2017

Power Effects on Consumer Well-Being: Two Essays on The Power Effects on Donation and Material/Experiential Consumption

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POWER EFFECTS ON CONSUMER WELL-BEING: TWO ESSAYS ON THE POWER EFFECTS ON DONATION AND MATERIAL/EXPERIENTIAL CONSUMPTION

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Marketing
in the College of Business Administration
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Fall Term
2017

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ABSTRACT

Power is a fundamental concept in social science (Russell 1938), which has gained much academic attention in various disciplines. Two essays of this dissertation examine the theoretical and practical implications of power effects on donation decisions and material/experiential consumption.

The first essay demonstrates power's moderating effect on the relationship between publicity and donation. Specifically, it is proposed that powerful people tend to donate more in public (vs. private) situation, whereas powerless people do not show such a difference. This effect is driven by people's concern about self-presentation in a donation scenario. Additionally, this effect only holds when people strongly believe that high donation enhances others' positive impression of them, but dilutes when such belief is not held. The theorizing is supported across four studies.

The second essay focuses on how power influences consumers' preferences for material and experiential products. It is predicted that those who feel powerless tend to spend more of their discretionary money on material products than experiential products. This effect occurs through feelings of resourcefulness caused by possessing material or experiential goods. In addition, this effect is further moderated by implicit theory, such that the impact of power on material versus experience product choice persists for incremental theorists but dissipates for entity theorists. Three experiments provide support to this proposition.

Overall, by investigating how power influences people's donation behavior and choice of material/experiential products, this dissertation strengthens the understanding of power's effects

on consumer behavior and provides practical implications on how power status can influence consumers' well-being.

Dedication

To Yang Ming

My life-long companion, who is always with me and supports me unconditionally no matter what happened.

To My Parent

For the love and care they grant to me in my whole life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES xi

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW 5

The Impact of Power on Self Well-being 5

The Impact of Power on Other's Well-being: Activation of the Prevailing Motives or Salient Goals 8

Power as the Contributor to Consumer Well-being 11

CHAPTER THREE: ESSAY 1 POWER DRIVES MONETARY DONATION IN PUBLIC VERSUS IN PRIVATE 13

Abstract 13

Introduction 14

People's Donation Behavior in General 20

Donation in Public and in Private 21

Power's Effect on Publicity over Donation 24

Power's Effect on People's Behavior in Public versus in Private 24

Power and Self-Presentation Concerns in Public and in Private 25

Donation as a Self-Presentation Strategy 28

Study 1: Power and Choice on Donation Scenario 31

Method 31

Results and Discussion 35

Study 1b: Power and Donation Amount in Public versus in Private 36

Participants and Design 37

Procedures 37

Independent Variables 38

Dependent Measures 39

Results 40

Discussion 43

Study 2: A Matter of Self-Presentation? 44

Participants and Design 44

Independent Variables 45

Dependent Measures 46

Results 47

Discussion 51

Study 3: To What Extent Does Self-Presentation Matter? 53

Participants and Design 53

Independent Variables 54

Dependent Measures 54

Results 56

Discussion 57

General Discussion 58
Contribution to Understanding the Behavior of Powerful People 59
Contribution to Understanding the Dynamics of Self-presentation 60
Practical Implications 61
Limitations and Future Research 62
Conclusions 63
CHAPTER FOUR: ESSAY 2 THE EFFECT OF POWER STATUS ON PURCHASES OF MATERIAL VERSUS EXPERIENTIAL GOODS 64
Abstract 64
Introduction 65
Power Status and Purchase Types 67
Feeling of Resourcefulness as the Underlying Mechanism 69
The Moderating Role of Implicit Theory 70
Summary and Overview of Studies 72
Study 1: Power and Choice of Purchase Type 73
Method 73
Results 75
Discussion 76
Study 2: A Matter of Feeling of Resourcefulness 77
Participants and Design 77

Independent Variables 78
Dependent Measures 79
Results 80
Discussion 83
Study 3: Effect of Implicit Theory 84
Participants and Design. 84
Independent Variables. 85
Dependent Variables. 86
Results 87
Discussion 89
General Discussion 89
Contribution of the Present Research 90
Limitations and Future Directions 91
Conclusions 92
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION 93
Findings and Contributions 93
Implications 95
Effects of Power on Consumer Well-Being 95
Limitations and Future Research 96
Needs for Research on Source of Power 97

LIST OF REFERENCES 99

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Interaction between Publicity and Power on Donation Amount 43

Figure 2. Donation Amount as a Function of Publicity and Power 49

Figure 3. Floodlight Analyses for Impression Belief 58

Figure 4. Willingness to Pay as a Function of Power and Purchase 81

Figure 5. Mediated Moderation for Willingness to Pay 83

Figure 6. Interaction Effect between Power and Implicit Theory on Likelihood to Purchase Material Goods 88

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

People experience different power states every day. Literature demonstrates that even a simple posing can change one's power state (Carney, Cuddy, and Yap 2010), and power state differences can lead to different behaviors in one's daily life, such as risk-taking (Anderson and Galinsky 2006), goal striving (Guinote 2007), and moral behavior (Dubois, Rucker, and Galinsky 2015; Lammers and Stapel, Galinsky 2010). High power state can benefit power holders greatly on many different aspects, such as enhancing their confidence (Brinol, Petty, Valle, Rucker, and Becerra 2007), autonomy (Lammers, Stoker, Rink, and Galinsky 2016), authenticity (Kifer, Heller, Perunovic, and Galinsky 2013), positive moods (Keltner, Gruenfeld, and Anderson 2003) and so on. Due to a lack of the above-mentioned benefits, low power state is usually considered aversive (Rucker and Galinsky 2008, 2009). However, high power does not necessarily always result in blessings; it could adversely affect others when someone abuses power. Power literature finds that powerful individuals have less constraint on their actions than powerless individuals (Keltner et al. 2003). At the same time, power could increase people's aggression in family (Bugental, Blue, & Cruzcosa, 1989) and sex relationships (Malamuth, 1996) and teasing in less socially friendly ways (Keltner, Young, Heerey, Oemig, & Monarch, 1998).

Since power can affect individual behaviors both positively and negatively, it's important to know how power can contribute to human well-being, especially consumer well-being, since consumption is a very critical way to satisfy one's needs and extend one's identity (Belk 1988a).

The first essay studies how power moderates the relationship between publicity and donation behavior. Research from economic literature has showed that there is a positive relationship between publicity and donation (Cotterill, John, Richardson 2013; Ariely, Bracha, and Meier 2009; Rege and Telle 2004); however, research from psychology shows different moderators could change such a relationship (Winterich, Mittal, and Aquino 2013). This essay brings in power as another moderator and proves that publicity would increase one's donation only for powerful people; for powerless people, publicity's effect on donation dilutes. Self-presentation concern is the driving force for powerful people to donate more in public but not in private. By holding strong (vs. low) belief that high amount donation can certainly lead to others' favorable impressions which augments one's self-presentation, powerful (vs. powerless) people donate more in public than private. Four experiments have been done to support the proposed effects. This essay is the first on building a link between power and donation through self-presentation concerns. By exploring how a self-presentation-oriented motive could influence the behavior of powerful individuals, this essay develops a new perspective to study social power.

Practically, it contributes to fundraising process by empowering the donors to absorb more funds.

The second essay examines how power could impact on consumer decision on material and experiential consumption. As previous research mostly focuses on how material and experiential consumption can influence consumers' feelings or emotions, this essay investigates how power precedes consumers' choice decision on material or experiential purchase. It is found that powerful people generally tend to buy experiential goods, whereas powerless people tend to buy material goods. Feeling of resourceful is the potential driver for this effect. However, this effect can be changed by people's implicit theory that interacts with power to influence one's material or experiential consumption. It is found that when people (incremental theorists) believe one's power state is malleable, those in high power states tend to choose experiential products instead of material products, but those in low power state tend to choose material products relative to experiential products; however, when people (entity theorists) believe that their power states are fixed and immutable, powerful and powerless people do not show much choice differences between material and experiential consumption. Three studies have been conducted to support the power and material/experiential consumption effect. The contributions of this essay are threefold. First, it looks at powerful and powerless people's consumption difference

from the perspective of experiential and material purchases. Second, it investigates how feeling of resourceful or lack of resources as the mechanism that drives this effect. Third, it takes implicit theory into consideration and investigates how people's mindsets about whether their power states are mutable or not could potentially impact their purchase decisions because it's only meaningful to adopt some means to compensate one's low power state when people believe it to be changeable. Last, as material and experiential purchases are always studied as antecedents for individual well-being and happiness, this essay initiates to explore what could lead people to choose material versus experiential products.

To sum up, the two essays explore multiple dimensions of the central construct--social power. The first essay studies its interaction with publicity and builds a picture of its functions dealing with charity donations. The second essay extends the effects of social power on material and experiential purchases, and also illustrates under what condition the effect can hold and change. Charity donations and purchase choice on material or experiential products are all important contributors for consumer well-being. Overall, this dissertation strengthens the understanding of impacts of social power on consumer behaviors, and meanwhile, presents valuable implications to theoretical studies and business practices in the future.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

How power can contribute to human well-being has been studied frequently in recent two decades. Basically, the agentic orientation of people with high power uplifts their own well-being (Rucker, Ganlisky, and Dubois 2012), but also produces some negative effects and disturbs other's well-being (Kipnis 1972). However, powerful people can also change their behaviors toward prosocial direction, if they possess other-benefit motivations or emphasize an altruistic goal.

The Impact of Power on Self Well-being

Rucker, Dubois, and Galinsky (2012) proposed a general tendency to explain the different behaviors about people in high power and low power states: people in high power states tend to form an agentic orientation for behaviors whereas people in low power states tend to foster a communal orientation instead. Due to this quality, people in high power states are more engaged in free behaviors to contribute to one's well-being without many constraints. For example, due to the correspondence between powerful people's internal state and behavior, they

experience higher level of well-being by feeling more authentic (Kifer et al. 2013). Besides, powerful people feel like to smile more freely when they have such internal desire, but powerless people feel more obligated to smile no matter how they feel at that moment (Hecht and LaFrance 1998). Powerful people are more inspired by themselves in social interactions, since they prioritize themselves over others by talking about their own experiences and stories and reap emotional rewards (Van Kleef, Oveis, Homan, Lowe, and Keltner 2015). Such self-focused orientation makes powerful people produce more counterfactual thinking on how they could have achieved a better outcome after a failure which lead them learn to improve their performance in the future (Scholl and Sassenberg 2014). Power also motivates self-regulation toward effective performance (DeWall, Baumeister, Mead, and Vohs 2011). Furthermore, due to powerful people's approach orientation, they tend to pursue more rewards, such as freedom, true-attitude expressions, and positive emotions (such as amusement, enthusiasm, and happiness) (Anderson and Berdahl 2002; Keltner et al. 2003). Elevated power state can also increase one's self-esteem, which works through uplifted affective states (Wojciszke and Struzynska-Kujalowicz 2007). Above all, power is a favorable psychological state that people would like to have, since it brings in positive experiences and raise one's subjective well-being.

While focusing on oneself surely will make individuals feel happy; however, excessive self-centered behaviors can cause distress to others as well. High-power people tend to use stereotyping information to judge others by focusing more on stereotyping-consistent information but less considering the stereotype-inconsistent information, while low-power people use stereotyping to a lesser extent (Fiske, 1993; Goodwin, Gubin, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2000). It is found that people in high power states are also less likely to take others' perspective into consideration than people in low power states, which suggests impediment caused by power to experience empathy (Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, and Gruenfeld 2006). Feelings of power can resulte in discount of advice received from others as well, meaning they don't like to listen to advice no matter how knowledgeable the adviser is; the feelings of competitiveness and confidence drive powerful people to have such responses (Tost, Gino, and Larrick 2012).

High power even often leads to antisocial behaviors. With a stronger propensity toward action, high-power individuals behave egoistically by taking from common resources (Galinsky, Gruenfeld, and Magee 2003). High-status fraternity members tend to tease others more frequently and in a more hostile way (Keltner et al. 1998). For immoral behaviors, power increases hypocrisy by leading people impose strict moral standards—for example, in matters such as cheating on other people but behave less morally themselves (Lammers et al. 2010);

there are higher chance for upper class individuals to conduct unethical selfish behaviors which is induced by their sense of power (Dubois et al. 2015). Powerful mindset is also more likely to lead people to seek more risks (i.e., unprotected sex, Anderson and Galinsky 2006). It seems that these frequently resulted antisocial or egoistic behaviors are greatly aligning with Lord Acton's notion that *"Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely"* (Acton & Himmelfarb, 1948: 335-336). Does power only work toward one's own benefits and subject well-being, but always do harm to others or contribute hardly any valuable to the society?

