f Objects: Materialism, Existential
June): 1–16.
th Experience. New York: Quill
ist Enhances Men's Power-Related
4.
Animal: Twenty Years of Terror
d T.A. Pyszczynski (eds), Handbook
012) "Lowering the Pitch of Your
" Social Psychological and Personality
ly Experience: A Phenomenological
ychiatry 139 (April): 450–5.
ulletin & Review 9(4): 625–36.

21

COMPENSATORY CONSUMPTION

Derek D. Rucker and Adam D. Galinsky

A core theme surrounding consumption is that people do not consume products and services based solely on their functionality and for utilitarian purposes (Belk *et al.* 1982). One's home, car, clothes, and music often hold additional psychological value to the consumer. As elegantly detailed throughout this book, such consumption opportunities serve as a reflecting pool for the self and one's identity (Chapter 8 and Chapter 9, this volume). In addition, consumption is also a stage on which individuals signal their identity to others as well as indicate their connections to groups and other individuals in society (Chapter 27, this volume).

In the present chapter we focus on a particular use of consumption: the reliance on consumption as a tool to ward off psychological threats. Specifically, we discuss the idea that consumption can be motivated in an effort to assuage a broad range of psychological threats from one's intellectual ability to a sense of mastery over one's environment. The aim of the chapter is to familiarize the reader with the concept of compensatory consumption, provide a sample of the type of threats that are compensated, discuss representative moderators of consumers' engagement in compensatory consumption, and speak to the psychological value of consumption in response to threats.

Compensatory consumption

We use the term *compensatory consumption* to define the desire for, acquisition, or use of products to respond to a psychological need or deficit. By compensatory, we mean that consumption is undertaken, implicitly or explicitly, to offset a threat to one's identity or preferred psychological state. By consumption, we refer to both the physical consumption of goods (e.g. wearing clothing, eating a meal) as well as consumers' product preferences (e.g. wanting a particular brand, preferring one snack to another).

The theoretical roots of compensatory consumption are partially based in the work of Wicklund and Gollwitzer (1981, 1982) on symbolic self-completion. In their writings, Wicklund and Gollwitzer suggest that at times individuals' identities come under fire. For instance, when academics have a paper rejected, it can lead them to question their intellectual scholarship, or athletes who finish last in a race may question their own athleticism. One response to such a threat would be to address or cope with the threat in a direct fashion. For example, the academic might rewrite the paper for another journal, or the athlete might train harder for the next race.

However, according to Wicklund and Gollwitzer (1981), people can engage in behaviors that allow them to symbolically signal mastery, competence, or completeness of the threatened dimension. That is, individuals can seek out what they termed, "symbols of completeness." Indeed, Harmon-Jones et al. (2009) found that professors who were not ranked highly in research – assessed via publications, citations, and their department ranking – were more likely to refer to professional titles such as professor or PhD in their email signatures.

Consumption of products and services provides one venue by which individuals can symbolically demonstrate mastery of a threatened dimension – that is, the acquisition or display of certain consumer products can serve as symbols of completeness. For example, the rejected scholar might buy a frame to publicly display his PhD even though this does not address his rejected paper. Similarly, the athlete might overhaul her athletic wardrobe even though this does little to affect her loss on the field. Indeed, in an early demonstration of consumption as a compensatory tool, Wicklund and Gollwitzer (1982) found that MBA students who lacked certain indicators of business success (e.g. a high GPA, multiple job offers), were more inclined to display other indicators of business success (e.g. expensive suits and watches). In such circumstances, although consumption did not change the reality of the MBA's performance, it may mitigate or eliminate the threatened aspect of the self.

Evidence for compensatory consumption

In this section we review evidence for compensatory consumption. Importantly, we provide evidence across a broad array of threat as a testimony to the broad and flexible use of consumption as a compensatory device (see also Chapter 22, this volume, for a more detailed identity perspective). Specifically, we review work that suggests consumption can be used as a means to respond to threats to one's masculinity, intelligence, power, personal freedom, and system beliefs. It is also worth noting that this set of findings is not meant to be an exhaustive list, but to offer an ample foundation for the claim that consumers use consumption in a compensatory manner.

