 1; perceived qualit : $M_{promotion} = 3.21$; F < 1; perceived qualit : $M_{promotion} = 3.52$; F < 1). Contrasts ithin regulator focus revealed that

Contrasts ithin regulator focus revealed that promotion-focused respondents gave less favorable evalua-

	Low Salience of Manipulative Intent		Moderate Salience of Manipulative Intent		High Salience of Manipulative Intent	
	Promotion Focus	Prevention Focus	Promotion Focus	Prevention Focus	Promotion Focus	Prevention Focus
Brand attitude ^a	4.33	4.30	4.41	3.23	2.89	3.21
	(1.64)	(1.83)	(1.79)	(1.12)	(1.04)	(.81)
Perceived qualit a	4.30	4.53	4.51	3.72	3.30	3.52
	(1.43)	(1.06)	(1.22)	(.77)	(.96)	(.90)
Percei; ed ad	3.25	2.97	3.16	4.03	3.92	3.98
deceptivenessb	(1.48)	(1.01)	(.98)	(1.38)	(.91)	(.89)
Total number of	4.33	4.22	3.83	4.70	5.00	3.43
thoughts	(2.11)	(2.49)	(2.12)	(2.05)	(3.16)	(2.80)
Number of persuasion	.33	.17	.17	1.00	.90	.81
kno ledge thoughts	(.58)	(.39)	(.39)	(1.62)	(1.45)	(1.12)
Inyolyement ^a	2.75	3.13	3.24	3.67	2.71	3.36
	(.98)	(1.46)	(1.19)	(1.83)	(1.35)	(1.66)
Cell si es	21	23	23	20	21	21

 Table 1

 STUDY 1: CELL MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

^aMeasured on a seyen-point scale; higher numbers indicate more positive scores.

^bMeasured on a seven-point scale; higher numbers indicate greater deceptiveness.

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Figure 1 STUDY 1: REGULATORY FOCUS (PROMOTION VERSUS PREVENTION) INTERACTS WITH SALIENCE OF MANIPULATIVE INTENT (LOW VERSUS MODERATE VERSUS HIGH) TO AFFECT BRAND ATTITUDE



tions hen salience of manipulative intent as high than hen it as moderate (brand attitude: F(1, 123) = 12.10, p < .001; perceived qualit : F(1, 123) = 13.66, p < .001) or lo (brand attitude: F(1, 123) = 10.49, p < .01; perceived qualit : F(1, 123) = 8.95, p < .01). The difference bet een moderate and lo salience as not significant (Fs < 1). In contrast, prevention-focused respondents formed more favorable brand evaluations hen salience of manipulative intent as lo than hen it as high (brand attitude: F(1, 123) = 6.34, p < .05; perceived qualit : F(1, 123) = 5.88, p < .05; perceived qualit : F(1, 123) = 5.99, p < .05). The difference bet een moderate and high salience conditions as not significant (Fs < 1). Thus, H₁ is supported.

Persuasion knowledge. H₂ predicted that persuasion kno ledge ould mediate these effects. Separate ANOVAs on perceived ad deceptiveness and persuasion kno ledge thoughts (PK thoughts) revealed a significant interaction effect (ad deceptiveness: F(2, 123) = 3.00, p < .05; PK thoughts: F(2, 123) = 3.08, p < .05). As ith brand evaluations, prevention-focused respondents ere more likel to activate persuasion kno ledge than promotion-focused respondents hen salience of manipulative intent as moderate (ad deceptiveness: M_{promotion} = 3.16, M_{prevention} = 4.03; F(1, 123) = 6.43, p < .02; PK thoughts: $M_{promotion} =$.17, $M_{\text{prevention}} = 1.00$; F(1, 123) = 6.89, p < .01). The ere equall likel to activate persuasion kno ledge hen salience as high (ad deceptiveness: $M_{promotion} = 3.92$, $M_{preyention} = 3.98$; F < 1; PK thoughts: $M_{promotion} = .90$, $M_{preyention} = .81$; F < 1) and ere equall unlikel to actiyate persuasion kno ledge hen salience as lo (ad deceptiveness: $M_{promotion} = 3.25$, $M_{preyention} = 2.97$; F < 1; PK thoughts: $M_{promotion} = .33$, $M_{preyention} = .17$; F < 1).