The Impact of Power on Other's Well-being: Activation of the Prevailing Motives or Salient Goals

It might not be fair and sufficient to say power is the fundamental source of corruption; rather, the essence of this corruption is from the true motives or the leading goals of power holders. In other words, whether or not a power holder corrupts is not solely determined by power itself, but also determined by the actual motives and goals associated with those power holders. For example, power increases the self-serving behaviors only for the exchangers with self-interest goals, but not the communal-oriented people with social-responsibility goals (Chen, Lee-Chai, and Bargh 2001). The explicitness of power cues stimulates high-power people's

interdependent construal, which predicts a higher level of connection to others and co-worker support (Caza, Tiedens, and Lee 2010). In an ultimatum game, the offers of powerful allocators to their recipients increase when the recipients are completely powerless (vs. having relatively less-power), since the powerful allocators' feelings of social responsibility are evoked in such situation (Handgraaf, Van Dijk, Vermunt, Wilke, and De Dreu 2008). As for powerful people's social interaction with others, when people are given the task to judge others, powerful perceivers display superior individuation process compared to powerless perceivers (Overbeck and Park 2001). Moreover, when people are in high power state and feel cooperative with their advisors, it lessens their inclination to discount other's advice (Tost et al. 2012). Therefore, power corrupts only when self-relevant motives are evoked or self-serving goals are activated. However, when power works under prosocial motivations or with benevolent goals, it facilitates and strengthens the positive outcomes. To that end, power should be studied further with more boundary conditions added, and power should be promoted with prosocial motives and goals to positively contribute to man's well-beings.

The power literature has largely focused on power holder's own well-being. Even though the intrinsic motives and goals can moderate the effect of power on the egoistic well-being and

produce more altruistic benefits, both intrinsic motives and goals are connected with one's potential motivations that are relatively hard to change. Therefore, it's important to prospect other factors that could work with power to achieve prosocial outcome and at the same time easier to apply. One of the aims of this dissertation is to explore such factors, for example, publicity. Although much research has been done in investigating how power can influence human well-being and consumer behavior as a whole, little has studied the effect of power on behaviors specifically from the perspective of consumer well-being. However, since consumption plays a very important role in maximizing utility, creating happiness, and satisfying needs for consumers, this dissertation examines how power would impact one's behaviors in consumption and how can power contribute to consumer well-being.

Literature showed that experiential products consumers generally absorb more happiness from their purchase than material products consumers (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). It would be also interesting to examine powerful and powerless people's preferences on experiential and material consumption to further explore whether consumption factors (material and experiential purchase types, for example) contributing to the well-being of both powerful and powerless people.

Power as the Contributor to Consumer Well-being

The research of power has expanded into the area of consumer behavior in recent years. Literature shows that power states affect consumer choices of spending on self and others (Rucker, Dubois, and Galinsky 2011), conspicuous consumption (Rucker and Galinsky 2008), as well as consumers' perceptions on price fairness (Jin, He, and Zhang 2014), consumers' compensatory consumption of status-relevant products (Dubois, Rucker, Galinsky 2010, 2011), money saving (Garbinsky, Klesse, and Aaker 2014), and brand switching (Jiang, Zhan, and Rucker 2014).

Although power has been found to influence consumer behavior in many aspects, one of the major research stream of this topic focuses on how consumption can help to compensate powerless people's low power states (Rucker and Galinsky 2008, 2009; Dubois et al. 2011) or to maintain powerful people's high power states (Garbinsky et al. 2014). Because people in low or high power state generally possess different level of psychologic utility including self-importance and dependence on others, which play a potential role in driving people in high and low power states to behave differently (Rucker et al. 2011; Jin et al. 2014). To restore power, powerless people tend to buy luxury brands (Rucker and Galinsky 2008, 2009) and larger-size

options in assortment (Dubois et al. 2010, 2011) by signaling status to others, since such products can represent for status. Rucker et al. (2011) also showed that powerless but not powerful tend to spend more on others which effect is driven by powerless people's low psychologic utility (dependence on others), an indirect way to compensate their low power state; whereas powerful but not powerless people tend to spend more on themselves since powerful people hold higher self-importance. And driven by powerful people's desire to maintain their current high power state, Garbinsky et al. (2014) find that feeling powerful increases their tendency to have more savings.

Although previous research has looked at power from different perspectives, none of them studied power's effect on publicity to influence donation from self-presentation perspective or power's effect on purchase choice of material and experiential goods. It is proposed in this dissertation that power can largely contribute to consumer well-being by influencing their donation behavior and choice of material or experiential consumption. Donation as a way to help others can always increase the well-being of people in need. Experiential consumption compared to material consumption grants people more happiness (Carter and Gilovich 2012). Two essays will respectively discuss about each of the topics in depth.

CHAPTER THREE: ESSAY 1
POWER DRIVES MONETARY DONATION IN PUBLIC VERSUS IN PRIVATE

Abstract

This research examines how people's donation behaviors in public and in private can be affected by people's temporary power states. First experiment proved an initial evidence about high-power people's preference to donate publicly. The second experiment found that powerful (vs. powerless) people also tend to donate more money in public than in private. The effect was observed using power manipulations of both role-playing and episodic recall among both college and national samples in two experiments. In the third experiment, we further show that this effect is mediated by one's self-presentation concerns in public versus in private. A fourth experiment measures one's belief in the relation between donation and other's impression and proves that the previous effect can only occur when people strongly believe donation can lead to other's positive impressions; when people have weak belief about donation's positive influence on other's impressions, powerful (vs. powerless) people do not show a tendency to donate more in public than in private.

Keywords: Power, Self-presentation, and Donation

Introduction

In 2015 Americans gave $375.25 billion to charitable causes. The largest source of charitable giving came from individuals who donated $268.26 billion or 71% of total giving in the US (Giving USA 2016). From 1975 to 2015, the dollar amount of charitable giving in the US keeps increasing with a decent percentage. That shows donation makes up a very important part of people's monetary allocation in the US. As fundraising activities by charities, crowd funding websites, churches and other organizations largely flush into people's life, how fundraisers can solicit funds effectively becomes more and more important. Despite the growing need, charitable organizations seem to not yet fully figure out the most effective ways (publicly or privately) to implement the donation activities.

Fundraisers generally use both public and private ways to solicit donations. But for whether to donate publicly or privately, there is no explicit conclusions and different people might hold different opinions. Some believe that public donations can help to build a culture of generosity and caring; but others keep their donation anonymous to avoid future solicitation, or believe that only anonymous donation is a real altruistic act. Empirical evidence towards the relationship between publicity and donation behavior also depends on some other factors. A

major stream of research on this topic indicates that publicity can increase individuals' prosocial behavior including donation (Alpizar, Carlsson, and Johansson-Stenman 2008; Ariely et al. 2009; and Glazer and Konrad 1996). This stream of research mainly focuses on individual's signaling or image motivation effect on donation behavior, which refers to one's care about others' perceptions (Ariely et al. 2009). Public donation or other prosocial behavior can be considered as a way to earn recognition and boost their reputation (Harbaugh 1998, Ariely et al. 2009), since being altruistic is often seen as "good (Ariely et al. 2009). However, much other research suggests the effect of publicity on donation is conditional on factors such as altruistic and communal personality (Prince and File 1994), needs of organization (Fisher and Ackerman 1998), and gender (Wymer and Samu 2002) and so on. Since the effects of publicity on donations vary with different situations, it is proposed that power can also change the effect of publicity on donations. This research will look at how power can interact with publicity to impact one's donation behavior through self-presentation concerns.

June 16th 2010, *Fortune* broke the story that Warren Buffett and the Gates were calling on the other wealthiest in the land to give half of their personal net worth to charity. The idea came from a May 2009 dinner in New York City, where Warrant Buffet, David Rockefeller, Oprah Winfrey, Ted Turner, and New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg—a gathering

representative of the most influential, wealthy, and powerful people in the world—encouraged other billionaires, who may have planned to leave a large windfall to their descendants, to reconsider the final destination of their wealth. Such news is always the spotlight of medial. According to the 2013 Million Dollar List from the Indiana University's Center on Philanthropy, 233 million-donors made public donations of about 7.6 billion and only 27 million-donors donate anonymously and created only about 109 million donations. It seems that those millionaires, who are relatively more powerful in our society, tend to donate more in public.

Given that the effect of publicity on charity behavior does not persist in all situations and that powerful people's donations are much higher in public than in private, it would be instructive and informative to investigate how publicity and power states can interact to influence one's donation behavior, and further what drives this interaction effect on donation. This paper argues that one's power states moderate the relationship between publicity and donation amount. Specifically, high power state strengthens the positive relationship between publicity and donation; however, low power state dilutes such positive relationship.

In this research donation in public refers to situations where donor information is made explicitly visible to others, so that others have access to the information regarding who donates how much; and donation in private means anonymous situations where donor information is

completely unknown to others. Power is "defined as asymmetric control over valued resources in social relationships" (Rucker, Hu and Galinsky 2014: 382), and powerful people have more control of resources than powerless people in social relations. It is proposed that the powerful people donate a higher amount of money in public than in private, because powerful people's self-presentation concerns increase greatly in public scenarios compared to private scenarios; whereas for the powerless people, their self-presentations in public and private scenarios do not significantly influence their donation across these two scenarios. Self-presentation concern refers to one's concern about his/her behavior that attempts to convey information about oneself or deliver image of oneself to other people (Baumeiser and Hutton 1987).

This research makes several theoretical and practical contributions. First, although some research has examined certain conditions where people tend to donate more in public (White and Peloza 2009; Winterich et al. 2013), none of these studies have investigated the potential moderating role of one's state of power. Power is a pervasive psychological state that one may experience at different moments, which could guide their behaviors at those instances (Rucker and Galinshily 2008; Rucker et al. 2012). The current research investigates social power as moderator of the effect of publicity on donation. By demonstrating that subtle shifts of one's

power state can change people's donation patterns in public and in private, this research establishes the importance of momentary feelings of power on individual charitable behavior.

Previous empirical evidence about social power shows that people in high power states usually spend more money on themselves than on others, and behave unethically in order to pursue self-benefits (Rucker et al. 2011; Dubois et al. 2015). Such conclusions seem to be inconsistent with the powerful people's prosocial tendency proposed by the current paper at the first glance, but this paper brings in publicity to reconcile the contradiction. It means that powerful people's selfish behavior is only displayed by them in private situations where self-presentation concerns are not activated; while powerful people behave prosaically in public to promote a positive image to others.

Second, this research makes contribution to the power literature by showing the evidence that powerful people have more concerns about self-presentation in public but not private situations; however, powerless people do not show different concerns about their self-image in public and private situations. Although extant studies on power have also tested how public scenario can change powerful or powerless people's behavior (Dubois et al. 2011; Mourali and Yang 2013), none of them examined self-presentation concerns as a direct mechanism for their

findings. This paper investigates and specifies self-presentation concern as the mediator for the donation behavior of people in high and low power states.

Third, from a practical perspective, despite the growing need for monetary donations, fundraisers have not yet fully dig out the most effective ways to appeal for help or solicit donations (White and Peloza 2009). This research helps charity to better understand the donation behavior of individuals in high and low power states, and provides donation solicitors an approach to raise funds by assessing or influencing donors' power states.

The moderating effect of power state with publicity on donation is examined in four experimental studies in this essay. Study 1 showed that it is more likely for powerful people to donate in public than in private comparted to powerless people. Study 2 proved that powerful people also tended to donate more money in public than in private, whereas low-power individuals tend to donate similarly amount in both public and private. Study 3 shows that this interaction effect occurs through one's self-presentation concern; in particular, empowered individual' self-presentation concerns are greater in public than in private, which drive their high donation amount in public scenario. To further support the self-presentation arguments, study 4 measures one's belief about the positive relationship between donation and good social image to strengthen the self-presentation concern; and it shows that the moderating role of power on

publicity over donations only holds under strong belief condition but disappears under the weak belief condition that discourage the powerful individuals to donate high amounts in.

People's Donation Behavior in General

Donation has been studied largely in the recent two decades. There are many different factors that can influence one's donation behavior, such as mortality salience (Cai and Wyer 2015; Ferraro, Shiv, and Bettman 2005), appearance attractiveness (Fisher and Ma 2014), scales and magnitude in donation solicitation campaigns (De Bruyn and Prokopec 2013) and so on. Furthermore, one's belief in good karma (Kulow and Kramer 2016) and justice (Saerom, Winterich, and William 2014), power distance (Winterich and Zhang 2014), nostalgia (Zhou, Wildschut, Sedikides, Shi, and Feng 2012), and levels of different construals (Macdonnell and White 2015; Winterich and Barone 2011) can also influence people's donation behavior.

Since power is a fundamental and pervasive concept influencing one's behavior ((Mourali and Yang 2013; Caza et al. 2011), examining one's effects of feelings powerful and powerless would provide important insights on donation behaviors.

Donation in Public and in Private

Publicity plays a very important role in increasing charitable donations. Although many fundraising organizations respect donors' privacy requests and do not publicize their information, research has found that publicity can increase charitable donations greatly (Cotterill, John, Richardson 2013; Ariely, Bracha, and Meier 2009; Rege and Telle 2004). Cotterill et al. (2013) found that a household would be more likely to donate a book if the fundraiser requested a pledge at the same time promised local publicity. Releasing one's identity (information and photos) greatly increased giving in an experiment done by Andreoni and Petrie (2004).