Threats to one's masculinity

Willer et al. (2010) examined men's preference for masculine products when their identity as a man was threatened. Male and female participants were given feedback that they had masculine or feminine identities. Subsequently, participants were asked to choose their favorite vehicle from a selection of four cars, one with a strong association with masculinity (i.e. an SUV) and three that did not have a strong association (i.e. minivan, coupe, and sedan). When asked to choose their favorite vehicle, Willer et al. (2010) found that males who had been told they had a feminine identity were much more inclined to choose the SUV. For such males, only the SUV had the ability to restore their shaken sense of masculinity. No differences were found among females whose femininity was threatened, presumably because none of the vehicles were associated with femininity and thus the choice did not serve as an opportunity to compensate through consumption.

Threats to one's intelligence

Threats need not be trigged by blatant shortcomings in performance or clear feedback, as in the case of Willer and colleagues (2011). For example, Gao et al. (2009) have shown it is possible to threaten college students' intelligence in an incidental fashion to produce compensatory consumption. In their work, participants wrote about their intelligence using their dominant or non-dominant

le can engage in behaviors
npleteness of the threatened
"symbols of completeness."
were not ranked highly in
ranking – were more likely
l signatures.
which individuals can sym-
the acquisition or display of
For example, the rejected
gh this does not address his
wardrobe even though this
stration of consumption as a
MBA students who lacked
offers), were more inclined
and watches). In such cir-
the MBA's performance, it

ion

n. Importantly, we provide
d and flexible use of con-
for a more detailed identity
can be used as a means to
freedom, and system beliefs.
thaustive list, but to offer an
a compensatory manner.

cts when their identity as a
ck that they had masculine
their favorite vehicle from
(i.e. an SUV) and three that
Vhen asked to choose their
i told they had a feminine
les, only the SUV had the
were found among females
vehicles were associated
ty to compensate through

clear feedback, as in the case
wn it is possible to threaten
pensatory consumption. In
ominant or non-dominant

hand. The logic was that using one's non-dominant hand would lead to doubt about whatever was written about (see Briñol and Petty 2003), in this case one's intelligence. Subsequently, participants were given a choice to select a product associated with intelligence (i.e. a fountain pen) or a product with no association with intelligence (i.e. a pack of candy). Participants who had written about their intelligence with their non-dominant hand, and thus had doubt associated with their intelligence, were more likely to choose the product associated with intelligence.

Threats to one's power

Having control and mastery over one's environment has been posited to be a basic human need (Rotter 1966). Building on this insight, Rucker and Galinsky (2008) proposed that when people's sense of control is undermined with respect to power – their relative control over others or valued resources (Magee and Galinsky 2008) – they seek to restore their sense of power. In particular, given that one input into power is the status and esteem one has in the eyes of others (French and Raven 1959), Rucker and Galinsky proposed that one means for individuals to restore their lost sense of power would be to acquire status objects. Consistent with this hypothesis, when individuals were placed into a state of low power they reported a greater willingness to pay for products that were associated with status (e.g. a silk tie, a rare portrait). Importantly, however, these individuals were not willing to pay more for more mundane objects (e.g. a microwave, a common portrait). This latter finding supports the notion that consumers guided their consumption habits specifically toward products that could compensate for the threatened dimension.

Threats to personal freedom

Recent work by Levav and Zhu (2009) has suggested that being placed in confining spaces can produce a threat to individuals' personal freedom. Furthermore, Levav and Zhu posit that, in an effort to restore their personal freedom, people can use choice as a means for doing so (see Kim and Drolet 2003). Specifically, Levav and Zhu suggested that threatened individuals could re-establish their freedom by making more varied and unique consumption decisions. To test this hypothesis, in one experiment participants were given the opportunity to choose three candy bars from a set of six different options. Importantly, the room was constructed such that the candy bars were featured at the end of an aisle. In the low threat to personal freedom condition participants walked down an aisle that was 7 feet wide. In the high threat to personal freedom condition participants walked down an aisle that was only 3.5 feet wide, and thus impinged upon participants' personal space. Levav and Zhu found that participants selected a greater variety of candy bars when their physical space was threatened (i.e. the narrow aisle) compared to when it was not (i.e. the wide aisle). They suggested that this occurred because variety seeking in consumption was one means by which individuals could psychologically restore their sense of freedom that had been threatened.

