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A New Framework for Agency and Communion:
Theoretical Development and Application to Consumer Behavior

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ABSTRACT

A New Framework for Agency and Communion: Theoretical Development and Application to Consumer Behavior

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Agency is a broad orientation aimed to advance the self and one's own abilities, whereas communion is a broad orientation aimed to interact with others and connect to people in a larger social context. In Chapter 1, I introduce a new framework to conceptualize the constructs of agency and communion. Specifically, I propose that agency and communion each have two distinct underlying motives that reference either an internal or external standard. For example, an individual with a communal orientation may purchase a gift for a friend to build a relationship (internal standard) or as an act of compassion (external standard). In Chapter 2, I empirically test a central aspect of my framework in the context of consumer gift giving during times of hardship. This empirical work examines how recipients' optimistic versus pessimistic outlook on their hardship influences gift givers' purchases based on two different inferred communal needs. Optimism signals a heightened need for affiliation, whereas pessimism signals a heightened need for nurturing. As a result, gift givers select their purchases to fulfill the perceived psychological needs of the recipient. Eight experiments ($N = 2,024$) test this hypothesis, explore the mechanism, and identify boundary conditions. Therefore, whereas Chapter 1 explores agency and communion from the actor perspective, Chapter 2 tests and extends part of this framework from the observer perspective. This work concludes with a discussion of the implications for the study of both consumer hardship specifically and gift giving more generally.

Keywords: agency, communion, gift giving, optimism, pessimism

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to the original source of communion in my life: my family. To my mom, Lisa, who has always been my biggest advocate. I would not be where I am today without your love and encouragement over all these years. To my twin brother, Cody, who has always been by my side. And to my grandparents, Ed and Julane, who have continuously instilled the importance of education in me.

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CHAPTER 1. A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR AGENCY AND COMMUNION

In Collaboration with Derek D. Rucker

Bakan (1966) introduced the terms agency and communion to capture two fundamental orientations deemed to govern human thought and behavior. Agency is described as a broad orientation aimed to advance the self and one's own abilities; communion is referred to as a broad orientation aimed to interact with others and to connect to people in a larger social context (Bakan, 1966; Horowitz, 2004). Agency and communion have been central in understanding gender stereotypes (Eagly & Steffen, 1984), social cognition (Abele & Wojciszke, 2014), memory (Woike et al., 1999), prosocial behavior (Grant & Gino, 2010), social rank (Rucker et al., 2012), leadership (Witkower et al., 2020), advertising (Meyers-Levy, 1988), word-of-mouth (Zhang et al., 2014), luxury consumption (Cannon & Rucker, 2019), and persuasion (Dubois et al., 2016).

Horowitz theorized that the broad orientations of agency and communion manifest, in part, as specific motives (Horowitz, 2004; Horowitz et al., 2006). I accept Horowitz's premise, but introduce a novel theoretical perspective on how to understand specific motives that underlie the broad orientations of agency and communion. I suggest that agentic and communal motives can, and should, be parsed apart by whether they are tethered to an internal or an external standard. As I delineate, the recognition of internal and external standards has critical implications for the ability to predict and explain human behavior.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. First, I discuss the constructs of agency and communion. Second, I explain how an integration of internal versus external standards can critically inform agentic and communal motives. Third, to demonstrate the utility

of this theoretical perspective, I review empirical evidence of the different agentic and communal motives based on internal versus external standards. Finally, implications for the study of agency and communion are discussed.

Agency, Communion, and the Duality of Human Existence

Bakan (1966) coined the terms agency and communion to capture two fundamental orientations or “modalities” (p. 14-15). Agency helps propagate the self’s mastery and personal goals, whereas communion helps people form coalitions and aids social functioning. Consistent with Bakan (1966), I represent agency—or an agentic orientation—at the most abstract level as *a focus on the self as an individual agent*. Also consistent with Bakan (1966), I represent communion—or a communal orientation—at the most abstract level as *a focus on the self in relation to others in a larger social context*. As already noted, agency and communion have been used to inform various human behaviors (see Dubois et al., 2016; Grant & Gino, 2010; Meyers-Levy & Sternthal, 1991).

The broad orientations of agency and communion have been argued to be comprised, in part, of intermediate motives (Horowitz, 2004; Horowitz et al., 2006). In line with prior literature, a ‘motive’ can be understood as a motivational state that invites behavioral responses that satisfy the motive (Horowitz et al., 2006). I use the term “agentic motive” to capture a motive that is focused on one’s own self, and the term “communal motive” to describe a motive focused on one’s relationship and interactions with others. An agentic motive might be represented by the cognition, “I want to enhance my abilities.” In contrast, a communal motive might be represented by the cognition, “I want to interact with others.”

To illustrate how distinct motives can give rise to the same broad orientation, take the case of agency. A person with an agentic orientation might be prone to spend more money on the

self (Kurt et al., 2011; Rucker et al., 2011). However, this general orientation could also be a result of distinct motives. Individuals with an agentic orientation might spend money on the self because they strive to make self-efficacious decisions. That is, they might spend money in ways to feel competent and capable, such as putting money away in a savings account or purchasing a high-quality product. Alternatively, individuals with an agentic orientation might be prone to spend more money as a way to self-enhance. Instead of demonstrating personal efficacy, these individuals might be motivated to spend their money in ways that signal social status, such as purchasing luxury brands with prominent logos (e.g., a Louis Vuitton purse with the trademark LV pattern).

In the case of communion, a person with a communal orientation might be prone to give money to others (Piff et al., 2010; Rucker et al., 2011). However, this general orientation could be a result of distinct motives. Individuals with a communal orientation might give money to a friend because of a desire for social affiliation. That is, they might spend money in ways that allow them to feel socially connected with another person, such as sending a friend a hallmark card or taking a friend to the movies. Alternatively, individuals with a communal orientation might be prone to give money out of a desire to help another person. Instead of social affiliation, these individuals might be motivated to spend their money in ways that actively support others, such as TOMS brand shoes, which donates a pair of shoes with each purchase.

Although scholars have suggested agency and communion are comprised of distinct motives (Horowitz, 2004; Horowitz et al., 2006), prior work has largely remained focused on the broad orientations of agency and communion (e.g., Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012; c.f., Abele et al., 2016; Cannon & Rucker, 2020). A consequence, even if unintended, is that little theory exists as

to how to parse specific motives in a meaningful manner and whether they are important for the prediction of human behavior.

Internal versus External Standards and Agentic and Communal Motives

Although motives drive behavior, people rely on a reference point or standard to assess success (Higgins, 1990, 1997). One particular property of standards is that they can be internal or external. Prior literature has used internal versus external, or related terminology, to capture whether people rely on a standard tied more to themselves (i.e., internal) or a standard tied more to others (i.e., external; see Festinger, 1954; Heider, 1958; Snyder, 1974). For example, an individual that is motivated to improve his performance in marathons might use either his prior efforts (internal) or the time set by another person (external) as a standard to assess his performance. Here, I use *internal standard* to refer to a focus on the self as a reference point. In contrast, I use *external standard* to refer to a focus on others as a reference point.

