Motives for posting fake reviews: evidence from a cross-cultural comparison

Article

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Abstract

The main purpose of the present study is to address the existing research gaps by examining the motives of customers for writing online fake reviews for cosmetic products. Based on the self-determination theory, 20 customers from South Korea and 31 from France were interviewed in order to conduct a cross-cultural comparison. The results demonstrate the extrinsic and intrinsic motivations of South Korean and French customers for posting fake reviews for cosmetic products and highlights the similarities and differences between the two cultures. Both theoretical and managerial implications were presented. This study helps cosmetic brands better understand the motives of customers for posting fake reviews and how to deal with them.

1. Introduction

Online reviews drastically influence the decision-making of potential customers as they are derived from the customers' own experiences (Vo-Thanh & Kirova, 2018; Wu et al., 2020). In 2020, nearly one million reviews on the TripAdvisor platform were classified as fake (TripAdvisor, 2021). Inconsistent with real experiences of products or services, fake reviews are created to either damage the competitors' reputation or promote one's business (Di Domenico et al., 2021; Li et al., 2020; Wu et al., 2020). Thus, most fake reviews are either negative or positive, whereas few among them are neutral (Banerjee, 2022; Luca & Zervas, 2016; Wang et al., 2021). Two forms of false information exist: disinformation and misinformation. Disinformation refers to a deliberative intention to mislead (Bastick, 2021). Misinformation implies false information that is diffused, regardless of whether there is intent to deceive. Therefore, the issue concerns not only the creators of false information but also those who share it. False information consists of hoaxes on collaborative platforms, fake news on social media, and fake reviews in e-commerce (Pantano, 2021; Wu et al., 2020). Fake reviews, deliberately created with the intent to mislead, are an especially powerful vehicle for disinformation (Bastick, 2021).

The prevalence of fake reviews violates the regulations of the online business environment, decreases informativeness, negatively affects the reviews' credibility, misleads customers in

decision-making, and hampers the online businesses' and reviews' development (Luca & Zervas, 2016; Moon et al., 2021; Sahut et al., 2021; Visentin et al., 2019; Wu et al., 2020). Fake reviews can also generate negative emotions in individuals such as feelings of disgust and fear (Moon et al., 2021; Vafeiadis et al., 2019). Recently, false information related to COVID-19, vaccinations, and lockdowns diffused on social media triggered some disruptive behaviors and social troubles (Marco-Franco et al., 2021). Online false information and its viral spread have become serious concerns as sharing behavior is facilitated by geographical distance and anonymity (Talwar et al., 2020). To contain this malicious phenomenon, politicians, industrialists, and scholars have mobilized in an effort to detect fake reviews and penalize their perpetrators (Wu et al., 2020).

From a business perspective, in recent years, online customer reviews have become a decisive factor in shaping businesses' reputations. Increasing numbers of customers are adopting online channels and refer to online reviews before engaging in purchasing products and services (Vo-Thanh et al., 2021; Vo-Thanh, Zaman, et al., 2022; Zaman et al., 2021). Therefore, online reputation plays a key role in establishing the success of businesses. In this regard, it is more important than ever that fake online reviews are properly handled by businesses.

From an academic perspective, a dominant investigation lies in using linguistic cues to distinguish authentic reviews from fake ones (Banerjee, 2022; Chatterjee et al., 2021; Plotkina et al., 2020) and detect fake reviews (Ren & Ji, 2017; Sahut et al., 2021; Wang et al., 2021; Zhang et al., 2018). However, little is known about the motives for posting fake reviews on social media platforms (Sahut et al., 2021; Talwar et al., 2020). We are convinced that a better understanding of the motives for posting deceitful online reviews can be useful for policymakers, marketers, brand managers, retailers, and scholars in tackling the increasing threat of this evil phenomenon. The lack of research on factors affecting the fake reviewers' posting behavior represents a gap in the literature that needs to be addressed.

Furthermore, from a cross-cultural perspective, previous research has highlighted the influence of cultural factors on the online evaluation of products/services and the perception of online review credibility. For example, Wang et al. (2019) examined whether customers from different cultures focus on different product features in online reviews and display different opinions toward product features of the same products. They indicated that American customers tend to focus more on the usability features of products and evaluate these more negatively than Chinese customers. Brand and Reith (2021) dealt with the online reviews' credibility in an intercultural comparison. They demonstrated that the perception of credible

online reviews differs according to nationality. By investigating the effect of national cultural differences among service customers and providers (i.e., cultural distance) on online review ratings, Mariani and Matarazzo (2021) revealed that the effect of national cultural distance on online review ratings is negative. Using a sample of more than 570,000 Booking.com online reviews of 851 hotels published by reviewers from 81 countries, Filieri and Mariani (2021) show that reviewers from cultural contexts that score high on power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and indulgence are more likely to write helpful reviews. By analyzng more than 700,000 online reviews written by hotel guests of 101 different nationalities, using 84 different languages in their reviews, Mariani et al. (2020) analyze the simultaneous influence of national and linguistic differences between service customers and providers. They find that while the influence of national cultural distance on online ratings is country-dependent, the use of a common language is positively associated with online review valence irrespective of the country where the service provider is located.

Given today's globalized businesses, understanding potential differences in posting motives by customers with different cultural backgrounds in different markets can provide policymakers, marketers, brand managers, retailers, and scholars with new insights to help them better cope with the prevalence of fake reviews. These fake reviews created by customers from different cultures offer a rich and natural source for exploration; yet, to the best of our knowledge, the influence of cultural differences on the motives for posting online deceitful reviews is relatively unexplored empirically and theoretically. Therefore, we also seek to cover most recently claimed literature gaps stressing the need for considering cultural differences in the field of online reviews (Brand & Reith, 2021; Filieri and Mariani, 2021; Lee & Hong, 2019; Lin et al., 2019; Mariani et al., 2020; Mariani & Matarazzo, 2021).

The present study attempts to address the gaps by examining, through a cross-cultural comparison, the motives of customers for writing online fake reviews. Thus, it has significant contributions to theory and practice related to online counterfeit reviews. The two research questions guiding this research are as follows:

- Research question 1: What are the motives for posting online fake reviews?
- Research question 2: Are there differences in the motives of posting fake reviews by customers with different cultural backgrounds?

Drawing on the self-determination theory, the theoretical background (Section 2) helps seize various motives for posting fake reviews. The research design, data collection, and data

analysis procedure (Section 3) are justified. The findings (Section 4) and discussion (Section 5) follow. The contributions, limitations, and future research (Section 6) close.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Self-determination theory

Since being first mentioned in the research of Dichter (1964), motivation has become a fruitful topic that attracts considerable efforts of marketing scholars to propose theories related to customer's motivation (Gilal et al., 2019; Zaman et al., 2021). However, most of the existing motivation theories explain motivation as a unidimensional concept (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Shin & Dai, 2020). Instead, motivation must be viewed as a multidimensional construct because it differs both in terms of amount and types (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In line with this argument, self-determination theory (SDT) (Deci & Ryan, 1985) postulates that the motivations directing an individual's behavior are explained based on intrinsic (i.e., autonomous) and extrinsic (i.e., controlled) motives; therefore, compared to other theories, SDT is more appropriate to predict behaviors (Gilal et al., 2019).