System threats

In addition to a psychological need for control, people also seek to bolster and defend the social systems to which they belong in an effort to see the world as good, legitimate, and desirable (Kay and Jost 2003). Building off of this idea and tying it to the consumption literature, Cutright *et al.* (2011) examined how people use consumption to deal with threats to the social system of the USA. They found that when consumers heard negative comments about the USA, they

consumed in a manner that would support the country. For example, threatened consumers were more likely to favor US brands (e.g. Nike, Chevy) over foreign brands (e.g. Adidas, Toyota).

When does compensatory consumption occur

Although there is considerable evidence for the argument that compensatory consumption is a real response to threat, this does not mean all threats affect consumption. Here we discuss initial work that suggests when consumption is more or less likely to be used as a compensatory device.

Importance of the threatened domain

Perhaps the most logical observation is that compensatory consumption is more prone to occur when the dimension under threat is important versus unimportant to the individual (see Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1982). For example, although there is a basic need for governance over one's environment (Rotter 1966), this need may be stronger in some individuals than others. Consistent with this proposition, Rucker *et al.* (2011) found that individuals threatened with a loss of power were willing to pay a greater amount for status–signaling objects, particularly when they were accustomed to having power.

Similarly, Braun and Wicklund (1989) presented evidence for this proposition with respect to tennis players. Braun and Wicklund reasoned that novice tennis players with a strong commitment to tennis should be more prone to experience threat when they made mistakes during games. Consistent with the authors' hypothesis, participants who were both novices in tennis *and* reported that playing tennis was important to them were most inclined to exhibit a strong preference for a specific brand of apparel.

Ability and motivation to rebuke the threat directly

Compensatory consumption is a surrogate means of addressing threats. In some cases individuals could address a threat directly and completely resolve it. However, whether consumers address a threat head on or indirectly through consumption may hinge on their perceived ability and motivation to effectively dispel a threat. For example, if an MBA's business success is threatened by a poor grade on a finance exam they could choose to either study harder for the next exam or to adorn themselves with finely crafted suits and ties to signal their success. However, the route people choose may depend strongly on their perception that studying harder would actually produce a desired outcome on the exam.

Cutright *et al.* (2011; experiment 4) provide a recent illustration of the role of ability in how people respond to threat. In this experiment the authors first measured individuals' confidence in the USA as a system. Subsequently, participants were exposed to an article purportedly written by a British journalist that threatened their beliefs about the USA. Participants were then given the opportunity to evaluate both the writer and to make a choice between national and international brands. Two interesting results emerged. Among participants who had low, as opposed to high, confidence in the system there was a stronger preference for national over international brands, consistent with the idea that they used consumption as a means to compensate for the threat. In contrast, among participants who had high, as opposed to low, confidence in the system, there was a stronger derogation of the British journalist. Thus, having confidence in the system appeared to give participants the psychological gusto to address the threat in a more direct manner, whereas those with low confidence relied on the more indirect and less confrontational method of consuming products made in the USA.

mple, threatened consumers were
n brands (e.g. Adidas, Toyota).

ion occur

compensatory consumption is a
umption. Here we discuss initial
e used as a compensatory device.

nain

umption is more prone to occur
portant to the individual (see
a basic need for governance over
n some individuals than others.
at individuals threatened with a
naling objects, particularly when

this proposition with respect to
players with a strong commit-
nen they made mistakes during
no were both novices in tennis
nost inclined to exhibit a strong

eat directly

nreats. In some cases individuals
r, whether consumers address a
on their perceived ability and
's business success is threatened
ady harder for the next exam or
eir success. However, the route
tudying harder would actually

n of the role of ability in how
easured individuals' confidence
osed to an article purportedly
at the USA. Participants were
nake a choice between national
g participants who had low, as
onger preference for national
ed consumption as a means to
ho had high, as opposed to
of the British journalist. Thus,
psychological gusto to address
onfidence relied on the more
made in the USA.

