Visible and Invisible Social Support: How, Why, and When

Katherine S. Zee[1]

Niall Bolger

Columbia University

IN PRESS, *CURRENT DIRECTIONS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*

ABSTRACT

Social relationships can be a source of help in difficult times. However, attempts to provide social support that are *visible*—direct and recognized by recipients as help—can sometimes have unintended negative effects. By contrast, *invisible* support—provided indirectly such that recipients do *not* interpret the behavior as help—can circumvent potential negative effects. This paper synthesizes empirical evidence on support visibility using three organizing questions: How do support attempts differ in visibility? Why is invisible support often more beneficial than visible support? When is invisible vs. visible support needed? The answers to these questions reveal propositions regarding support visibility effects that can illuminate mechanisms of effective support generally, help explain known variability in support outcomes, and stimulate further research.

Keywords: support visibility, invisible support, social support, close relationships

Close interpersonal relationships are essential to human health and wellbeing (Holt-Lunstad, 2018). Relationship partners can be especially important when individuals face difficult or demanding circumstances. In these cases, relationship partners can act in supportive ways that can mitigate a difficult circumstance and aid recipients' ability to cope. However, receiving support sometimes fails to alleviate, or even worsens, recipients' distress (Rafaeli & Gleason, 2009). *Support visibility* (SV) has been proposed to help explain support's mixed effects, and it refers to the degree to which help is noticed or registered by recipients as support (Bolger & Amarel, 2007; Bolger et al., 2000). Support is relatively more *invisible* to the extent that it is *not* noticed or interpreted as help, but is more *visible* to the extent that it is.

To date, much evidence demonstrates SV matters for support outcomes. Invisible support, relative to visible support or no support, alleviates distress (e.g., Bolger & Amarel, 2007). Other work has extended benefits of invisible support to additional biological (e.g., cardiovascular reactivity, Kirsch & Lehman, 2015), psychological (e.g., feelings of vigor, Shrout, Herman, & Bolger, 2006), behavioral (e.g., smoking, Lüscher et al., 2015), and relational outcomes (Belcher et al., 2011; Girme, Maniaci, et al., 2018).

This paper represents the first attempt to synthesize this evidence and draw out its implications by asking three basic questions: 1. How do support attempts differ in visibility? 2. Why is invisible support often more beneficial than visible support? 3. When is invisible vs. visible support needed?

In answering these questions, we present three *propositions regarding support visibility* (Figure 1), which propose that: 1. Support visibility is a manner of delivery; 2. Invisible support is beneficial because it protects recipients' sense of efficacy; and 3. The need for invisible versus visible support depends on recipients' motivational orientations, namely the salience of

evaluative standards versus the need to effect change. We then show how these propositions can be used to illuminate mechanisms of effective support, explain heterogeneity in support outcomes, and develop hypotheses for future investigations.