ithin regulator focus revealed that for Contrasts promotion-focused respondents, persuasion kno ledge as more likel to be used hen salience of manipulative intent as high than hen it as moderate (ad deceptiveness: F(1, 123) = 5.01, p < .05; PK thoughts: F(1, 123) = 5.53,p < .02) or lo (ad deceptiveness: F(1, 123) = 3.67, p < .06; PK thoughts: F(1, 123) = 3.24, p < .07). The difference bet een moderate- and lo -salience conditions as not significant (Fs < 1). For prevention-focused respondents. persuasion kno ledge as more likel to be used hen salience of manipulative intent as high than hen it as (ad deceptiveness: F(1, 123) = 8.87, p < .01; PK 10 thoughts: F(1, 123) = 4.19, p < .05) or hen salience of manipulative intent as moderate than hen it as lo (ad deceptiveness: F(1, 123) = 9.41, p < .01; PK thoughts: F(1, 123) = 6.89, p < .01). The difference bet een the moderate- and high-salience conditions as not significant (Fs < 1). The protocols revealed that prevention-focused respondents ere skeptical about the comparison brand in the moderate-manipulative-intent condition; for e ample, the questioned hat the leading brands ere.

To assess hether persuasion kno ledge mediated the treatment effects on brand attitude and perceived qualit, e conducted mediation anal ses (Baron and Kenn 1986). e e amined hether perceived ad deceptiveness First. mediated the treatment effects on brand evaluations. The regulator focus × salience of manipulative intent interaction as significant on brand evaluations (brand attitude: b = .23, p < .02; perceived qualit : b = .18, p < .02) and perceived ad deceptiveness (b = .17, p < .03). Ho ever, the treatment effects on brand evaluations ere full mediated b perceived ad deceptiveness (brand attitude: b_{interaction} = .12, p = .17; $b_{ad \ decepti; eness} = .66$, p < .001; Sobel: Z = 2.16, p < .03; percei; ed qualit : $b_{interaction} = .09$, p = .16; b_{ad} deceptiveness = .53, p < .001; Sobel: Z = 2.18, p < .03). Similarl, PK thoughts also mediated the treatment effects on brand evaluations. The interaction effect as significant on PK thoughts (b = .16, p < .02). Ho ever, the treatment effects on brand evaluations ere full mediated b PK thoughts (brand attitude: $b_{interaction} = .16$, p = .08; b_{PK} thoughts = .34, p < .01; Sobel: Z = 1.92, p < .05; perceived qualit : $b_{interaction} = .13$, p = .08; $b_{PK thoughts} = .31$, p < .08.001; Sobel: Z = 2.02, p < .05). Thus, as H₂ predicted, persuasion kno ledge mediated the treatment effects on brand evaluations.

Discussion

The results from Stud 1 proyide support for the h potheses that regulator focus interacts ith message cues to affect brand evaluations and that activation of persuasion underlies these effects. In support of the basic premise that a prevention focus makes people more vigilant against persuasion, prevention-focused respondents indicated greater suspicion of undue persuasion than promotion-focused respondents before ad e posure. On seeing the advertisement, prevention-focused respondents ere more suspicious about brand claims, perceived the advertisement as more deceptive, and evaluated the brand less favorabl hen presented ith message cues that made manipulative intent highl or moderatel salient. In contrast, promotion-focused respondents ere suspicious and reacted unfavorabl onl hen message cues made manipulative intent highl salient.

The differences across regulator foci could not be attributed to depth of processing, given the same level of cognitive responses (i.e., the total number of relevant thoughts) and self-reported involvement level. These results are consistent ith those of Pham and Aynet (2004), ho find that the same manipulation of regulator focus does not affect involvement, mood, or need for cognition. Ho ever, our process mechanism differs from theirs. Regression anal sis revealed that, in our stud, regulator focus did not change respondents' reliance on substantive assessments versus subjective feelings in forming their attitudes. The regression anal sis as similar to that hich Pham and Aynet report (p. 508), and it sho ed no significant effects of regulator focus on hether substantive assessments or subjective feelings affected brand attitude.

Stud 1 proyides some eyidence that differences in sensitivit to manipulative intent underlie the responses of promotion- and prevention-focused people to ambiguous message cues. In Stud 2, e e pand on this finding b e amining t o process-related issues. First, e e amine hether sensitivit to manipulative intent means that regulator focus affects perceptions of the diagnosticit of manipulative intent, desirabilit of manipulative intent, or both. Our premise is that promotion- and preventionfocused people differ in terms of their perceptions of ho diagnostic a cue is of manipulative intent and that these perceptions affect brand evaluations. Ho ever, it could be that the t o foci also differ in terms of hether people believe that manipulative intent is desirable. In other ords, prevention-focused people ma find manipulative intent to be less appealing than do promotion-focused people. We directl measure desirabilit and diagnosticit to e plore this issue.

