

Luxury Consumption by People with a Clear-Cut Notion of the Self

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This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

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Abstract

This paper examines the role of self-concept clarity on luxury spending tendencies. In an experiment involving decision-making in hypothetical situations, a manipulation designed to change levels of self-concept clarity did not lead to discernible differences in luxury spending tendency. When measured as an individual difference variable, however, SCC had a significant place in the profile of consumers interested in luxury consumption. Complex relationships among individual difference attributes of SCC, materialism, self-esteem and self-monitoring were examined with decision trees. These analyses revealed that having a clear-cut notion of the self was associated with weaker intentions to consume luxury products even at higher levels of materialism. People with higher levels of materialism and lower levels of SCC and self-esteem constituted the group with the strongest intentions to consume luxury products; whereas people with lower levels of materialism and higher levels of self-esteem constituted the group with the weakest intentions to consume luxury products.

Keywords: luxury consumption, self-concept clarity, individual differences, materialism, self-monitoring, self-esteem

Özet

Bu çalışma, benlik berraklığının lüks tüketim üzerindeki etkilerini araştırmaktadır. Varsayımsal durumlardaki karar alma durumlarını içeren bir deneyde, benlik berraklığı seviyelerinde değişim amaçlayan manipülasyon, lüks tüketim değerlerinde önemli bir değişime neden olmamıştır. Ancak benlik berraklığı bireysel bir farklılık olarak ölçüldüğünde, benlik berraklığının lüks tüketime yönelimi fazla olan tüketiciler için önemli bir rolü olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Bireysel farklılıklar olarak benlik berraklığı, öz-saygı, öz-izleme ve materyalizm ele alınmış ve aralarındaki karmaşık ilişkiler karar ağacı yoluyla incelenmiştir. Bu analizler sonunda benlik berraklığının fazla olmasının, yüksek seviyelerdeki materyalizm değerlerine rağmen, lüks tüketime yönelimin azalması ile ilişkilendiği görülmüştür. Lüks tüketime en yönelimli tüketicilerin, yüksek seviyelerde materyalizm, düşük seviyede benlik berraklığı ve öz-saygı değerlerine sahip olduğu görülmüştür. Lüks tüketime en az yönelimli kişilerin ise, düşük seviyede materyalizm, ve yüksek seviyede öz-saygı değerlerine sahip olduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar Sözcükler: lüks tüketim, benlik algısı netliği, bireysel farklılıklar, materyalizm, öz-izleme, öz-saygı

Dedication

To my dad who taught me to never get tired of exploring new horizons..

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Luxury Consumption by People with a Clear-Cut Notion of the Self:

Wait Until They Start Comparing Themselves with Others

Consumption of status-signaling products can provide an easy way to reach higher social standing (e.g., Belk, Bahn, & Mayer; 1982; Shavitt, 1990). Besides any functions that they serve, luxury products can afford their owners prestige, status, or recognition. As such, luxury consumption is increasing in all socio-economic segments of society (Grossman & Shapiro, 1988; Liebenstein, 1950; Rucker & Galinsky, 2009; Silverstein & Fiske, 2003).

The goal of this research is to explore the role of self-concept clarity in this context. Various individual differences have been linked to luxury consumption in the past, but the role of self-concept clarity has not been sufficiently explored. It is possible to see it as an adaptive resource that can protect people from overspending tendencies; but as we will argue in this research, there can be situations that the opposite can also be true. In the present research, we hope to identify some of those boundary conditions.

Because of the strong association between status-signaling and luxury product consumption (Grossman & Shapiro, 1988; Liebenstein, 1950; Schwartz, 2002), individuals who are more concerned with the opinions and behaviors of others may be more susceptible to luxury product consumption (e.g., Dittmar, 1994). In the past, having low self-esteem, lacking social power, or being high in self-monitoring have been linked to luxury product consumption (e.g., Crocker & Park, 2004a; DeBono, 2006; Ferraro et al., 2005; Rucker & Galinsky, 2009; Rucker, Galinsky, & Dubois, 2012; Snyder, 1974; Snyder & Debono, 1985; Truong & McColl, 2011). Common denominator of all these variables is the motive to “fit-in” and to seek realization and acceptance from others emphasizing social concerns as the core issue. Because people with low SCC do not have a clear sense of who they are (e.g., Campbell, 1990), they also may be more susceptible to social influence than people with high SCC. In the past, lack of SCC has been shown to increase social-comparison orientation,

relate social concerns by having strong relationship with public self-consciousness as well as attentiveness to the self as a social object constructs (e.g., Campbell, 1990; Campbell et al., 1996). Luxury consumption is mainly driven by social and status concerns (Dittmar, 1994; Schwartz, 2002) therefore, we believe that luxury consumption will be more appealing to people with low SCC. Previous research suggests that people tend to resolve personal inconsistencies via different compensatory acts (e.g., McGregor, Zanna, Holmes, & Spencer, 2001; Rios et al., 2012). For instance, people who experience personal uncertainty hardened their attitude on an issue following a personal uncertainty condition (McGregor et al., 2001). Considering the fact that luxury consumption serves restoration and compensation purposes (Rucker et al., 2012) , there is reason to believe that SCC can affect people's tendency to prefer luxury consumption.