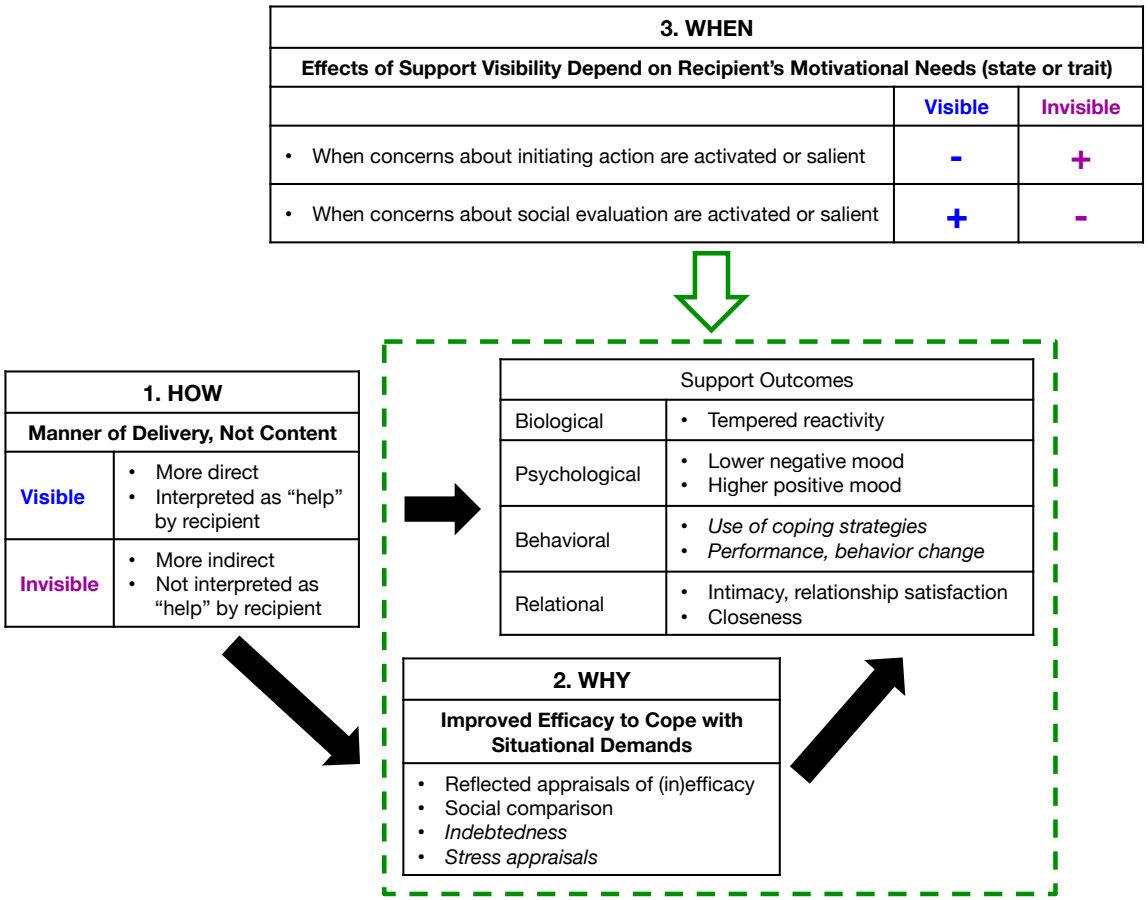

Figure 1. Propositions regarding support visibility effects (bold text). The green open arrow and green dashed box illustrate factors that alter or moderate the effects of support visibility. Examples of various components of each proposition are indicated with bullet points, and examples that have yet to be tested directly are indicated with italicized text. Support outcomes box presents some examples of support outcomes that have been examined in the support visibility literature.

CONTEXT OF SUPPORT VISIBILITY AND RELEVANCE TO ENACTED SUPPORT

This paper focuses on *enacted support* (also called received support), which involves a relationship partner, other person, or experimental confederate (someone delivering support on behalf of the experimenter) attempting to provide help *in response to a specific difficult or*

stressful situation. This differs from *perceived support,* which refers to individuals' feelings of having supportive relationships in general and does not require that specific supportive acts have actually occurred (Uchino, 2009). Given the generalized and hypothetical nature of perceived support, it is not directly relevant to research on SV.

HOW DO SUPPORT ATTEMPTS DIFFER IN VISIBILITY?

SV entails varying the direct vs. indirect manner in which support is given (Figure 2). Support that is more invisible could involve enacting support behaviors when recipients are not present to witness them (e.g., surreptitiously completing chores), or during interpersonal interactions so they are not interpreted as help. For example, in experimental studies, advice was given either directly as a statement to the recipient (visible) or indirectly by embedding it in a question to the experimenter while the recipient was present (invisible; Bolger & Amarel, 2007). Although recipients heard the same advice, when asked whether they had received help, visible support recipients said "Yes," but invisible support recipients said "No." Similar results were found for emotional support (i.e., reassurance).

Other examples include making support invisible by shifting the focus away from the recipient's problem or referencing examples of how others handled similar problems (Howland & Simpson, 2010). Such invisible support behaviors are only weakly related to recipients' reports of how much support they received (Girme, Overall, & Simpson, 2013), which suggests, like the experimental findings, that recipients do not interpret them as help. We refer to visible and invisible support with this continuum of direct vs. indirect behaviors in mind.