According to SDT, intrinsically motivated behavior occurs when individuals engage in an activity they believe it is inherently interesting, joyful, or pleasant. Extrinsic motivation forces individuals' behaviors due to consequences such as gaining rewards, approval, and admiration, or even avoiding punishment (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Gilal et al., 2019). Intrinsic motivation is also seen as volitional activity, called "free choice" (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Based on the Cognitive Evaluation Theory (CET), one of the six mini-theories of SDT (i.e., Cognitive Evaluation, Organismic Integration, Causality Orientations, Basic Psychological Needs, Goal Content, and Relationships Motivation), several social factors are emphasized to impact intrinsic motivation positively or negatively. CET particularly shows that intrinsic motivation is driven by autonomously supportive conditions. When individuals feel controlled by external regulations such as pressure, rewards, or punishment, their intrinsic motives are undermined (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Thus, to cultivate individuals' intrinsic behavior, enhancing their feeling of autonomy and sense of control is more weighted than using a coercive approach (Shin & Dai, 2020). Further, as mentioned in the Basic Psychological Needs Theory of SDT, intrinsic motivation directs individuals to behave in a manner which satisfies the needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, and then flourishes their wellbeing and life satisfaction (Gilal et al., 2019).

Another mini-theory of SDT, the Organismic Integration Theory (OIT), concerns extrinsic motivation and categorizes behavioral regulation into four types of motivation, reflecting

4

different degrees of autonomy: external regulation (reward or punishment), introjection (approval from self or others), identification (conscious valuing of activity), and integration (hierarchical synthesis of goals) (Deci & Ryan, 1985). These four types of extrinsic motivation fall within a continuum of internalization. Extrinsic motivation is an instrumental behavior. Noticeably, integration is the most autonomous and fully internalized, and shares some qualities of intrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000). It synthesizes various identifications to create a coherent and unified sense of self (Gilal et al., 2019). In the literature, OIT is viewed as the only theory that suggests the internalized process in which one's extrinsically motivated behavior becomes self-determined (Gilal et al., 2019; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

SDT, particularly basic needs for satisfaction, motivation, and the internalization of extrinsic motivation, has been considerably applied to gain insights of consumer behavior outcomes such as brand preference, satisfaction, behavior change, and purchase intention (Gilal et al., 2019). However, few studies to date have adopted SDT to predict customer-generated content (Wang & Li, 2017) and customers' willingness to spread positive and negative word-of-mouth information (Gilal et al., 2019; Sweeney et al., 2014). Following these early results, this research is one of the first to expand the application of SDT principles by exploring customers' extrinsic and intrinsic motivations for posting fake reviews.

2.2. Motives for posting fake reviews

Prior studies point out several reasons that explain customers' willingness to manipulate reviews regarding the valence (Anderson & Simester, 2014; Choi et al., 2017; Gössling et al., 2018; Salehi-Esfahani & Ozturk, 2018; Thakur et al., 2018; Wang et al., 2018). As noted by Wu et al. (2020), review manipulation behavior is associated with seeking rewards and satisfying psychological needs that stem from three sources, namely upset, self-appointed brand manager, and social status. In addition, recent works expand the understanding of motivation to write fake reviews by investigating reviewer's properties (Moon et al., 2021) and dark personality traits (Kapoor et al., 2021). Based on the SDT, this study classifies these motives into two distinct types (i.e., intrinsic, and extrinsic) with their valence (i.e., positive, and negative).

2.2.1. Positive fake reviews

Research shows that external rewards such as financial incentives and percent off purchases are solid factors that explain an individual's engagement in positive fake reviews (Choi et al., 2017; Thakur et al., 2018). Specifically, Choi et al. (2017) indicate that monetary (self-

benefiting) and charity (other-benefiting) incentives are two primary motives encouraging customers to write positive fake reviews. Further, their research suggests that individuals with low social power tend to participate in such misbehavior due to their own financial benefits rather than charitable contribution. Likewise, the research of Thakur et al. (2018) confirms the role of monetary rewards in relation to customer's willingness to take part in cyber shilling. In addition, Wang et al. (2018) add that using cash coupons in the "Returning and If" strategy (returning money or coupon if buyers give five-star rating) increases the likelihood of fake ratings more than other online marketing strategies in China. Moreover, some recent studies find that reviewers, especially who have negative or unsatisfied experiences with a brand, are likely to highly rate or convert their negative comments into neutral ones if they are financially incentivized (Ai et al., 2022; Liu et al., 2020). In other words, receiving incentives from the brand or company leads customers' reviews to become biased or exaggerated (Meyners et al., 2017). Therefore, whenever monetary incentives are still useful in terms of persuading customers writing review spams which are beneficial for a brand/company, they are inevitably going to act unethically. Besides, Kapoor et al. (2021) find that individuals with narcissistic personality are likely to exaggerate positive review (perceived as deviant behavior) about their purchase or service experience to enhance their self-esteem. These people seek admiration from their peers because of their astute buying choices. The recent study by Moon et al. (2021) also finds that customers are more likely to engage in posting false reviews by which they enjoy their sense of mastery and their exercise of opinion leadership. Hence, these arguments are in synch with the explanation of introjected motivation.

Posting fake reviews is also associated with intrinsic motivational drivers such as a customer's positive feelings toward a brand or company. For example, customers who experience brand love are inherently passionate about manipulating product reviews (Thakur et al., 2018). These customers believe that their acts can help the brand/company attract potential customers and contribute to the company's success regardless of their deception. In accordance with this argument, the study by Choi et al. (2017) finds that people are more willing to post positive reviews for a service provider that is less unethical and immoral than leave a competitor negative fake reviews. Similarly, Moon et al. (2021) explain the customers' greater likelihood of manipulating positive reviews than posting negative ones due to their perception of "a little white lie". Moreover, Gössling et al. (2018) realize that this perception is associated with individuals' social ties. For example, a hotel manager reports that his friends are willing to give a maximum score without receiving any discounted prices because they want to help market his hotel. Clearly, when people overweight their favor or pleasure of an

unethical behavior (e.g., posting positive fake reviews is perceived as prosocial behavior), their moral dissonance declines, which in turn encourages their actions.

2.2.2. Negative fake reviews

Researchers suggest extrinsic motivations of negative reviews or ratings manipulation, namely monetary compensation and social status (Anderson & Simester, 2014; Gössling et al., 2018; Salehi-Esfahani & Ozturk, 2018; Wu et al., 2020). Particularly, the interviews of accommodation managers/owners conducted by Gössling et al. (2018) show that many people take advantage of service recovery strategies to gain money immorally. Concretely, these accommodation managers/owners report that they sometimes receive illegitimate complaints (e.g., made-up issues) from guests who then ask for financial compensation, free dinners, bonus points, or small gifts. Similarly, Salehi-Esfahani and Ozturk (2018) posit that implementing monetary service recovery could help companies handle or remove negative complaints but at the same time encourage individuals' opportunistic behavior to give negative spam reviews. The manipulation of negative reviews is also related to the customers' purpose of enhancing their social status (Anderson & Simester, 2014; Wu et al., 2020). These customers believe that they would be perceived as experts when posting negative comments about the products even if they have not purchased them (Anderson & Simester, 2014). Likewise, the research by Moon et al. (2021) shows that customers with individualistic orientation are motivated to give fake reviews to express their mastery and opinion leadership regardless of the review valence. Thus, these explanations are compatible with introjected motivation mentioned in SDT in that review spammers expect to enhance their self-esteem and their sense of opinion leadership.