In this research, we propose that people low in SCC may have a stronger preference for status-signaling luxury consumption given their heightened concern for self-image and urge to enhance the self. On the other hand, people who are high in SCC tend to give greater weight their own internal states, knowledge and preferences; hence, in weighing how to behave in a situation, they can be expected to be less influenced by social cues than people low in SCC. As a result, their preference for luxury consumption should not be equally strong in absence of other considerations to be discussed later. Even though the main effect of self-concept clarity has not been examined in this context yet, we believe that it would be of greater importance to identify conditions where SCC interacts with another factor in determining spending tendencies. As one such factor, the effects of SCC may be different depending on the presence or absence of a social comparison target and the nature of that comparison. Specifically, we will argue that high SCC individuals can be more susceptible to luxury product consumption than low SCC counterparts when they face an inevitable upward social comparison target. Realizing the importance of self-concept clarity in the consumption

context, we will also examine the interactions of SCC together with other individual difference variables shaping luxury consumption and try to create a simple profile of luxury consumer.

Conceptual Background

Status Signaling and Luxury Products

Luxury products signal prestige or status over and beyond practical or utilitarian benefits (Grossman & Shapiro, 1988). Perhaps because of this link to identity, luxury consumption is on the rise. According to an estimate, global luxury goods accounted for \$175 billion in retail sales in 2008 around the globe (Bain & Company, 2009).

Luxury product consumption is often a conspicuous activity: People consume these highly visible goods to display their wealth and gain social status (Dittmar, 1994)--often by paying a premium price despite the presence of functionally equivalent cheaper products (Bagwell & Bernheim, 1996). Thus, status-signaling seems to be the main driver for luxury product consumption (e.g., Schwartz, 2002). As such, individuals who are more social-oriented (i.e., who have such concerns like being accepted, fitting in an environment) can be expected to be more inclined to engage in luxury product consumption.

The Role of Individual Differences

SCC and luxury consumption. Self-concept clarity refers to the extent to which self-knowledge is clearly and confidently defined, internally consistent, and stable over time (Campbell, 1990; Campbell et al., 1996). It is considered to be an adaptive resource when people encounter challenges in life (Ayduk, Gyurak, & Luerssen, 2009). Lack of clarity relates to important global markers of well-being such as neuroticism, depression, chronic self-analysis as well as attentiveness to self as a social object and the concern of self-image (e.g., Campbell, 1990; Campbell et al., 1996). People with low SCC tend to look for social

cues in deciding how to behave to a greater extent than people with high SCC. Thus, individuals with low SCC may be more susceptible to social influence-- perhaps in much the same way as people with low power (Rucker & Galinsky, 2009). This means that individuals with low SCC are more likely to prefer luxury products since those products give them a chance to define who they are and where they belong. External sources such as peer pressure, mass media and social consumption motivations influence attitudes and decision making processes of people who have an unclear self-concept (Kernis, Brown, & Brody, 2000). Moreover, when people face uncertainties including self-doubt in modern life, they are more likely to act as materialists (Chang & Arkin, 2002) who perceive acquisition of possessions and wealth as central to their lives, crucial for their happiness and success (Richins & Dawson, 1992; Tybout & Artz, 1994). Because materialistic values seem to be strongly associated with luxury preference in life (e.g., Truong & McColl, 2011), feelings of self-uncertainty is expected to influence luxury product consumption.

On the other hand, individuals with high SCC tend to have more stable self-views. Furthermore, they tend to be more confident with themselves and their skills. As for determining their fate, individuals with high SCC indicate having greater control over important outcomes than individuals with low SCC (Campbell, 1990; Guadagno & Burger, 2007). Consequently, in deciding what to buy, they may not care so much about the opinions and behaviors of others. In line with that; Reeves, Baker, and Truluck (2012) found that individuals with high SCC were less likely to pursue materialist endeavors and celebrity worship than individuals with low SCC. In another relevant study by Gil, Kwon, Good, and Johnson (2012), teenagers who had clearer beliefs about the self had a strong tendency to resist social motivations to consume than teenagers with relatively unclear beliefs. Furthermore, SCC was negatively related to attitudes toward luxury consumption ($r = -.29$).

To sum up, there is evidence to expect that people with low SCC will be more drawn to luxury products than people with high SCC-- presumably because of differences in the strength of social motivations to be recognized and accepted. Thus, one of the hypotheses to be tested in this research is as follows:

H1: When offered luxury vs. non-luxury framed products, people who are low in SCC will have a stronger preference for luxury products than are high in SCC.

Social Comparison and SCC: Could Upward Social Comparison Make High SCC Individuals More Susceptible To Luxury Product Preference?

Presumably because individuals high in SCC are less concerned with social considerations, they may be less interested in luxury consumption in general. However, there may be situations where they can be more susceptible to social influences and luxury consumption than low SCC individuals. In general, individuals high in SCC go by their own feelings, cognitions, and preferences in making decisions—but their focus of attention may change when they are in an inevitable situation involving social comparison information.

In situations that require comparison with others, high self-esteem individuals, for instance, are likely to engage in strategic self-defeating behavior to preserve self regardless of whether social comparison brings especially negative but positive consequences for the self (e.g., Baumeister, Heatherton, & Tice, 1993; Di Paula & Campbell, 2002; Dodgson & Wood, 1998; Heimpel, Wood, Marshall, & Brown, 2002; Leary & Tanglely, 2003; Spencer, Josephs, & Steele, 1993). This means that they are more reactive when they encounter negative social comparison information but they are more ready to believe and incorporate positive social comparison information. This may apply to SCC as well considering the common motivational antecedents of SCC and self-esteem (e.g., Campbell, 1990; Campbell et al., 1996). For negative consequences of social comparison, it has been found that when high self-

esteem individuals are in a condition such of giving negative feedback implying that the person has failed the task while others have not, they either do not want to acknowledge negative experience and they act in a defensive manner to preserve the self (e.g., Baumeister et al., 1993; Leary & Tangle, 2003). We believe that this also applies to high SCC as well especially since individuals high in SCC were later found to react aggressively to failure (Stucke & Sporer, 2002). This might be a result of their extensive focus on themselves abilities (e.g., Campbell, 1990), overconfidence with their abilities derived from high self-esteem (Lalwani, Shavitt, & Johnson, 2006) and their feelings of higher control in life (Ritchie, Sedikides, Wildschut, Arndt, & Gidron, 2011); the idea that they could be vulnerable and needy at times may sound like an insult to them.