Integrating Agentic and Communal Motives with Standards

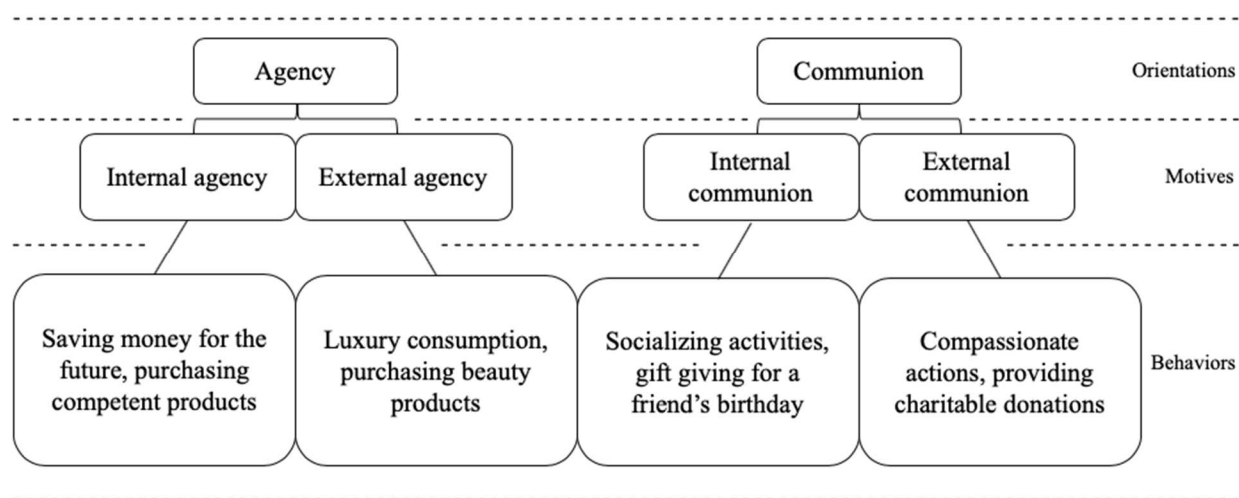
My core proposition is that agentic and communal motives can have either an internal or external standard. On first blush, one might argue that it is sensible that prior literature has not explored such a distinction. Specifically, one might raise the argument that a natural mapping exists between motives and standards. Agentic motives implicate the self and thus the standard might naturally be assumed to be the self. In contrast, communal motives implicate others and thus the standard might naturally be assumed to be others. Although not tested empirically, this possibility is consistent with the idea that agency tends to be equated more with a self-focused perspective and communion more with an other-focused perspective (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007).

Although possible, I suggest an alternative conceptualization, presented in Figure 1. At the broadest level, I suggest individuals have orientations in the form of agency and communion.

However, at the intermediate level of motives (Horowitz, 2004; Horowitz et al., 2006), I propose individuals can have agentic or communal motives that reference either an internal or external standard. That is, although an agentic orientation is aimed at self-advancement, I propose individuals can benchmark advancement based on an internal or external standard. Similarly, although a communal orientation is aimed toward interactions with others, individuals can benchmark interactions based on an internal or external standard. I offer the labels internal and external agency as well as internal and external communion as nomenclature for these intermediate motives. In Appendix A, I also present a psychometrically validated instrument, which I term the “Communal and Agentic Motives with Standards” or CAMS scale to measure these four intermediate motives (Cannon & Rucker, 2020).

Figure 1

Conceptualization of Agency and Communion as a Hierarchical Framework



As I review next, while prior research has not provided empirical evidence that agentic and communal motives can reflect internal and external standards, writings on agency and

communion hint at such a possibility. And, as I will review, these different motives can produce differences in underlying behavior.

Intermediate Motives of Internal Agency versus External Agency

With respect to the idea that agentic motives can reference an internal standard (i.e., internal agency), agency has been described with language that suggests the use of one's self as a standard. For example, agency has been described as "feelings of personal competence and efficacy," (Grant & Gino, 2010, p. 947) and "practices enabling people to perform tasks, solve problems, and attain their goals" (Kervyn et al., 2012, p. 169); see Table 1. In addition, McAdams and colleagues (1996) coded autobiographic accounts for various agentic themes, such as self-mastery in which one desires to have autonomy and strives for a more perfect self, and achievement in which one desires to be a competent and efficacious agent. In each of these cases, agentic individuals seem to assess progress by how they advance relative to their own internal standards, irrespective of other social actors in the environment.

Table 1

Definitions of the Agentic and Communal Motives

Motive	Definition	Example Definitions from the Literature
Internal agency	Desire to achieve one's own personal ambitions and forge one's own path	"feelings of personal competence and efficacy" (Grant & Gino, 2010, p. 947) "practices enabling people to perform tasks, solve problems, and attain their goals" (Kervyn et al., 2012, p. 169)
External agency	Desire to achieve superiority and be a worthy individual in the eyes of others	"a person's strivings for status and power that facilitate and protect the differentiation of the person from others" (Kurt et al., 2011, p. 743) "meta-concept associated with self-advancement in social hierarchies," (Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012, p. 39)

Internal communion	Desire to seek close relationships with others	<p>“the need for affiliation with others” (Ma & Dubé, 2011, p. 85)</p> <p>“particular concept associated with maintenance of positive relationships” (Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012, p. 39)</p>
External communion	Desire to help and provide support to others	<p>“a more universalized concern for the well-being of disadvantaged, distant others, or the ecological well-being of the planet” (Frimer et al., 2011, p. 150)</p> <p>“caring for others and involves such qualities like focus on others and their well-being, cooperativeness, and emotional expressivity” (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007, p. 751)</p>

With respect to the idea that agentic motives can have an external standard (i.e., external agency), agency has also been described with language that suggests the use of others as standards. For example, agency has been written about as “a person’s strivings for status and power that facilitate and protect the differentiation of the person from others,” (Kurt et al., 2011, p. 743) and a “meta-concept associated with self-advancement in social hierarchies” (Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012, p. 39); see Table 1. McAdams and colleagues (1996) also found that autobiographic accounts had agentic themes such as status in which one desires dominance, recognition from others, and prestige attained through competitive means. In each of these cases, agentic individuals appear to use others as points of comparison to assess their own progress and accomplishments.

As additional evidence for this distinction, in a conceptual paper (Cannon et al., 2019), my co-authors and I explain the effects of resource scarcity through two psychological pathways: the scarcity-reduction route and the control-restoration route. These two psychological routes require internal agency and external agency, respectively. First, a consumer following the

scarcity-reduction route has heightened self-regulation and strategically allocates attentional resources toward reducing the resource discrepancy. For example, this includes self-efficacious strategies (Sujan et al., 1999), priority planning (Fernbach et al., 2015) and saving money for the future (Griskevicius et al., 2013). Importantly, in line with internal agency, these behavioral outcomes require establishing personal standards for success, regardless of other social actors; see Figure 1. Second, a consumer following the control-restoration route experiences diminished personal control and shows reduced self-regulation. For example, this includes compensatory consumption of luxury goods (Walasek & Brown, 2015) and beauty products (S. E. Hill et al., 2012). Importantly, in line with external agency, these behavioral outcomes frequently require establishing social, rather than personal, standards for success.

Intermediate Motives of Internal Communion and External Communion

With respect to the idea that communal motives can have an internal standard (i.e., internal communion), communion has been described in relation to seeking close personal relationships with others, such as friendships, romantic relationships, and general social affiliation. Communion has even been conceptualized as “the need for affiliation with others,” (Ma & Dubé, 2011, p. 85) and a “particular concept associated with maintenance of positive relationships” (Trapnell & Paulhus, 2012, p. 39); see Table 1. McAdams and colleagues (1996) also found that autobiographic accounts had communal themes such as “love/friendship” in which one desires emotional relationships with others. Scholars have also written and explored communion in relation to interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and inclusion (Brewer, 1991). These reflect cases where individuals are oriented towards interactions with others (i.e., communion), but gauge progress based on their own needs or standing.

With respect to the idea that communal motives can have an external standard (i.e., external communion), communion has been conceptualized as “a more universalized concern for the well-being of disadvantaged, distant others, or the ecological well-being of the planet,” (Frimer et al., 2011, p. 150) and “caring for others and involves such qualities like focus on others and their well-being, cooperativeness, and emotional expressivity” (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007, p. 751); see Table 1. In addition, McAdams and colleagues (1996) coded autobiographic accounts for communal themes that seem related to external communion, such as the desire to help others in need and to express forms of altruism. In related literatures, communion has been described in terms of universalism (Schwartz et al., 2012) and social desirability or “goodness” (Rosenberg et al., 1968). These reflect cases where individuals are oriented toward interactions with others (i.e., communion), but their progress in social interactions is gauged based on the needs of others in their social environment.

My co-author and I have provided a first empirical test of the differentiation between internal communion and external communion (Cannon & Rucker, 2020). Specifically, we used the Communal and Agentic Motives with Standards (CAMS) scale—which include measures for the two communal motives—to predict differences in prosocial spending, or the use of financial resources to improve the welfare of others (Aknin et al., 2013; Dunn et al., 2008). Because consumers motivated by external communion focus externally on others’ needs, I propose that such individuals should engage in more prosocial spending when cues related to compassion are salient. In one study, using a within-subjects longitudinal design, I demonstrate that external (vs. internal) communion increases charitable giving, a form of prosocial spending that signals compassion; see Figure 1. In a second study, using a between-subjects longitudinal design, I extend the consequences of external communion to include another type of prosocial spending—

gift giving—but only during the Christmas holiday season, a time when gift giving as an act of compassion is salient (Hirschman & LaBarbera, 1989).