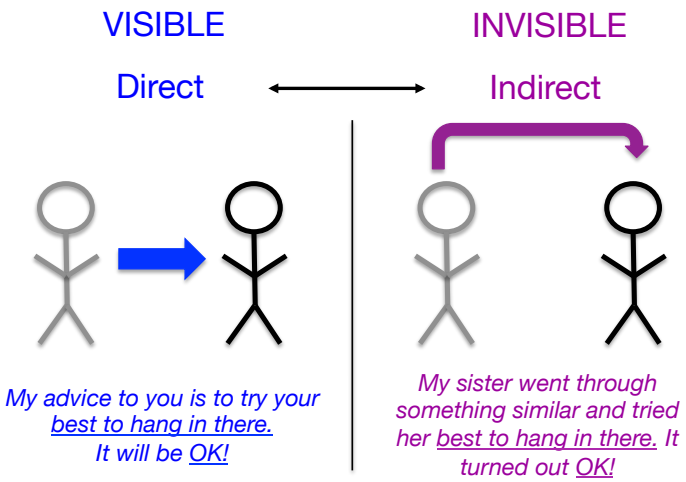

Figure 2. Illustration of support visibility. Supportive content held constant across manner of delivery is underlined for emphasis. Providers are depicted in gray; recipients are depicted in black. Support visibility examples are adapted from Zee et al. (2018).

These findings suggest SV is fundamentally a *manner of delivery—how* support is given—independent of *supportive content*. Therefore, it is distinct from other important aspects of skillful support, such as providing the appropriate type of support (Cutrona, Cohen, & Igram, 1990; Cutrona, Shaffer, Wesner, & Gardner, 2007). For instance, offering public speaking advice, regardless of visibility, would be poorly matched to the situation of consoling a friend about a breakup. Consistent with this idea, various types of support (e.g., practical support, emotional support) can be given visibly or invisibly, as discussed above.

WHY IS INVISIBLE SUPPORT BENEFICIAL?

Receiving visible support can sometimes fail to alleviate or even worsen recipients' distress (Rafaeli & Gleason, 2009). One possibility is that receiving explicit help calls attention to recipients' difficulties and undermines their competence (Fisher, Nadler, & Whitcher-Alagna, 1982). However, if recipients do not register invisible support as help, then they should not make negative attributions about their competence as a result of it.

To test this possibility, Bolger and Amarel (2007) hypothesized that these *reflected appraisals of inefficacy* (the extent to which participants felt they had received support because

the provider viewed them as unable to manage the stressor) might explain costs of visible support and benefits of invisible support. Participants received manipulated visible or invisible support in anticipation of a speech. As hypothesized, invisible support reduced reflected appraisals of inefficacy relative to no support, whereas visible support (vs. no support) increased reflected appraisals of inefficacy. This in turn led to lower distress among invisible support recipients and higher distress among visible support recipients (Bolger & Amarel, 2007).

Overall, invisible support can be useful because it can improve recipients' perceptions of their personal resources to cope with the demands of a situation. Extending this idea, there are likely additional mediating variables that alter efficacy perceptions and drive benefits of invisible support. Invisible support may promote adaptive stress appraisals, such as by normalizing a stressor (Howland & Simpson, 2010). If invisible support helps recipients view their problem as common, they may be less likely to interpret their struggles as a shortcoming of their abilities. In turn, maintaining these more positive self-views can bolster coping efforts. Another possibility is that visible support may increase perceived demands by triggering concerns about reciprocating support (Gleason, Iida, Bolger, & Shrout, 2003) on top of managing the problem. Invisible support may remove concerns about providing support in return, allowing recipients to devote their resources to the problem.

WHEN IS INVISIBLE VS. VISIBLE SUPPORT NEEDED?

Although many studies suggest invisible support uniquely benefits recipients, some work has found benefits of visible support (e.g., Girme et al., 2013). Other work has yielded inconclusive effects: A high-powered replication of the original invisible support study among participants preparing for a professional exam found costs of visible support, but not the anticipated benefits of invisible support (Shrout et al., 2010). There is also growing recognition

that support processes are heterogeneous (Gleason, Iida, Shrout, & Bolger, 2008) and individuals differ in how much they benefit from invisible support (Shrout et al., 2010).