Besides, few scholars indicate that customers post false negative reviews to companies due to their own inherent interests. For example, the behavior of review spammers is related to the action of self-appointed brand managers (Anderson & Simester, 2014; Wu et al., 2020). These individuals are loyal customers who provide the company with feedback to improve its products including ones they have not purchased. They act autonomously due to their passion for a brand/company rather than seeking any benefits. Conversely, customers who had negative experiences are likely to write deceptive reviews to revenge the company. Research finds that upset (Anderson & Simester, 2014; Wu et al., 2020) and betrayal (Thakur et al., 2018) are drivers leading to customers' retaliatory behaviors including negative reviews or low rating manipulation to make the company fail. In fact, seeking retaliation or revenge is a natural human response which makes upset customers instantly feel good because they can release their anger. Therefore, these behaviors represent intrinsic motivation as described by SDT.

From a literature review point of view, customers' motives for writing fake reviews are summarized in Table 1.

[INSERT TABLE 1 HERE]

3. Methodology

3.1. Research design

To answer our research questions from an interpretivist perspective, a qualitative research approach was employed to explore the motives for posting online fake reviews. A deep understanding of the motives urging customers to post online deceitful reviews necessitates a qualitative research approach since it allows deep insights to be gained through stimulating human interpretations of their behaviors (Kirova & Vo-Thanh, 2019; Vo-Thanh et al., 2021).

We purposefully chose cosmetic products and French and South Korean customers for the face-to-face semi-structured interviews. The impact of online reviews on customer decision-making varies depending on the nature and types of services/products (Gremler et al., 2001; Park & Lee, 2009; Xu, 2020). The value of online reviews is often greater for the high-sensitivity product category (Park, 2020). Moreover, online reviews involve not only objective information about the service/product but also personal sentiments and consumption experience (Gremler et al., 2001; Park, 2020; Vo-Thanh & Kirova, 2018). Customers of cosmetic products are very attentive to experienced customers' opinions due to several reasons: (1) there are many different types of cosmetics; (2) unlike other products, cosmetics are experiential products; and (3) according to the skin characteristics of the individual, the same cosmetic products may have a different effect on the skin (Haddara et al., 2020). For these reasons, cosmetic products fall within the high-risk product class where sales are much influenced by customers' opinions. Thus, when a customer wants to buy a cosmetic product online, to reduce their own risk perception of the product, they will normally start by looking at the reviews of other customers of the diverse offerings (Park, 2020).

The Korean fever, or Korean wave, that recently circulated around East and Southeast Asia, has made Korean products popular among this geographic part's customers. Young Asian customers are visibly fascinated by Korean products, particularly Korean cosmetics (Xiao et al., 2016). In addition, Korea is one of the top 10 beauty markets worldwide and this market is constantly increasing. Culturally, Korean customers have a great interest in external beauty, which contributes to making the Korean cosmetics industry unique and flourishing. Korean skincare routines are gaining great attention from beauty influencers worldwide. Other Korean beauty products such as cushion foundation, mask packs, and LED masks are also gaining

international popularity. In 2019, the South Korean cosmetics industry had a market size of about ten trillion South Korean won. As South Korean cosmetics are receiving global popularity, the exports and production of these products have significantly increased in recent years (Jobst, 2021).

France is one of the top 10 global beauty consuming countries based on value and in 2018, the consumption value of beauty products amounted to USD 14.72 billion (Ridder, 2020). In France, the prosperity of the cosmetic products market is predictable. Indeed, in 2020, about nine out of ten French customers were using cosmetic products on a regular basis. Cosmetic product production is controlled by a handful of multi-national corporations—L'Oréal, Unilever, Shiseido Company, Procter & Gamble Co., Lancôme, and The Estee Lauder Companies, to name a few. In 2020, L'Oréal, the market leader (which is headquartered in Clichy in the Paris region) recorded around USD 33 billion in global sales. While the brands remain embedded in the consumption habits of young French customers, the first national COVID-19 lockdown, which was implemented in France from March 17 to May 11, 2020, offered a favorable context for French people to rethink their consumption habits. In June 2020, one woman out of three stated that the confinement had contributed to changing their cosmetic consumption, favoring local producers or home-made products. Thus, the value of the global natural cosmetics market is estimated to reach USD 54.5 billion in 2027 (Trenda, 2021).

3.2. Data collection

The data were obtained from face-to-face semi-structured interviews with French and South Korean customers. As we explored the actual motives for posting fake reviews, only customers who had already posted fake reviews in relation to cosmetic products were recruited. Given the difficulty of identifying customers who meet those criteria, the snowball sampling technique, which uses interpersonal relations and connections between informants, was adopted. Snowball sampling is often employed when potential informants are difficult to recruit due to either their low number or the sensitive nature of the subject being addressed. (Browne, 2005; Vo-Thanh et al., 2021). Therefore, for this study, the snowball sampling represents an effective approach to recruit the right informants.

Moreover, following prior research (e.g., Kirova & Vo-Thanh, 2019; Vo-Thanh et al., 2021; Zaman et al., 2021) the sample size was defined based on the criterion of semantic saturation. Thus, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 South Korean and 31 French customers. Each interview lasted between 30 and 55 minutes. The profile of each informant can be found in Tables 2 and 3.

[INSERT TABLES 2 & 3 HERE]

The interviews were conducted in Korean with South Korean customers and in French with French customers by two of the researchers who are bilingual (one masters Korean and English perfectly, the other French and English). To ensure consistency, the research protocol was agreed upstream by the researchers prior to carrying out the interviews. Based on the conceptual framework (Table 1), the sample questions were as follows: 1) How many times did you post fake reviews?; 2) What was the valence of these fake reviews?; 3) According to the valence, what were the motives leading you to posting them?; and 4) Will you continue to post fake reviews in the near future? If yes/no, why? All the interviews were translated from Korean or French into English using the back-translation approach to guarantee the semantic equivalence. Two translators translated the corpus in Korean into English independently, while two other translators did the same for the corpus in French. Afterwards, a panel discussion among three bilingual researchers (Korean and English) and another among five bilingual researchers (French and English) were conducted to discuss and revise the differences between the versions of translation. Two additional people were asked to translate the two corpuses back into Korean and French to confirm their consistency.

We can observe in Tables 2 and 3 that informants are mainly from the digital native population. This result well reflects the common profile of customers who actively use and post online reviews, especially in terms of age. Concretely, a recent study by Freddie (2021) shows that older millennials aged 25 to 34 years are the largest group who post online reviews. In addition, most of respondents posted at least thrice fake reviews. Out of the 51 informants, 28 did not want to answer the question "Will you continue to post fake reviews in the near future? If yes/no, why?" because they think that this is a personal matter. From those who did answer this question, they all believe that they will continue posting fake reviews. The main reasons lie in both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations. Finally, out of the fake reviews for the South Korean market, 64% are positive and 34% are negative (Table 2). Among the fake reviews posted by French customers, 42% are positive and 58 are negative (Table 3).