Second, to confirm further that sensitivit to manipulative intent underlies the results, e increase the sensitivit of promotion-focused people to manipulative intent b e ternall priming suspicion. E ternall priming suspicion should make promotion-focused people more vigilant about manipulative intent, leading them to respond similarl to prevention-focused people. Prior research has sho n that e ternal priming of suspicion can affect message processing. For e ample, Darke and Ritchie (2007) find that priming advertising deception ma activate negative stereot pes about marketing, making people distrustful of advertising claims from the same or different source. Similarl , Campbell and Kirmani (2000) sho that e ternall priming suspicion of ulterior motives ma lead to negative evaluations of salespeople.

Because the differential effects of regulator focus occurred onl in the ambiguous cue condition (i.e., hen manipulative intent as moderatel salient), e e amine this condition more carefull. We propose that e ternall priming suspicion of manipulative intent ill activate promotion-focused respondents' persuasion kno ledge. Therefore, compared ith a no-suspicion priming condition, promotion-focused respondents primed ith suspicion ma be more yigilant about manipulative intent hen the see an advertisement ith an ambiguous cue. This ould result in less fayorable brand evaluations for promotionfocused respondents hen suspicion is primed than hen it is not primed. In contrast, priming suspicion should not affect the responses of prevention-focused respondents, because their persuasion kno ledge is alread activated

hen the encounter an advertisement. This leads to the third h pothesis, hich pertains to the situation in hich ad cues are ambiguous about manipulative intent.

H₃: When suspicion is not primed, a prevention focus leads to more negative brand evaluations than a promotion focus. When suspicion is primed, ho ever, brand evaluations are equall negative under a promotion and prevention focus.

STUDY 2

The objective of Stud 2 as to e amine further the underl ing process mechanism for the effects e observed in Stud 1. The stud emplo ed a 2 (regulator focus: promotion versus prevention) \times 2 (suspicion: e ternall primed versus not) bet een-subjects design. Respondents ere 82 undergraduate students ho received course credit for participation and ho ere randoml assigned to treatments.

Procedure and Manipulations

The procedure as similar to that in Stud 1, e cept that the suspicion prime occurred before the regulator focus manipulation. The suspicion priming manipulation as in the form of an unrelated task in a separate booklet before the main stud. Respondents ere told that the ould be evaluating a short ne spaper article for its relevance to college students. T o articles ere created (see Appendi B). In the suspicion-primed condition, the article as intended to make consumers yigilant about corporate fraud. Specificall, the article described a compan hose chief e ecutive officer (CEO) fabricated financial figures to sho a profit. Subsequentl, auditors regie ed the compan 's financial statements and e posed the deception. Note that this article had nothing to do ith advertising, reducing the likelihood that respondents ould discern the relationship bet een the t o studies and ensuring that the manipulation induced generali ed suspicion rather than suspicion of adyertising claims. A similar manipulation has been used in ork (Darke and Argo 2005). In the suspicionprior unprimed condition, the article described a ne concept car at the design stage b Volks agen.

To assess the equivalence of the t o primes on dimensions unrelated to suspicion, respondents in this stud evaluated the article on measures such as believable, interesting, informative, and meaningful (seven-point scales). These measures ere combined to form an ad perception inde ($\alpha = .72$). The ANOVA on this inde revealed no significant differences across the t o primes (p > .16). In addition, a separate pretest ith 37 respondents from the same population assessed equivalence on other dimensions, such as mood and involvement. In a bet een-subjects design, respondents read either the suspicion prime (n = 18) or the no-suspicion prime (n = 19). The then filled out some measures, including the PANAS (positive and negative affect schedule) scale (Watson, Clark, and Tellegen 1988), involvement, and suspicion. We anal ed responses to the PANAS scale separatel for positive and negative mood; e created a positive ($\alpha = .88$) and negative ($\alpha = .92$) mood scale (five-point scales) b averaging all positive items and all negative items, respectivel. The ANOVA revealed that the primes did not differentiall affect negative ($M_{suspicion} =$ 1.51, $M_{no\ suspicion} = 1.26$; F(1, 35) = 1.97, p > .17) or positive ($M_{suspicion} = 2.27$, $M_{no\ suspicion} = 2.61$; F(1, 35) = 1.67, p > .20) mood. Similarl, e measured task involvement pgat9(tTJto hichr39 Tne(y)14. spaperT*-0.0002 Tc0.0278 T685(all ne