Some investigations have examined sources of such heterogeneity, although more work is needed. In one study, visible support given responsively, so that recipients perceived it as validating, caring, and understanding, was not associated with negative outcomes (Maisel & Gable, 2009). However, invisible support did not benefit recipients if they felt their partner was not responsive. In other work, visible emotional support was beneficial when recipients were highly distressed (Girme et al., 2013).

One broad explanation for when SV matters is based on the motivational needs of support recipients (Zee, Cavallo, Flores, Bolger, & Higgins, 2018). Using the framework of Regulatory Mode Theory (Kruglanski et al., 2000), the authors found that when recipients were motivated to measure up to evaluative standards (*assessment* motivation), invisible support (both practical and emotional) was more effective than visible support. However, when recipients were motivated to take action (*locomotion* motivation), visible support was more effective and invisible support was costly.

Expanding earlier theorizing (e.g., Cutrona & Russell, 1990), the benefits of invisible and visible support depend, at least in part, on whether they match recipients' motivational needs. This can explain why previous work has not always perfectly replicated benefits of invisible support and has identified between-person heterogeneity in these effects (Shrout et al., 2010). Although there are likely other factors that shape the effectiveness of visible and invisible support, this interpretation nevertheless maps onto prior findings.

Integrating prior SV findings and motivational theory, invisible support is necessary when recipients are concerned about being evaluated. Costs of visible support and benefits of

invisible support have largely been documented in studies occurring in an evaluative context, such as preparing for a major exam (Bolger et al., 2000), engaging in self-critique (e.g., identifying aspects of oneself that need to be improved; Howland & Simpson, 2010), or giving an evaluative speech (Bolger & Amarel, 2007). This interpretation also fits with earlier findings regarding partner responsiveness (e.g., Maisel & Gable, 2009): When relationship partners convey validation, caring, and understanding, this could quell socioevaluative concerns, such that visible support is no longer costly.

Socioevaluative concerns might also account for why some studies have found stronger benefits of invisible (vs. visible) *practical* support compared to invisible (vs. visible) *emotional* support (Bolger & Amarel, 2007). Compared to emotional support, practical support calls greater attention to recipients' incompetence (Fisher et al., 1982), such as their inability to overcome a difficulty. Therefore, diverging effects of visible and invisible support may be stronger for practical support attempts than emotional support attempts.

In contrast, when recipients want to move past their current difficult situation as swiftly as possible, visible support may be necessary to accomplish this movement. This is consistent with the earlier example indicating the effectiveness of visible support among highly distress recipients (Girme et al., 2013), as these individuals were likely motivated to rapidly overcome their distress and required visible support to do so. Furthermore , in studies that did *not* make evaluation salient (e.g., Feeney, Van Vleet, Jakubiak, & Tomlinson, 2017) or required behavior change, benefits of (visible) support were observed. For instance, in a study of smoking cessation, visible support was associated with fewer cigarettes smoked (Lüscher et al., 2015), underscoring its importance for enacting change.

APPLYING PROPOSITIONS OF SOCIAL SUPPORT VISIBILITY

Using organizing questions, we present key propositions regarding support visibility effects (Figure 1). Proposition 1 proposes that SV refers to *how* support is given, by varying the manner of delivery. Proposition 2 explains *why* invisible support is often beneficial, by improving recipients' perceptions of their efficacy. Proposition 3 reveals *when* visible vs. invisible support is needed: Socioevaluative concerns call for invisible support, whereas concerns with taking action call for visible support. Together, these propositions offer a foundation for understanding effective support and identifying opportunities for future research.

Implications for knowledge of effective support

SV offers unique insight by disentangling supportive content from manner of delivery. SV research shows support can be *good* for recipients—indeed, invisible support recipients reported lower distress than those who received no support (Bolger & Amarel, 2007). Linking Propositions 1 and 2, negative effects of visible support on coping were due to the manner of delivery, not support itself (Bolger & Amarel, 2007). This suggests costs arise from *how*—not *whether*—support is enacted.