3.3. Data analysis

Following the conceptual framework (Table 1) and previous studies (e.g., Kirova & Vo-Thanh, 2019; Miles et al., 2020; Vo-Thanh et al., 2021; Vo-Thanh & Kirova, 2018; Zaman et al., 2021), a coding dictionary comprising the main motives (i.e., themes) for posting fake reviews was built. Based on this dictionary, a thematic content analysis using the QSR NVivo 12 software

10

was performed by two of the researchers. The emerging themes were discussed by the two researchers and added to the dictionary as the coding process progressed. This analysis method, using both deductive themes and inductive (emerging) themes derived from the data, complies with the process depicted by Vo-Thanh and Kirova (2018). To ensure the internal validity, following Kirova and Vo-Thanh (2019) and Vo-Thanh and Kirova (2018), for each market, two of the researchers performed together the analysis of the first three interviews. Afterwards, each author analyzed the rest of the corpus separately, using the same dictionary, which fully respects the double coding procedure. The results achieved by the two researchers were then compared using the QSR NVivo 12 software. To accomplish this comparison, the function of the coding comparison provided in QSR NVivo 12 was employed, as indicated by Kirova and Vo-Thanh (2019) and Vo-Thanh and Kirova (2018). The divergences were examined to reach a consensus. Moreover, the two researchers together cross-checked the results to investigate the similarities and differences of the two markets and to draw a single set of cross-category conclusions.

4. Findings

A comparison regarding the South Korean and French customers' motives for writing fake reviews for cosmetic products revealed both differences and similarities between the two countries.

4.1. Extrinsic motives for writing positive fake reviews

Most of the customers interviewed in South Korea state that they write positive fake reviews because they want to obtain monetary rewards such as coupons, discounts, and free products from the company.

> *I often write positive fake reviews to have coupons or discounts. It is a very common practice and many people in South Korea are doing so. My friends are also doing that and sometimes, we do it together. If we write a positive review, which is of course fake, brands offer me coupons for my future purchase.* (SK 6)
>
> *When I write a positive fake review, I can get free products, especially free samples.* (SK 8)
>
> *In South Korea, if I write a positive review, I can have discount from the shop. I continue to write fake positive reviews to have discounts.* (SK 18)

In addition, some of interviewees in South Korea explain that writing positive fake reviews is due to social norms or exercising opinion leadership or showing sense of mastery.

I'm not interested in discounts or other financial benefits, but I write positive fake reviews because some of my friends are doing that, and I want to show them that I'm also using that particular cosmetic and I have some knowledge about it. (SK 14).

I think showing others that I know many cosmetic brands and products will change their perception towards me. (SK 11)

However, for the French customers, their motives for writing positive fake reviews are different. None of the interviewees in France evoked that monetary reward was one of the reasons to write positive fake reviews. However, they have other extrinsic motives such as enhancing self-esteem or a sense of mastery.

Writing positive fake reviews helps me boost my self-esteem. I write fake reviews on different online platforms specialized in cosmetics and when others like my reviews or consider them useful, it makes me more confident. (FR 2)

Although the reviews that I wrote are fake, they give me some credibility. Others think that I am a specialist. (FR 26)

Some of the French and South Korean interviewees also stated that they have posted positive fake reviews to get more points or improve their level on the review websites. According to the marketing literature, this practice can be seen as a kind of gamification. Indeed, it aims to make reviews posting activities more fun, which motivates customers to write positive fake reviews to reach a higher level.

I used to write positive fake reviews on different platforms. Positive fake reviews help me get more points and go to the next level. (FR 28)

The more I write positive fake reviews, the more I'll get points. I can, thus, go to a higher level. My profile will be perceived as an expert and others will take into consideration my opinion. (SK 18)

4.2. Extrinsic motives for writing negative fake reviews

When it comes to the negative fake reviews, our findings reveal some very interesting and in-depth insights. For the customers interviewed in South Korea, monetary rewards were the most important motive.

I write negative fake reviews on some cosmetic brands in order to receive money from their competitors. (SK 13)

Brands offer me money to write negative fake reviews on their competitors and it motives me. (SK 17)

However, for the French customers, the motives for writing negative fake reviews are a little different from the Koreans. According to our findings, they write them not for getting monetary rewards from businesses, but for obtaining compensation.

I write negative fake reviews on a cosmetic product or on their service to draw their attention and get some compensation. For example, I would claim some reimbursement or coupon or discount. (FR 1)

I often write negative fake reviews on social media and most of the time, brands contact me privately and propose compensations. All of my friends are using this trick as well. (FR 31)

4.3. Intrinsic motives for writing positive fake reviews

Our findings suggest that brand love is one of the most important motives for positive fake reviews. Many of the people interviewed in South Korea stated that they have written positive fake reviews because they love a particular brand and wish to promote it.

I like very much that cosmetic brand and I write positive fake reviews for it. I hope it will help the brand to get more customers. (SK 12)

I love this beauty product and I want to help the brand promote this product. (SK 16)

I write positive fake reviews because I trust and love that brand. (SK 1)

In addition, according to our findings, when customers share and identify with a brand's values, they are willing to write positive fake reviews.

I know that this cosmetic brand is respectful towards the planet and I want to help them by writing positive fake reviews. (SK 5)

I read in a local journal that this brand uses recycled products. I have a very good feeling for that brand and I write positive reviews for its products that I have never purchased. (SK 15)

Prosocial motivation is also a trigger for positive fake reviews. Most of the customers interviewed in South Korea highlighted that they often write positive fake reviews in order to promote the business of someone that they personally know.

My friend has a boutique and I often write positive fake reviews to help her. I think it will bring more customers. (SK 4)

I often write positive fake reviews for the beauty shop where my girlfriend is working. (SK 19)

The intrinsic motives of French customers for writing positive fake reviews are similar to South Korean ones. In addition, our findings suggest that if the brand is small and local, French customers are more willing to falsify positive reviews.

Personally, I don't like big companies and I want to promote small and local brands. I think that it is my responsibility to help small and local brands. Falsifying positive reviews to promote these brands is one of my responsibilities. (FR 23)

I often have a positive feeling about local cosmetic brands. I invent positive reviews to help them grow. (FR 3)

I often write positive fake reviews for local start-ups to promote them. (FR 26)

4.4. Intrinsic motives for writing negative fake reviews

Our findings imply that retaliation is one of the major reasons for writing negative fake reviews for both South Korean and French customers.

I write negative fake reviews towards the brand because I had a bad experience with that brand in the past. (SK 7)

I often order online and last time, the product was perfect but the delivery time was too long. So, I put a negative review on the product. (SK 10)

Most of the cosmetic products in France are less expensive on their websites. Last time, I ordered a product online but I was not happy with the packaging and I wrote a negative fake review on the product. (FR 25)

The salesperson was not very welcoming. Although I was satisfied with the product, I wrote a negative review on the product as well. (FR 10)

Additionally, according to our findings, brand hate is also one of reasons of negative fake reviews.

I hate this brand and I want people not to use them as well. I write negative fake reviews to prevent people from doing business with that brand. (SK 9)

I enjoy inventing negative reviews to knock out a brand that I hate. (FR 17)

We also found that customers do not like the brand ambassadors, which encourages them to manipulate negative reviews.