The conspicuous nature of compensatory consumption

In writing on symbolic self-completion, Wicklund and Gollwitzer (1982) put forth the idea that others govern symbolic completion of the self. Specifically, they use the term "social reality" to relate the point that defining aspects of the self are only given meaning when they are accepted and acknowledged by others. As a consequence, one can infer that compensatory consumption might be more likely to occur when that consumption can be observed and witnessed by others in one's social environment. Indeed, work suggests, at least for some types of threats (see Lee and Shrum 2012) the conspicuousness of consumption is important.

For example, work examining the influence of a low-power state on status speaking also offers evidence favoring conspicuous consumption in response to threat. Specifically, research has found that individuals in a low state of power not only desire status-related objects, but they desire objects that are more likely to be seen and recognized by others as such (i.e. objects with physically larger brand logos) (Rucker and Galinsky 2009). Furthermore, Charles *et al.* (2009) find that minority groups spend a disproportionate amount of their income on conspicuously displayed goods (e.g. cars, jewelry) as a means to elevate their own status within society. Simi-larly, Dubois *et al.* (in press) manipulated how visible consumption was and found that loss of power led participants to consume more only when the consumption was visible to others.

The restorative power of consumption

Why do consumers engage in consumption in response to threats? Perhaps the simplest answer to this question is that compensatory consumption can alleviate the threat experienced by con-sumers. Indeed, several independent findings suggest that compensatory consumption assuages the threatened aspect of the self.

For example, in one experiment by Gao and colleagues (Gao *et al.* 2009), participants' intelligence was threatened. Subsequently, participants engaged in a sequential choice task. In the first choice task half of the participants first chose from a set of objects associated with intelligence (e.g. bookstore gift certificates) or a set of objects unrelated to intelligence. In the second choice task, all participants chose between a product either related to intelligence (i.e. a fountain pen) or unrelated to intelligence (i.e. candy). When threatened participants had first chosen from a set of objects associated with intelligence they did not differ in their second choice between the fountain pen and candy. However, if they had selected an object from a set of objects unrelated to intelligence objects, then threatened participants displayed a preference for the pen in the subsequent choice task. The authors suggest that in the former case the choice of a product symbolizing intelligence alleviated the threat and eliminated the need to compensate.

Elsewhere, Rucker and colleagues (Rucker *et al.* 2011) report an experiment where the acquisition of a status object restored participants' self-reported feelings of power. Participants were induced into a low- or high-power state and then given a pen that had been advertised in terms of either status or performance. Before receiving the pen individuals in the low-power condition reported feeling less powerful than high-power participants. However, after the pen had been physically received, low-power participants felt more powerful, but only when given the pen associated with status and not when the pen was associated with performance. Thus, physically acquiring an object was enough to eliminate the experienced threat.

Finally, although much of the research to date has examined compensatory consumption in the threatened domain, it should be noted that this is not the only means by which consumption can ward off threat. Mandel and Smeesters (2008) found that consumption can also distract

individuals from threat by serving as an escape from self-awareness. In their study, when individuals' mortality was threatened (i.e. they were reminded that they would someday die) they ate more cookies. The eating of more cookies does not serve to eliminate concerns with death; rather, the action provides a means to escape thinking about the loss of the self. This finding, of course, raises an important direction for future research with respect to when consumers seek out products that specifically address the threat at hand and when they engage in greater consumption to distract oneself from the threat.

Future directions

Our final section proposes several promising questions to be tackled by future research efforts in understanding the nature of compensatory consumption.

Mapping compensatory efforts

One important goal for research in the domain of compensatory consumption is to map out the various psychological needs consumers have and the type of products and attributes that are sought in response to these needs. At first blush this might seem like a relatively easy task if one assumes that consumers seek out products that are clear manifestations of the dimension under threat. For example, if one assumes that when athletic ability is threatened people seek to demonstrate their athleticism the implications are straightforward. However, recent work reveals that constructs that do not have such immediate explicit connections can share a more common motive.