	Suspicion Not Primed		Suspicion Primed		
	Promotion Focus	Prevention Focus	Promotion Focus	Prevention Focus	
Brand attitude ^a	3.55	2.03	2.42	2.46	
	(1.18)	(.81)	(.82)	(.92)	
Perceiyed qualit a	3.93	2.74	2.57	2.69	
	(1.07)	(.84)	(.78)	(.85)	
Perceived ad deceptivenessb	3.43	4.73	4.68	4.35	
	(.97)	(1.29)	(1.30)	(1.28)	
Number of persuasion kno ledge	.30	1.19	.90	.95	
thoughts	(.47)	(1.08)	(1.02)	(1.07)	
Diagnosticit of manipulative intenta	3.30	4.57	4.50	4.29	
	(1.56)	(1.17)	(1.28)	(1.62)	
Desirabilit of manipulative intent	5.20	4.71	5.00	4.76	
I may a second	(1.67)	(2.08)	(1.72)	(2.00)	
Total number of thoughts	5.55	5.81	5.55	6.05	
C	(2.09)	(1.60)	(2.11)	(2.11)	
Inyolyementa	3.35	3.02	2.90	3.25	
	(1.61)	(.97)	(1.12)	(1.17)	
Cell si es	20	21	20	21	

Table 2 STUDY 2: CELL MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

^aMeasured on a seyen-point scale; higher numbers indicate more positive scores.

^bMeasured on a seven-point scale; higher numbers indicate greater deceptiveness.

^cMeasured on a seyen-point scale; higher numbers indicate less desirabilit .

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

under a preyention than promotion focus (ad deceptiveness: $M_{promotion} = 3.43$, $M_{preyention} = 4.73$; F(1, 78) = 11.64, p < .001; PK thoughts: $M_{promotion} = .30$, $M_{preyention} = 1.19$; F(1, 78) = 9.03, p < .01). When suspicion as primed, ho - eyer, persuasion kno ledge as equivalent under the t o foci (ad deceptiveness: $M_{promotion} = 4.68$, $M_{preyention} = 4.35$; F < 1; PK thoughts: $M_{promotion} = .90$, $M_{preyention} = .95$; F < 1).

Further tests revealed that persuasion kno ledge mediated the treatment effects on brand attitude and perceived qualit. We first e amine perceived ad deceptiveness as a mediator. The regulator focus × suspicion prime interaction as significant on brand evaluations (brand attitude: b = 1.56, p < .001; perceived qualit : b = 1.30, p < .001) and perceived ad deceptiveness (b = 1.63, p < .01). Ho eyer, ad deceptiveness mediated the interaction effect on brand evaluation (brand attitude: $b_{interaction} = .92$, p < .02; $b_{ad \ deceptiyeness} = .40, p < .001$; Sobel: Z = 2.62, p < .01; perceived qualit : $b_{interaction} = .69$, p < .06; $b_{ad deceptiveness} = .38$, p < .001; Sobel: Z = 2.63, p < .01). Similarl, PK thoughts marginall mediated the treatment effects on brand evaluations. The interaction effect as significant on PK thoughts (b = .84, p < .05), and PK thoughts marginall mediated the interaction effect on brand evaluation (brand attitude: $b_{interaction} = 1.25, p < .01; b_{PK thoughts} = .37, p < .001;$ Sobel: Z = 1.84, p < .08; perceived qualit : $b_{interaction} =$ 1.07, p < .01; $b_{PK \text{ thoughts}} = .28$, p < .01; Sobel: Z = 1.62, p < .10).

Diagnosticity versus desirability. To assess hether desirabilit or diagnosticit droye the treatment effects, e e amined the results on the diagnosticit and desirabilit

measures. A 2 × 2 ANOVA revealed a significant interaction effect on diagnosticit of manipulative intent (F(1, 78) = 5.63, p < .02). When suspicion as not primed, preventionfocused respondents considered the ad claim more diagnostic of manipulative intent than promotion-focused respondents ($M_{\text{promotion}} = 3.30$, $M_{\text{preyention}} = 4.57$; F(1, 78) = 8.25, p < .01). When suspicion as primed, ho eyer, there as no difference across the t o foci in terms of diagnosticit $(M_{\text{promotion}} = 4.50, M_{\text{prevention}} = 4.29; F < 1)$. Moreover, diagnosticit mediated the treatment effects on brand eyaluations. Specificall, the regulator focus × prime interaction as significant on the diagnosticit measure (b = 1.49, p < .02), and diagnosticit mediated the interaction effect on brand evaluation (brand attitude: $b_{interaction} = 1.06$, p < .01; b_{diagnosticit} = .34, p < .001; Sobel: Z = 2.16, p <.05; perceived qualit : $b_{interaction} = .82$, p < .03; $b_{\text{diagnosticit}} = .33, p < .001;$ Sobel: Z = 2.17, p < .05).