The same self-defeating tendency is likely to occur in conditions that involve positive implications for the self as well; even in conditions that attainability of the positive outcome seems unlikely, we expect them to be overly optimistic about the probability to achieve that particular outcome. For instance, high SCC individuals tend to be more perfectionists (Di Paula & Campbell, 2002) probably as they are very confident with their capabilities and expect more from themselves. Supporting this line of thought, high self-esteem individuals were found to inflate their chances to attain future success than were low self-esteem counterparts (e.g., McFarlin & Bascovich, 1981). This future success expectation derived from being confident with their abilities (e.g., McFarlin & Bascovich, 1981) could cause them to be susceptible to luxury product preference. In fact, a study by Mandel, Petrova, and Cialdini (2006) supports this possibility: This study showed that comparisons with successful others (i.e., upward social comparison) cause individuals to imagine themselves reaching to a similar level of success, which can change their future expectations; these future expectations, in turn, lead them to favor luxury brand more over the less luxury brands. Following the same

line of thought, individuals with high SCC might hold more future success expectations because they believe that attaining a similar level of comparison target success is very likely for them with their abilities. This inflated success expectation might result in an explicit preference for luxury products as in the study of Mandel et al. (2006).

On the other hand, when individuals low in SCC are induced to make an upward social comparison with a high successful otherwise similar target, they will probably not be able to hold as equally high future success expectations as their counterparts because they believe that attaining a similar level of success is not very likely for them. As a result of these lowered expectations, individuals with low SCC are not expected to have a clear preference for luxury products unlike individuals with high SCC. In the following section, I will draw on the social comparison literature to support this expectation.

Social Comparison Literature

Social comparison effects operate via two ways: Assimilation and contrast effects. Assimilation effect occurs when self-evaluations converge according to the comparison standard (e.g., Brewer & Weber, 1994; Hafner, 2004; Pelham & Wachsmuth, 1995; Thornton & Moore, 1993) whereas contrast effect occurs when self-evaluations are in conflict with respect to comparison standard (e.g., Cattarin, Thompson, Thomas, & Williams, 2000). In any given situation, whether an assimilation or contrast effect is likely to prevail depends on certain conditions. Specifically, assimilation with an upward social comparison target is more likely when identification with the target is ensured, when the activated self includes positive thoughts, and when perceived control is high— meaning that when there could be something done to improve and when the target's standards are more attainable (e.g., Buunk & Ybema, 1997; Lockwood & Kunda, 1997, 1999; Mussweiler, 2001). Lockwood and Kunda (1997), for instance, suggest that comparison to a standard of excellence may be motivating and inspiring

causing assimilation effect for those who perceive comparison standards to be attainable. Since individuals with high SCC have more feeling of control and they are more likely to perceive the similar target standards such as success as more attainable, assimilation with the upward target can be expected; such that, individuals with high SCC might expect to be similarly successful in the future and hence display preference for status-implying luxury products. Such an assimilation effect with an upward comparison target is unlikely for people with low SCC, given their weaker perceptions of control and expectations of attainability. According to Lockwood and Kunda (1997, 1999), if the target standard seems unattainable, comparison to this standard is likely to be threatening and thus leads to contrast effect. Thus, a contrast effect is expected for individuals who have lower levels of SCC: They may not expect to do that well in the future and hence may not express a clear preference for luxury products. Therefore, the following hypothesis will be tested in this research.

H2: People who have higher levels of SCC will be more inclined for luxury consumption if there is an inevitable upward social comparison than people who have lower levels of SCC.

Overview of the Study

In the design, we examined the relevance of SCC in luxury consumption both by manipulating it as well as measuring it as an individual difference variable. Thus, the relationship between SCC and luxury consumption tendencies was explored in one experiment and a decision tree along with other individual differences respectively. The experiment first examined the main effect of self-concept clarity on luxury consumption, and tested the hypothesis that individuals that are low in SCC have a stronger preference for luxury consumption than their counterparts. Then, it examined the effects of upward social comparison as a moderator of this relationship, and tested the hypothesis that high SCC

individuals may be more drawn to luxury consumption than low SCC individuals when such an upward comparison is inevitable. Following experimental design, we proceeded with testing the relevance of SCC along with other pronounced individual differences in the luxury consumption context via decision tree method. Measurement of SCC as a trait-like variable allowed us to see the profile of consumers interested in luxury spending—along with other traits such as materialism, self-esteem, and self-monitoring.

To increase the chances of capturing the relation of SCC with luxury consumption, we used two different luxury framing measures: The first luxury framing measure with different luxury branded products (See Appendix C) and second luxury framing measure with either performance or status-framed pen used by Rucker et al. (2009; 2012) (See Appendix F). Each luxury framing measure was followed by respective product evaluation (DV) measures.

Method

Experiment : SCC and Luxury Product Consumption; How the Relationship Changes with Upward Social Comparison

The goal of the experiment was to see whether individuals with high and low SCC differ in their luxury product preference and how this relationship differed according to upward social comparison.

Participants. One hundred and ten students participated in the study. Thirty six of them were selected from Introduction to Psychology class at Koç University participated in the study and the remaining seventy four were selected from various marketing courses of sophomore and junior classes in exchange for course credit.