Consider the following two examples. First, work has found that a basic human motive for control underlies threats related to both lacking choice and lacking power (see Inesi *et al.* 2011). As a consequence, what initially appeared to be two separate and distinct literatures, one on the intrapersonal domain of choice and the other on the interpersonal domain of power, were found to share a common thread that allows substitution between them: a lack of choice can increase the desire for products that offer power, whereas a lack of power can lead to a preference for greater choice in selecting one's products. Second, research by Levav and Zhu (2009), noted earlier, has shown that when consumers feel physically confined (e.g. when surrounded by narrow aisles in a grocery store) they are more likely to seek variety in their purchases because variety provides a sense of freedom. However, prior to that work, a clear and direct link between threats to personal freedom and variety seeking was not apparent.

Clearly, understanding the dynamic interplay between various threats and the type of consumption that alleviates those threats warrants further consideration.

Threat-specific versus general consumption

As reviewed here, the bulk of the work in the literature suggests that consumption tends to increase in a threat-specific fashion. That is, whatever the specific nature of the threat (e.g. intelligence, power), people consume in a manner that signals one standing of that dimension. However, the work reported by Mandel and Smeesters (2008) suggests that consumption can sometimes increase regardless of whether it specifically relates to the threatened dimension or not by serving as a means of distraction.

An important challenge for the literature on compensatory consumption is to understand when people consume in a threat-specific fashion as opposed to increasing their consumption more generally. In response to this issue, Kim and Rucker (2011) proposed that general versus threat-specific consumption might sometimes be observed as a function of whether consumers

ss. In their study, when indi-
ney would someday die) they
liminate concerns with death;
oss of the self. This finding, of
respect to when consumers
when they engage in greater

d by future research efforts in

nsumption is to map out the
nd attributes that are sought in
y easy task if one assumes that
dimension under threat. For
ple seek to demonstrate their
work reveals that constructs
more common motive.
at a basic human motive for
power (see Inesi *et al.* 2011).
istinct literatures, one on the
nal domain of power, were
them: a lack of choice can
wer can lead to a preference
evav and Zhu (2009), noted
(e.g. when surrounded by
y in their purchases because
ork, a clear and direct link
pparent.
s threats and the type of
ion.

ion

that consumption tends to
nature of the threat (e.g.
standing of that dimension.
gests that consumption can
hreatened dimension or not

sumption is to understand
creasing their consumption
roposed that general versus
tion of whether consumers

state preferences or engage in actual behavior. Specifically, they proposed that when asked for their preferences consumers would tend to prefer products that specifically resolved the threatened aspect of their identity. However, when given the opportunity to engage in actual consumption of products, they hypothesized consumers might spend more time consuming to allow them to distract themselves from the threat.

To test this idea, participants were first given feedback that they had performed poorly on a task related to intelligence. Subsequently, participants took part in an evaluation task related to music. Half the participants were told the music was associated with increasing intelligence (threat-related), whereas the other half were told the music was associated with calmness (threat-unrelated). Participants were either: 1 asked to state how long they would prefer to listen to music; or 2 given the opportunity to actually listen to music. Relative to a no-threat condition, when simply asked for their preferences, threatened participants wanted to listen to the music longer only when it was framed in terms of intelligence. However, when given the opportunity to actually listen to the music, threatened participants listened to the music longer than unthreatened participants, regardless of its association to the threat.

This finding represents one initial moderator of threat-specific versus general consumption, and future research should be guided to examining other potential moderators.

Successfulness of threat reduction

Although research has suggested that consumption can attenuate needs induced via states of threats (see Gao *et al.* 2009; Rucker *et al.* 2011), less work has examined the various boundary conditions that affect the degree or duration of threat reduction. For example, although a single occasion of consumption might be effective in alleviating a temporary induced effect, in the presence of recurring threats (e.g. bullying at school, social rejection) it may require continual consumption. As a consequence, what may initially begin as efforts to alleviate threats through consumption may give way to habitual overspending and overconsumption that can produce crippling credit card debt or obesity.