However, the publicity effect on donation or other charitable behaviors does not persist across all situations. White and Peloza (2009) showed that only other-benefit but not self-benefit appeals for help generates more favorable donation when public accountability was reminded. Fisher and Ackerman (1998) have found that only when participants believed that the charitable organization's needs were high did the promised recognition increased volunteering. Winterich, Mittal, and Aquino (2013) argued that recognition only increases the monetary donations of people with high moral identity symbolization and low moral identity internalization (Aquino and Reed 2002).

Although at the first glance it may seem easy to draw a conclusion from extant research about power's effect on donation, none of the previous research looked at the effect from public and private perspective. Rucker et al. (2010) shows that powerful people generally spend more on themselves but spend less on others in relative to powerless people. If monetary donation were regarded as spending on others because it is a way that the donors give money to the needed. powerful people should donate less to others but save more to themselves and powerless people will donate more to others and save less to themselves. However, the current research plans to compare the donation behavior of powerful people and powerless people in public and in private, but not to compare how much the powerful and powerless people donate and save respectively. Garbinsky et al. (2014) find that powerful people tend to have more savings than powerless people. If consider donation from saving's perspective, powerful people should also donate less because they want to save more compared to powerless people. However, their experimental settings were private and they did not investigate if spending on others and savings behavior occur in a public setting. Therefore, the conclusion from Garbinsky et al. (2014) should confirm the prediction in current research at private situation but not public situation.

The current research will focus more on exploring the different donation behaviors between powerful and powerless people in public situation. It is predicted powerful (vs.

powerless) people tend to donate higher amount in public situation relative to private situation where powerful people's behavior can be seen by others and their self-presentation concerns are high. The self-importance and power maintenance mechanisms (Garbinsky et al. 2014, Rucker et al. 2011) are efficient to the extent one's behavior is only exposed to themselves, but it is predicted when exposing one's behavior to others publicity can change one's behavior by making one's self-presentation concern more salient.

People generally have higher self-presentation motivations in public than in private (Leary and Kowalski, 1990) and this motivation can be strongly promoted by power. Therefore, it is predicted that self-presentation concern will be the underlying mechanism for the interaction effect between power and publicity on people's donation behaviors. In other words, people in high power state actually utilize donation as a self-presentation strategy in public scenario.

Power's Effect on Publicity over Donation

Power's Effect on People's Behavior in Public versus in Private

Power as a temporary psychological state influences individual behaviors in public and private asymmetrically. For example, when evaluating products, powerful people are more likely to show reactance and exhibit counter-normative attitudes to mitigate the threats of autonomy when then evaluations are done in public but not in private, while powerless people tend to conform to social influence in both public and private product evaluations (Mourali and Yang 2013). On the other hand, when larger sizes are deemed as representing for high status, powerless people prefer larger-sized options in assortment and larger-portion food especially in the public situation, since the larger-sized products satisfy low-power individual's need for status (Dubois et al. 2011). These works demonstrate that power could change individual behavior across public and private situations.

Other than mitigating threats for autonomy and satisfying need for status, this paper aims to investigate self-presentation concern as a potential mechanism that can drive powerful and powerless people to behave differently in public and private situations, since self-presentation is an important factor that influences consumer behavior in public and in private (e.g., variety-

seeking behavior, Ratner and Kahn 2002; dissociative reference groups on consumer preferences, White and Dahl 2006).

Power and Self-Presentation Concerns in Public and in Private

"Self-presentation is the use of behavior to communicate some information about oneself to others" (Baumeister 1982: 3). Among all the factors that can influence individual self-presentation concern, publicity is of central importance since publicity involves both howlikely others can observe one's behavior and how largely that behavior can be learnt by others (Leary and Kowalski 1990). One is generally more concerned with how they appear to others and is motivated to adopt self-presentation strategies when his behavior is more public (House 1980). For example, people choose food not only to satisfy their nutritive and sensory needs but also to build up positive public images (Sadalla and Burroughts 1981); and females in particular tend to consume less when dinning with a desirable male compared to any other partner, since they want to deliver information about their femininity (Mori, Chaiken, and Pliner 1987).

Power is a relative state that needs a comparison within relationships (Anderson et al. 2002; Galinsky et al. 2006). To a broader scope, only a public scenario provides such social context that people can compare their control of resources with others and further produce different power states. If it is a private context, no conditions are given to figure out one's

relative power state, since there is no other people one can compare with. Because a public situation provides comparing objects and enables the comparison with powerless others to occur, powerful people will care more about their self-presentation in public than in private.

Powerful people are motivated to maintain their current high-power states (Garbinsky et al. 2014), and how powerful people present themselves in front of others produce greater impact (either strengthening or threatening) on whether they could maintain their social status. Previous research has shown that the extent to which people in authority positions can influence effectively largely depend on their ability to maintain competent and effective public images (Leary, Barnes, and Griebel 1986). It is more important for powerful people to build a positive social image in order to achieve the goal of maintaining high power states, whereas in private situations, nothing could threaten powerful people's high-power states. For example, Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg's philanthropic behavior is more likely to enhance his social image when the news reports his charitable behaviors; on the other hand, former US President Bill Clinton's career and reputation was more seriously destroyed when the scandal was released to the public. However, if all these events happened without being known by others, there would not have been such huge impacts on the individuals involved in either story. Thus, powerful people will show more self-presentation concern in public than in private. At the same time, one potential benefit

of self-presentation is to gain more positive social value by matching audience expectations and preferences (Baumeister 1987; Larry, Alf Steinar; Keri, and Jan-Oddvar 2010). In order to be consistent with their current high-power state and keep their high-power states safe and stable, powerful people should more concern about behaving in a socially expected way to gain social value. Therefore, not only will powerful people's self-presentation concern in public be higher than in private, but also will they tend to behave in a more socially accepted way to gain potential benefits.

On the other hand, powerless people's low power state is aversive in both public and private; therefore, they are motivated to enhance power states in both public and private scenarios. However, the fundamental cause of powerless people's low power state is lacking of resources, which makes their major concern to be accumulating resources to compensate their powerlessness when this choice is available. Therefore, it is predicted that powerless people will not show different self-presentation concerns in public and private situations, which will not drive them to donate high amounts of money either no matter in public or private scenario.

Donation as a Self-Presentation Strategy

Previous research indicates that social image concern is a main driver of prosocial behavior (Carpenter and Myers 2010; Ariely et al. 2009), meaning that the more people concern about their social image the more prosocial behavior they would engage in. Social scientists also proved that a "prestige benefit" or social approval could also affect prosocial behaviors, such as donation (Benabou and Tirole, 2006; Harbaugh, 1998). Since donation is a very effective way in obtaining public acknowledgement, social acceptance, a good reputation, and appreciation (Sim 2007[1]), individuals have high self-presentation concerns will be more motivated by the personal recognition and benefits from donation, which will further increase their donation level. Therefore, donation is used as a self-presentation strategy for powerful people, and it is expected that powerful people who care about how others will perceive themselves are likely to donate a high amount in public (vs. in private) to build up a positive image in the public eyes.

On the other hand, for powerless people, money as the most valuable type of resource that can exchange for almost all the other kind of resources would be the powerless people's best choice at such situations. The fundamental way for compensation power would be saving more

[1] http://www.stepbystepfundraising.com/why-do-people-donate-to-charitable-causes/

resources (money in this situation). Thus, powerless people will not show donation differences in public or private situations, and donate relatively lower in both situations.

Hypothesis 1a: People in high power state more prefer to donate publicly than donate privately compared to people in low power state.

Hypothesis 1b: Powerful people will be more likely to have higher donation amount in public but not in private; however, powerless people will behave consistently across public and private scenarios by donating similar amounts.

Hypothesis 2: The power and publicity interaction effect on monetary donation is mediated by self-presentation concerns. Powerful people have a higher self-presentation concern in public than in private, which lead them to donate a higher amount in public than in private; however, powerless people do not exhibit different self-presentation concerns across public and private scenarios, which lead them to donate uniformly.

Summary and Overview of Studies

Four studies are conducted to test how temporary high or low power state can drive individual monetary donations in public and in private. In the first study, power was manipulated by a role-playing task and it aimed at testing the interaction effect of publicity and power on donation behavior (preference to donate in public or in private). The second study's settings were similar to study 1, but it adopted a different way to manipulate power (recall task) and also used a different donation scenario to look at donation amount differences among powerful and powerless people in public and private scenarios. Besides replicating the results from the second study 2, the third study added self-presentation concern measurements to find out the mechanism underlying the interaction effect between publicity and power on donation behavior. The fourth study included a third variable – impression belief (strong vs. weak) on the positive relationship between donation amount and others' impressions to further consolidate the findings from study 3. It found that when the self-presentation concern was strengthened by strong belief, the interaction effects held and powerful (vs. powerless) people donate high amount in public than in private. However, the effect diluted when people held a weak belief on high donation amount would lead to others' positive impression. Across the four studies, power was manipulated using

both episodic priming and mental role-playing, and they used different donation scenarios and behaviors to examine the proposed hypotheses.

Study 1: Power and Choice on Donation Scenario

Study 1 aimed to test Hypothesis 1a about the relationship between power and a preference for way of donation (publicly vs. privately). Specifically, it examined how people's power states (high vs. low) predicted their choice on public or private donation and the likelihood to donate publicly.

Method

Totally 191 Mechanical Turk (MTurk) participants were recruited to complete the study in exchange for financial compensation. To manipulate power, I adapted the method in Dubois et al. (2010) with some modifications. Participants imagined they are a team leader or a team member for a project and write down how they felt to be in the role of team leader or team member. Specifically, they read the following paragraph about team leader, which worked as the manipulation for high power:

First, we would like you to imagine you are a TEAM LEADER for a project.

As a leader, you are in control of resources and have the expertise to lead the whole team to accomplish the project. Since you are more experienced and knowledgeable, you give guidance and directions to your team members. Excellent interpersonal skills further lead the team members to respect your authority, agree on your decisions, and follow your orders. Because of your leadership the team successfully achieve the final goal.

Please spend some time to vividly imagine and write down below how POWERFUL you would feel to be in the role of a TEAM LEADER.

For the participants in low power condition, they were requested to read the following paragraph:

First, we would like you to imagine you are a TEAM MEMBER for a project.

As a team member, you are short of resources and lack of skills to accomplish the project by yourself. Due to inadequate experiences and knowledge accumulation, you need guidance and direction. Lacking other supportive resources and necessary assistance

make the tasks assigned to you even more challenging and difficult to finish. Therefore, as a team member you are not able or resourceful enough to take many responsibilities. Please spend some time to vividly imagine and write down below how POWERLESS you would feel to be in the role of a TEAM MEMBER.

I randomly assigned participants to above scenarios. Next, they were given an introduction about Children's Miracle Network Hospitals® (CMN Hospitals) and were asked to answer questions afterwards. The description about CMN Hospitals is adapted from its official website and is shown as below:

"Children's Miracle Network Hospitals® raises funds and awareness for 170 member hospitals that provide 32 million treatments each year to kids across the U.S. and Canada." Their mission is to save and "improve the lives of as many children as possible. Donations stay local to fund critical treatments and healthcare services, pediatric medical equipment and charitable care. Since 1983, Children's Miracle Network Hospitals has raised more than $5 billion, most of it $1 at a time through the charity's Miracle Balloon icon." (https://childrensmiraclenetworkhospitals.org/history/#2017)

Then, participants were told that the CMN Hospital has a fund-raising activity going on right now. They were asked to imagine they had 100 dollars (the saving from last month) and would like to donate some money. They then were asked to indicate in which way they would like to make the donation, i.e., to donate publicly, which means the CMN Hospitals will list their donation information (name and the amount of money you donate) on their website; or to donate privately, which means the CMN Hospitals will not release or use their donation information (name and the amount of money you donate) in any way. A following question asked the participants to rate from 1 to 7 and indicate to what extent they prefer to donate publicly or to donate privately (1- Absolutely to donate publicly and 7- Absolutely to donate privately).

At the end, participants answered power manipulation check questions, which were three items adapted from Schaerer, Swaab, and Galinsky (2015). Specifically, they were asked to "indicate the extent to which they felt powerful (1 = powerless, 7 = powerful), in control (1 = no control, 7 = in control), strong (1 = weak, 7 = strong)" (Schaerer et al. 2015:: 172). Finally, background information items were asked.

Results and Discussion

A final sample of 188 participants (Mage = 37, SD = 12.8; 63.3% female) was used for data analysis. Since gender was proved to affect philanthropic behavior (cite), it was added as covariate in the analysis. Three participants spent extreme long time (3 SD above the mean of time spending) and were excluded from all analyses of this study.