In contrast, there ere no significant treatment effects on the desirabilit measure (all ps > .39), suggesting that promotion- and prevention-focused respondents had equivalent ratings of desirabilit (M_{promotion} = 5.10, M_{prevention} = 4.74; F < 1). Thus, the underl ing mechanism appears to be based on differences in diagnosticit, rather than desirabilit, of manipulative intent.

Discussion

Stud 2 replicated the results from the ambiguous-claim condition of Stud 1 b sho ing that hen suspicion as not e ternall primed, a promotion focus led to more fayorable brand egaluations than a pregention focus. The stud also shed light on the underl ing process mechanism. When generali ed suspicion as primed through an article about corporate accounting fraud, the t o regulator foci led to similar brand evaluations. This suggests that hereas a preyention focus naturall generates vigilance, a promotion focus generates vigilance onl hen suspicion is made e ternall salient. Again, persuasion kno ledge ratings and thoughts ere sho n to underlie these effects. Finall , differences in perceived diagnosticit , rather than desirabilit , of manipulative intent drove the results.

An issue raised b Stud 2 is hether the suspicion manipulation ma have triggered a prevention focus. If this ere the case, the suspicion manipulation ould have just been an alternative manipulation of regulator focus. Ho ever, this is unlikel, given that the manipulation check on

regulator focus reyealed a successful manipulation that as unaffected b the suspicion prime. Nevertheless, in Stud 3, e e amine formall hether a prevention focus is indeed distinct from suspicion.

We e pect that hereas a prevention focus and suspicion ma lead to similar results on tasks that trigger suspicion (e.g., the processing of ambiguous ad claims), the are likel to have different effects on other, nonsuspicious tasks because regulator focus entails aspects other than suspicion, such as the use of different strategies to achieve goals and the preference for different product attributes. Prevention-focused people prefer to use avoiding mismatch strategies to achieve their goals, hereas promotionfocused people prefer to use approaching match strategies to attain their goals (Higgins 1997). Thus, preventionfocused people should prefer brands that offer prevention benefits, such as cavit prevention or safet, hereas promotion-focused people should prefer brands that offer promotion benefits, such as teeth hitening or energ . In contrast, people primed ith suspicion are unlikel to e hibit differences in preference for product attributes; a suspicious person should be indifferent to hether a brand has promotion or prevention benefits. Therefore, e predict that respondents primed ith a prevention focus and those primed ith suspicion should respond similar hen processing ambiguous ad claims. Ho eyer, the ma behaye differentl hen responding to non-suspicion-related tasks.

STUDY 3

The objective of Stud 3 as to assess hether a prevention focus and suspicion have unique effects. The stud as a bet een-subjects design ith four conditions (promotion, prevention, suspicion, and no suspicion). Respondents ere 115 undergraduate students at a large eastern universit

ho participated for e tra credit and ere randoml assigned to conditions.

Respondents participated in a stud that included several tasks. The first task entailed receiving one of the four manipulations (promotion, prevention, suspicion, or no suspicion). Participants in the first group (promotion focus)

ere asked to describe their hopes and ideals, as in Stud 1; those in the second group (prevention focus) ere asked to describe their duties and obligations, as in Stud 1; those in the third group (suspicion primed) ere asked to read and evaluate the corporate fraud ne spaper article from Stud 2; and those in the fourth group (suspicion not primed)

ere asked to read and e; aluate the Volks agen concept car article from Stud 2.

To maintain consistenc ith the previous studies, respondents sa an advertisement for Calan camera after completing the first task. The advertisement as the same as that in Stud 2 (see Appendi A), ith the e ception that the critical ambiguous claim (Paragraph 2) as deleted. Thus, the adjertisement did not contain an mention of stud results. We did this intentionall to provide a neutral adyertisement that all respondents ould see. Then, respondents ere asked to complete a purportedl different task about brand preferences (Zhou and Pham 2004). The read descriptions of three pairs of brands and reported their preferences on a scale that ranged from 1 (prefer Brand A) to 7 (prefer Brand B_{\downarrow}). In the first pair (grape juices), Brand A as rich in vitamin C and iron, thus promoting high energ (promotion benefit), and Brand B as rich in antio idants, thus reducing the risk of cancer and heart disease (prevention benefit). In the second pair (toothpastes), Brand A as particularl good for cayit prevention (prevention benefit), and Brand B as particularl good for tooth

hitening (promotion benefit). In the third pair (snacks), Brand A as a rich and tast chocolate cake (promotion benefit), and Brand B as a health and fresh fruit salad (preyention benefit). We took the three sets of brand choices directl from the ork of Zhou and Pham (2004). We coded responses to the items so that higher ratings indicated greater preyention than promotion benefits, and then e ayeraged them to form a composite measure. We e pected that regulator focus, but not suspicion, ould affect these choices.