Although skillful support includes timing support appropriately, little work has investigated timing empirically (but see Neff & Karney, 2005). When dealing with negative events, there may be a delay between when an event occurs and one realizes help is needed (see Tesser & Beach, 1998). Given Proposition 3, before this realization, visible support might be intrusive. Thus, invisible support may be beneficial during earlier phases of a demanding situation (Bolger & Amarel, 2007). However, visible support may be necessary once recipients appraise the situation as demanding and realize help is needed (Figure 3). If recipients request help but are given invisible support, they may view this seeming absence of support as unresponsive. Similarly, *after* a stressful event, visible support may help recipients experience

more efficient stressor recovery, assuming they are motivated to return to baseline swiftly.

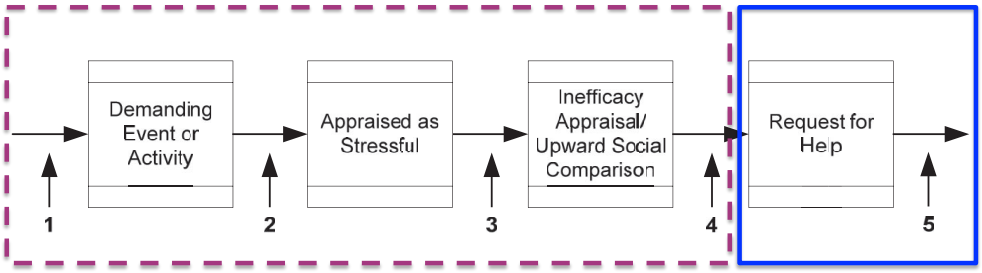

Figure 3. Illustration of potential temporal sequence of demanding event, with numbered arrows indicating different potential timepoints for support provision. The dashed purple box refers to the anterogatory phase, before the stressed person has appraised the event has stressful and recognized that help is needed. The blue solid box refers to the postrogatory phase, after the stressed person has recognized that help is needed or requested help. Invisible support may be more helpful in the anterogatory phase, but visible support may be more helpful in the postrogatory phase. Figure adapted from Bolger & Amarel (2007).

Support also occurs beyond adversity to help people achieve important goals (Rusbult, Finkel, & Kumashiro, 2009) or celebrate good events (Gable & Reis, 2010). Little work has explicitly examined invisible support's implications for goals (although see Berli et al., 2017; Girme et al., 2013), but if goal pursuit does not engender competence concerns (Proposition 3), visible support may not be detrimental and may even be helpful.

Opportunities for relationships research

These propositions regarding support visibility can generate new ideas for relationships research, such as by revealing relationship factors that influence how partners tune their support. Invisible support might occur frequently in highly interdependent relationships, in which partners operate as a coordinated unit. Moreover, in such relationships, in which partners can draw on their prior experience, it might be easier to infer recipients' needs and modulate SV accordingly (Propositions 1 and 3). Illustrating this possibility, higher empathic accuracy predicted invisible practical support provision in couples (Howland, 2016). Avoidantly attached individuals who received more invisible support reported higher autonomy and commitment (Girme, Overall, &

Hammond, 2018).

Proposition 1 facilitates predictions about implications for providers, which could reveal consequences for dyadic functioning. Although *giving* support is beneficial (Inagaki & Orehek, 2017), unnoticed support may go unacknowledged. This could generate distress for providers (Biehle & Mickelson, 2012) and perhaps diminish relationship quality over time.

Opportunities for other research areas

SV propositions can also address questions in other research areas. For example, older people are frequently stereotyped as incompetent (Cuddy & Fiske, 2002) and refrain from seeking support due to worries about burdening others (Jiang, Drolet, & Kim, 2018). Drawing on Propositions 2 and 3, invisible support might allow older people to reap the benefits of support without triggering concerns about their competence or relationships. Invisible support could also help other stereotyped groups (e.g., women in STEM) succeed without calling their competence into question. Thus, SV propositions could inspire novel intervention strategies for individuals who need support but are especially vulnerable to visible support's pitfalls.