Whereas consumers motivated by external communion are concerned with the needs of others and thus sensitive to cues related to compassion, consumers motivated by internal communion are focused more internally on how to maintain social connections between the self and others. Therefore, I hypothesized that such individuals will be sensitive to cues related to the value of relationships. In a third study, I demonstrate that internal (vs. external) communion increases gift giving for a friend's birthday, an event in which cues related to the value of relationships are salient; see Figure 1. Overall, these set of studies provide empirical evidence for how internal and external communion are unique communal motives.

Chapter 1 Conclusion

Although proposed more than half a century ago (Bakan, 1966), the broad constructs of agency and communion remain fundamental to social psychology (Abele & Wojciszke, 2014) and applied fields such as consumer behavior (Kurt & Frimer, 2015). Providing clarity to these longstanding constructs, I propose that the broad orientations of agency and communion might contain intermediate motives based on internal versus external standards. Importantly, the intermediate motives should also have important social consequences. I have reviewed prior conceptual evidence to suggest the existence of intermediate motives. In addition, I have provided two published examples that have distinguished the two agentic motives (Cannon et al., 2019), and the two communal motives (Cannon & Rucker, 2020).

**GIFT GIVING IN RESPONSE TO OTHERS' HARDSHIP:
THE ROLE OF AFFILIATION VERSUS NURTURING NEEDS**

In Collaboration with Derek D. Rucker

Hardship is an inevitable part of the human condition. And, although one can experience hardship directly, people are often observers of others' hardships. A friend's father might pass away unexpectedly. A co-worker might fall ill and require extended bedrest. A friend might divorce from a spouse. In each instance—whether death, illness, or divorce—one response by observers is to give a gift to the person who is experiencing hardship. For example, one might send flowers to the friend who has lost his father, deliver a gift basket and the message “get well soon” to the ill co-worker, or treat the divorced friend to a movie. In fact, many brands have even developed product offerings specifically in response to hardships. For example, companies such as 1-800-Flowers and subsidiaries like Harry & David specialize in providing flowers and gift baskets to consumers experiencing a difficult time in their lives.

Academics have long aimed to understand the psychology of gift giving. Prior work has primarily emphasized gift giving in pleasant situations such as weddings or birthdays (Joy, 2001; Tifferet et al., 2018) or thoughtful gifts toward friends (Chan & Mogilner, 2017; Goodman & Lim, 2018). In contrast, despite hardship occurring on a routine basis, little research exists that informs how gift givers behave—that is, when they give, what they give, and why—in response to a recipient's hardship. To address this gap, this research examines how a recipient's outlook on their hardship affects gift givers' responses. Specifically, I explore the role of recipients' expression of optimism or pessimism. Although extant theories suggest gift givers might simply be more responsive to optimistic recipients, I suggest a more dynamic relationship exists when it

comes to the nature of the gifts given. I propose that recipients' expression of optimism or pessimism leads gift givers to infer distinct psychological needs in recipients. As a consequence of these distinct inferences, gift givers' shift the type of gifts they give.

To build my theoretical account, I next review relevant literature on gift giving. Subsequently, I integrate prior literature on optimism and pessimism to develop my propositions as to the distinct psychological needs that gift givers may infer from optimism and pessimism. I then introduce my hypotheses as to how recipients' optimism or pessimism affect the type of gifts that gift givers select.

Gift Giving in Interpersonal Relationships

Gifts serve an integral function in interpersonal relationships. Gift giving is used to celebrate special occasions such as weddings and holidays (Belk & Coon, 1993; Sherry, 1983; Tifferet et al., 2018). In such situations, gift giving can provide a social signal of the value of a relationship. For example, purchasing flowers and chocolates on Valentine's Day can signal that the relationship is strong (Joy, 2001). Moreover, in everyday contexts, purchasing gifts can help foster and maintain friendships (Chan & Mogilner, 2017) as well as workplace relationships (Kube et al., 2012).

As the preceding examples allude to, gift-giving research has emphasized gift giving in contexts that are affectively positive (Belk & Coon, 1993; Sherry, 1983). That is, most research explores the act of giving gifts in pleasant situations. However, as already noted, gift giving is relevant during unpleasant times as well (e.g., an ill co-worker). Yet, far less academic research exists on gift giving during difficult times (for discussion, see Klein et al., 2015). In fact, a review of the consumer behavior literature reveals only a limited set of cases, which are all principally qualitative in nature. For example, researchers have examined the acceptance of gifts

during geographic relocation in Montréal, Canada (Marcoux, 2009), gift giving during Mardi Gras in New Orleans in the wake of Hurricane Katrina (Weinberger & Wallendorf, 2012), and gift exchange recollected by survivors of Nazi concentration camps (Klein et al., 2015).

Although these efforts demonstrate consumers giving in times of hardship, they provide only a small foothold into a broader understanding of how people give in response to hardship.

Hardship and the Role of Optimism and Pessimism

How do people give in response to hardship? To answer this question, I propose that one critical aspect of hardship is the outlook adopted by the experiencer of the hardship. Specifically, a person can adopt either an optimistic or pessimistic outlook on their hardship. Optimistic people believe that, despite the hardship, future events in their life will go favorably, whereas pessimistic people believe that, in addition to the hardship, future events in their life will go unfavorably (see Carver et al., 1994). More generally, optimists are more likely to endorse beliefs that good things will happen to them, whereas pessimists are more likely to endorse negative outcome expectancies (Scheier et al., 1994).

Several streams of research suggest that consumers might be more inclined to give support—such as gifts—to those with optimistic outlooks. People are more likely to help happy than sad people in everyday situations, such as holding a door open for a stranger (Hauser et al., 2014). Optimists themselves report greater support from relationship partners after conflict (Srivastava et al., 2006) and have larger networks to offer support (Brissette et al., 2002; Srivastava & Angelo, 2009). In addition, optimists tend to receive less rejection from others than pessimists (Carver et al., 1994). Consequently, consistent with such findings, gift givers might be more prone to give gifts and provide assistance when recipients express an optimistic outlook.

A main effect of optimism would have important implications. It suggests that consumers in need should represent optimism to others, regardless of their true outlook. Although I acknowledge this possibility, I also recognize that people's response to a hardship often varies; some people have a naturally pessimistic reaction that cannot be easily brushed aside. In addition, while research suggests that people might prefer to help optimists, this does not mean people are apathetic to pessimists. In fact, research suggests that others' expressions of distress can also trigger altruistic behavior by observers (de Waal, 2008). I build on this idea by proposing that people help both optimists and pessimists, but they prefer to help them in different ways.

Optimism and Pessimism as Distinct Signals

I propose that optimism and pessimism are prone to signal distinct psychological needs. To begin, I propose that optimism is more inclined to signal a heightened affiliation need by an experiencer of a hardship. I define an affiliation need as the desire to belong, connect, and interact with other people (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Buss, 1983; C. A. Hill, 1987; Murray, 1938). This need can include interactions in relational dyads, such as friends or spouses, as well as in group settings, such as a fraternity or intramural club (Cheek et al., 2002; Gabriel & Gardner, 1999). I argue that optimism is more likely to signal an affiliation need because an optimistic outlook demonstrates that the individual has the capacity to handle the situation and address his or her goals (Nes & Segerstrom, 2006). In addition, optimistic individuals score higher on trait extraversion (Marshall et al., 1992), highlighting their desire to participate in their social environment.

Several findings within the literature support the possibility that optimism would lead to inferences related to an affiliation need. Prior work has found that people naturally want to

affiliate with and help positive people (Hauser et al., 2014). In addition, optimistic people are viewed as warmer (Smith et al., 2013), which might suggest they are ready to connect with others as a means to cope with their hardship. Of greatest relevance, prior research has found that optimistic individuals cope by seeking out social support from others (Scheier et al., 1986). Scholars have even argued that individuals high in dispositional optimism prefer engaging in social interactions (Terrill et al., 2010). Taken together, I suggest that recipients' expression of optimism causes observers to infer heightened affiliation needs in the recipients.