I don't like the brand ambassador and I think she does not represent the brand. So, I manipulate negative reviews on the brand. (SK 16)

I write negative reviews because I hate the brand ambassador. (FR 5)

The activities taken by the brand can also spur customers to write negative fake reviews.

I often falsify negative reviews when I find brands not respecting the environment. (FR 22)

The way some brands are doing their publicity is not decent to me and they are using stereotypes. (SK 20)

14

We identified that both South Korean and French customers would sometimes be self-appointed brand managers and thus post negative fake reviews. Indeed, they are often loyal customers who are passionate about the brand, but they provide negative fake reviews—sometimes about products they may never have even purchased—in an aim to get the brand to improve their products.

I wish the brands that I like develop well. I write negative fake reviews to help them improve their products. (FR 30)

I love that brand. I wish that its products are irreproachable and that it continues to develop. (SK 19)

Some of the interviewees in France stated that they have been writing negative fake reviews to be in solidarity with their friends or relatives. They want to display their discontentment towards the brand and feel happy to do that for their friends or relatives. Concretely, our results found that people write negative fake reviews because their friends or relatives had very bad experiences with the brand and wanted them to write some negative fake reviews.

When a friend told me that she had a very bad experience with the brand and that the brand was very rude to her. I wrote negative fake reviews on that brand to show my solidarity towards my friend. For me, it's very common. It's natural to help the people we love find justice. (FR 24)

Last time, my cousin bought a waterproof lipstick but it was not resistant to water. She went to the shop for exchange and refund but the shop did not accept it. My cousin asked me and others to write negative fake reviews. I did that to revenge both the shop and the brand. (FR 29)

Tables 4 and 5 present the codebooks for the South Korean and French markets respectively. In addition, Figures 1 and 2 correspondingly refer to the hierarchy charts by number of coding references for the South Korean and French markets.

[INSERT FIG. 1 & 2 HERE]

[INSERT TABLES 4 & 5 HERE]

5. Discussion

This study aims to understand the motives of customers when writing positive and negative fake reviews in the context of cosmetic brands or products. It was conducted with South Korean and French customers owing to their strong attachment to and consumption habits of cosmetic products. Based on the SDT, this research has the merit of examining the extrinsic and intrinsic

motivations to write positive and negative fake reviews, as well as the differences and similarities between customers from the two nations.

Researchers have underlined that online reviews give insights to new customers and help them in their decision making process (Vo-Thanh & Kirova, 2018; Wu et al., 2020; Zaman et al., 2016). In addition, they allow brands to understand customers' perceptions of their products and improve them if needed. For instance, Archak et al. (2011) find that online reviews influence customers' buying decisions and help brands to boost their sales. Vo-Thanh and Kirova (2018) and Zaman et al. (2016) show how brands can use online reviews to understand customers' satisfaction with their products or services and how to improve them. Although online reviews are essential for any business, their importance may differ from one product to another, depending on the product's nature (Park, 2020). Concretely, reviews and ratings are highly important for the cosmetic industry. Cosmetics are considered highly sensitive products because the same cosmetics may have different effects on the skin, depending on the individual's skin characteristics (Haddara et al., 2020; Park, 2020). Therefore, customers tend to write reviews for multiple motives, both extrinsic and intrinsic.

Regarding the extrinsic motives for posting positive fake reviews, monetary rewards are the most important motivation for South Korean customers. They wrote and would continue to write positive fake reviews in exchange for money from the cosmetic brands or retailers. This is in line with the study by Thakur et al. (2018) that highlights customers' willingness to participate in cyber shilling in exchange for monetary rewards. South Korean customers also confirmed that they write negative fake reviews on a brand or retailer if they get money from competitors. Prior studies (e.g., Ai et al., 2022; Liu et al., 2020) find that if companies propose financial incentives to their unsatisfied customers, especially those who gave negative evaluations, they will convert them into neutral ones. In our study, writing negative fake reviews on competitors for money is a new and surprising finding. However, it is important to note that posting positive or negative fake reviews for money could be forbidden in some countries. For example, in South Korea, though this practice is seen as unfair, from a customer point of view it is not currently explicitly forbidden by the law (South Korean Fair Trade Commission, 2018).

When it comes to French customers, none of them wrote negative fake reviews to receive monetary rewards from competitors. This type of practice is more regulated in France, especially in the European Union (EU). For instance, the EU directive on unfair commercial practices put in place since 2005 aims to boost customers' confidence and make the life of businesses easier, especially small, and medium-sized enterprises. This EU directive might

dissuade brands from proposing monetary rewards to customers who can attack their competitors through manipulating negative reviews on these competitors. However, French customers write negative fake reviews to get compensation or reimbursement, which somewhat corroborates the literature on service recovery strategies. Indeed, brands may legally offer compensation to customers (i.e., discounts, coupons, free services, refunds) to overcome a service failure (Bambauer-Sachse & Rabeson, 2015; Hutzinger & Weitzl, 2021; Kanuri & Andrews, 2019; Vo-Thanh, Zaman, et al., 2022). This practice is also confirmed by previous studies. For example, Gössling et al. (2018) indicate that many customers in the hospitality industry take advantage of service recovery strategies to gain money immorally.

In addition, for both South Korean and French customers, our study confirms the findings of prior studies (e.g., Kapoor et al., 2021; Moon et al., 2021) that enhancing self-esteem, exercising opinion leadership, and showing a sense of mastery are important motives for manipulating positive reviews. As explained by Wu et al. (2020), review manipulation behavior is related to satisfying psychological needs that partially come from social status.

Extrinsically, our research also indicates that both French and South Korean customers write positive fake reviews to improve their level on review platforms and supports previous research (e.g., Hamari, 2017). This is a very interesting and new insight, compared to the existing literature on online fake review posting motives. In marketing, gamification is often defined as the process of making activities more fun so that they allow customers to reach higher levels and unlock badges by completing actions and tasks within the service (Hamari, 2017; Huotari & Hamari, 2017). Further, previous studies underline that the reviewer's profile is highly important (e.g., Moon et al., 2021; Xu, 2020). Thus, customers tend to write more fake reviews to be perceived as experts by their peers.

With regard to the intrinsic motives for posting positive fake reviews, our study confirms the findings of previous research that the main reasons lie in brand love (Choi et al., 2017; Thakur et al., 2018) and prosocial motivation (Gössling et al., 2018). However, when the cosmetic brands are small, local, and environmentally friendly, they are more likely to receive support from customers. Thus, customers often falsify positive reviews to promote those brands. This finding reflects the growing interest that customers are giving to local products and social and environmental issues (Bom et al., 2019; Trenda, 2021; Vo-Thanh et al., 2021).

In reference to the intrinsic motives for posting negative fake reviews, our study reveals the two main motives of both French and South Korean customers. First, they would like to become self-appointed brand managers in order to help their beloved brands improve their products, which leads them to manipulate negative reviews. Second, they are often upset or betrayed

customers who seek to retaliate against the brands they had bad experiences with. These two motives are in line with prior studies (e.g., Anderson & Simester, 2014; Thakur et al., 2018; Wu et al., 2020). Since cosmetics are considered high-risk products, customers want to have advice from salespersons who are seen as experts. Like any other service industry, the interaction between customers and salespersons is vital for enhancing the customers' experience (Vo-Thanh, Vu, et al., 2022). If a salesperson proposes products which are not suitable for the customer, it can trigger dissatisfaction and feelings of upset or betrayal. As a result, customers will write exaggerated reviews to make the brand or company fail.