The second set of questions inyolyed evaluating the manipulative intent of si ad claims. Respondents ere asked to indicate on a seven-point scale hether each claim reflected an attempt to persuade b inappropriate, unfair, or manipulative means (1 = not at all manipulative), and 7 = e tremel manipulative). Three of the claims (the third, fifth, and si th claims) ere intended to be ambiguous ith respect to manipulative intent, and the other three claims

ere intended to make manipulative intent less salient. The three ambiguous claims included the ambiguous claim from the prior studies (In a recent stud b *Consumer Reports*, consumers rated Calan as producing better qualit pictures than the leading brand), plus t o more claims (If ou bu the Calan camera in the net t o eeks, e'll send ou a free carr ing case, and Calan's better than the rest). We combined these claims to create an inde of ambiguous claims ($\alpha = .70$). We e pected differences across both regulator focus and suspicion priming for this inde . We e pected the other three claims to be lo in salience of manipulative intent (This camera gives ou 4 megapi el effective resolution and 3× optical oom; Precision metering s stems enable effortless shooting and provide sharp results ; and The camera is st lish, light, and packed

ith the latest in user-friendle technolog (). We combined these claims to create an indee of unambiguous claims ($\alpha = .74$). We expected no treatment effects on this inde .

Results

Brand preference. A one- a ANOVA on the brand preference task sho ed a significant main effect (F(3, 111) = 2.69, p < .05). Planned contrasts reyealed that, as e e pected, regulator focus affected brand preference, but suspicion priming did not. Across the three pairs of brands, a promotion (preyention) focus led to greater preference for the brand featuring promotion (prevention) benefits ($M_{promotion} = 4.20$, $M_{prevention} = 5.07$; t(111) = 2.63, p < .01). Moreover, there ere no significant differences on brand preference bet een the suspicion and the nonsuspicion conditions ($M_{suspicion} = 4.64$, $M_{no suspicion} = 4.37$; t(111) = .86, p > .39). Thus, regulator focus affected brand preference, but suspicion did not. Table 3 sho s the cell means.

Claims. Factor anal sis confirmed that the si claims fell into the anticipated t o factors. Thus, e performed anal ses on the t o claim inde es. A one- a ANOVA on the ambiguous-claims inde reyealed a significant treatment effect (F(3, 111) = 3.20, p < .03). Planned contrasts reyealed that both regulator focus and suspicion priming affected perceived manipulative intent of the claims. Specificall, a prevention focus led to perceptions of the claims as more manipulative than a promotion focus (M_{promotion} = 4.29, M_{prevention} = 4.99; t(111) = 2.17, p < .05). In addition, the claims ere perceived as more manipulative hen suspicion as primed than hen it as not primed (M_{suspicion} = 4.80, M_{no suspicion} = 4.16; t(111) = 2.04, p < .05). Thus, both suspicion priming and a prevention focus led to greater sensitivit to manipulative intent.

A one- a ANOVA on the inde of unambiguous claims revealed no significant treatment effects (F < 1). As e e pected, the claims ere perceived as equall nonmanipulative under all four conditions ($M_{promotion} = 3.19$, $M_{prevention} = 3.68$; $M_{suspicion} = 3.76$, $M_{no\ suspicion} = 3.49$). Thus, consistent ith our e pectations, neither suspicion priming nor regulator focus affected the evaluation of unambiguous claims.

Discussion

The results from this stud offer important insights about the difference bet een a preyention focus and suspicion. The demonstrate that suspicion is just one aspect of a preyention regulator focus. When presented ith ambiguous ad claims, preyention-focused respondents perceived the claims as more manipulative than promotion-focused respondents, and those primed ith suspicion perceived the claims as more manipulative than those not primed ith suspicion. In terms of ambiguous claims, therefore, a preyention focus and suspicion priming led to the same results. Ho ever, a preyention focus as distinct from suspicion in other aspects, such as preferred product attributes. Specifi-

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The objective of the article as to determine the conditions under hich regulator focus affected the activation and use of persuasion kno ledge. The data supported our basic premise that a prevention focus leads to greater sensitivit to the advertiser's manipulative intent than a promotion focus. Stud 1 demonstrated that compared ith respondents ith a promotion focus, prevention-focused respondents ere more likel to activate persuasion kno 1edge and give less favorable brand evaluations hen ad cues made manipulative intent moderatel salient. In contrast, promotion-focused respondents activated persuasion kno ledge onl hen message cues made manipulative intent highl salient. Stud 2 replicated and e tended these findings to sho that the effects ere due to differences in perceived diagnosticit, rather than desirabilit, of manipulative intent. Finall, Stud 3 demonstrated that hereas a prevention focus ma lead to suspicion, suspicion does not necessaril impl a prevention focus.