In contrast to optimism, I propose that pessimism is more inclined to signal a heightened nurturing need by an experiencer of a hardship. I define a nurturing need as the desire to be helped, provided for, and taken care of (Frimer et al., 2011; McAdams et al., 1996). Nurturing behavior involves empathy and concern for other entities outside the self, such as people, animals, and the environment (Davis, 1983; Gerbasi & Prentice, 2013; Schwartz et al., 2012). I argue that pessimism signals a need for nurturing because a core aspect of a pessimistic outlook is that the individual appears unable to personally accomplish his or her own goals (Nes & Segerstrom, 2006). As a consequence, I suggest the most immediate and focal need for the recipient is nurturance from others, rather than affiliation.

Direct evidence for this relationship has not been provided, however, at least two pieces of data point to the possibility that pessimistic individuals might be perceived as having a greater nurturing need. First, pessimistic individuals tend to be more submissive, which suggests they may lack the agency to confront challenges on their own and instead need others' support (Smith et al., 2013). Second, pessimistic individuals are also more likely to engage in avoidant behavior, which suggests the need for others' interventions (Nes & Segerstrom, 2006). Put simply, pessimistic individuals likely need greater assistance from others in order to overcome their

hardship. As a consequence, I suggest that recipients' expression of pessimism may lead observers to infer heightened nurturing needs in the recipients.

In sum, I argue that recipients' outlook on their hardship shifts the psychological needs inferred by observers. Observers infer that optimistic people desire affiliation more so than care and support. In contrast, observers infer that pessimistic people need care and support from others more so than affiliation.

Gifts as Means to Fulfill Affiliation and Nurturing Needs

I propose that gifts can serve as means to respond to recipients' affiliation and nurturing needs. Although not tested experimentally, nor tested with regard to optimistic or pessimistic outlooks, extant qualitative research is consistent with the possibility that people select gifts in response to inferences tethered to both affiliation and nurturing needs.

With regard to giving in response to affiliation needs, Klein and colleagues (2015) coded the motivations for giving within personal memoirs of survivors of Nazi concentration camps. The authors found that a key motivation for gift giving during this extreme case of hardship was to reestablish social identities. For example, prisoners shared food with others as a way of connecting with their family identity. In addition, Marcoux (2009) discussed how friends and family provided help to working-class or poor individuals who relocated in Montréal, Canada. One mover named Marjo recalled that moving day not only involved cleaning rooms and arranging furniture, but also involved aspects of a party—beer, pizza, and fun times. This anecdote explicitly calls attention to the idea that people offer affiliation in times of hardship.

With regard to nurturing motives, Klein and colleagues (2015) also report another key motivation for gift giving within the Nazi concentration camps was to reestablish humanity. Prisoners shared clothing with complete strangers, an action that appeared to be driven by a

desire to personally help another human being. In Marcoux (2009), another mover named Bea—a recently divorced woman—discussed that her friends insisted on helping by cleaning rooms and arranging things; Bea’s friends stressed that, due to her divorce, it was unwise to take on too many responsibilities without help from others. This anecdote references the idea that people offer nurturance in times of hardship.

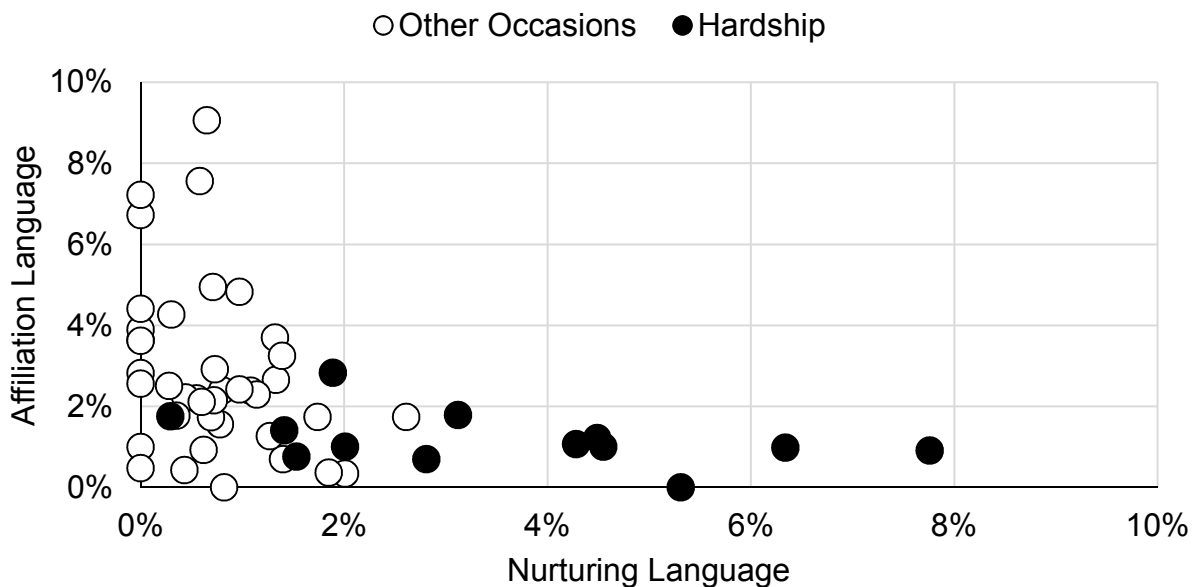
Companies also offer gifts that are associated with either affiliation or nurturing needs. I analyzed 53 gift giving webpages across four different major brands that bring in collectively over \$5 billion in revenue each year: 1-800-Flowers, Harry & David, Shari’s Berries, and Hallmark. Each webpage contained gifts for either hardship occasions (e.g., sympathy gifts, get well gifts) or other occasions (e.g., birthday gifts, hostess gifts); see Appendix B. I coded the percentage of the text on each of the webpages that contained affiliation and nurturing language using the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) text analysis program (Pennebaker, Booth, et al., 2015; Pennebaker, Boyd, et al., 2015). Since LIWC does not have dictionaries specific to these two needs, I created dictionaries for affiliation and nurturing words. To do so, I adopted existing, relevant words from the Affiliation Drives category in LIWC, and then added additional words that represented my constructs of interest based on what language companies tended to use to describe their gifts (see Humphreys & Wang, 2018). For example, the affiliation dictionary contained words such as connect*, friend*, and relationship*, whereas the nurturing dictionary contained words such as empath*, help*, and sympath*. The full dictionaries are provided in Appendix C.

First, I find that there is a natural tradeoff in the use of affiliation and nurturing language ($r(51) = -.41, p = .003$); see Figure 2. This suggests that not only are affiliation and nurturing clearly separable constructs, but that companies tend to choose one over the other in practice.

Second, I find that for webpages that contained gifts for hardship occasions, companies used three times more nurturing language than affiliation language ($M_{\text{nurturing}} = 3.52\%$, $SD = 2.16$ vs. $M_{\text{affiliation}} = 1.19\%$, $SD = 0.67$; $t(12) = 3.31$, $p = .006$). In contrast, for webpages for all other occasions, companies used over three times more affiliation language than nurturing language ($M_{\text{affiliation}} = 2.82\%$, $SD = 2.07$ vs. $M_{\text{nurturing}} = 0.73\%$, $SD = 0.64$; $t(39) = 5.62$, $p < .001$). This suggests that, if the companies' current strategy to highlight nurturing needs in hardship gifts is correct, consumers should choose nurturing over affiliation gifts for others experiencing hardship. However, as I detail next, I suggest that this explanation is too simplistic and incomplete.

Figure 2

Companies Emphasize Nurturing Language for Hardship Occasions



Present Research and Hypotheses

Integrating prior work, I introduce two key hypotheses central to the present endeavor.

First, because optimism signals a heightened need for affiliation, gift givers should purchase gifts

in the service of this need. For example, a gift related to affiliation might involve items that can be directly experienced with other people, such as movie tickets or a gift card for a restaurant to share food with friends and family. Formally, my first hypothesis is:

H1: Recipient optimism increases the propensity that gift givers will purchase a gift associated with affiliation compared with a gift associated with nurturing.