The three items that measured power were combined together and the Cronbach's alpha is .95. Power was successfully manipulated by the role-play scenario, and results showed that people in the team leader role granted more powerful feelings (M = 5.75, SD = 1.08) than people in the team member role (M = 3.05, SD = 2.02, $F(1, 186) = 122.78$, $p < .01$)

For choice of donation ways, logistic regression was adopted for analysis, since the dependent variable was binary. As stated in hypothesis 1, participants in high power condition were more likely to donate in a public way than participants in low power condition (B = .61, Wald $\chi 2 = 3.08$, p = .08 marginal significant); and the percentage of the powerful participants chose to donate publicly (29.4%) was significantly higher than that of powerless participants (18.4%). Gender as a control variable did not have any effect on the donation choice (B < -.01, Wald $\chi 2 < .01$, p = .998)

One-way ANOVA was run with power as independent variable and extend to which people preferred to donate publicly or privately as dependent variable. In line with hypothesis 1, powerful people were more likely to donate publicly (M = 5.14) than powerless people who were more likely to donate privately (M = 5.7, $F(1, 185) = 4.9$, p = .03). Again, gender as a control variable did not show any effect on the donation choice ($F(1, 185) = .55$, p = .46)

In sum, study 1 found initial evidence for hypothesis 1. Specifically, people in high power state tend to prefer to donate in a public way compared to people in low power state. People's gender does not affect this effect. To further validate this effect, the second study would like to test whether people in high or low power state will donate differently in public versus in private.

Study 1b: Power and Donation Amount in Public versus in Private

This experiment mainly aimed to test the hypothesis (Hypothesis 1b) that people experiencing high power (vs. low) state will donate more in public but not in private. This study manipulated participants' power following Galinsky et al. (2003) and changed the charity to

manipulate different donation settings (Winterich, et al. 2013). Donation amount was measured as a continuous variable (Winterich and Zhang 2014).

Participants and Design

Two hundred and eighty-seven students from a large southeastern university at US were recruited and joined the study for extra credits. The study was conducted in the behavioral lab using a 2 (power: high vs. low) × 2 (publicity: public vs. private) between-subject design.

Procedures

After participants entered the lab, they were seated at computers in individual cubes. Then the instruction of the study was given to them. Episodic priming (Galinsky et al. 2003) manipulation of power was used in this study and was also the first task that participants were asked to finish. In that task, they were assigned randomly to a high or a low power condition in which participants recalled powerful or powerless experience respectively.

Next, participants were given a second task that they were told had nothing to do with the first one. They were given a short passage about FACHC (Florida Association of Community

Health Centers). After reading the passage, they were randomly assigned to either a public or private donation condition. After that, participants were asked to imagine that they had 100 dollars and indicate how much they would like to donate to the charity.

At the end, participants completed manipulation check questions for the power manipulation and publicity manipulation. Last, they were asked to answer a series of background questions.

Independent Variables

Power. I primed power using the procedure adapted from Galinsky et al. (2003). Participants in the high power condition were asked that: "Please recall a particular incident in which you had power over another individual or individuals. By power, we mean a situation in which you controlled the ability of another person or persons to get something they wanted, or were in a position to evaluate those individuals. Please describe this situation in which you had power—what happened, how you felt, etc." (Galinsky et al. 2003: 458).

Participants in the low-power condition were asked that: "Please recall a particular incident in which someone else had power over you. By power, we mean a situation in which

someone had control over your ability to get something you wanted, of was in a position to evaluate you. Please describe this situation in which you did not have power—what happened, how you felt, etc." (Galinsky et al., 2003: 458).

Publicity. Publicity was manipulated via different donating context in which participants were told whether their names would be released publicly or not (Winterich et al. 2013). Specifically, in the public condition, the participants were told: "In exchange for your donation, your name and the amount of money you donate will be listed on their website." (Winterich et al. 2013).

In the private condition, they were told: "For purposes of anonymity, your personal information (name and amount of donation) will not be released or used in any way." (Winterich et al. 2013).

Dependent Measures

Donation amount. For the donation amount, participants were asked to specify, "How much they would donate to" the nonprofit organization (FACHC) and put an exact amount up to 100 into the empty box below the question (Winterich and Zhang 2014: 281).

Manipulation Check. To make sure power manipulation worked in expected ways to induce different levels of power, participants were asked three questions about their power state from 1 to 7(1 = Not At All, 7 = Extremely). They were told that "Now you will be asked some questions about the task that you recalled at the beginning of the study." They were requested to rate several items (powerful/powerless, in control/without control, and strong/weak) to indicate how powerful they felt at that moment.

To verify the publicity manipulation, participants indicated how strongly they agree or disagree with the following items using from 1 to 7 (1-Strongly Disagree, 7-Strongly Agree). "*The charity organization-FACHC will release my donation information (name and the amount of money I donate) on their website."; "My donation information (name and the amount of money I donate) is public and known to others."*

Results

A final sample of 280 participants (M_{age} = 22.5, SD = 5.9; 51.4% female) was used for data analysis. Gender was added as covariate in the analysis as well. Seven participants spent extreme long time (3 SD above the mean time spending) and were excluded from all analyses of this study.

Manipulation Check-Power. The three items that measured power were combined together and the Cronbach's alpha is .95. Results showed a significant main effect of power ($F(1, 276) = 95.44$, $p < .01$), which meant that participants in the high-power condition ($M = 5.53$) experienced a more powerful state than those in the low-power condition ($M = 3.57$, SD = .14). There was no significant effect from publicity ($F(1, 276) = .15$, $p = .7$) or the interactions between power and publicity ($F(1, 276) = 1.44$, $p = .23$).

Manipulation Check-Publicity. The two items measuring publicity were also combined for the manipulation check of publicity ($r = .85$, $p < .01$). The results showed a significant effect from publicity ($F(1, 276) = 102.34$, $p < .01$), which specified that people in the public condition ($M = 4.4$) believed their donation information would be more likely to be released to and known by public than people in the private condition ($M = 2.12$, SD = .16). Therefore, the manipulation of publicity was successful.

There was also a significant effect from power ($F(1, 276) = 5.99$, $p = .02$), which showed that people in the powerful condition ($M = 2.99$) believed their donation information would be less likely to be released publicly than people in the powerless condition ($M = 3.54$, SD = .16). The interaction between power and publicity was not significant ($F(1, 276) = .25$, $p = .62$).

To examine the interaction effect between power and publicity on donation, ANCOVA was applied for the analyses, since the independent variables were all categorical. A 2 (power: high vs. low) by 2 (publicity: public vs. private) ANCOVA was performed on donation amount with gender as a control variable. More specific results were described as follows.

Donation amount. For donation amounts, there was a significant two-way interaction ($F(1, 275) = 5.61$, $p = .02$) between power and publicity. When individuals experience high power state, they donate more in the public condition ($M = 36.41$) than in the private condition ($M = 23.72$, $SD = 4.85$, $F(1, 275) = 6.85$, $p = .01$). In contrast, when individuals experience low power state, their donation amount didn't show significant difference ($F(1, 275) = .53$, $p = .47$) between the public condition ($M = 27.01$) and the private condition ($M = 30.54$, $SD = 4.83$).

Main effect for power were found non-significant ($F(1, 275) = .14$, $p = .71$). There was no significant main effect from publicity ($F(1, 275) = 1.8$, $p = .18$) or gender ($F(1, 275) = 2.61$, $p = .11$, figure 1), either.

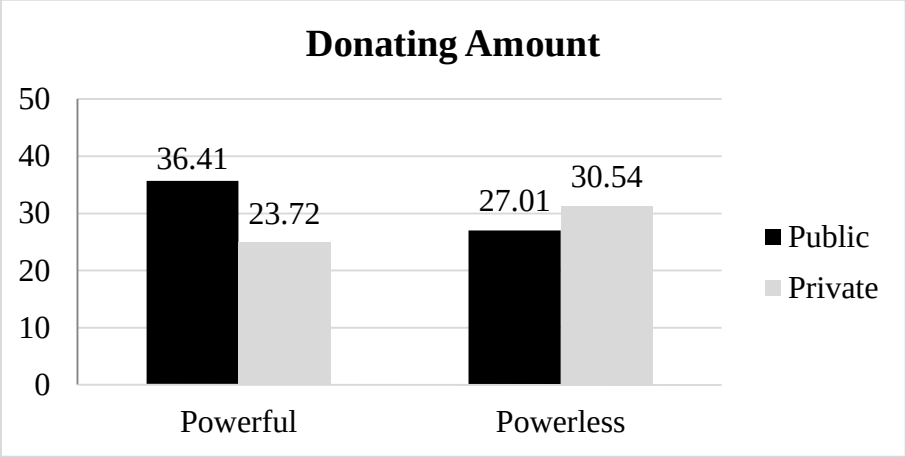


Figure 1. Interaction between Publicity and Power on Donation Amount

Discussion

Study 2 showed how people in different power states work with publicity to influence their donation decisions. In particular, when people experience high power state, those in the public (vs. private) condition will donate a higher amount of money. However, when people experience a low power state, they do not behave differently in public and private conditions by donating different amounts of money.

Although this finding supports our hypothesis 1b about power and publicity interaction effect on donation amount, one might wonder what the driver for this effect is. It is predicted that one's self-presentation concern lead the powerful people to donate differently in public and in

private, but it does not drive the powerless peoples to the same extent. Therefore, in next study the predicted underlying mechanism of self-presentation concern would be tested in order to find out the actual driver for the power and publicity effect on donation.

Study 2: A Matter of Self-Presentation?

There are two major goals of this experiment: 1) to replicate the findings that were observed in study 1b by employing a different power manipulation with mental role-playing; 2) to test hypothesis 2 and find out the underlying mechanism for the interaction effect.

Participants and Design

Two-hundreds and seventy-nine subjects (M_{age} = 38.7, SD = 13.16; 60.2% female) from Mturk were recruited for this study. Power was manipulated via a mental role-playing task adapted Dubois, Rucker, Galinsky (2010) as in study 1. I manipulated publicity in the same way as described in study 2.

The participants were first guided to access the link of the survey. In the study, respondents were exposed to a role-playing task. Then, participants were given the same instructions for reading a separate passage about a charity as in study 2. But since data was collected via Mturk, where the participants were from all different states, the charity's name was changed to SACHC (State Association of Community Health Centers) instead of FACHC (Florida Association of Community Health Centers). After reading the passage, the participants were randomly assigned to either a public donation scenario or a private donation scenario. After that, they were asked to imagine that they had 100 dollars and indicate how much they would like to donate to SACHC. Following that, the participants completed a self-presentation concern measurement that was composed of four items. Finally, manipulation check questions for the power and publicity, and other background questions were asked.

Independent Variables

Power. I manipulated power in the same way as in study 1a.

Publicity. I manipulated publicity similarly as in study 1b. Participants were told that "SACHC is conducting a fund-raising activity currently. Imagine you have 100 dollars in your pocket right now, which is the saving you have from last month, how much would you donate to

this nonprofit organization (SACHC)? Whatever you donate, the rest will be your discretionary money that you can spend freely." In the public scenario, they were told that "To recognize your donation, SACHC will list your donation information (name and the amount of money you donate) on their website which can be seen by the public and those that are benefited from the donation." But in the private scenario, participants were told that "For anonymous purpose, this donation event is completely private and your donation information will not be released or used in any way. In other words, no one will know how much you donate."

Dependent Measures

The dependent variables used in this study were similar with those in study 2, but self-presentation concern measurement was added.

Self-Presentation Concern. Three items made up the self-presentation concern measurement aiming to see how much the participants concern about their self-presentation in the donation process. The participants were asked to rate the level on how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statements about self-presentation at that moment, and rate each item from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). Specifically, the three items were: "I wanted to take the social responsibility to be consistent with social expectations." "I wanted to fulfill the social

expectations in a socially responsible way." "I wanted to take the social responsibility as expected by the society."

Donation amount. I adapted the measure of donation amount from Winterich and Zhang (2014), same as in Study 1.

Manipulation Check. Power manipulation checks items are same as in previous studies. For the publicity manipulation check, same items as described in study 2 were used. To make it more real, I instructed participants in the public condition that they would be asked to fill in their names at the end of the survey.

Results

A final sample of 274 participants was used for data analysis, since five participants spent extreme long time (3 SD above the mean of time spending) and were excluded from all analyses of this study. Gender was regarded as a covariate as well.

ANCOVA was applied for the analyses, since the independent variables were both categorical. A 2 (power: high vs. low) by 2 (publicity: public vs. private) ANCOVA was performed with power and publicity as independent variables, self-presentation concern and

donation amount as dependent variables, and gender as control variable. A mediated moderation analysis was performed using Hayes Model 8 (Hayes 2013).

Manipulation Check-Power. The three items that measured power were combined together and the Cronbach's alpha is .97. As expected, there was a significant main effect of power ($F(1, 270) = 224.77$, $p < .01$), meaning that participants primed with high power believed to have more power ($M = 5.52$) than those primed with low power ($M = 2.88$, SD = .2). There were no significant effect from publicity ($F(1, 270) = .7$, $p = .4$) or the interaction between publicity and power ($F(1, 270) = .05$, $p = .82$).

Manipulation Check-Publicity. The two items measuring publicity were also combined ($r = .95$, $p < .01$) for the manipulation check of publicity, and the results showed a significant main effect from publicity ($F(1, 270) = 227.04$, $p < .01$). Participants in the public scenario believed more that their information would be released publicly ($M = 5.33$) than those in the private scenario ($M = 2.02$, $SD = .22$). No other significant effect was found from power ($F(1, 270) = .6$, $p = .44$) or the interaction between power and publicity ($F(1, 270) = 1.53$, $p = .22$).