All students were randomly assigned into one of the eight conditions of a 2 (Self-concept clarity: High or low) by 2 (Social comparison: Upward or control) by 2 (Product framing: High-sell vs. soft-sell) between-subjects ANOVA design. To observe the effects of

SCC and upward comparison clearly, we used two different luxury framings for which every participant evaluated five different dependent variable measures in total. Main DVs were : The luxury framing DV measures that we created (first luxury framing measure) and either performance or status-framed pen evaluation measures used by Rucker et al.(2009; 2012) (second luxury framing measure). For the first luxury framing measure, we asked interest in the luxury product shown, purchase intentions and willingness to pay more for luxury framed products. For the second DV measures, we asked preference and purchase intentions for the differently framed pens (i.e., hard-sell or performance; soft-sell or status) pertaining to used DV measures by Rucker and his colleagues. The relevance of individual differences were examined with correlation and decision tree analyses later on.

Materials and Procedure. Following the consent form, participants passed the phase of SCC manipulation.

SCC manipulation. The cover story for this part of the experiment introduced the manipulation as a newly developed survey that aims to investigate personality of students. Subsequently, we manipulated SCC by having people complete a bogus personality inventory for which they subsequently received feedback (e.g., Morrison & Johnson, 2011; Sarial-Abi, 2012). The questionnaire had 15 items adopted from Robinson et al. (1999). All items were rated along 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) (See Appendix A). When participants completed the questionnaire, they had the information that computer would create a personality profile by analyzing their responses (Sarial-Abi, 2012). Participants saw their results after seeing a page that says ‘Your responses are being recorded, please wait’ to ensure believability of the manipulation. After 10 seconds with this page, the participants got their results as SCC manipulation (See Appendix B). In the low SCC

condition, participants were told that the computer was unable to create a certain personality profile as follows:

‘The consistency of your responses is not sufficiently high to construct a certain picture of who you are. For your information, this is uncommon. Sixty percent of the time, the computer program we use to compute the consistency of individuals’ personality is able to construct a certain profile’.

In the high SCC condition, participants read the following message:

‘The consistency of your responses is sufficiently high to construct a certain picture of who you are. For your information, this is uncommon. Sixty percent of the time, the computer program we use to compute the consistency of individuals’ personality is unable to construct a certain profile’.

Product evaluation- first luxury framing. Following this task, participants were told that would have a separate task product evaluation task. To have an initial idea about the effect of low SCC on luxury preference, we created a case to assess luxury consumption inclination and presented to each and every participant in the study. We presented participants with certain products that were not part of major product lines of some famous luxury brands (i.e., A Porsche Harddisc, home furnishings by Armani). If participants prefer those luxury branded products even in this case, we could interpret this as a clear sign of luxury consumption preference. Thus, we presented participants with three real product examples of this type: A Porsche designed Harddisc and a mobile phone and an Armani designed lamp for home furnishing (Appendix C).

We introduced these products saying that luxury brands start to produce products that are out of their scope to fulfill customer satisfaction and asked their interest in the products, purchase intentions and willingness to pay (WTP) more for this type of products (See

Appendix D). Subsequently, participants either proceeded with upward comparison manipulation or directly with second luxury framing measures of depending on the random assignment.

Upward comparison manipulation. Participants in the upward social manipulation condition read a school newspaper article about a former student called Deniz Yılmaz and evaluated it (e.g., Mandel et al., 2006; Lockwood & Kunda, 1997). Participants in the control condition, on the other hand, completed the process without reading about the social comparison situation (e.g., Lockwood & Kunda, 1997). To create a both influential and successful figure, we created a realistic success story for university students. To ensure similarity, we presented this student as a recent graduate from Department of Management of Koç University with the real graduate forum page (e.g., Lockwood & Kunda, 1997), (See Appendix E1).

For the manipulation check of the upward comparison, we first asked participants to write what they understand about Deniz mentioned in the text ('Please write down what you understand about Deniz') following the ratings of intelligence, likeability, success and similarity on a 7-point scale (See Appendix E2). First, we asked them to rate the intelligence ('How intelligent do you think Deniz is'), success ('How successful do you think Deniz is'), likeability ('How likeable Deniz is') and similarity level of Deniz ('How similar to you do you think Deniz is) on a 7-point scale from (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997). After that, participants completed second luxury framing measure adopted from Rucker et al. (2012), (See Appendix F).

Product evaluation- second luxury framing. For the second product evaluation task, we used previously created dependent variable measures (Rucker & Galinsky, 2009; Rucker et al., 2012). The stimulus product was pen—as it can easily be presented with

different frames. Besides that, as a category, does not imply status by default (e.g., Rucker et al., 2012). Two different versions as soft-sell (status implying) and hard-sell (performance implying) pens were presented to participants depending on the random assignment. The second luxury (vs. non-luxury) product was presented via distinct framing of the same pen adopted from Rucker et al.(2012) (See Appendix F). Performance framing text was as follows: ‘A perfect pen whenever you need it; This pen was designed to combine quality and compatibility’. Status framing text was: ‘A perfect pen to show your status for those around you, This pen was designed to combine quality and compatibility’. The text was adopted to Turkish from Rucker et al.(2012)’s measures for Turkish speaking participants.