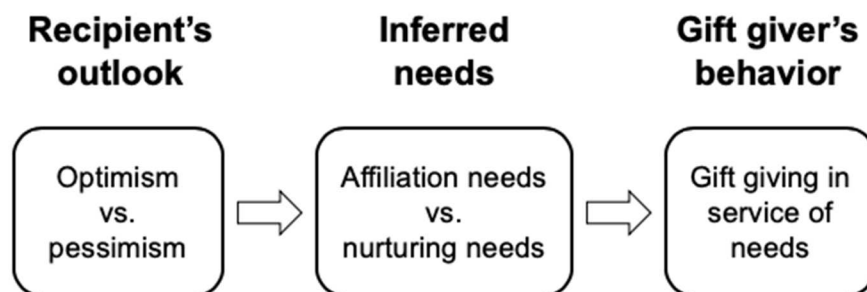
Second, because pessimism signals a heightened need for nurturing, gift givers should purchase gifts in the service of this need. For example, a gift related to nurturing might be a gift card for a restaurant that offers a supportive waitstaff and provides exceptional, personalized service. Formally, my second hypothesis is:

H2: Recipient pessimism increases the propensity that gift givers will purchase a gift associated with nurturing compared with a gift associated with affiliation.

The overall theoretical model is depicted in Figure 3. I test these hypotheses across eight experiments ($N = 2,024$). In Study 1, I causally demonstrate my key effect of recipient outlook on purchase intentions toward gifts that psychologically fulfill affiliation and nurturing needs. In Study 2, I provide a replication of these effects with gift choice and include a recipient experiencing no hardship as a control condition. In Studies 3-4, I generalize these findings to other contexts and types of hardship. In Study 5, I provide process evidence that perceptions of recipients' relative affiliation versus nurturing needs mediate the effect. In Study 6, I provide further evidence of the process by framing the affiliation and nurturing needs of the same gift. Finally, Studies 7-8 provide theory-driven boundary conditions for the effects.

Figure 3

Theoretical Model



Study 1: Gift Basket Purchase Intentions

Study 1 tested whether an optimistic versus pessimistic outlook by the recipient shifts observers' willingness to purchase gifts associated with affiliation versus nurturing needs. Based on my theorizing, when a recipient is optimistic, gift givers should select more affiliation gifts compared with nurturing gifts (H1). In contrast, when a recipient is pessimistic, gift givers should select more nurturing gifts compared with affiliation gifts (H2).

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 300$; 168 males, 131 females, 1 other; $M_{\text{age}} = 36.19$, $SD = 11.88$) were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) for monetary compensation. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (recipient outlook: optimistic vs. pessimistic) \times 2 (gift basket association: affiliation vs. nurturing) between-subjects design.

Procedure and Measures

Participants signed up to participate in a study on workplace interactions. Participants read that they worked for a company that sells office supplies for local businesses and learned that one of their co-workers, Jennifer, was recently diagnosed with Crohn's disease—an inflammatory disease with no known cure that can require substantial lifestyle changes. Participants were randomly assigned to the optimism and pessimism conditions. In the optimism

condition, a picture of Jennifer with an optimistic facial expression was provided. In addition, Jennifer verbalized that she believed that she would resume her normal routine. For example, Jennifer noted, “You know I’m feeling pretty optimistic about it. Yes, I have to change my daily routine and make sure I take my medications regularly, but I’m still the same person!” In the pessimism condition, a picture of Jennifer with a pessimistic facial expression was provided. In addition, Jennifer verbalized she would not be able to resume her normal routine. For example, Jennifer noted, “You know I’m feeling pretty down about it. Now, I have to change my daily routine and make sure I take my medications regularly. I just don’t feel like the same person!” Complete descriptions are provided in Appendix D.

Next, participants were randomly assigned to indicate their purchase intentions between two gift baskets. One gift basket was always a control gift basket—a gift basket composed of three food items (e.g., gourmet fruits and jams) and two non-food items (e.g., a pair of socks). The second, focal gift basket was either an affiliation or nurturing gift basket. The affiliation gift basket was composed of three items associated with affiliation (i.e., pair of movie tickets, restaurant gift certificate for two, and a group paint night with friends) and two filler items. The nurturing gift basket was composed of three items associated with nurturing (i.e., artisan scarf made by Malian refugees, a sustainable bracelet, and a bar of soap that supports clean water initiatives) and two filler items. Of note, in this study I operationalized nurturing in the form of products that are symbolically associated with helping others in need (Cavanaugh et al., 2015). See Appendix E for complete descriptions of the gift basket compositions. Participants were informed the gift baskets were equivalently priced at \$150.

Importantly, I pre-tested the gift baskets and found people perceived the gift baskets as expected; see Appendix F. More participants perceived the affiliation gift basket to be most

associated with the concept of affiliation (68%) compared with the nurturing (17%) and control gift baskets (15%; $\chi^2(2, N = 60) = 33.10, p < .001$). More participants perceived the nurturing gift basket to be most associated with the concept of nurturing (82%) compared with the affiliation (8%) and control gift baskets (10%; $\chi^2(2, N = 60) = 63.10, p < .001$).

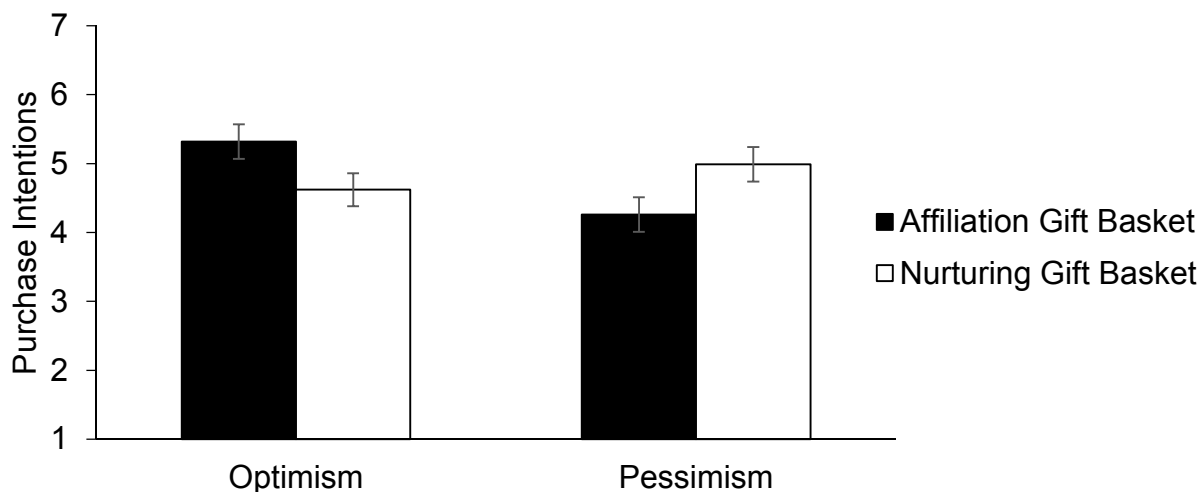
I measured purchase intentions with three items (i.e., “which gift basket are you more likely to choose for / give to / buy for Jennifer?”) from 1 (*definitely gift basket A*) to 7 (*definitely gift basket B*). The three items were averaged to form an index of purchase intentions ($\alpha = .98$). Because participants were always choosing between the control gift basket and one of the treatment gift baskets—either affiliation or nurturing—I scored responses such that higher values indicated a greater likelihood of purchasing the treatment basket and lower scores indicated a greater likelihood of purchasing the control gift basket. Participants then completed a series of additional exploratory items. Lastly, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

There was neither a significant main effect of recipient outlook ($F(1, 296) = 2.02, p = .156, \eta_p^2 = .01$) nor gift type on gift basket purchase intentions ($F(1, 296) = 0.003, p = .955, \eta_p^2 = .00$). Critically, however, participants shifted preferences between the control and treatment baskets based on the recipient’s outlook ($F(1, 296) = 8.61, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .03$). When the recipient was optimistic, participants were more likely to indicate an intent to purchase the affiliation gift basket ($M = 5.23, SD = 1.88$) than the nurturing gift basket ($M = 4.62, SD = 2.20$; $F(1, 296) = 4.25, p = .040, \eta_p^2 = .01$). In contrast, when the recipient was pessimistic, participants were more likely to indicate an intent to purchase the nurturing gift basket ($M = 4.99, SD = 2.11$) than the affiliation gift basket ($M = 4.26, SD = 2.24$; $F(1, 296) = 4.36, p = .038, \eta_p^2 = .01$); see Figure 4.

Figure 4

Study 1: The Effect of Recipient Outlook on Gift Basket Purchase Intentions



Note. Error bars represent ± 1 standard error.

In line with my hypotheses, gift givers were more likely to purchase the affiliation gift compared with the nurturing gift for the optimistic recipient. In contrast, gift givers were more likely to purchase the nurturing gift compared with the affiliation gift for the pessimistic recipient.