Donation amount. Although the main effect from power was not significant ($F(1, 269) = 1.62$, $p = .2$), there was a marginal main effect from publicity ($F(1, 269) = 3.33$, $p = .07$) on

donation amount. At the same time, a significant power × publicity interaction ($F(1, 269) = 4.14$, $p = .04$) appeared with gender as covariate. High-power participants indicated that they would like to donate more in public ($M = 29.48$) but not in private ($M = 17.57$, SD = 4.15, $F(1, 269) = 6.89$, $p = .01$). In contrast, low-power participants didn't significantly show any donation different across public and private situations. There was no significant difference between the donation amount in public condition ($M = 19.13$) and in private condition ($M = 19.73$, SD = 3.83, $F(1, 269) = .03$, $p = .88$) for the powerless participants. This result further confirmed hypothesis 2 and replicated the findings in study 2. Gender did not impact donation amount ($F(1, 269) = 1.48$, $p = .23$).

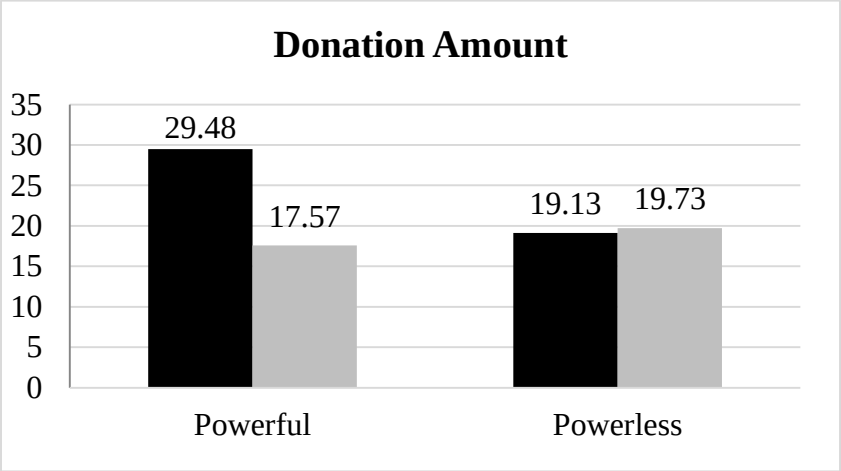


Figure 2. Donation Amount as a Function of Publicity and Power

Mediation Analyses of Self-Presentation Concern. We further tested whether the differences in public and private donation caused by different power states were mediated by self-presentation concern. Based on our theorizing, it was predicted that power state and publicity interacted to influence participants' self-presentation concern, which further impacted one's donation behavior. Therefore, we performed the mediation analyses using Hay's Model 8 with gender controlled.

This analysis first revealed that the interaction between power and publicity significantly predicted self-presentation (β = 1.01, $t(270) = 2.30$, $p = .02$). In addition, consistent with our proposition, self-presentation significantly predicted donation amount (β = 5.36, $t(268) = 7.60$, $p < .01$), and fully mediated the interaction effect of publicity and power on donation amount; since with self-presentation concern added into the model, the interaction effect between publicity and power on donation ($t(268) = 1.19$, $p = .24$) is not significant any more. Specifically, when people experienced high power state, publicity worked through self-presentation concern to impact donation amount (95% [CI], .37 – 7.25); however, when people experienced low power state, the mediation effect of self-presentation was not significant (95% [CI], -5.18 – 1.14). Gender did not show any significant effect on donation amount ($t(268) = 1.56$, $p = .12$).

Discussion

Study 2 further demonstrated that people's power states and publicity worked together to influence their donation behavior. The effects on donation amount were consistent with our predictions. The full mediation effect of self-presentation concern on donation amount proved hypothesis 2. This study further provided evidence that the power and publicity effects on donation worked through self-presentation. Basically, powerful people had higher self-presentation concern and would like to donate higher amount of money in the public scenario than in the private scenario. However, the mediation effects very much weakened for powerless people, neither did they show different donation behavior between public and private scenarios.

If self-presentation matters, one may wonder to what extent that will influence powerful people's donation behaviors. People generally believe high donation is benevolent and beneficial to others (Izuma, Saito, and Sadato 2010). Therefore, the reason for people adopting good behaviors is because they generally believe prosocial behavior such as high donation and taking responsibilities can satisfy social expectations, gain social acceptance, and likeness from others. How if such belief is negated and people hold weak belief on the positive relationship between donating highly and other's good impressions? It is predicted if people don't strongly believe there is positive relationship between their high donation amount and other's good impression

and likeness, the powerful people won't donate high in public than in private; since that will weaken their self-presentation motivation. In addition, the interaction effect between power and publicity on donation amount will only appear when people hold strong belief that high donation can lead to other's positive impression.

Hypothesis 3: The effect of powerful people donating higher in public than in private will only happen when they believe high donation will lead to others' positive impressions. However, this effect will dilute when people hold weak belief on the positive relationship between high donation and good impression.

Study 3: To What Extent Does Self-Presentation Matter?

The main goal of this study is to further prove the findings observed in study 3 by measuring people's impression belief and test hypothesis 3. In this study, we used the same power and publicity manipulations as in study 2. Impression belief was measured using three items.

Participants and Design

One hundred and sixty-two undergraduate students (M_{age} = 22.33, SD=4.93; 47.5% female) participated in a 2 (power: high vs. low) by 2 (publicity: public vs. private) between subjects design with impression belief measured.

Upon arrival, the participants were guided into individual cubicles with computers and accessed to the link of the survey. They were also told there were studies from different professors in the department. In the study, respondents were exposed to the same priming task of power in study 2.

Then, participants read a separate passage about FACHC (Florida Association of Community Health Centers). After reading the passage, they were randomly assigned to the

public or the private donation scenario and were asked to indicate the amount they would donate to FACHC if they had 100 dollars.

Finally, participants were asked three items about their belief in the relationship between high donation and other's impression. They also completed manipulation check questions for the power and publicity, and other backgrounds items.

Independent Variables

Power. I manipulated power as described in the study 2.

Publicity. Publicity was manipulated as described in study 2.

Impression belief. Impression belief was measured via three items ("I am confident that others will have a favorable impression of me if I donate more."; "When I donate more in front of others, I am actually trying to form a good impression on them."; and "I think I should donate more in a public situation to make others like me." 1-strongly disagree, 7-strongly agree).

Dependent Measures

The dependent variables were similar as those in previous studies.

Donation amount. Same as the first two studies, the measure of donation amount was adapted from Winterich and Zhang (2014).

Manipulation Check. As power manipulation check, participants were asked three questions about their power state on a 7-point scale (1 = Not at All, 7 = Extremely). They were told that "Now you will be asked some questions about the task that you recalled at the beginning of the study." The three questions were *"How powerful do you think you were when you finished that task?", "How much do you think your opinions influenced other people in that task?", "How much do you think you were in charge of that task?*" (Galinsky et al. 2003).

For the publicity manipulation check, participants were asked using scale 1—7. "*To what extent did you think donations would be released publicly? (1 = definitely not released, 7 = definitely released)"; "To what extent did you think donations would be known by others? (1 = definitely not known, 7 = definitely known)"*.

Results

One participant was removed from the final analyses, since he/she spent time longer than 3 SD above the mean time used, which left 161 subjects in the sample for data analyses. Gender was also included as covariate.

Manipulation Check-Power. The three items that measured power were combined together (Cronbach's Alpha = .86). As expected, there was a significant main effect of power ($F(1, 157) = 50.13$, $p < .01$), such that participants in the high-power condition experienced more power ($M = 5.36$) than those in the low-power condition ($M = 3.75$, SD = .23). There were no significant effects from all the other variables or interactions (*ps* >.13).

Manipulation Check-Publicity. The two items ($r = .58$, $p < .01$) measuring publicity were also combined for the manipulation check, and the results showed a significant effect from publicity ($F(1, 157) = 9.52$, $p < .01$; $M_{public} = 3.1$, $M_{private} = 2.41$, SD = .26). There was also a significant interaction between power and publicity on the manipulation check of publicity ($F(1, 157) = 7.98$, $p = .01$). Although this experiment used the same publicity manipulation as in previous studies, the manipulation check results also showed a significant interaction effect between power and publicity. That might be caused by the change of manipulation check items, which did not directly check people's perception on whether FACHC will release their

information or not. The manipulation-check items actually checked whether participants' information would be known by others or not in general.

Donation amount. First, there was a significant power by publicity interaction ($F(1, 156) = 3.56$, $p = .06$). However, when impression belief was added into the model for analyses, there was three-way interaction among power, publicity, and impression belief showed up ($F(1, 153) = 8.97$, $p < .01$).

When the participants held strong beliefs (above 3.02), there was a significant interaction between power and publicity (p s$< .05$). Those experienced a high power state donated more money publicly than privately; however, those experienced a low power state didn't donate differently across the public and private condition.

When the participants held weak beliefs (below 3.02), the power by publicity interaction was nonsignificant ($ps > .05$).

Discussion

Therefore, hypothesis 3 was supported. Study 4 demonstrated a boundary condition—the interaction effect between power and publicity on donation amount only happened in the strong belief condition. In other words, only when people had strong belief in the positive relationship

between power and publicity would the powerful (vs. powerless) people donate more in public than in private; but the effect diluted when people hold weak belief.

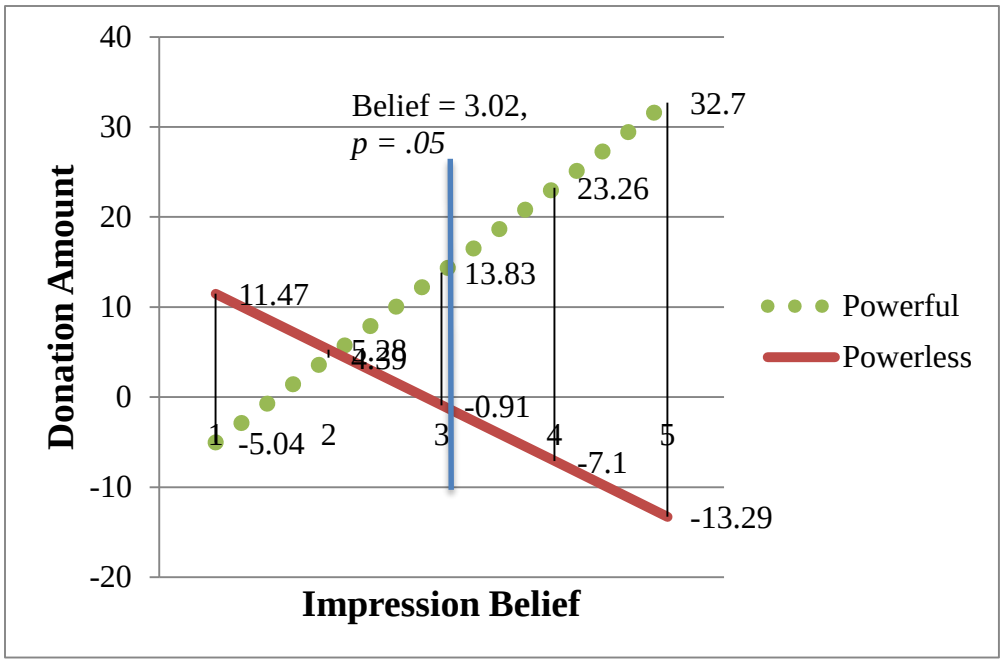


Figure 3. Floodlight Analyses for Impression Belief

General Discussion

Findings across multiple studies converge to suggest that how much individuals donate in public versus in private can be influenced by people's temporary change in power states. No matter power was induced through recall task (study 1b and 3) or mental role-playing (study 1a and 2), and no matter what charity organization was used (CMMH, FACHC, or SACHC);

differential donation behaviors were resulted between public and private conditions. The effects worked through individuals' self-presentation concern (study 3) and hold when people have strong belief about the positive relationship between donation and other's good impression (Study 4). Above all, the current research shows robust evidences for the effects between power and publicity through self-presentation concern on people's donation behavior.

Contribution to Understanding the Behavior of Powerful People

The current work contributes to power literature from a very new perspective. Developed from the basic concepts about control of resources and influence on others, previous research mostly focus on how power can induce different orientations (action based or self/other based) for behaviors, how power can lead to illusory control and risk taking, and how lack of power use consumption to compensate their low power states (Rucker et al. 2008, 2012) and so on. This paper opens up a new direction for study on power related topics. Self-presentation, as an underlying motive, can make the powerful people behave pro-socially (donating more money). It might also be able to help explain a lot more inconsistent behaviors for powerful people, for example powerful people's moral hypocrisy. Lammers and Galinsky (2009) showed that powerful people are more morally strict on others than themselves, maybe because they want to

form a positive moral impression on and behave as moral example for others. Wealthy people, who are relatively more powerful than poor people, have lower chance to obese maybe not only because they have more money on healthy food, but also because they care about their body image, which lead them put more time in workout. Such a concern might also help to mitigate powerful people's unsocial or stinking behaviors, especially in public situation. For example, Lammers and his colleagues (Lammers, Stoker, Jordan, Pollman, and Stapel 2011) showed powerful people are more likely to have infidelity in a relationship due to the increased confidence by one's high power in their ability to attract partners. However, this effect might be lessened with the powerful people's self-presentation concern being strengthened.