Concerning the intrinsic motives for manipulating negative reviews, both in French and South Korean markets, our study stands out by revealing other new motives compared to the existing literature: brand hate, brand ambassador hate, non-respect for the environment, and non-original publicity from brands. Contrary to brand love, when customers hate a brand or a brand ambassador, they are inclined to falsify negative reviews to reduce the brand's reputation. Likewise, when customers find the publicity implemented by the brand to be non-original, they also write negative fake reviews. This may translate into a natural response that is innate in individuals, allowing them to release their sentiment of hate. With regard to falsifying negative reviews to push down brands that do not respect the environment, again, it can be confirmed that brands' respect for the environment is becoming a determining element in customers' purchasing behavior and satisfaction. Brands or companies that are not aware of the importance of the environment could be subject to criticism and boycott from customers (Zeng et al., 2021).

Another new finding is that French customers write negative fake reviews to help their friends or relatives avenge the brand or the shop they had bad experiences with. Yet, this motive is not found in South Korean customers. False or exaggerated negative opinions posted by dissatisfied customers, unhappy employees, or competitors have already been mentioned in the literature (e.g., Di Domenico et al., 2021; Wu et al., 2020). Prosocial motivation has also been identified by prior research (e.g., Gössling et al., 2018). However, from the perspective of being in solidarity with friends or relatives, customers writing negative reviews out of vengeance, instead of the person who had the bad experience, is a fascinating finding underscored by our research.

6. Contributions, limitations, and future research

6.1. Theoretical contributions

Our study enriches the literature on the motives to write fake reviews, focusing on the cosmetic industry and cross-cultural comparison. Cosmetics are highly experiential products because

there are different cosmetic brands and the effects of the same product may vary from one's skin to another (Haddara et al., 2020; Park, 2020). Therefore, potential customers are willing to read reviews before making a purchase (Park, 2020). However, the topic related to the motives for posting fake reviews on cosmetics according to the reviewer's culture has not received enough attention from researchers and our study aims to address this void.

This research confirms all the motives for posting fake reviews identified in the extant literature (Table 1). In addition, it fertilizes the literature on fake reviews by adding the new motives from a cross-cultural perspective. Thus, theoretically, we contribute to the current literature on fake reviews by proposing a new conceptual framework of online fake review posting motives (Table 6). Additionally, this research also allows for the extension of the spectrum of SDT in two ways. First, it enriches the SDT because the findings show that intrinsic motivation is in play when an activity, whatever its nature (i.e., love, pro-sociality, hate, retaliation), is performed for the satisfaction it provides for individuals. Indeed, the activity being under the control of individuals and in accordance with their own values and expectations, provides a form of self-satisfaction and fullness. Second, this research sheds light on the relevance of SDT in investigating the motives for writing fake reviews, as those motives cover both intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions.

Among the new motives, first, gamification is found as an extrinsic motive to manipulate positive reviews. Gamification has been adopted by most brands or platforms and it is known as an effective marketing tool to enhance customer engagement (Hofacker et al., 2016; Huotari & Hamari, 2017). As a result, online review platforms are implementing this approach to encourage customers to be more active (e.g., posting reviews, sharing photos) on these platforms and upgrade their level (Kuo & Chuang, 2016). However, according to our knowledge, thus far, no study recognizes gamification as an extrinsic motive to post positive fake reviews.

Second, prosocial motivation has been identified as an intrinsic motive to write positive fake reviews. For instance, Gössling et al. (2018) explain that in the context of the hospitality industry, the friends' of accommodation managers are willing to write positive fake reviews without receiving any benefits. However, our study finds that customers not only write positive fake reviews to help their friends, but also negative ones to show solidarity with their friends and families who had bad experiences. Therefore, our study enriches the literature on fake reviews by showing that as an intrinsic motive, prosocial motivation can cover both positive and negative valence.

Third, the growing interest by customers in local and environmentally friendly products influences not only their shopping behavior, experience, and satisfaction, but also the way they write reviews. In this regard, inherently customers tend to post positive fake reviews for local and environmentally friendly brands or companies to help them sustainably develop.

Fourth, our research reveals brand hate, brand ambassador hate, non-respect for the environment, and non-original publicity as intrinsic motives for writing negative fake reviews. Thus, this study contributes to expanding the literature on the motives for posting online fake reviews.

Finally, this study contributes to the literature on fake reviews by comparing two countries: France and South Korea. Although, these two countries are culturally different, our study shows that French and South Korean customers mostly share the same motives. However, some differences exist. For instance, South Korean customers post both positive and negative fake reviews to get financial incentives, whereas French customers do not get any financial rewards due to the EU directive, but they post negative fake reviews to get compensation immorally. Additionally, South Korean customers post negative fake reviews on cosmetic brands if they get money from competitors, while French customers do not. Therefore, this study contributes to the literature by comparing the motives of two different cultures.

6.2. Managerial implications

From a managerial standpoint, first, this study allows cosmetic brands to understand the motives for writing fake reviews. Therefore, it helps them anticipate and cope with fake reviews. For example, one of the motives for posting fake reviews is to get financial rewards or compensation. To ensure the regulation of the online business environment and save customers from having wrong information in decision-making, brands may discourage their customers by stopping providing them with financial incentives or compensation. Further, from a broader perspective, at the national or continental level, a directive like the EU one may be an effective tool to prevent the prevalence of fake reviews where the reviewer's main objective is to earn money immorally.

Second, most of the online review platforms use gamification to engage their customers. As a result, gamification techniques are pushing customers to write positive fake reviews. In a recent study, Thorpe and Roper (2019) argue that brands should use these gamification techniques more ethically, which is subject to regulation. Therefore, brands should work with the online review platforms to remove the fake reviews. For instance, in 2020, nearly one

million fake review submissions were rejected or removed by TripAdvisor, which represents 8.6% of all review submissions (TripAdvisor, 2021).

Finally, cosmetic brands should raise awareness among their customers. They should not only demotivate customers from writing fake reviews by ceasing monetary rewards or compensation, but also make them aware of the heavy consequences of fake reviews and teach them how to detect fake reviews (Salminen et al., 2022).

6.3. Limitations and future research

Like other studies, this study has some limitations. We only focused on the customers' intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Future studies should include the perspective of retailers or managers of cosmetic brands in order to better understand the phenomenon, helping capitalize on how retailers or managers deal with these fake reviews. In addition, in this research, we interviewed French and South Korean customers who have already written fake reviews. It might also be interesting to explore the intention to write fake reviews and the mechanism explaining this intention. This kind of research could also help prevent the prevalence of fake reviews. Moreover, our study was done in the context of cosmetic products. Future research should also focus on a cross-sector comparison in order to understand if the motives of writing fake reviews vary between sectors. For instance, customers' online reviews are also highly important for the tourism and hospitality industry and play a vital role in potential customers' decision-making process (Vo-Thanh & Kirova, 2018; Zaman et al., 2016). Therefore, it might be insightful to know if travelers have the same motives while posting fake reviews. Additionally, in our study we interviewed young customers (i.e., millennials) as they are tech-savvy and very interested in peer reviews (Purani et al., 2019). Future research may focus on an older cohort in order to examine if they share the same motives. Last, our sample is mainly represented by women. This may be due to the nature of the products (i.e., cosmetics) that are, in this research, the subject of the fake reviews. Further research on a sample with a better gender balance would enrich the findings of this present study.