The results support the notion that regulator focus affected the direction rather than the depth of processing (Pham and Aynet 2004). Message elaboration (i.e., inyolyement and total number of releyant thoughts) as equivalent across foci, suggesting the same depth of processing. Ho eyer, prevention-focused respondents ere more sensitive to being undul manipulated than promotion-focused respondents, indicating differences in direction of processing. These findings have both theoretical and managerial implications.

Implications for Research and Practice

The article contributes to research on both persuasion kno ledge and regulator focus. A major contribution is to identif direction of processing, as indicated b regulator focus, as an antecedent of persuasion kno ledge activation. Prior research has suggested that cognitive capacit (depth

	Promotion Focus	Prevention Focus	Suspicion Primed	Suspicion Not Primed
Brand preference ^a	4.20	5.07	4.64	4.37
	(1.07)	(1.21)	(.94)	(1.60)
Perceived manipulative intent	4.29	4.99	4.80	4.16
of ambiguous claims ^b	(1.47)	(1.14)	(.99)	(1.16)
Perceiyed manipulative intent	3.19	3.68	3.76	3.49
of unambiguous claims ^b	(1.50)	(1.20)	(1.30)	(1.36)
Cell si es	27	29	28	31

 Table 3

 STUDY 3: CELL MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS

^aMeasured on a seyen-point scale; higher numbers indicate preference for prevention-focused brand.

^bMeasured on a seven-point scale; higher numbers indicate greater perceived manipulative intent.

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

of processing) is required to activate persuasion kno ledge (Campbell and Kirmani 2000) because inferences of ulterior motives involve higher-order inferential processing. Our results indicate that even hen depth of processing is constant, a prevention focus is more likel to lead to the activation of persuasion kno ledge than a promotion focus. The reason is that prevention-focused people, ho ant to avoid being undul persuaded, are more sensitive to manipulative intent than promotion-focused people. This enriches our understanding of the antecedents of persuasion kno ledge, adding regulator focus to other antecedents, such as cognitive resources, accessibilit of motives, and persuasion e pertise (see Campbell and Kirmani 2007).

The notion that prevention-focused people ma tr to ayoid being undul persuaded b an advertisement suggests that a prevention focus could lead to greater use of sentr coping strategies (Kirmani and Campbell 2004). In a stud of consumers' persuasion coping behaviors, Kirmani and Campbell (2004) describe t o general approaches b consumer targets for dealing ith interpersonal persuasion agents. Targets behaving as goal seekers attempted to use the persuasion agent to achieve their o n purchase-related hereas targets behaving as persuasion sentries goals, attempted to achieve their purchase-related goals b guarding against un anted persuasion. Sentr strategies, reflecting the desire to ayoid being undul persuaded, included forestalling, deception, assertive resistance, confrontation, punishment, ithdra al, preparation, and enlisting a companion. Our research suggests that sentr strategies ma be more likel to be used in a prevention focus, hereas seeker strategies ma be more likel to be used in a promotion focus. This ould e tend our findings be ond the advertising conte t to interpersonal persuasion. Further research might e amine the link bet een regulator focus and persuasion coping strategies.

Another contribution of this article is to demonstrate that general suspicion of companies can affect processing of advertising. Darke and Ritchie (2007) sho that hen people learn that the have been personall deceived b an adyertisement, their distrust spills over to advertisements from other advertisers. We describe a much more general phenomenon. Our suspicion manipulation as different from theirs in t o important a s: (1) People ere not personall deceived b the suspicion-arousing stimulus, and (2) the suspicion-arousing stimulus as an article that mentioned corporate financial fraud and thus as unrelated to adyertising. Our studies sho that simpl learning that a compan 's CEO lied about profitabilit can make people suspicious about ambiguous ad claims from a different compan. This indicates that consumers ma respond negatiyel to advertising or other persuasion attempts hen corporate fraud is salient, as in a teleyision ne s sho that describes deceptive financial practices. From a managerial point of yie, placing advertisements in movies or televisions sho s that make corporate fraud salient (e.g., The Smartest Guys in the Room and Dateline or 60 Minutes segments on the Enron fraud) might trigger suspicion of adyertisements or eyen product placements in the moyie or television sho environment. It ould be useful to e amine the boundaries of this phenomenon. For e ample, e speculate that consumers ma be suspicious of advertising claims hen suspicion is triggered even in a nonbusiness conte t,

hen suspicion is triggered eyen in a nonbusiness conte t, such as a movie about political fraud (e.g., *Wag the Dog*).