Contribution to Understanding the Dynamics of Self-presentation

Although self-presentation literature is relatively mature and there are a bunch of research have been done in this area, no research has directly proposed how power can moderate people's self-presentation concern in public versus in private. As the positive relation between publicity and donation holds only for powerful people, it's very possible that power actually act as a amplifier for people's different responses in public and private. For example, research showed people tend to show reactance in public but not in private situation (Baer, Hinkle, Smith, and

Fenton 1980), but power further magnify this effect (Mourali and Yang 2013) in making the powerful people reactant more in the public than in private. Many other behaviors involved in impression management, such as eating, luxury spending, ingratiation, and social interaction and so on, might all be moderated by people's power state.

Practical Implications

This research also has implications for fundraisers, marketing professionals and consumers. As the need for donation increases every day, fundraisers jobs also become more and more challenging. In order to raise more funds, charity or NGOs often times spend a great amount of dollars on marketing the causes, which however usually bring in poor harvest. This research demonstrates that elevating power can increase one's donation in public. It provides the fundraiser a very important and convenient tool to elicit more donations. Firstly, when raising funds from people in high socioeconomic status, fundraisers should release the donors' donation information, such as their names, donation amount, or even jot title and so on. Secondly, when it's hard to differentiate high power donors with low power donors, the fundraisers can try to put high power appeals in their fundraising campaign; since one's power feeling often times can be activated by words and advertisement associated with power, which can be easily exposed to

audiences (Rucker et al. 2011). Marketing professionals can also make use of this finding to boost their profits. For example, when companies are selling some prosocial products, such as environment-friendly devices, healthy food, and energy-saving cars, marketers can also try to elevate consumers' power states in order to stimulate their self-presentation concern and do promotion emphasizing the impression belief from those prosocial products. For consumers, they probably need to be more self-consciously watching their behavior, and make good use of self-presentation concern as the driver for their consumption.

Limitations and Future Research

The current research centers on how self-presentation concern can motivate powerful and powerless people's different decisions in public and private. It would be interesting to further explore whether powerful people's self-presentation concern would drive them behave differently in other cases (e.g., way of dressing up and public communication). This research also did not include other type of pro-social behavior, so future research may study on a broader concept about prosocial actions, such as time donation, goods donation, physical actions on helping others, volunteering activities, and so on.

Furthermore, in the future, it would be interesting to examine power's self-presentation effects on different scenarios other than donation. Different product might potentially change the self-presentation concern for powerful and powerless people. If power works as a moderator in the self-presentation process, it will be very meaningful to look at customer attitudes towards service failures according to the present finding, for instance, those offended powerful consumers might behave humbly facing service failures; and to investigate employer-employee relationships from this perspective. For example, an employee might be more likely to use ingratiate strategy when they feel powerful.

Conclusions

Power has been studied on different topics and has been shown to have pervasive influence on consumer behavior. The current research has offered another potential motivational driver, self-presentation concern, for high-power people's behavior. This finding further enriches our understanding about powerful people's inconsistent behaviors across different situations. The finding also provides suggestion on how to improve donation and contribute to the well-being of those in need.

CHAPTER FOUR: ESSAY 2

THE EFFECT OF POWER STATUS ON PURCHASES OF MATERIAL VERSUS EXPERIENTIAL GOODS

Abstract

This research investigates the effect of power states (powerless vs. powerful) on consumers' choice on material versus experiential goods. Basically, the powerless people are more likely to buy material goods than powerful people, because the material purchases make powerless people feel more resourceful. A moderating effect of implicit theory is also proposed on the relation between power states and purchase types. It is found that among consumers with incremental theories, a powerless (vs. powerful) state increases their likelihood to choose material (vs. experiential) goods. However, for consumers who hold entity theories, power states do not affect people's choices on purchase types. This research contributes both theoretically and practically to the understanding of power and consumers' purchase decisions on material and experiential products.

Introduction

Power is an important form of man's infinite desires (Russell 1938) and it penetrates in people's life anytime and anywhere, small to parents' power to children and big to presidents' power to their nations. Power can be both a chronic personal trait and a situational factor. It can also be a psychological propensity and a psychological need depending on individuals' powerful or powerless states (Rucker et al. 2012).

Recent research has distinguished two major types of purchases—experiential purchases and material purchases (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). Material purchases are usually made to gain possession of a tangible object, whereas experiential purchases are often made by consumers with an intention to enjoy an intangible event or acquire an experience (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). Previous researches have mostly focused on the consequences of these two types of purchases, and an accumulative body of research demonstrates that experiential (vs. material) goods are more effective at inducing feelings of happiness (Nicolao, Irwin and Goodman 2009; Van Boven 2005; Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). However, due to the higher uncertainty about experiential products before consumption, they are also more likely to induce negative feelings than material products (Nicolao, Irwin and Goodman 2009). Since what motivates consumers to prefer a particular purchase type has received relatively less attention,

this research aims to examine how power can work as a potential antecedent to influence one's decision on material and experiential purchase.

It is predicted that compared to powerful people, powerless people are more likely to purchase material products instead of experiential products; however, this effect only happens to those holding an incremental view but not those holding an entity view of implicit theory. The distinction occurs because power and implicit theory interact to induce different perceptions on feeling of resourcefulness, which further impacts their purchase decisions on material and experiential goods.

As most previous research in consumer behavior area examines power compensation from self-importance and psychological utility perspective, this research investigates the compensation effect from a completely new perspective – feeling of resourcefulness, in a different context – purchase decisions on material and experiential products. Besides, it explores how power states can influence material and experiential purchase decisions depending on people's implicit theory. By implicit theory, it refers to the views one holds towards one's morality, intellectual capacity, and even the whole world. There are generally two types of implicit theory-incremental and entity theories (Dweck, Chiu, and Hong 1995). Specifically, incremental theorists hold a changeable view towards personal traits and world, while entity

theorists believe that everything is set and could not be modified overtime or by efforts (Dweck et al. 1995).

Power Status and Purchase Types

"Power is defined as asymmetric control over valued resources in social relations" (Rucker et al. 2014: 392). Powerful people generally possess more resources and have more in control compared to powerless people. People with high power also show an approach tendency and focus on the potential rewards compared to powerless people who are generally inhibition-orientated and focus on the potential punishments (Keltner et al. 2003). Cognitively, elevated power makes people perceive things from a more abstract perspective, whereas reduced power makes people use a more concrete way to think and reflect (Smith and Trope 2006). These different characteristics can drive people in high and low power states to make different decisions in consumption.

Much research has been done in studying the behaviors of consumers in different power states, and most of them analyze power from perspectives of power compensation and power stabilization. In Rucker and Ganlisky's (2008) work, they proposed that compared to those with high power, people with low power are more likely to buy status-related products. The reason is

that people with low power also have low self-value and self-importance and status-related products can compensate these deficiencies. Powerful people are also found to spend more on themselves than on others, but powerless people are just the opposite and tend to spend more on others; this effect works through powerful and powerless people's different perception on their psychological utility (self-importance and dependence on others) toward self and others (Rucker, et al. 2011). In addition, inducing power can lead to money saving behaviors, since the powerful people using money saving as a way to stabilize their current power states (Garbinsky et al. 2014).

Since powerless people generally possess fewer resources and further have less control compared to the powerful people, people in low power state generally have a desire to compensate their low power states (Rucker et al. 2008, 2009, and 2011). To adopt ways to compensate the low power state, people need to implicitly assume that power state can be changed. According to the literature, it seems consumption can generally help powerless people to compensate their low power state. As regard to choice on purchasing material versus experiential goods, it is predicted powerless people can be better compensated by material products, since materials are the most fundamental form of resources. The tangibility, physicality, observability, controllability, and other characteristics that can be obtained and

possessed by consumers with the material product itself will all effectively work together to compensate powerless people's low power state.

Hypothesis 1a: Powerless (vs. powerful) people are more likely to buy material goods than experiential goods.

Hypothesis 1b: Powerless (vs. powerful) people are willing to pay more for material goods than experiential goods.

Feeling of Resourcefulness as the Underlying Mechanism

Material products are tangible and enduring as possessions or as physical resources. Based on Tully, Hershfield, and Meyvis (2015), material purchases are longer lasting than experiential purchases for those who feel financially constrained, since they perceive material purchases as saving their future money. Similarly, powerless people who are generally lacking resources or constrained by limited resources would also like material purchases, which provide potential resources to help them gain more power. Since powerless people's lack of power comes from the lack of resources, a product that can be regarded as a potential resource will be preferred by the powerless people. Material goods, as tangible possession, can be better regarded

as a type of resource compared to intangible experiential goods that mostly provide happiness, enjoyment, and goodness to people based on previous research (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). Therefore, they will help to provide a feeling of resourcefulness to the powerless people, which further increases the likelihood to buy materials for the powerless people.

Hypothesis 2: Powerless (vs. powerful) people's preference for material (vs. experiential) purchases work through feelings of resourcefulness provided by material products.

The Moderating Role of Implicit Theory

I further propose that the above-analyzed effects of power on purchase type might only happen among incremental theorists. People tend to utilize some basic assumptions to explain the fundamental nature of human attributes in social contexts (Hui, Bond, and Molden 2012). Such theories are implicitly used to make sense of others' actions (Molden and Dweck 2006), since they are not explicitly articulated often by people (Hui et al. 2012). Dweck and her associates (Dweck et al. 1995; Dweck and Leggett 1988; Hong, Chiu, Dweck, Lin and Wan 1999) proposed that people might hold two distinctive theories about human traits such as intelligence. The entity theory believes that personal characteristics are already established and cannot be changed in any

situation or at any time, whereas the incremental theory believes in the flexibility of personal characteristics (Dweck et al. 1995). Entity theorists see others' behaviors through lenses of their fixed psychological attributes and explain their behaviors as fixed dispositions (Hui et al. 2012). On the contrary, incremental theorists believe people are malleable and incline to evaluate others' behaviors from psychological process perspective which they think are driven by one's current psychological states (Hui et al. 2012). A large body of evidence in prior research suggests that as incremental (vs. entity) theorists believe that skills and capabilities can improve over time, they are more likely to make effort to enhance their abilities or performance (Yeager, Johnson, Spitzer, Trzesniewski, Powers and Dweck 2014).

As power can be both a chronic personal trait and a temporary psychological state, one's belief on implicit theory will determine how they perceive their power states. Specifically, incremental theorists will consider their power states as temporary and changeable; however, the entity theorists will regard their power states as personal disposition. For those who think their power states are changeable, the powerful people are motivated to maintain their high power since it is attractive; but those powerless people are motivated to enhance their low power since powerlessness is aversive. Therefore, it is proposed that when experiencing a powerless state, only incremental theorists, who view power status as temporal and changeable, are motivated to take actions to enhance their power status. Since lack of power is an undesirable state that one

generally wants to avoid, both high and low power individuals should not want to experience it (Rucker and Galinsky 2008). Thus, compared to entity theorists, the incremental theorists would be more likely to enhance their power via consumption. Therefore, powerful people's tendency to choose experiential products and powerless people's preference on material products will only occur among incremental theorists. On the other hand, entity theorists, who believe that power status is fixed, are less likely to make any effort to change their power status, which results in no consistent or apparent pattern of purchase decisions on different types of products for powerful and powerless people. The entity theorists' likelihood to choose material versus experiential purchases thus should not be affected by power status.

Hypothesis 3: Powerless (vs. powerful) people's preference on material products instead of experiential products will only occur among incremental theorists but not entity theorists.

Summary and Overview of Studies

Three studies are conducted to test the hypotheses about the relationship between power and purchase type. The first study used a recall task to prime participants with powerful or powerless mindset and showed initial evidence that powerless people are more likely to buy

material goods than powerful people when power state is changeable. In Study 2, both power and purchase type are manipulated to show that powerless but not powerful people are willing to pay more for the product when it is perceived as material (vs. experiential) goods. The third study introduced implicit theory and found that powerless (vs. powerful) people's preference for material (experiential) goods only happens to incremental theorists other than entity theorists.

Study 1: Power and Choice of Purchase Type

Study 1 aimed to test Hypothesis 1 about the relationship between power and purchase type (material vs. experiential) under incremental mindset.

Method

One hundred and twenty-two participants from MTurk completed the study for monetary compensation. Participants were asked to recall an experience they had power or not (adapted from Galinsky et al. 2003: 458). Specifically, they read the following paragraph about powerful experience:

> *"Please recall a particular incident in which you had power over another individual or individuals. By power, we mean a situation in which you controlled the ability of another*

person or persons to get something they wanted, or were in a position to evaluate those individuals." Power status could change in general. "Please describe this situation in which you had power—what happened, how you felt, etc." (Galinsky et al. 2003: 458).

For the participants in the low power condition, they were asked to read the following paragraph:

"Please recall a particular incident in which someone else had power over you. By power, we mean a situation in which someone had control over your ability to get something you wanted, or was in a position to evaluate you." Power status could change in general. "Please describe this situation in which you did not have power—what happened how you felt, etc." (Galinsky et al., 2003: 458).