Two different questions measured overall product evaluation. Participants indicated their product preference assigning points for the respective pen out of 10 points (Mandel et al, 2006). Second, we asked their likelihood of purchasing intentions from 1 to 7 (1 = *definitely would not purchase*, 7 = *definitely would purchase*) (See Appendix G). The text was adopted to Turkish from Rucker et al.(2012)’s manipulation text After second task of product evaluation, participants who had upward comparison example responded questions regarding future success expectations (See Appendix H)

Future success expectation measures. To explore whether future success expectation plays a role in facilitating the effect of upward social comparison and luxury consumption, we asked question related to future success expectations adopted from Mandel et al.’s (2006) study to the participants in the upward comparison condition. We asked participants’ future salary expectation upon graduation, probability of reaching success level of Deniz and attainability of Deniz’s success level (See Appendix H). First, participants indicated expected starting salary assuming that they would find a job at a MNC (adopted from Mandel et al., 2006). Second, they determined the likelihood of the same success reached by them on a 7

point rating scale (1= *not at all attainable*, 7= *very attainable*). Third, because high future-success expectation is associated with the attainability of the presented success (e.g., Mandel et al., 2006), they indicated the attainability of the success case by the sentence adopted from Mandel et al., (2006) “I could picture myself in the scene of the events described in the article.” The item will be measured on a 7-point scale, from (*not at all*) to (*very much*).

Individual Difference Measures. Finally, participants completed five different individual difference variables scale. First one was the self-monitoring scale (SM) scale with 18-items (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986) (See Appendix I) ($\alpha = .77$; $M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.01$). Second one was the 12 item self-concept clarity scale by Campbell et al. (1996)(See Appendix J)($\alpha = .86$; $M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.04$). Third scale was state self-esteem scale developed by Heatherton and Polivy (1991), which was adapted from Rosenberg’s self-esteem scale (1965) (See Appendix K)($\alpha = .88$; $M = 3.70$, $SD = 1.43$). Finally, the materialism scale of Richins and Dawson (1992) was used (See Appendix L) ($\alpha = .87$; $M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.02$). After these measures, participants were debriefed.

Results

In this study, we expected participants in the low clarity condition to have stronger inclination for luxury consumption than participants in the high-clarity condition. Furthermore, we expected participants in the high clarity condition to express stronger interest in luxury products when they encountered an upward social comparison target.

Unfortunately, despite extensive pilot testing, manipulations (SCC and upward comparison) used in the present study did not work as expected: SCC manipulation did not lead to changes on average SCC scores, $F(1, 108) = 0.01$, $p = .90$, n.s).

Consequently, the results of an ANOVA test examining the effects of self-concept clarity manipulation and upward social comparison on luxury consumption revealed

nonsignificant relationships (see Table 1). Thus, the hypothesis that there would be a direct effect of SCC on luxury consumption was not supported. These null findings were not due to range restriction in the outcome variables (see Table 2; also see Appendix M for variables associated with the upward comparison manipulation).

Table 1

ANOVA Table for Luxury Consumption by SCC and Upward Comparison

	df	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>p</i>
SCC	1	1.49	.01	.23
Upward Comparison	1	1.06	.01	.31
SCC X Upward Comparison	1	1.21	.01	.27
Error	106		.94	

Note: $N = 110$. Dependent Variable here is the 'Composite Index of Luxury Consumption'.

Table 2

Means (and Standard Deviations) of Outcome Variables

Interest in the Luxury Product	4.05 (1.55)
Purchase Intention	3.45 (1.52)
Willingness to Pay More	3.34 (1.63)
Composite DV of Luxury Consumption- First Luxury Framing	3.61 (1.45)
Preference – Second Luxury Framing	5.34 (2.08)
Purchase Intention- Second Luxury Framing	3.44 (1.50)

N = 110.

In conclusion, the prediction that changes in self-concept clarity would affect luxury consumption decisions was not supported in the present study--presumably because the manipulation did not work as expected. Next, I examined whether this relationship could be revealed when an important variable known to be associated with luxury consumption was controlled (i.e., materialism, see Table 5). Table 3 shows the results of the associated ANCOVA test. As can be seen, controlling for materialism did not make a difference.

Table 3

ANCOVA Table for Luxury Consumption by SCC and Upward Comparison with Materialism

	SS	df	MS	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Materialism	12.04	1	12.04	6.03	.02*
SCC	3.71	1	3.71	1.86	.18
Upward Comparison	3.50	1	3.50	1.75	.19
SCC X Upward Comparison	1.57	1	1.57	0.78	.38
Error	209.95	105	2.00		

*Note: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. $N = 110$. Dependent Variable here is the ‘Composite Index of Luxury Consumption’.*

Next, to examine the effects of SCC on luxury spending at different levels of materialism, I used Hayes and Preacher's (2004) procedures for moderation analyses. Multiple regression analyses examining the effects of SCC, along with materialism and the interaction of the two did not reveal any significant relationships. Change in variance due to inclusion of an interaction term in the model was less than 0,01%. Table 4 displays the effect of SCC on luxury consumption at different levels of materialism, and verifies the null interaction.

Table 4

Conditional effect of SCC on Luxury Consumption at values of the Materialism as the moderator

Materialism	Effect	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
- 1 SD	-.38	0.39	-0.99	.33	-1.16	0.39
Mean	-.36	0.27	-1.33	.19	-0.90	0.18
+ 1 SD	-.34	0.39	-0.87	.38	-1.10	0.43

N = 110.

Individual Differences on Luxury Consumption

Considering the fact that all of our luxury framing dependent variables (DVs) including purchase intentions, preference and willingness to pay have reasonable variability, we wanted to see whether this variability could be explained by individual differences. In the literature, having low self-esteem, being materialistic, and being high in self-monitoring have been linked to luxury product consumption (e.g., Crocker & Park, 2004a; DeBono, 2006; Ferraro et al., 2005; Rucker & Galinsky, 2009; Rucker, Galinsky, & Dubois, 2012; Snyder, 1974; Snyder & Debono, 1985; Truong & McColl, 2011). Although relevant individual differences are likely to interact with each other in predicting luxury consumption tendencies, these interactions have never been examined. For instance, people high in materialism may be open to luxury consumption in general, but not if they have high self-concept clarity or self-esteem or low levels of self-monitoring. Similarly, people with high clarity and self-esteem may be less inclined to luxury consumption but not if they have high levels of materialism or self-monitoring.