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Table 1

Conceptual framework of online fake review posting motives.

	Extrinsic motivation	**Intrinsic motivation**
Positive fake reviews	• Seeking monetary rewards • Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership	• Brand love • Prosocial motivation by promoting friend's business
Negative fake reviews	• Gaining monetary compensation • Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership	• Being self-appointed brand manager • Retaliation or revenge from upset and betrayed customers

Table 2

Profile of South Korean customers and valence of reviews.

ID	How many times did you post fake reviews?	Positive fake reviews	Negative fake reviews	Will post fake reviews	Gender	Age	Educational level
SK1	2	2	0	Do not want to answer	Female	27	Post-graduate
SK2	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Female	31	Post-graduate
SK3	3	2	1	Yes	Female	24	Post-graduate
SK4	2	1	1	Do not want to answer	Female	24	Post-graduate
SK5	3	2	1	Yes	Female	23	College
SK6	5	4	1	Yes	Female	22	Under-graduate
SK7	3	0	3	Yes	Female	26	Post-graduate
SK8	3	3	0	Yes	Male	28	Post-graduate
SK9	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Female	25	Post-graduate
SK10	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Male	27	Post-graduate
SK11	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Male	26	Post-graduate
SK12	1	1	0	Yes	Male	25	Under-graduate
SK13	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Female	26	Post-graduate
SK14	3	3	0	Do not want to answer	Female	24	Post-graduate
SK15	3	2	1	Yes	Female	30	Post-graduate
SK16	4	2	2	Do not want to answer	Male	24	Under-graduate
SK17	3	2	1	Yes	Female	25	Post-graduate
SK18	2	2	0	Yes	Female	33	Post-graduate
SK19	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Female	36	Post-graduate
SK20	4	2	2	Yes	Female	31	Research Professor
Total	59	38	21				
Percentage	100%	64%	36%				

Table 3
Profile of French customers and valence of reviews.

ID	How many times did you post fake reviews?	Positive fake reviews	Negative fake reviews	Will post fake reviews	Gender	Age	Educational level
FR1	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Female	27	Post-graduate
FR2	4	2	2	Do not want to answer	Female	31	Post-graduate
FR3	1	1	0	Yes	Female	24	Post-graduate
FR4	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Female	24	Post-graduate
FR5	6	3	3	Yes	Female	23	College
FR6	4	2	2	Yes	Female	22	Under-graduate
FR7	3	1	2	Yes	Female	26	Post-graduate
FR8	3	0	3	Yes	Male	28	Post-graduate
FR9	2	0	2	Do not want to answer	Female	25	Post-graduate
FR10	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Male	27	Post-graduate
FR11	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Male	26	Post-graduate
FR12	5	2	3	Yes	Male	25	Under-graduate
FR13	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Female	26	Post-graduate
FR14	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Female	24	Post-graduate
FR15	4	1	3	Yes	Female	30	Post-graduate
FR16	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Male	24	Under-graduate
FR17	3	0	3	Yes	Female	25	Post-graduate
FR18	4	1	3	Yes	Female	33	Post-graduate
FR19	2	0	2	Do not want to answer	Female	36	Post-graduate
FR20	3	2	1	Do not want to answer	Male	31	Post-graduate
FR21	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Female	31	Post-graduate
FR22	5	2	3	Do not want to answer	Female	35	Post-graduate
FR23	5	3	2	Do not want to answer	Female	36	Post-graduate
FR24	2	1	1	Do not want to answer	Female	29	Post-graduate
FR25	5	2	3	Yes	Female	35	Post-graduate

FR26	4	2	2	Yes	Female	39	Post-graduate
FR27	5	2	3	Yes	Female	24	Under-graduate
FR28	3	1	2	Do not want to answer	Female	29	Post-graduate
FR29	5	3	2	Do not want to answer	Male	32	Post-graduate
FR30	4	2	2	Yes	Male	38	Post-graduate
FR31	4	2	2	Do not want to answer	Female	31	Post-graduate
Total	110	46	64				
Percentage	100%	42%	58%				

Table 4
Codebook for the South Korean market.

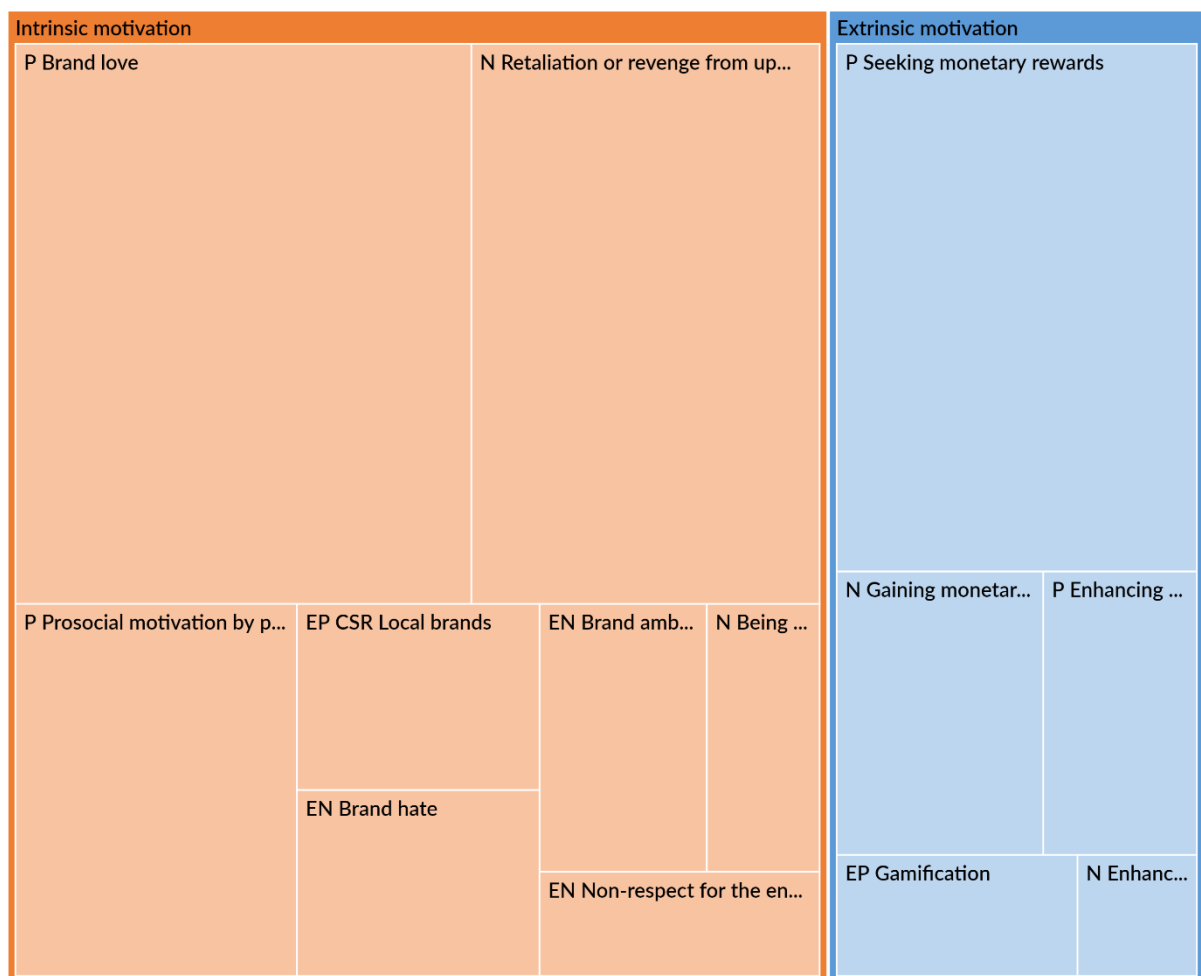| Name	References
Extrinsic motivation	*23*
EP Gamification	2
N Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership	1
N Gaining monetary compensation	4
P Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership	3
P Seeking monetary rewards	13
Intrinsic motivation	*50*
EN Being in solidarity with friends or relatives	0
EN Brand ambassador hate	3
EN Brand hate	3
EN Non-respect for the environment or non-original publicity	2
EP CSR or local brands	3
N Being self-appointed brand manager	2
N Retaliation or revenge from upset and betrayed customers	13
P Brand love	17
P Prosocial motivation by promoting friend's business	7