Next, participants imagined that they had some discretionary money at that moment, and would like to make a purchase. They were told to write down the one product they mostly desire to buy at that moment. It can be any type of products, tangible or intangible. We also explained discretionary money to the participants, which referred to money that they can spend freely, but that excludes money spent on needs and everyday necessities (e.g., toiletries, utility bills etc.).

After that, participants were asked to categorize the purchase they described in last question—to indicate whether it was a material good or an experiential good. The definition of material goods and experiential goods were also shown to them (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003: 1194). Material purchase involves "spending money with the primary intention of acquiring a material possession—a tangible object that you obtain and keep in your possession." Experiential purchase involves "spending money with the primary intention of acquiring a life experience—an event or series of events that you personally encounter or live through."

At the end, I used the same power manipulation check as in Essay 1, which were three items adapted from Schaerer et al. (2015). Finally, background information items were asked.

Results

Three participants did not finish the whole survey, so they were removed from the final analyses and a final sample of 119 participants (M_{age} = 35.81, SD = 12.12; 54.6% female) was used for data analysis.

The three items that measured power were combined together and the Cronbach's alpha is .96. Power was successfully manipulated by the recall task, and results showed that people

recalling powerful experience felt more powerful (M = 5.35, SD = 1.4) than people recalling powerless experience (M = 2.93, SD = 1.92, $F(1, 117) = 59.79$, $p < .01$)

For choice of purchase type, logistic regression was adopted for analysis, since the dependent variable was binary. In line with hypothesis 1, participants in low power condition were more likely to choose to buy material goods than participants in high power condition (B = -1.95, Wald $\chi^2 = 3.97$, $p = .05$), meaning that the percentage of the powerless participants chose to buy material (87.5%) was significantly higher than that of powerful participants (72.7%).

Discussion

The above results supported hypothesis 1. Specifically, people in low power state showed higher percentage of buying material products (vs. experiential products) than people in high power state. Since this study aimed to set up an initial evidence and only showed a general tendency of powerless and powerful people's choice preference in purchasing material or experiential goods, it would be imperative to further look at how specifically powerless people will behave differently with powerful people as regard to material and experiential purchases.

Study 2: A Matter of Feeling of Resourcefulness

The aim of study 2 is twofold: 1) using different manipulations to show the proposed relationship between power and purchase type; 2) showing the potential driver for the effect.

Participants and Design

A total of 170 subjects were recruited from Mturk (M_{age} = 37.08, SD = 31.77; 64.1% female). Power was manipulated via a mental role-playing task adapted from Dubois, Rucker, Galinsky (2010) as in study 1. Instead of using specific material and experiential purchase as choice variables, different perceptions (material vs. experiential) for the same product (3-D TV) were manipulated in this study. Therefore, a 2 (powerful vs. powerless) by 2 (material vs. experiential) between-subject experimental design was adopted for the current study.

The participants were guided to access the link of the survey. In the survey, they were randomly assigned to either the powerful or the powerless condition and were asked to recall an experience of feeling powerful or feeling powerless (Galinsky et al. 2003). Right after their writing, I included the same manipulation check of power as in Essay 1, which was adapted from

Schaerer et al. (2015). Following that, the participants imagined they were shopping in a department store and would like to buy a 3-D TV (Carter and Gilovich 2012). They were randomly assigned to either a material perception condition or an experiential perception condition, and were asked to write down what they have imagined. Then, they reported how much they would like to pay for the 3-D TV. Finally, other background questions were asked.

Independent Variables

Power. I manipulated power as described in study 1.

Purchase Type Perception. I manipulated purchase type using scenarios adapted from Carter and Gilovich (2012). All participants were asked to imagine a 3-D TV to purchase but to think about the 3-D TV in different way, either as a material : purchase "where it would go in your home, how well it would go with your other possessions: " or an experiential good "what it would be like to watch television 'in a whole new way', how it would fit with your other activities" (Carter and Gilovich 2012: 1131).

Dependent Measures

WTP. Willingness to pay was adopted as the dependent variable for this study. Specifically, participants were asked to imagine they have $5000 left from their salary this year after spending on all the bills and everyday necessities. The average retail price for a 3-D television is about $1000 to $5000. Given this retail price, they were asked to indicate what was their reservation price for the 3-D television they have imagined. In other words, what was the most that they "would be willing to pay in order to obtain this product" (Rucker and Galinsky 2008: 262).

Feeling Resourceful. Participants were also asked to reflect on how they made the purchase decisions in the previous task, and indicate to which extent the following statement represented their thoughts during the decisions: "To what extent would having this 3-D TV make you feel resourceful?".

Manipulation Check. To check whether participants perceived the product as material or experiential goods, participants were asked to indicate what type of purchase it is for a 3-D television, material purchase or experiential purchase (1-Absolutely material purchase to 7-Absolutely experiential purchase).

Results

A final sample of 170 subjects was included for data analysis. ANOVA was applied for the analyses, since the independent variables were both categorical. A 2 (power state: powerless vs powerful) by 2 (perception: material vs. experiential) ANOVA was performed with power and perception type as independent variables, and willingness to pay as dependent variables. A mediated moderation analysis was also performed using Hayes Model 8 (Hayes 2013) to test the mediation effect due to feeling resourceful.

Manipulation Check-Power. The three items that measured power were combined together and the Cronbach's alpha is .94. In line with expectations, a significant main effect of power was found ($F(1, 166) = 18.51$, $p < .01$), meaning that participants in the powerful condition ($M = 5.1$) reported a stronger state of power than those in the powerless condition ($M =$ 4, SD = .25). No significant effect from purchase type ($F(1, 166) = .38$, $p = .54$) or the interaction between power and purchase type ($F(1, 166) = .96$, $p = .33$) was found.

Manipulation Check-Purchase Type. Participants in the material condition perceived the 3-D TV more like a material product ($M = 2.01$), but those in the experiential condition perceived the TV more like an experiential product ($M = 2.61$, $SD = .26$, $F(1, 166) = 5.32$, p

= .02). There was no significant effect from power ($F(1, 166) = 1.74$, $p = .19$) or from power and purchase type interaction ($F(1, 166) = 0$, $p = .99$).

Willingness to Pay. No significant main effect from power ($F(1, 166) = .85$, $p = 36$) or purchase type ($F(1, 166) = .42$, $p = .52$) was found to influence willingness to pay. However, there was a significant interaction between power and purchase type ($F(1, 166) = 4.29$, $p = .04$). For participants with low power, they indicated that they would like to pay more in material condition ($M = 1524.42$) than in experiential condition ($M = 1120.02$, SD = 197.78, $F(1, 166) = 4.18$, $p = .04$). In contrast, for participants with high power, the effect disappeared. There was no significant difference on the willingness to pay between material condition ($M = 1079.18$) and experiential condition ($M = 1290.6$, SD = 222.3, $F(1, 166) = .9$, $p = .34$) for the powerful participants. This result further confirmed hypothesis 1.

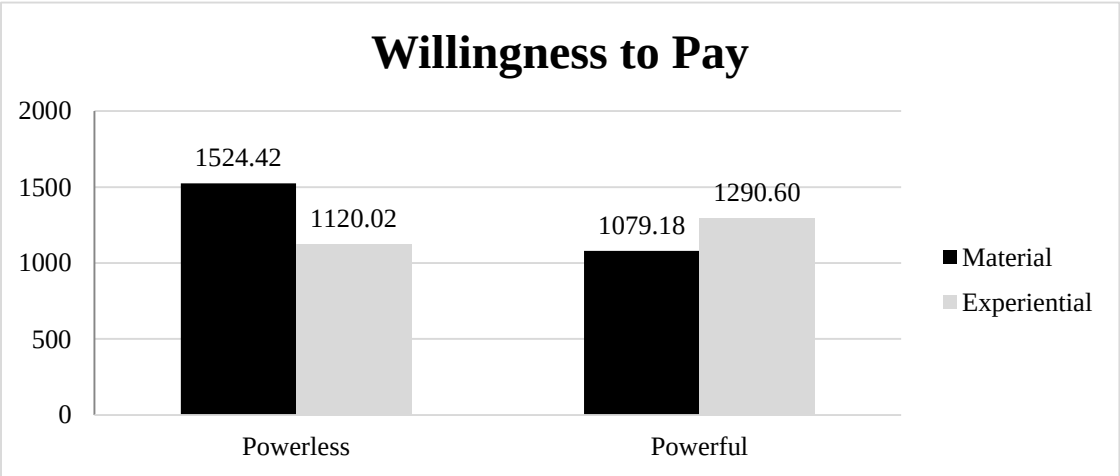
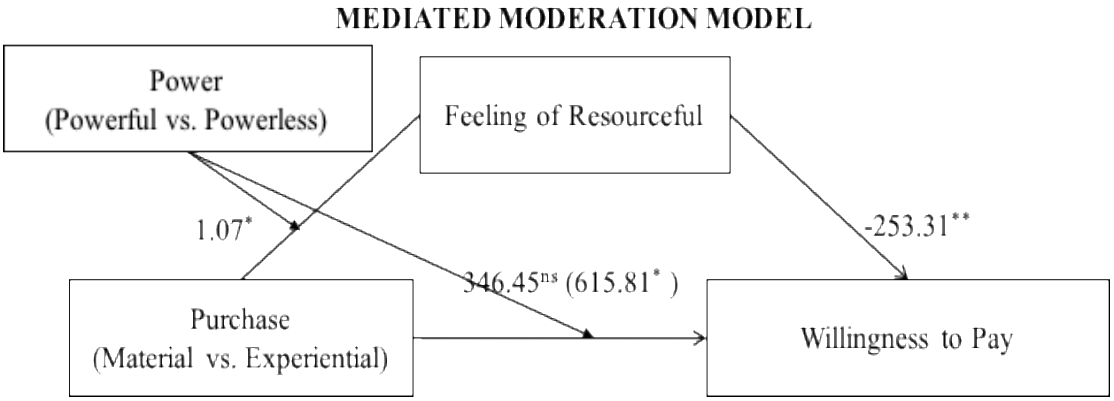


Figure 4. Willingness to Pay as a Function of Power and Purchase

Mediation Analyses of Feeling Resourceful. We further tested whether the differences of willingness to pay in material and experiential conditions induced by power were mediated by feeling resourceful. Based on our theorizing, it was predicted that powerless but not powerful people's higher willingness to pay for material rather than experiential goods was driven by the feelings of resourcefulness enhanced by having the purchase. Therefore, we performed the mediation analyses using Hay's Model 8.

This analysis first revealed that the interaction between power and purchase hade a significantly impact on feeling resourceful (β = 1.06, $t(166) = 2.05$, $p = .04$). In addition, consistent with our proposition, feeling resourceful significantly predicted willingness to pay (β = 253.31, $t(166) = 6.31$, $p < .01$) and fully mediated the interaction between power and purchase type on willingness to pay; since with feeling resourceful added into the model, the interaction effect between power and purchase type on WTP disappeared ($t(166) = 1.23$, $p = .2$). Specifically, when people experienced low power state, their higher WTP in material condition was driven by the enhanced feelings of resourcefulness (95% [CI], -380.88 -- -7.17); however, when people experienced high power state, the mediation effect of feeling resourceful was not significant (95% [CI], -89.08 – 328.08).



NOTE. – *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

Figure 5. Mediated Moderation for Willingness to Pay

Discussion

Study 2 showed further evidence that powerless people compared to powerful people would like to pay more for the material products instead of experiential products. This effect did not only happen to different product categories, but also happened to the same product that were just perceived differently as material or experiential goods by consumers. The potential driver for such effect is feeling resourceful. Since purchasing materials can make the powerless (vs. powerful) people feel more resourceful, they would prefer material (vs. experiential) products and also pay more for the material (vs. experiential) products.

In the previous two studies, it was explicitly stated that one's power state could change in general; but what if people hold opposite opinions toward the changeability of one's power state?

Such a boundary condition will be tested in the next study. It is proposed that whether people in high and low power state will have different preference toward material and experiential products depends on their implicit theory belief. Specifically, people who hold incremental theories and believe things in the world can be changed will show preference to material but not experiential products when in low (vs. high) power state; however, those who hold entity theories and believe things in the world are not changeable will not show different preference toward material and experiential products no matter whether they feel powerless or powerful.

Study 3: Effect of Implicit Theory

This study is to test hypothesis 3. A total of eighty-two undergraduate students from a large public university were recruited in this study in exchange for extra credits.

Participants and Design.

Participants were first shown the manipulation of power status (Rucker et al. 2011). Subsequently, participants were instructed to imagine that they had $300 to spend. They were instructed to spend the money in one of six product categories. Three product categories are

material purchases—clothing, electronics, and accessories and jewelry, and three are experiential purchases—travel, events, and outdoor activities (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). The order of these six product categories was randomized in the experiment. Then, they were asked to indicate how much they agree that the material purchases are more enduring than the experiential purchases. Power manipulation check was inserted before measurement of implicit theory. Last, respondents completed a 9-item implicit theory orientation scale (Dweck et al.1995,) and background questions.