CONCLUSIONS

Although receiving support has benefits and costs, work on support visibility help explain these mixed effects, generate exciting hypotheses for future research, and bridge areas within and beyond psychology. Ultimately, support visibility research enhances understanding of how to give support effectively, which can benefit wellbeing, physical health, and relationship quality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We thank Maya Rossignac-Milon, Patrick Shrout, and members of the Columbia University and New York University Couples Labs for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

NOTES

[1]Address correspondence to Katherine S. Zee, Department of Psychology, Columbia Unversity. 1190 Amsterdam Avenue MC5501, New York, NY 10027. Email: kzee@psych.columbia.edu

REFERENCES

Belcher, A. J., Laurenceau, J. P., Graber, E. C., Cohen, L. H., Dasch, K. B., & Siegel, S. D. (2011). Daily support in couples coping with early stage breast cancer: Maintaining intimacy during adversity. *Health Psychology*, *30*(6), 665–673. http://doi.org/10.1037/a0024705

Berli, C., Bolger, N., Shrout, P. E., Stadler, G., & Scholz, U. (2017). Interpersonal processes of couples' daily support for goal pursuit: The example of physical activity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *44*(3), 332–344. http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167217739264

Biehle, S. N., & Mickelson, K. D. (2012). Provision and receipt of emotional spousal support: The impact of visibility on well-being. *Couple and Family Psychology: Research and Practice*, *1*(3), 244–251. http://doi.org/10.1037/a0028480

Bolger, N., & Amarel, D. (2007). Effects of social support visibility on adjustment to stress: Experimental evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(3), 458–475. http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.92.3.458

Bolger, N., Zuckerman, A., & Kessler, R. C. (2000). Invisible support and adjustment to stress. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *79*(6), 953–961. http://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.79.6.953

Cuddy, A. J. C., & Fiske, S. T. (2002). Doddering but dear: Process, content, and function in stereotyping of older people. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Ageism: Stereotyping and Prejudice against Older Persons* (pp. 3–26). Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Cutrona, C. E., Cohen, B. B., & Igram, S. (1990). Contextual determinants of the perceived supportiveness of helping behaviors. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *7*, 553–562.

Cutrona, C. E., & Russell, D. W. (1990). Type of social support and specific stress: Toward a theory of optimal matching. In *Wiley Series on Personality Processes. Social Support: An Interaction View* (pp. 319–366).

Cutrona, C. E., Shaffer, P. A., Wesner, K. A., & Gardner, K. A. (2007). Optimally matching support and perceived spousal sensitivity. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *21*(4), 754–758. http://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.21.4.754

Feeney, B. C., Van Vleet, M., Jakubiak, B. K., & Tomlinson, J. M. (2017). Predicting the Pursuit and Support of Challenging Life Opportunities. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *43*, 1171–1187. http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167217708575

Fisher, J. D., Nadler, A., & Whitcher-Alagna, S. (1982). Recipient reactions to aid. *Psychological Bulletin*, *91*(1), 27–54. http://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.91.1.27

Gable, S. L., & Reis, H. T. (2010). Good news! Capitalizing on positive events in an interpersonal context. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Volume 42, pp. 195–257). Elsevier Inc. http://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(10)42004-3

Girme, Y. U., Maniaci, M. R., Reis, H. T., McNulty, J. K., Carmichael, C. L., Gable, S. L., … Overall, N. C. (2018). Does support Need to be seen? Daily invisible support promotes next relationship well-being. *Journal of Family Psychology*.

Girme, Y. U., Overall, N. C., & Hammond, M. D. (2018). Facilitating autonomy in interdependent relationships: Invisible support facilitates highly avoidant individuals' autonomy. *Journal of Family Psychology*. http://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/fam0000488 Online

Girme, Y. U., Overall, N. C., & Simpson, J. A. (2013). When visibility matters: Short-term versus long-term costs and benefits of visible and invisible support. *Personality and Social*

Psychology Bulletin, *39*(11), 1441–1454. http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167213497802

Gleason, M. E. J., Iida, M., Bolger, N., & Shrout, P. E. (2003). Daily supportive equity in close relationships. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *29*(8), 1036–1045. http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167203253473

Gleason, M. E. J., Iida, M., Shrout, P. E., & Bolger, N. (2008). Receiving support as a mixed blessing: Evidence for dual effects of support on psychological outcomes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *94*(5), 824–838. http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.5.824

Holt-Lunstad, J. (2018). Why Social Relationships Are Important for Physical Health: A Systems Approach to Understanding and Modifying Risk and Protection. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *69*(1), 437–458. http://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-122216-011902