As can be seen, relationship between luxury consumption predictors can be complex and thus necessitate statistical techniques beyond zero-order correlations. Decision trees in that regard could be useful in exploring such complex relationships (see Breiman, Friedman, Olshen, & Stone, 1984; Strobl, Malley, & Tutz, 2009). Decision trees can yield simple profiles of complex relationships where people in the same group will be similar to each other with respect to the outcome but different from people in another group.

As a first step, we checked the relationship of the respective individual differences among each other as well as with our DVs (See Table 5). We only consider DVs of first luxury framing in the following analysis and do not consider dependent variables of second

luxury framing since participants completed latter DV measures after exposure to different stimuli (performance vs. status framed products-- making it impossible for the analysis of the whole sample). For this analysis, we created an index of luxury consumption tendency by averaging participants' interest in luxury products, purchase intentions, and willingness to pay more for luxury signature.

Table 5

Correlations Among Individual Difference Variables and DVs

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Composite Index of Luxury Consumption								
2. Purchase Intention	.93**							
3. Willingness to Pay More	.91**	.76**						
4. Interest in the Luxury Product	.93**	.83**	.76**					
5. Self-concept Clarity	-.10	-.14	-.06	-.11				
6. Materialism	.20*	.10	.29**	.22*	.23*			
7. Self-monitoring	-.08	-.15	.01	-.07	.07	.16		
8. Self-esteem	-.12	-.22*	-.01	-.12	.48**	.22*	.14	

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$. $N = 110$.

Profile of Luxury Consumption

Positive correlation between materialism and luxury consumption is evident as expected for almost all dependent variable measures. Meanwhile, self-concept clarity and self-esteem were negatively correlated with luxury consumption ($r = -.10$, $r = -.12$ respectively). While these correlations can be informative, given the possibility of complex relationships among these individual differences and luxury consumption---such as interactions and nonlinear relationships, we proceeded to decision-tree analysis next. In the tree, composite index of luxury consumption is modeled as a function of individual differences in self-esteem, self-monitoring, materialism, and self-concept clarity (see Figure 1). Scores for these individual differences were t-transformed (i.e., $M = 50$, $SD = 10$) for presentational purposes.