Independent Variables.

Power Status. Power status is manipulated between subjects. Specifically, those in the powerfulness conditions were asked to recall an incident that they felt powerful to others, whereas those in the powerlessness conditions recalled an incident in which some other individuals had power over them (Galinsky et al. 2003).

Implicit Theory Orientation. All participants completed a 9-item scale developed by Dweck et al. (1995) that measured their implicit theory orientation (Cranbach's alpha = .91). They were asked to indicate how strongly they agree or disagree with the following statements (1 – strongly disagree, to 7 – strongly agree), e.g. "You have a certain amount of intelligence and

you really can't do much to change it.", "A person's moral character is something very basic about them and it can't be changed much." (Dweck et al. 1995: 534).

Dependent Variables.

Power Manipulation Check. Three items were combined (Cranbach's alpha = .83) to form a measurement of participants' power states. The three items were "How powerful do you think you are at this moment?" "How much do you think your opinions influence other people in everyday life?" "How much do you think you were in charge of day-to-day situations?"

Purchase Type. Six categories are given. "Material purchases include clothing (e.g., jackets, shirts, and jeans), electronics (e.g., television, stereos), and accessories and jewelries. Experiential purchases include travel (domestic and Mexican or Caribbean), events, concerts and meals, and outdoor activities (e.g., hiking, rafting, skydiving, and skiing" (Van Boven, Campbell, and Gilovich 2010: 556). In the analyses, the six categories were recoded into either material or experiential purchase type (0 – experiential, 1 – material).

Results

Power Manipulation Check. Although the power manipulation has been used frequently both in the literature and in the current research, the manipulation check didn't work well for this study; because the manipulation check was conducted after people had made the purchase decision and material goods played a role to compensate powerless people's low power state. Specifically, those in powerful condition didn't show significantly high power feelings *(M* = 4.55) than those in powerless (*M* = 4.75, *SD* = .18, *F*(1, 80) = .58, p = .45) condition.

Purchase Type. Since our dependent variable—purchase type—is a binary variable, we ran a logistical regression on purchase type with power status, implicit theory and the interaction between power and implicit theory as independent variables. As expected, the interaction between power status and implicit theory significantly influenced people's purchasing decisions (*B* = -.8, *Z* = 1.95, *p* = .05). Results by using Hayes' Model 1 showed power only significantly predicted purchase type when people hold incremental theory (1SD below mean for implicit theory, *B* = -1.4, *Z* = -2.01, *p* = .04) and powerless people were more likely to prefer material products (68.57%) than powerful people (34.25%); however, when people hold entity theory, power had no significant effect on purchase type (*B* = .54, *Z* = .8, *p* = .42, figure 6).

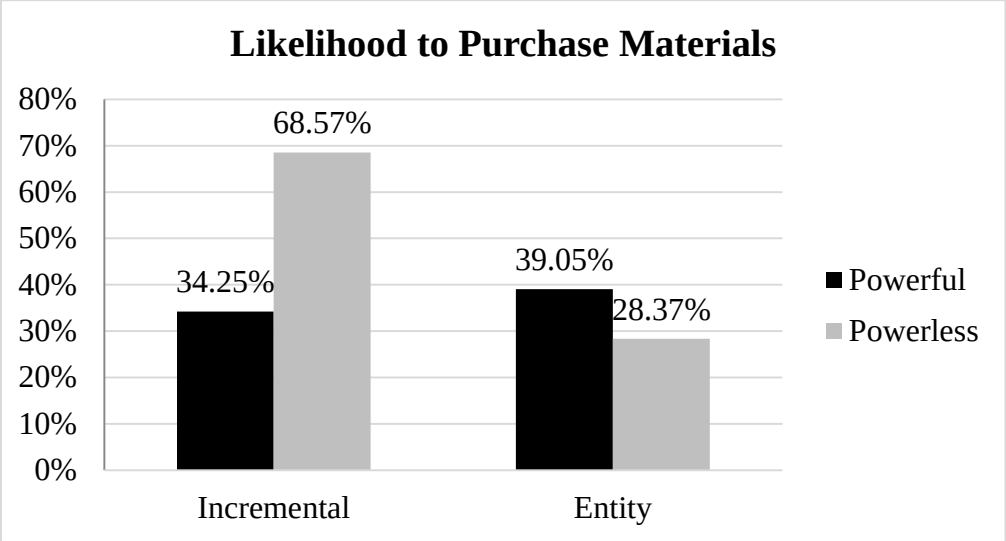


Figure 6. Interaction Effect between Power and Implicit Theory on Likelihood to Purchase Material Goods

Floodlight analyses showed that when the participants held incremental theories (below 2.32), there was a significant effect of power on preference to materials (*p*s < .05). Specifically, powerless (vs. powerful) people are more likely to purchase material products compared to experiential products.

When the participants held entity (above 2.32), there was no significant effect of power on preference of materials (*ps* > .05).

Discussion

The results of the above study offer supports for hypothesis 2. In particular, the results showed that for incremental theorists, people who feel powerless would be more likely to buy material products, but those who feel powerful would be more likely to choose experiential products. However, for entity theorists, the powerful do not differ from the powerless in their purchasing decisions.

General Discussion

This essay induced a new perspective to understand the influence of power in consumer behavior Theories. As most research of power related to purchase type is centered on status related products, such as consumption of luxury products, both luxury material and luxury experiential products (Ruvio and Dubois 2012), this paper investigate from a broader scope without limiting the purchase type to status-related. Certainly, many material or experiential products can also be categorized as status-related. With previous study only proving that status-relevant quality can satisfy only powerless people's power compensation needs, no matter it is experiential or material, this paper focuses on material and experiential qualities of a product and

investigates how these two dimensions can satisfy both powerful and powerless people's power enhancement needs, no matter they are status related or not. The manipulation for different products in this study has nothing to do with status; however, I plan to explain this issue more rigorously in future studies by testing whether consumers would regard the focal material or experiential products as status-related or not. With exploring the effects of power on material and experiential consumption directly, it has more meaningful and practical implications.

Contribution of the Present Research

This work enriched the understanding of power from purchase type perspective (material vs. experiential). It also contributes to understand power from a broader perspective. As regards to consumer behavior literature, it draws on a specific boundary condition for consumption of material and experiential products. Previous researches have mostly focused on the consequences of these two types of purchases, and an accumulative body of research documents that experiential (vs. material) goods are more effective at inducing feelings of happiness among purchasers (Nicolao et al. 2009; Van Boven 2005; Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). However, what motivates consumers to prefer a particular purchase type has received relatively less attention. This research examines the antecedents of different purchase types, and finds that

powerful people tend to buy experiential products more and powerless people tend to buy material products more; but this only happens to incremental theorists. Entity theorists show no difference with consumption type no matter they are in high or low power states.

With respect to power literature, the current research suggests a new mechanism – feeling resourceful – that drives powerless people and powerful people's differences behaviors. Powerless people need different ways to compensate their low power state. It is necessary to dig out the fundamental reason for their lack of power. Short of resource is definitely the core reason for their powerlessness. So this mechanism can help powerless people to find out different ways to enhance their power state as long as they can provide feelings of possessing resources to the powerless people.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current paper looks at powerless and powerful people's choice on purchase type (material vs. experiential) either from general categories' perspective or using purchase type perception manipulation, but it did not use specific paired product items (watch vs. concert ticket) to examine their choice decisions. To make the current findings more generalizable, it

would be good to use different pairs of specific material and experiential items to investigate powerful and powerless people's choices on purchase types.

The paper uses one way to manipulate power. Using different ways to manipulate power would further increase the generalizability of the findings. It would be also important to check whether the effects will hold or change across different situations. It's even more meaningful to extend our findings in a real consumption scenario. Thus, a field study becomes attractive for such a purpose.

Conclusions

This article investigates how different power states can influence consumers' purchasing decision of material/experiential products. Material purchases work well for powerless people, because feelings resourceful provided by material products properly fulfills their needs; on the contrary, the resourceful feeling did not impact powerful people, and didn't produce much difference to their purchase decisions. However, this effect only happens to the incremental theorists, who think one's characteristics are mutable; for those who regard one's characteristics are fixed (entity theorists), this effect dilutes.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The main goal of this dissertation is to better understand social power effects in different domains in consumer behavior, and to make good use of these effects to enhance consumers' well-being. Two essays investigate how power can influence consumers' donation behavior and purchase decisions on material and experiential products.

Findings and Contributions

The first essay finds that high power state can induce one's self-presentation concern in public, which further leads to a high-amount donation in public but not in private; however, low power state does not change one's self-presentation concern in either public or private, neither does it lead to different donations in public or private. This effect of power occurs only when people have a strong belief that high donation leads to positive impression on the donors; but when people hold weak belief, the interaction effect between power and publicity is diluted. Findings from the first essay contribute to literature on donation, self-presentation and social power. From a practical perspective, it provides a new way to help fundraisers increase the

donation amount. Power can be easily manipulated through an advertising appeal or even just a slogan. Fundraisers can implement these methods to change people's power states and use publicity of donors' information to attract more donations from powerful people, who control most of the resources of the society. A field study is planned for next step. If the research findings could be replicated in a field study, it will greatly enhance the generalizability and robustness of the current conclusions. Future research can further explore how self-presentation concern or impression management desire will change the decision-makings, intentions, attitude and other behaviors of consumer with different power states.

The second essay shows how power can interact with implicit theory to impact consumers' purchase decisions on material and experiential products. For incremental theorists, those in low power prefer material products to experiential products, since the feeling of resourcefulness provided by material products can help them compensate the low power state; however, people in high power states didn't show much differences in their choice of purchasing material goods versus experiential goods. For entity theorists, the interaction effect between power and implicit theory on experiential or material products dilutes. This essay contributes to both power and material/experiential products literature. It also helps to educate customers on how to choose a product to obtain resourceful feelings when they feel powerless.

Implications

Besides the contributions of this dissertation to different research and practical areas, it has some other significant implications for consumer well-being, social behaviors, and research for power.

Effects of Power on Consumer Well-Being

From both self and other perspective, power can be utilized to improve consumer well-being. As power increases donation in public, it overcomes the shortcomings of the selfishness characteristic of powerful people, which was shown in previous research (Rucker et al. 2011, Dubois et al. 2015). High power people might be selfish to some extent, but publicity makes them hide such a tendency and behave prosocially and generously. As the resources controller, powerful people will be beneficial to those in need of donations by behaving in such an altruistic way. Although the powerful people are actually found to fulfill their self-presentation motivations by using donation in the public, their selfish motivation actually makes them behave benevolently to others. In this sense, no matter what motivation the powerful people hold, policy makers or fundraisers can find a way to encourage the powerful to benefit others. Therefore, the

self-presentation concerns of powerful people contribute to others' well-being in public situations.

Experiential products are proved to grant more happiness than material products, and generally contribute more to one's well-being (Van Boven and Gilovich 2003). However, with incremental mindset as a prerequisite, material products can help powerless people get a feeling of resourcefulness. The previous finding is reversed for powerless people. Therefore, it is important to distinguish the situations when material goods can enhance people's well-being and when experiential goods can.

Limitations and Future Research

This research adopts an experimental methodology to investigate the impacts of power on different constructs. With the high controllability of lab studies, the findings from each essay might not be easily applied into a real-world setting. Besides, the one-time collected data might have some random effects that could not be easily replicated for practical situations. Therefore, it is important to implement findings from each essay to a real business setting, and summarize the points that managers need to pay attention to; thus, it could help to provide a better utilization of

the current findings. Future investigations can also use a different methodology to test the findings in this research, for example, qualitative studies or empirical studies using panel data. Second, future research can further explore how the self-presentation concern and perceptions on endurance can influence their behaviors in other areas, such as food consumption, sensory marketing, and consumer unethical behaviors. Future research can also figure out some boundary conditions on the current effects we find in this dissertation.

Needs for Research on Source of Power

Most of the research in recent years focuses on how power will influence follow-up behaviors as antecedent; however, the antecedents of power were just largely studied back to the 1960's. The most influential one would be French and Raven's taxonomy of power: reward power, coercive power, expert power, legitimate power, and referent power (French and Raven 1959). One's hierarchical roles also can influence their power states, with those in high hierarchy having more resources and possessing more power (Rucker et al. 2012). Socioeconomic status and position at work are both examples about the hierarchy factors. Besides, one's physical position can also influence their feelings about power (Carney, Cuddy, and Yap 2010). Carney et al. have found that extensive posts with open arms and legs can induce powerful state to the

participants and contractive posts with closed positions can lead to low power state. Other than that, even semantic words or relevant experiences that are powerful or powerless can also produce different power states. No doubts all the above factors are the antecedents of power states, but how exactly power is obtained, meaning how the resources are gained or acquired, has not been studied specifically. Furthermore, not much is known about how the source of power can influence the successive behaviors. Sources of power can be effort or luck, one's success or failures, happiness or sadness, and in-group or out-group, all of which can be potential sources that induce powerful and powerless states.

Therefore, research about the antecedents of power should be not only limited to psychological, cognitive, or physical factors; it should be more enriched by including emotional, moral, consumption, and some other important psychological factors.

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