The article also contributes to the regulator focus literature. It identifies suspicious processing of marketing stimuli as a potential outcome of a prevention focus. This adds suspicion to other possible outcomes identified b prior research, such as sensitivit to gains and losses (Aaker and Lee 2001). More broadl, our research suggests that regulator focus leads to differential activation of persuasion kno ledge. Because prevention-focused people are more yigilant against manipulation than promotion-focused people, the are more likel to perceive ambiguous ad claims as diagnostic of manipulative intent and, consequentl, to activate persuasion kno ledge and form less fayorable brand evaluations. Note that it is possible that manipulative intent is more accessible to preventionfocused people than to promotion-focused people, and this greater accessibilit could lead to greater perceived diagnosticit. Further research could e plore this relationship in detail.

From a managerial point of yie , this suggests that using ad headlines that might trigger a preyention focus (e.g., a headline for CIT Group stating, Help ou ayoid ha ards) might also make readers more suspicious of ambiguous ad claims. Consequentl, consumers ma be more yigilant or skeptical hen processing the adyertisement, particularl if the adyertisement contains information about test results or negative comparisons. In other ords, although a preyention focus ma be useful for certain t pes of effects (e.g., encouraging processing of detailed or unique information; Zhu and Me ers-Ley* 2007), it ma backfire if the adyertisement contains ambiguous claims. Adyertisers must be cautious in inducing a preyention focus in the presence of cop that might be interpreted negativel.

Furthermore, the results from Stud 2 suggest that e ternal priming can activate suspicion among promotionfocused people and therefore can cause them to behaye similarl to prevention-focused people. Further research might e amine hether it is possible to suppress the suspicion of prevention-focused people hen the process adyertisements ith ambiguous claims so that the might behaye similarl to promotion-focused people. For e ample, if prevention-focused people are highl suspicious, it ma be possible to design advertisements to reduce the suspicion b including reassuring information. Indeed, e speculate that first presenting an ambiguous claim and then qualif ing that claim in a reassuring a ma be a particularl successful ad strateg for prevention-focused people.

Limitations

As ith an lab stud, caution must be e ercised before generali ing these results to situations be ond those studied. In all our studies, regulator focus as primed before respondents ere presented ith the target adyertisement, hich might not be feasible or realistic in the marketplace. Thus, it ould be orth hile to e plore hether regulator focus induced through ad e posure, such as message framing, has similar effects to those observed here.

Finall, the article does not e amine the conceptual issue of hat constitutes an ambiguous ad claim. We defined ambiguous claims as those ith moderatel salient manipulative intent and used a pretest to identif the target ambiguous claim. Prior literature has suggested that ad claims differ in terms of consumer skepticism (Ford, Smith, and S as 1990). Subjective claims generate greater skepticism

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than objective claims,03nd e perience claims generate greater skepticism than search claims. This suggests that ambiguoF60claims are likel to be some hat subjective 3nd

not immediatel verifiable. Further research might more s stematicall e amine hich claims ma make manipulative intent moderatel accessible.



Appendix A ADVERTISEMENTS FOR STUDY 1

C: Low Salience of Manipulative Intent



APPENDIX B: STUDY 2 PRIMES

Suspicion Primed

Company Found Fabricating Financial Data

A recent ne s article about Mintos, Inc., a producer of semi-conductor products used in the information technolog industr, reported that the compan as a success stor. In the article, the CEO of the compan as quoted as sa ing, Mintos, Inc. has been e tremel profitable ith profits increasing b \$20 million over the last t o quarters. Accounting auditors have since then revie ed the financial statements of Mintos Inc. and found that the financial figures ere fabricated. In fact, the compan 's profits ere actuall *down* b appro imatel \$37 million over the entire ear. Compan e ecutives have declined to comment.

Suspicion Not Primed

VW Crossover Concept Combines Sports Car Design with SUV Elements

Volks agen has revealed its latest design stud, the Concept A, a crossover bet een a sports car and a compact SUV. The concept combines a sleek coupe-st le silhouette ith the raised stance of an SUV. Designed to respond to customer demand, the concept is po ered b a 150 hp T incharger, ith a si gear transmission and an all- heel drive s stem. As one compan e ecutive put it, We're at the forefront of crossover technolog. This concept is likel to find its a into production soon ... design changes ill certainl happen in response to consumer testing.

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