Study 2: Gift Basket Choice and Neutral Outlook

Study 2 provided a replication of Study 1. In addition, I added a control condition in which the recipient of the gift had no hardship and therefore expressed neither optimism nor pessimism. I expected, in the absence of both a hardship and an accompanying outlook, participants exposed to this control condition would express little preference between affiliation and nurturing gift baskets. A lack of difference in this condition would suggest that the effects observed in the first study arise from participants' sensitivity to recipients' outlook. Of note, I could have used a control condition in which a person experienced a hardship with no expression. However, a concern with such a condition was that, in the absence of an expression,

people might naturally infer a need for affiliation or nurturing. As such, I viewed the no hardship and neutral expression as a more appropriate control to understand people's default preferences. Finally, instead of measuring purchase intentions, I asked participants to choose between gift baskets.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 202$; 117 males, 85 females; $M_{\text{age}} = 35.76$, $SD = 10.38$) were recruited from MTurk for monetary compensation. Participants were randomly assigned to a 3 (recipient outlook: optimistic, pessimistic, vs. no hardship) between-subjects design on affiliation versus nurturing gift basket choice.

Procedure and Measures

As in Study 1, participants read about an interaction between themselves and a co-worker named Jennifer who was either optimistic or pessimistic about her recent Crohn's disease diagnosis. In addition, I included a control condition, in which a picture of Jennifer with a neutral facial expression was provided. Jennifer was not diagnosed with Crohn's disease, and she verbally expressed a neutral outlook (see Appendix D). All participants then briefly wrote about their thoughts and feelings toward Jennifer.

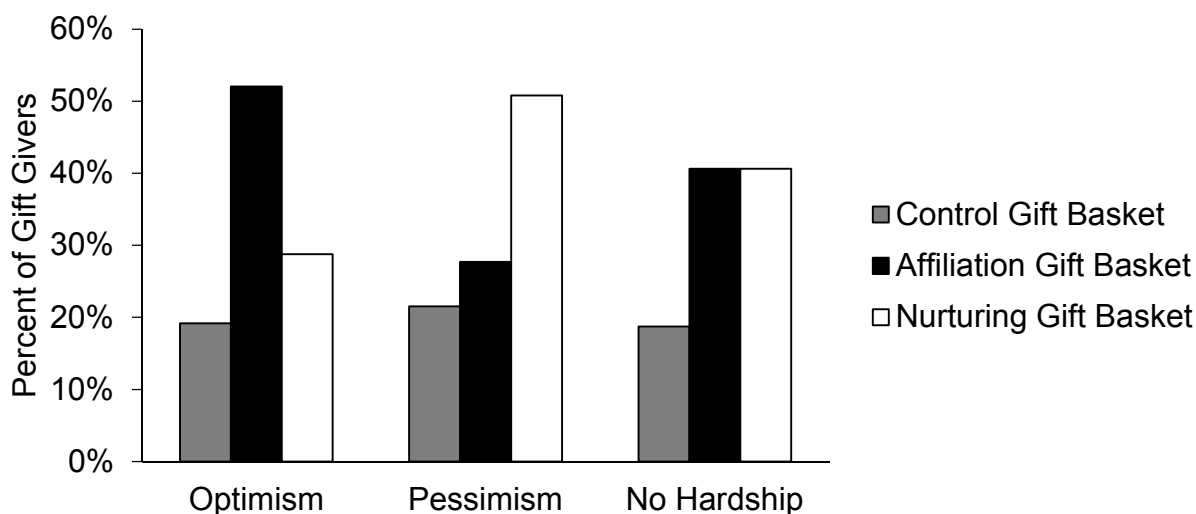
Participants were instructed to choose between three gift baskets for Jennifer—the control, affiliation, and nurturing gift baskets from Study 1. Participants then completed a series of additional exploratory items. Lastly, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

Because I had choice data, I analyzed the results with a chi-square test. I found that participants shifted preferences between the affiliation and nurturing gift baskets based on the recipient's optimistic versus pessimistic outlook ($\chi^2(4, N = 202) = 9.40, p = .052, \phi = .22$). I then probed the interaction by contrasting individual cells. For the optimistic recipient, more participants chose the affiliation gift basket (52%) than either the nurturing (29%; $\chi^2(1, N = 59) = 4.90, p = .027$) or control gift baskets (19%; $\chi^2(1, N = 52) = 11.08, p < .001$). In contrast, for the pessimistic recipient, more participants chose the nurturing gift basket (51%) than either the affiliation (28%; $\chi^2(1, N = 51) = 4.41, p = .036$) or control gift baskets (22%; $\chi^2(1, N = 47) = 7.68, p = .006$). Finally, for the recipient experiencing no hardship, the same number of participants chose the affiliation gift basket (41%) and the nurturing gift basket (41%, $\chi^2(1, N = 52) = 0, p = 1$); see Figure 5.

Figure 5

Study 2: The Effect of Recipient Outlook on Gift Basket Choice



Study 2 provides further evidence, in a choice context, that gift givers shift the gifts they give as a function of recipients' expressed optimism versus pessimism. Replicating Study 1, gift

givers chose the affiliation (vs. nurturing) gift basket when the recipient expressed optimism (vs. pessimism). Finally, with the inclusion of a control condition with no hardship and a neutral outlook, I also demonstrate that the gift givers' behavior is a result of the recipients' expressed optimism and pessimism in response to their hardship.

Study 3: A Gift for Someone Experiencing Real Hardship

Study 3 sought to replicate and extend my findings by understanding how people think about giving to a person they know currently experiencing a hardship. Specifically, participants recalled and indicated their gift-giving purchase intentions for someone in their own life who was recently diagnosed with an illness.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 300$; 157 males, 142 females, 1 other; $M_{\text{age}} = 36.38$, $SD = 11.74$) were recruited from MTurk for monetary compensation. The design of the study was a 2 (recipient outlook: optimistic vs. pessimistic) between-subjects design on preference for gift baskets that contained items associated with affiliation or nurturing.

Procedure and Measures

All participants completed a “survey on life experiences.” Participants recalled a person in their own lives—specifically female—who was recently diagnosed with an illness and the outcome was uncertain.¹ After writing the initials of this person, participants rated the outlook of this person. Specifically, participants rated whether they thought this person was more optimistic or pessimistic about their current situation from 1 (*very optimistic*) to 7 (*very pessimistic*). Participants then indicated their purchase intentions between the affiliation and nurturing gift

¹ I specified a female because several of the items in the gift basket task were gendered (e.g., scarf).

baskets from Study 1. Participants rated their relative preference between the two gift baskets using a 7-point bipolar measures (1 = affiliation gift basket preference, 7 = nurturing gift basket preference). I also measured purchase intentions with the same three items from Study 1 ($\alpha = .99$). Finally, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

First, participants shifted preferences between affiliation and nurturing gifts depending on the recipient's outlook. Participants tended to choose the affiliation (versus nurturing) gift basket when the recipient was optimistic versus pessimistic ($\beta = 0.10$, $t(298) = 1.66$, $p = .097$). Second, as indicated in my data analysis plan, I dichotomized the outlook measure because the data appeared bimodal.² Values below the scale midpoint (< 4) were recoded as "optimism" ($n = 143$), and values above the scale midpoint (> 4) were recoded as "pessimism" ($n = 126$). Values of 4 (neither optimistic nor pessimistic) were excluded from analysis. As with the outlook measure, I dichotomized the gift giving purchase intentions because this data also appeared to follow a bimodal distribution. Values below the scale midpoint (< 4) were recoded as a choice for the affiliation gift basket ($n = 158$), and values above the scale midpoint (> 4) were recoded as a choice for the nurturing gift basket ($n = 138$). Values of 4 (indicating no gift basket preference) were excluded from analysis.

Because I recoded the measures as binary variables, I analyzed the results using a chi-square test. Replicating Study 1 and similar to my previous analysis, I found participants' preferences between the affiliation and nurturing gift baskets depended on the recipient's outlook ($\chi^2(1, N = 266) = 4.08$, $p = .043$, $\phi = .12$). More participants chose the affiliation gift basket

² Sample size, experimental procedures, and data analysis plan for this experiment were pre-registered given pre-testing that suggested a bimodal distribution was likely (<http://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=tm7zw2>).