In addition, even when consumption appears to remedy threat, it may only lead to a temporary alleviation of the threat rather than a complete resolution. If consumption merely alleviates the symptoms of the threats, this could have unintended consequences of allowing the threat to come back more strongly. The plausibility of such an occurrence has roots in research in the area of stereotype suppression that has found that individuals who successfully suppress stereotypes during one task demonstrate enhanced accessibility of those stereotypes in a subsequent task (Galinsky and Moskowitz 2000; Macrae *et al.* 1995). These remain important questions to explore to more fully understand the efficacy of compensatory consumption.

Conclusion

The work reviewed in the present chapter is a testament to the powerful role consumption can play in responding to psychological threats. Central to the theme of this book, consumption offers a means to respond to threats that attempt to carve away important components of one's identity. We also reviewed boundary conditions for when compensatory consumption does and does not occur, with the importance of the domain under threat, people's ability to address the threat, and the conspicuousness of the consumption serving as important moderators. When compensatory consumption does transpire, it can indeed serve to reduce the experience of threat. The present chapter hopefully serves as both a primer on the topic of compensatory consumption and a cradle for new ideas and directions in this burgeoning area of research.

References

Belk, R.W., Bahn, K.D., and Mayer, R.N. (1982) "Developmental Recognition of Consumption Symbolism." *Journal of Consumer Research* 9: 4–17.

Braun, O.L. and Wicklund, R.A. (1989) "Psychological Antecedents of Conspicuous Consumption." *Journal of Economic Psychology* 10: 161–87.

Briñol, P. and Petty, R.E. (2003) "Overt Head Movements and Persuasion: A Self-validation Analysis." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84: 1123–39.

Charles, K.K., Hurst, E., and Roussanov, N. (2009) "Conspicuous Consumption and Race." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 510: 425–67.

Cutright, K.M., Wu, E.C., Banfield, J.C., Kay, A.C., and Fitzsimons, G.J. (2011) "When Your World Must Be Defended: Consuming to Justify the System." *Journal of Consumer Research* 38: 62–77.

Dubois, D., Rucker, D.D., and Galinsky, A.D. (in press) "Super Size Me: Product Size as a Signal of Status." *Journal of Consumer Research*.

French, J.R.P., Jr, and Bertram, R. (1959) "The Bases of Social Power." In Dorwin Cartwright (ed.), *Studies in Social Power*. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research, pp. 150–67.

French, J. and Raven, B. (1959) "In the Bases of Social Power." In Dorwin Cartwright (ed.), *Studies in Social Power*. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research, pp. 150–67.

Galinsky, A.D. and Moskowitz, G.B. (2000) "Perspective Taking: Decreasing Stereotype Expression, Stereotype Accessibility and In-group Favoritism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 78: 708–24.

Gao, L, Wheeler, S.C., and Shiv, B. (2009) "The 'Shaken Self': Product Choices as a Means of Restoring Self-view Confidence." *Journal of Consumer Research* 36: 29–38.

Gordijn, E.H., Hindriks, I., Koomen, W., Dijksterhuis, A., and Knippenberg, A.V. (2004) "Consequences of Stereotype Suppression and Internal Suppression Motivation: A Self-regulation Approach." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 30: 212–24.

Harmon-Jones, C., Schmeichel, B.J., and Harmon-Jones, E. (2009) "Symbolic Self-completion in Academia: Evidence from Department Web Pages and Email Signature Files." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 39: 311–16.

Inesi, E., Botti, S., Dubois, D., Rucker, D.D., and Galinsky, A.D. (2011) "Power and Choice: Their Dynamic Interplay in Quenching the Thirst for Personal Control." *Psychological Science* 22: 1042–8.

Kay, A.C. and Jost, J.T. (2003) "Complementary Justice: Effects of 'Poor but Happy' and 'Poor but Honest' Stereotype Exemplars on System Justification and Implicit Activation of the Justice Motive." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85: 823–37.