Note: EP, emerging theme with positive fake reviews; EN, emerging theme with negative fake reviews; N, deductive theme with negative fake reviews; P, deductive theme with positive fake reviews.

Table 5
Codebook for the French market.

Name	References
Extrinsic motivation	*50*
EP Gamification	14
N Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership	10
N Gaining monetary compensation	14
P Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership	12
P Seeking monetary rewards	0
Intrinsic motivation	*88*
EN Being in solidarity with friends or relatives	7
EN Brand ambassador hate	6
EN Brand hate	9
EN Non-respect for the environment or non-original publicity	4
EP CSR or local brands	16
N Being self-appointed brand manager	7
N Retaliation or revenge from upset and betrayed customers	20
P Brand love	11
P Prosocial motivation by promoting friend's business	8

Note: EP, emerging theme with positive fake reviews; EN, emerging theme with negative fake reviews; N, deductive theme with negative fake reviews; P, deductive theme with positive fake reviews.

Table 6

New conceptual framework of online fake review posting motives.

	Extrinsic motivation	Intrinsic motivation
Positive fake reviews	• Seeking monetary rewards (SK) • Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership (FR + SK) • *Gamification (FR + SK)*	• Brand love (FR + SK) • Prosocial motivation by promoting friend's business (FR + SK) • *CSR or local brands (FR + SK)*
Negative fake reviews	• Gaining monetary compensation (FR + SK) • Enhancing self-esteem or sense of mastery or exercising opinion leadership (FR + SK)	• Being self-appointed brand manager (FR + SK) • Retaliation or revenge from upset and betrayed customers (FR + SK) • *Brand ambassador hate (FR + SK)* • *Brand hate (FR + SK)* • *Non-respect for the environment or non-original publicity (FR + SK)* • *Being in solidarity with friends or relatives (FR)*

Note: The motives in italics are contributions of our study, FR: France, SK: South Korea

Fig. 1. Hierarchy chart by number of coding references for the South Korean market.
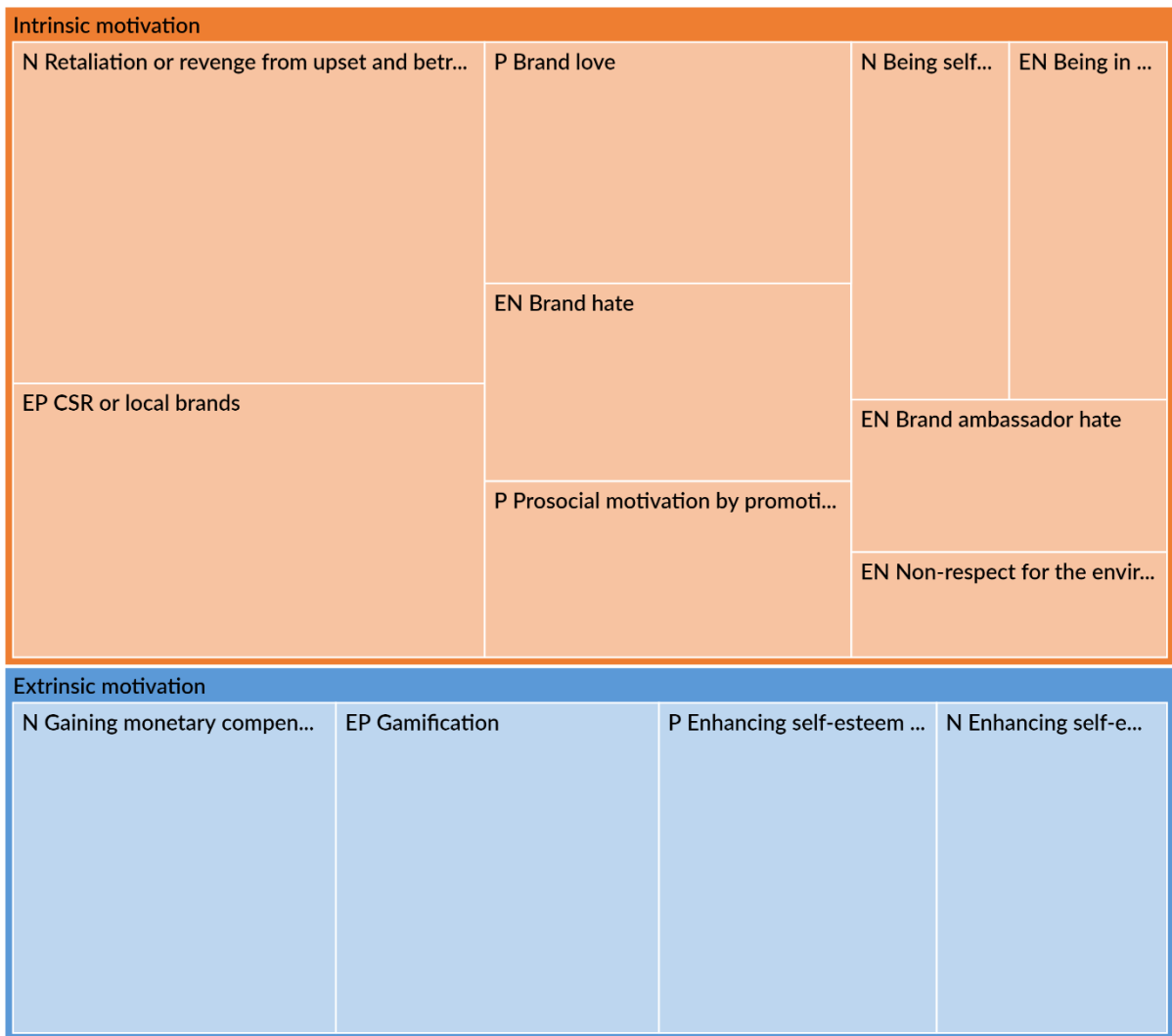
Fig. 2. Hierarchy chart by number of coding references for the French market.