(59%) for the optimistic recipient than the nurturing gift basket (41%; $\chi^2(1, N = 142) = 4.76, p = .029$). In contrast, more participants chose the nurturing gift basket (53%) for the pessimistic recipient than the affiliation gift basket (47%), although it was not significant ($\chi^2(1, N = 124) = 0.52, p = .472$).

Study 3 provides further evidence for my perspective with real people experiencing hardship. Replicating Study 1, gift givers chose the affiliation (vs. nurturing) gift basket when the recipient expressed optimism (vs. pessimism). Of note, the choice of the nurturing over the affiliation gift basket for the pessimistic recipient did not reach conventional levels of significance. It is possible that with a specific friend in mind, the affiliation gift basket was more desirable than the nurturing gift basket, independent of the experience of hardship. In support of this explanation, I find in a subsequent study (see Study 8) that when choosing for oneself or an acquaintance, participants had a general preference for the affiliation gift basket over the nurturing gift basket. Nonetheless, the interaction between outlook and gift type was significant—indicating that recipient outlook shifted relative gift-giving preferences.

Study 4: Affiliative versus Nurturing Support

Study 4 sought to conceptually replicate the prior findings with a different dependent measure. Specifically, I examine the type of support people desire to give based on the recipients' outlook. I looked at affiliative support in the form of people's interest in giving time to talk with and interact with the person (Montoya & Horton, 2004; Vollmann et al., 2007) and nurturing support in the form of people's interest in helping the other person by giving emotional and material resources (Schwarzer & Weiner, 1991; Vollmann et al., 2007). Based on my theorizing, when a recipient is optimistic people should provide more affiliative compared with nurturing support. In contrast, when a recipient is pessimistic, people should provide more

nurturing compared with affiliative support. In addition, I extend the paradigm to a new type of hardship: personal injury.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 121$; 59 males, 62 females; $M_{\text{age}} = 36.81$, $SD = 11.89$) were recruited from MTurk for monetary compensation. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (recipient outlook: optimistic vs. pessimistic) \times 2 (support: affiliative vs. nurturing) mixed design. The first factor was between-subjects and the second factor was within-subjects.

Procedure and Measures

Participants took part in a study on interpersonal interactions. Participants read a scenario where they were a volunteer at a local hospital and were assigned to assist Kathy, a post-surgery patient, with her rehabilitation exercises. All participants read a description of this scenario, in which Kathy's leg had been broken in two places, underwent reconstructive surgery, and was currently wearing a plaster cast from the hip down (Batson et al., 2005).

Next, participants were randomly assigned to either the optimism or pessimism condition. In the optimism condition, participants read that Kathy was optimistic about her recovery period. For example, participants read, "She believed that she would be able to hobble around the therapy room even with that bulky cast. She was optimistic that she would try to walk without assistance, even if the pain was so great that she could only take 3 or 4 steps." In the pessimism condition, participants read that Kathy was pessimistic about her recovery period. For example, participants read, "She believed that she would not be able to hobble around the therapy room with that bulky cast. She was pessimistic that she would never be able to walk without

assistance, especially because the pain was so great that she could only take 3 or 4 steps.”

Complete descriptions of the outlook conditions are provided in Appendix G.

Next, participants indicated their intentions to provide affiliative support and nurturing support. Specifically, participants indicated their agreement with eight statements, anchored from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Affiliative support was measured with four items: “I would probably like talking to her at a party,” “She would make a good friend to me,” “I would like to get to know her better,” and “I would enjoy her company” ($\alpha = .95$). Nurturing support was measured with four items: “I would donate money to provide her with the best possible treatment,” “I would go out of my way to help her out with any problems that she might have,” “I would take her to the grocery store after work since she needs additional assistance,” and “I would give her advice on how to handle her situation.” ($\alpha = .69$). Items were adapted from prior literature (Montoya & Horton, 2004; Schwarzer & Weiner, 1991; Vollmann et al., 2007).

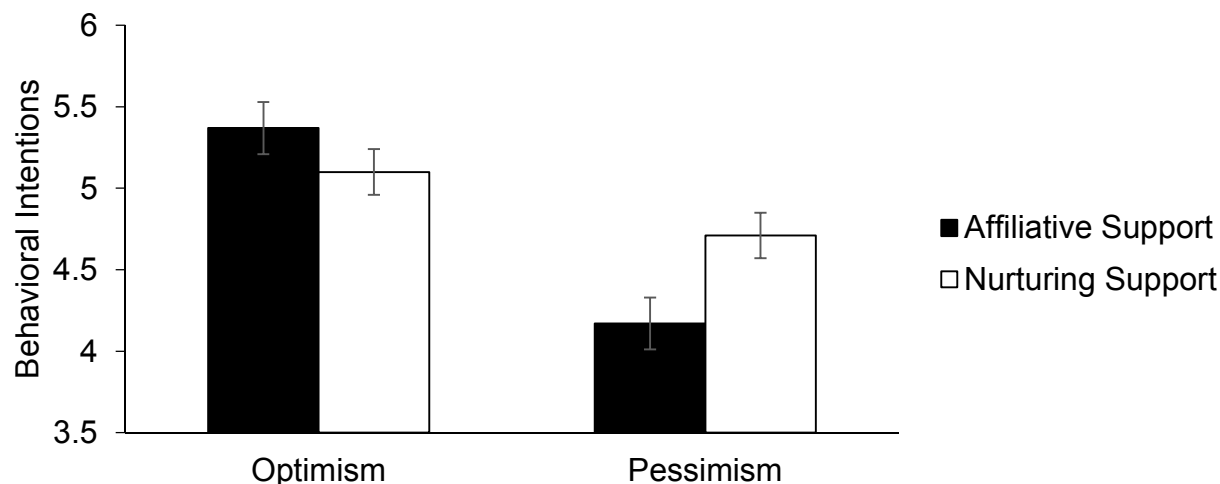
Finally, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

A repeated-measured ANOVA revealed a main effect of recipient outlook, in which people were more likely to provide support in general to the optimistic recipient compared with the pessimistic recipient ($F(1, 119) = 16.62, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$). Critically, however, a significant interaction between recipient outlook and type of support occurred ($F(1, 119) = 24.67, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .17$). When the patient was optimistic about her recovery, participants were more likely to provide affiliative support ($M = 5.37, SD = 1.20$) than nurturing support ($M = 5.10, SD = 1.16$; paired $t(59) = 2.42, p = .019, d = 0.32$). In contrast, when the patient was pessimistic about her recovery, participants were more likely to provide nurturing support ($M = 4.71, SD = 0.99$) than affiliative support ($M = 4.17, SD = 1.27$; paired $t(62) = 4.59, p < .001, d = 0.58$); see Figure 6.

Figure 6

Study 4: The Effect of Recipient Outlook on Affiliative and Nurturing Support



Note. Error bars represent ± 1 standard error.

The results of Study 4 are interesting for two reasons. First, the results are consistent with the prior observation that, all else equal, people might indeed help recipients with an optimistic outlook more (Carver et al., 1994). However, like Studies 1-3, this study suggests that the story is more nuanced. In line with my theorizing that optimism signals a need for affiliation, I find that participants had greater intentions to provide affiliative support over nurturing support for optimistic patients. Also, in line with my theorizing, because pessimism signals a need for nurturing, I find that participants had greater intentions to provide nurturing support over affiliative support for pessimistic patients. Thus, even if people have a general favorability towards optimists, consistent with my theorizing, the type of aid they are most receptive to giving depends on whether the recipient is optimistic or pessimistic.

Study 5: The Role of Affiliative and Nurturing Needs

Thus far, I have assumed the psychological mechanism in my studies. That is, I argue that a recipient's optimistic outlook signals the need for affiliation, and consequently, people provide support and purchase gifts in the service of affiliation. In contrast, a recipient's pessimistic outlook signals the need for nurturing, and consequently, people provide support and purchase gifts in the service of nurturing. However, it is possible that some other element of the stimuli, besides their resonance with affiliation and nurturing needs, explains the effects. To converge on my account, I measure perceptions of recipients' affiliation and nurturing needs and test their mediating role.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 201$; 107 males, 93 females, 1 other; $M_{\text{age}} = 34.59$, $SD = 10.62$) were recruited from MTurk for monetary compensation. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (recipient outlook: optimistic vs. pessimistic) between-subjects design on relative preference for affiliation versus nurturing gift baskets. Novel to this study, I measured participants' perceptions of recipients' affiliation and nurturing needs.