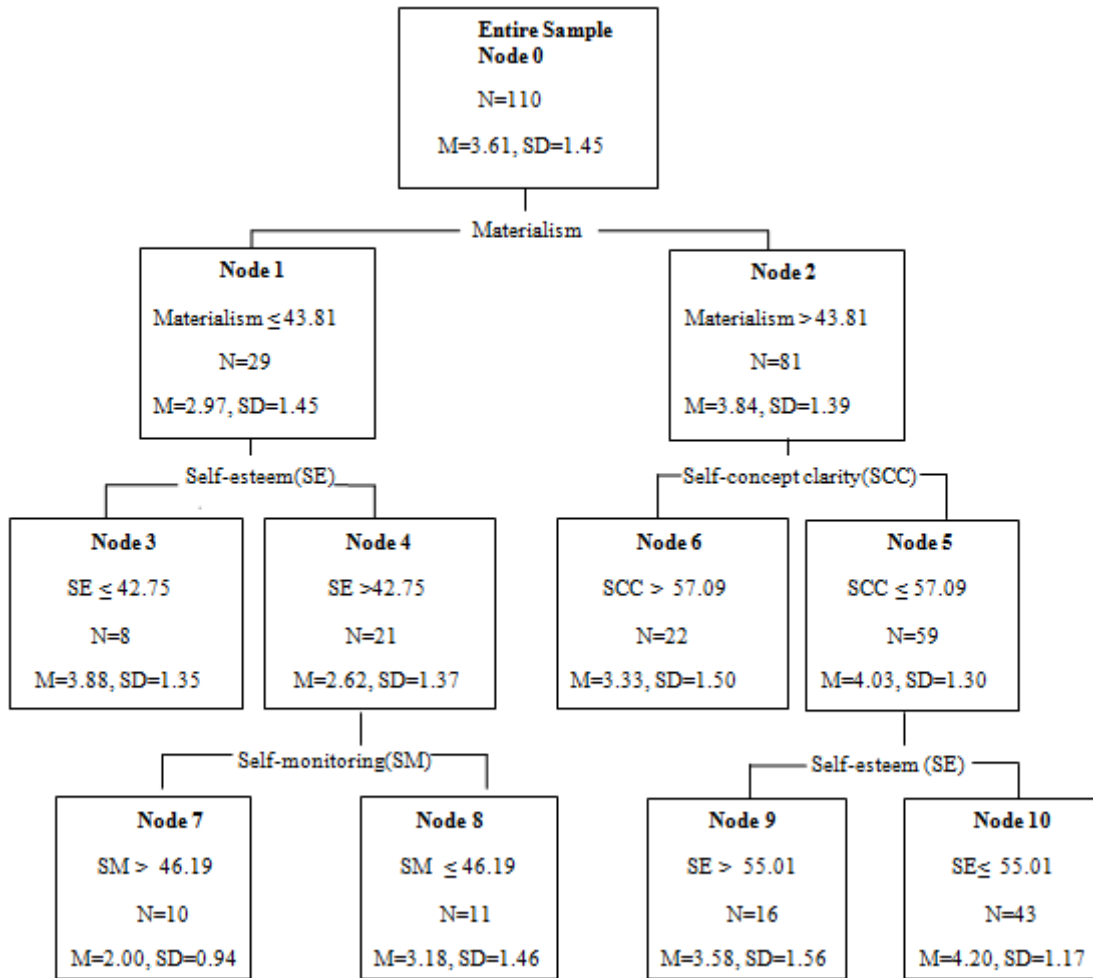


Figure 1. Decision Tree with Composite Index of Luxury Consumption. $R^2 = .21$

In the tree, the foremost predictor of luxury consumption was materialism, hence first split separated consumers that are more inclined to engage in luxury consumption with relatively high levels of materialism from the rest of the sample (Node 2 vs. Node 1). For people at higher levels of materialism (right side of the tree), self-concept clarity made a difference in line with expectations: Specifically, interest in luxury consumption was relatively low for people with higher self-concept clarity (Node 6, $M = 3.33$) than for people low in clarity (Node 5, $M = 4.03$). In this route, for people at higher levels of materialism, self-concept clarity reduced luxury spending tendencies. In the materialistic group with

relatively lower levels of self-concept clarity, having higher levels of self-esteem had a protective effect making consumers in this group less inclined to luxury consumption (see Node 9). However, for the same level of SCC, relatively low levels of self-esteem reinforced the detrimental effect of low SCC on luxury consumption and created the most inclined group of consumers to luxury consumption (see Node 10). Thus, we could conclude that people with relatively higher levels of materialism, lower levels of SCC and lower levels of self-esteem seemed to be the most open to luxury consumption.

To the left of the tree, for people at relatively lower levels of materialism, self-esteem made a difference (Node 3 and 4). Specifically, luxury spending tendency was weak for people with high self-esteem. For this group, however, self-monitoring made an unexpected difference: Relatively high levels of self-monitoring (> 46) was associated with the least inclination to luxury consumption whereas relatively low levels of self-monitoring brought more vulnerability to luxury consumption (See Node 7 and 8).

In conclusion, whereas materialism generally increased luxury spending tendencies, both self-concept clarity and self-esteem generally reduced these tendencies.

Discussion

The goal of this research was to examine the relationship between SCC and luxury consumption tendencies, and how this relationship changed in the absence or presence of upward social comparison. Although the manipulations in this study were previously tested (e.g., Morrison & Johnson, 2011; Sarial-Abi, 2012), none of the expected relationships could be verified because the manipulations did not work as intended. Providing participants with feedback about their personalities did not affect their self-concept clarity, and hence the outcomes of interest. However, meaningful relationships in the expected direction could be verified when self-concept clarity was examined as an individual difference variable along

with other trait-like tendencies such as materialism, self-esteem, and self-monitoring. Specifically, using these individual difference variables in decision-tree analysis, we were able to create a profile of people who are more or less open to luxury consumption.

Based on past research, we expected to observe complex relationships among individual differences and luxury spending tendencies. For instance, interactions among attributes were likely and the exact cut-off points where a particular attribute would increase or decrease these tendencies could not be known a priori. Hence, we used decision trees that are widely used to solve profiling and segmentation problems. We believe we were able to propose a simple profile of consumer who is more (less) vulnerable to luxury consumption, as a function of individual differences in self-esteem, self-monitoring, materialism, and self-concept clarity for the first time in the literature. First, we were able to see the compensatory power of SCC on luxury consumption even in the presence of higher levels of materialism. Second, we were able to identify groups of individuals who were seriously inclined to consume luxury products. Specifically, the group with the strongest intentions was constituted by people with higher levels of materialism and lower levels of SCC and self-esteem (Node 10, $M = 4.20$ on a 5-point scale). The group with weakest intentions, on the other hand, were composed of people with lower levels of materialism and higher levels of self-esteem. However, this latter group was higher in their self-monitoring tendencies, perhaps contrary to expectations based on past research (see Node 7).

In the literature, self-monitoring has been shown to have a positive correlation with status-implying tendencies and luxury consumption in general-- with typical correlations around $r = .30$ (e.g., Chatterjee & Hunt, 1996; DeBono, 2006; Snyder and Debono, 1985). However, interactions of this variable with other individual difference variables were never explored in this context. The present study revealed one such interesting interaction worth

pursuing in the future. That is, self-monitoring brought about the least vulnerability to luxury consumption in presence of higher levels of self-esteem and lower levels of materialism. For materialist people, consumption may provide an easy way to enhance and maintain self-worth. When materialist tendencies are coupled with a concern for the opinions and evaluations of others- as in the case of self-monitors, luxury spending can be the expected thing to do. However, when people are not very materialistic, they may resort to alternative ways of feeling better about the self. At this point, it is an empirical question. Hence, this line of work in the future may benefit from discussing these issues in the context of alternative contingencies of self-worth (See Crocker & Wolfe, 2001) .

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Appendix A

The New Personality Questionnaire (Bogus Personality Questionnaire) (e.g., Sarial-Abi, G., 2012).

The New Personality is a new and impressionist questionnaire that provides an interesting insight to an individual’s personality. Recently, some intriguing research conducted at a large university in Istanbul has suggested that The New Personality might be a better predictor than traditional personality tests. Hence, the purpose of this study is to explore whether these previous findings are valid.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree (5)
Spontaneity can be an excuse for irresponsibility	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Settling in another country is probably difficult.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Greater achievement requires greater imagination.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Thinking is all responsible for discovery and inventions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Numbers were invented.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Great achievements require self-discipline.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Human beings should be treated with respect at all times.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Familiarity, like the absence, make the heart grow fonder.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Imagination frees people from the routines of life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of success is due to laziness	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is beauty in everyone.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The mind is like a mirror.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Distaste for hardwork reflects a weakness in character.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The heart is like a lamp.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix B

SCC Manipulation (Feedback)

Low SCC condition:

The consistency of your responses is *not sufficiently high* to construct a certain picture of who you are. For your information, this is uncommon. Sixty percent of the time, the computer program we use to compute the consistency of individuals' personality is able to construct a certain profile.