Kim, H.S. and Drolet, A. (2003) "Choice and Self-expression: A Cultural Analysis of Variety Seeking." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 85: 373–82.

Kim, S. and Rucker, D.D. (2011) "Salting the Sidewalk Just in Case the Snowstorm Hits: Effects of Potential Versus Experienced Threat on Consumption." Unpublished manuscript, Northwestern University.

Lee, Jaehoon and Shrum, L.J. (2012) "Conspicuous Consumption versus Charitable Behavior in Response to Social Exclusion: A Differential Needs Explanation." *Journal of Consumer Research* 30: 530–44.

Levav, J. and Zhu, R. (2009) "Seeking Freedom Through Variety." *Journal of Consumer Research* 36: 600–10.

Macrae, C.N., Bodenhausen, Galen V., and Milne, A.B. (1995) "The Dissection of Selection in Person Perception: Inhibitory Processes in Social Stereotyping." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 69: 397–407.

Magee, J.C. and Galinsky, A.D. (2008) "Social Hierarchy: The Self-reinforcing Nature of Power and Status." *Academy of Management Annals* 2: 351–98.

Mandel, N. and Smeesters, D. (2008) "The Sweet Escape: Effects of Mortality Salience on Consumption Quantities for High- and Low-self-esteem Consumers." *Journal of Consumer Research* 35: 309–23.

Rotter, J.B. (1966) "Generalized Expectancies for Internal Versus External Control of Reinforcement." *Psychological Monographs* 80: 1–28.

Rucker, D.D. and Galinsky, A.D. (2008) "Desire to Acquire: Powerlessness and Compensatory Consumption." *Journal of Consumer Research* 35: 257–67.

——(2009) "Conspicuous Consumption versus Utilitarian Ideals: How Different Levels of Power Shape Consumption." *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45: 549–55.

Rucker, D.D., Galinsky, A.D., and Dubois, D. (2011) "Power and Consumer Behavior: How Power Shapes Who and What Consumers Value." *Journal of Consumer Psychology*. doi:10.1016/j.jcps.2011.06.001.

ntal Recognition of Consumption

nts of Conspicuous Consumption."

rsuasion: A Self-validation Analysis."

Consumption and Race." *Quarterly*

s, G.J. (2011) "When Your World
onsumer Research 38: 62–77.
ze Me: Product Size as a Signal of

wer." In Dorwin Cartwright (ed.),
, pp. 150–67.
Dorwin Cartwright (ed.), *Studies in*
–67.
Decreasing Stereotype Expression,
lity and Social Psychology 78: 708–24.
ct Choices as a Means of Restoring

enberg, A.V. (2004) "Consequences
elf-regulation Approach." *Personality*

mbolic Self-completion in Academia:
European Journal of Social Psychology

(2011) "Power and Choice: Their
Psychological Science 22: 1042–8.
'Poor but Happy' and 'Poor but
Activation of the Justice Motive."

ltural Analysis of Variety Seeking."

se the Snowstorm Hits: Effects of
manuscript, Northwestern University.
us Charitable Behavior in Response
onsumer Research 30: 530–44.
" *Journal of Consumer Research* 36:

e Dissection of Selection in Person
Personality and Social Psychology 69:

-reinforcing Nature of Power and

Mortality Salience on Consumption
onsumer Research 35: 309–23.
ternal Control of Reinforcement."

Powerlessness and Compensatory

Different Levels of Power Shape

and Consumer Behavior: How
onsumer Psychology. doi:10.1016/j.

Wicklund, R.A. and Gollwitzer, P.M. (1981) "Symbolic Self-completion, Attempted Influence, and Self-deprecation." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 2: 89–114.
——(1982) *Symbolic Self-completion*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
Willer, R., Rogalin, C.L., Conlon, B., and Wojnowicz, M.T. (2010) "Overdoing Gender: A Test of the Masculine Overcompensation Thesis." Unpublished manuscript. University of California Berkeley.