Howland, M. (2016). Reading minds and being invisible: The role of empathic accuracy in invisible support provision. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *7*(2), 149–156. http://doi.org/10.1177/1948550615606195

Howland, M., & Simpson, J. A. (2010). Getting in under the radar: A dyadic view of invisible support. *Psychological Science*, *21*(12), 1878–85. http://doi.org/10.1177/0956797610388817

Inagaki, T. K., & Orehek, E. (2017). On the benefits of giving social support. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *26*(2), 109–113. http://doi.org/10.1177/0963721416686212

Jiang, L., Drolet, A., & Kim, H. S. (2018). Age and social support seeking: Understanding the role of perceived social costs to others. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 014616721876079. http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167218760798

Kirsch, J. A., & Lehman, B. J. (2015). Comparing visible and invisible social support: Non-

evaluative support buffers cardiovascular responses to stress. *Stress and Health*, *31*(5), 351–364. http://doi.org/10.1002/smi.2558

Kruglanski, A. W., Thompson, E. P., Higgins, E. T., Atash, M. N., Pierro, A., Shah, J. Y., & Spiegel, S. (2000). To "do the right thing" or to "just do it": Locomotion and assessment as distinct self-regulatory imperatives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *79*(5), 793–815. http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.79.5.793

Lüscher, J., Stadler, G., Ochsner, S., Rackow, P., Knoll, N., Hornung, R., & Scholz, U. (2015). Daily negative affect and smoking after a self-set quit attempt: The role of dyadic invisible social support in a daily diary study. *British Journal of Health Psychology*, *20*(4), 708–723. http://doi.org/10.1111/bjhp.12135

Maisel, N. C., & Gable, S. L. (2009). The paradox of received social support: The importance of responsiveness. *Psychological Science*, *20*(8), 928–932. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2009.02388.x

Neff, L. A., & Karney, B. R. (2005). Gender differences in social support: a question of skill or responsiveness? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *88*(1), 79–90. http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.1.79

Rafaeli, E., & Gleason, M. E. J. (2009). Skilled support within intimate relationships. *Journal of Family Theory and Review*, *1*(3), 20–37. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1756-2589.2009.00003.x

Rusbult, C. E., Finkel, E. J., & Kumashiro, M. (2009). The Michelangelo Phenomenon. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *18*(6), 305–309. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2009.01657.x

Shrout, P. E., Bolger, N., Iida, M., Burke, C. T., Gleason, M. E. J., & Lane, S. P. (2010). The effects of daily support transactions during acute stress: Results from a diary study of bar

exam preparation. In K. T. Sullivan & J. Davila (Eds.), *Support processes in intimate relationships* (pp. 175–199). New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.

Shrout, P. E., Herman, C. M., & Bolger, N. (2006). The costs and benefits of practical and emotional support on adjustment: A daily diary study of couples experiencing acute stress. *Personal Relationships*, *13*(1), 115–134. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6811.2006.00108.x

Tesser, A., & Beach, S. R. H. (1998). Life Events, Relationship Quality, and Depression: An Investigation of Judgment Discontinuity in Vivo. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*(1), 36–52. http://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.74.1.36

Uchino, B. N. (2009). Understanding the links between social support and physical health. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *4*(3), 236–255. http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-6924.2009.01122.x.

Zee, K. S., Cavallo, J. V., Flores, A. J., Bolger, N., & Higgins, E. T. (2018). Motivation moderates the effects of social support visibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *114*(5), 735–765. http://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000119

RECOMMENDED READINGS

1. Bolger, N. & Amarel, D. (2007). (See References). A series of experiments demonstrating causal effects of practical and emotional support visibility and testing mechanisms of these effects.
2. Feeney, B. C., & Collins, N. L. (2015). A new look at social support: Theoretical perspectives on thriving through relationships. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 19,* 113-147. A theoretical perspective and review on the importance of social support for both coping with adversity and thriving in the absence of adversity.
3. Uchino, B. N. (2009) (See References). A theory and review paper that outlines the distinction between the perceived availability of support and received/enacted support and discusses their implications for health.
4. Zee et al. (2018). (See References). A paper that provides a theoretical framework for understanding boundary conditions of support visibility and a series of empirical studies demonstrating moderation effects.