High SCC condition:

The consistency of your responses is sufficiently high to construct a certain picture of who you are. For your information, this is uncommon. Sixty percent of the time, the computer program we use to compute the consistency of individuals' personality is unable to construct a certain profile.

Appendix C

First Luxury Framing Measure



Appendix E

Appendix E1

Upward Social Comparison Scenario



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Mezunlardan Haberler

13/05/2013

Bir Başarı Öyküsü: Deniz Yılmaz

Bu küçük yazı Koç Üniversitesi İşletme Bölümü'nün yeni mezunlarından birini sizlere tanıtmak için yazıldı. Orta halli bir aileden gelen Deniz Yılmaz, lisans hayatı boyunca başarılı bir öğrenciydi. Üniversite öğrenciliği boyunca, kendisinin aktif bir sosyal hayatı vardı ve kampüs aktiviteleriyle içiçeydi. Mezun olmasından üç sene sonra, Deniz hem Awyer Group Corp. adında geleceği parlak ve global bir şirkette üst yönetim pozisyonuna yükselmeyi başardı, hem de bu şirketin hissedarlarından biri oldu. Öyle görünüyor ki, Deniz'in kariyer çizgisi yükselmeye devam edecek. Sizlere kariyer yolculuğunuzda yol göstermek için, kendisi haftaya KuTalk'ta bizlerle birlikte olacak.

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Appendix E2

Upward Social Comparison Manipulation Checks (Mandel et al., 2006).


1. Please write down what you understand about Deniz'

Appendix F

Second Luxury Framing Measures

Appendix F1

Hard-sell advertisement framing (non-status)




**‘A Wonderful Instrument for
Performance whenever you need it’**

This pen was designed to combine quality
and compatibility.

Appendix F2

Soft-sell advertisement (status- signaling) framing



**‘A Wonderful Display of your Status to all
those around you’.**

This pen was designed to combine quality and
compatibility.

Appendix I

Eighteen Item Version of Self- Monitoring (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986)

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree (5)
1. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. I would probably make a good actor.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. I am not particularly good at making other people like me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. I'm not always the person I appear to be.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone or win their favor.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. I have considered being an entertainer.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. I feel a bit awkward in public and do not show up quite as well as I should.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

18. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Appendix J

Self-concept Clarity(SCC) Scale (Campbell et al.,1996)

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree (5)
1. My beliefs about myself often conflict with one another .	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. On one day I might have one opinion of myself and on another day I might have a different opinion.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I spend a lot of time wondering about what kind of person I really am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. Sometimes I feel that I am not really the person that I appear to be.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. When I think about the kind of person I have been in the past, I'm not sure what I was really like	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. I seldom experience conflict between the different aspects of my personality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Sometimes I think I know other people better than I know myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. My beliefs about myself seem to change very frequently	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. If I were asked to describe my personality, my description might end up being different from one day to another day.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Even if I wanted to, I don't think I could tell someone what I'm really like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. It is often hard for me to make up my mind about things because I don't really know what I want.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix K

State Self-Esteem Scale (SSES) (Heatherton & Polivy, 1991)

	Not at all (1)	A little bit	Somewhat	Very much	Extremely (5)
1. I feel confident about my abilities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. I am worried about whether I am regarded as a success or failure. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I feel satisfied with the way my body looks right now.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I feel frustrated or rattled about my performance (r).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. I feel that I am having trouble understanding things that I read. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. I feel that others respect and admire me.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I am dissatisfied with my weight. (r).	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I feel self-conscious. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. I feel as smart as others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. I feel displeased with myself. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. I feel good about myself.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. I am pleased with my appearance right now	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. I am worried about what other people think of me. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. I feel confident that I understand things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. I feel inferior to others at this moment. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. I feel unattractive. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. I feel concerned about the impression I am making. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. I feel that I have less scholastic ability right now than others. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. I feel like I'm not doing well. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. I am worried about looking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

foolish. (r)					
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Appendix L

Materialism Values Scale (MVS) (Richins & Dawson, 1992)

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree (5)
1. I admire people who own expensive homes, cars, and clothes.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Some of the most important achievements in life include acquiring material possessions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. I don't place much emphasis on the amount of material objects people own as a sign of success. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. The things I own say a lot about how well I'm doing in life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. I like to own things that impress people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. I don't pay much attention to the material objects other people own. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. I usually buy only the things I need. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. I try to keep my life simple, as far as possessions are concerned. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. The things I own aren't all that important to me. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. I enjoy spending money on things that aren't practical	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Buying things gives me a lot of pleasure.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. I like a lot of luxury in my life.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. I put less emphasis on material things than most people I know. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. I have all the things I really need to enjoy life. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. My life would be better if I owned certain things I don't have.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. I wouldn't be any happier if I owned nicer things. (r)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

17. I'd be happier if I could afford to buy more things.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. It sometimes bothers me quite a bit that I can't afford to buy all the things I'd like.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Appendix M

Means (and Standard Deviations) of Upward Comparison & Future Success Related Variables

Intelligence	5.42 (0.85)
Likeability	5.04 (1.10)
Success	6.05 (0.89)
Similarity	4.53 (1.12)
Likelihood of Reaching Target Success Level	5.33 (1.21)
Attainability of the Target Success Level	5.36 (1.23)

Note: $N = 55$. Salary Expectation Upon Graduation were measured in TL. ($M = 3750$, $SD = 1500$.)