Procedure and Measures

As in Studies 1 and 2, participants were randomly assigned to read about an interaction between themselves and a co-worker named Jennifer who was either optimistic or pessimistic about her recent Crohn's disease diagnosis. Participants then indicated their purchase intentions between the affiliation and nurturing gift baskets using 7-point bipolar measures (1 = nurturing gift basket preference, 7 = affiliation gift basket preference). I measured purchase intentions with the same three items as in Study 1 ($\alpha = .99$). Values greater than 4 indicate a greater preference

toward the affiliation gift basket and values less than 4 indicate a greater preference toward the nurturing gift basket.

Most important to this study, I measured participants' perceptions of the recipient's affiliation and nurturing needs. To measure affiliation needs, participants indicated their agreement with three statements: "Jennifer wants to connect with people in person," "Jennifer wants to affiliate with others in her life," and "Jennifer wants to be included in a group of friends" on 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .88$). To measure nurturing needs, participants indicated their agreement with three statements: "Jennifer wants someone to help her out with her problems," "Jennifer wants someone to offer her support during this difficult time," and "Jennifer wants someone to nurture and take good care of her" on 7-point scales (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*; $\alpha = .85$). Finally, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

First, I tested the effect of recipient outlook on gift basket purchase intentions. I found that recipient outlook shifted gift givers' preferences between the affiliation and nurturing gift baskets ($M_{\text{optimism}} = 4.61$, $SD = 2.22$ vs. $M_{\text{pessimism}} = 3.30$, $SD = 2.36$; $t(199) = 4.06$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.57$). In addition, I tested whether the mean purchase intentions in the optimism and pessimism conditions were significantly different from 4, the midpoint on the bipolar scale—which indicates the null hypothesis, an equal likelihood of purchasing the affiliation and nurturing gift baskets for the recipient. In line with my hypotheses, gift givers were more likely to purchase the affiliation gift basket over the nurturing gift basket for the optimistic recipient ($M = 4.61$, $SD = 2.22$ vs. midpoint = 4; $t(104) = 2.83$, $p = .006$). In contrast, the gift giver was more likely to

purchase the nurturing gift basket over the affiliation gift basket for the pessimistic recipient ($M = 3.30$, $SD = 2.36$ vs. midpoint = 4; $t(95) = -2.89$, $p = .005$).

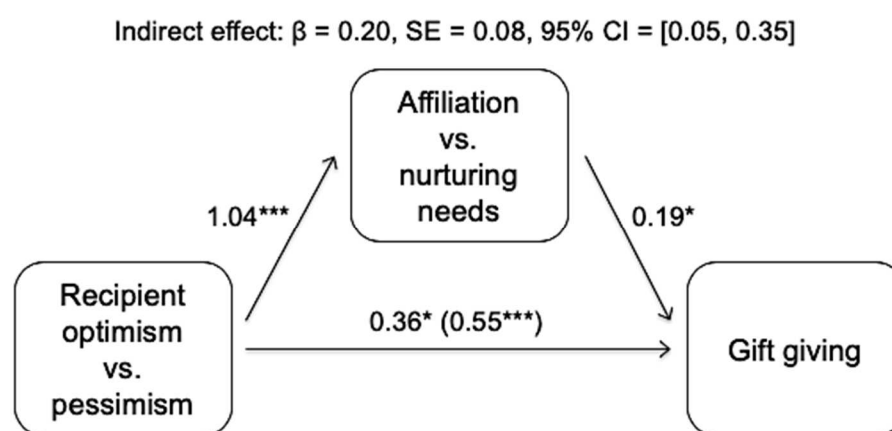
Second, I tested whether optimism sent a stronger signal of the need for affiliation, whereas pessimism sent a stronger signal of the need for nurturing. In line with my hypotheses, the optimistic recipient was perceived to have higher affiliation needs ($M = 6.07$, $SD = 0.85$) than the pessimistic recipient ($M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.36$; $t(199) = 6.09$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.40$). Also, in line with my hypotheses, the pessimistic recipient was perceived to have greater nurturing needs ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.33$) than the optimistic recipient ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.42$; $t(199) = 3.87$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.15$).

Finally, I tested the role of affiliation versus nurturing needs in the effect of recipient outlook on gift givers' behavior. Because these needs are orthogonal (i.e., both can operate), my interest was in the relative levels of affiliation versus nurturing needs (see Kurt et al., 2011). That is, I aimed to understand whether recipients' outlook shifted the emphasis they placed on affiliation versus nurturing needs. As such, I created a difference score by subtracting the perceived nurturing needs from the affiliation needs. Using SPSS PROCESS Model 4 (Hayes, 2013), I included recipient outlook as the independent variable, gift giving as the dependent variable, and affiliation versus nurturing needs as the mediator. First, I find that optimism (vs. pessimism) increases the relative preference to purchase the affiliation over the nurturing gift basket ($\beta = 0.55$, $SE = 0.14$, $t(199) = 4.06$, $p < .001$). Next, I find that optimism (vs. pessimism) increases the perception of higher affiliation versus nurturing needs ($\beta = 1.04$, $SE = 0.12$, $t(199) = 8.62$, $p < .001$), which in turn increases the relative preference to purchase the affiliation over the nurturing gift basket ($\beta = 0.19$, $SE = 0.08$, $t(198) = 2.39$, $p = .018$). I tested the overall significance of the indirect effect by constructing a bias corrected 95% confidence interval (CI)

with 5,000 bootstrapping samples (Preacher et al., 2007). The 95% CI of the indirect effect of affiliation versus nurturing needs ($\beta = 0.20$, $SE = 0.08$) did not contain zero [0.05, 0.35], indicating a successful mediation; see Figure 7.

Figure 7

Study 5: The Effect of Recipient Outlook on Gift Basket Purchase Intentions, Mediated by Affiliation versus Nurturing Needs



Note. Path coefficients are standardized.

* $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$.

Study 5 offers measured evidence for the psychological mechanism. Recipients' optimism signaled a greater need for affiliation, whereas recipients' pessimism signaled a greater need for nurturing. I also demonstrated that the relative difference in affiliation and nurturing needs mediated participants' gift-giving preferences.

Study 6: Framing of the Psychological Needs Afforded by the Gift

Study 6 had two primary objectives. First, to provide additional evidence for the psychological process, I framed the same gift in terms of affiliation versus nurturing needs. This

allows me to test that the observed effects are not due to idiosyncratic differences between qualitatively distinct gifts used in the previous studies. Second, I used a different category of hardship to provide further evidence of robustness: relationship rejection.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 200$; 115 males, 84 females, 1 other; $M_{\text{age}} = 35.89$, $SD = 10.37$) were recruited from MTurk for monetary compensation. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (recipient outlook: optimistic vs. pessimistic) between-subjects design with a choice between an affiliation versus nurturing gift card.

Procedure and Measures

Participants consented to participate in a study on relationships. Participants read a scenario that involved a conversation between themselves and a friend, Sarah, who was recently rejected by a man she was interested in dating (adapted from Vollmann et al., 2007). Participants were randomly assigned to the optimism and pessimism conditions. In the optimism condition, Sarah expressed optimism and believed that the man who rejected her would eventually change his mind. In the pessimism condition, Sarah expressed pessimism and believed that it was not worth even being friends with him. Complete descriptions of the outlook conditions are provided in Appendix H.

Then, participants were asked to choose between two restaurant gift cards to give to Sarah in response to her hardship, presented in randomized order. One of the gift cards was framed in terms of affiliation needs and the other gift card was framed in terms of nurturing needs. Specifically, the affiliative restaurant was “a group-focused restaurant where the restaurant experience is all about sharing a lively conversation with friends and family.” In

addition, the affiliative restaurant was described as a family tapas-style restaurant with shareable small plates and a comfortable ambiance for casual conversation. The nurturing restaurant was described as “a guest-focused restaurant where care is taken at every step of the restaurant experience, including preparing food to your tastes, and fostering a supportive and nurturing environment.” In addition, the nurturing restaurant was described as having chefs who can provide personal recommendations and a waitstaff known for being supportive and taking care of customers’ needs. Complete descriptions of the gift cards are provided in Appendix I. Finally, participants completed a couple of exploratory questions and a short demographic questionnaire.

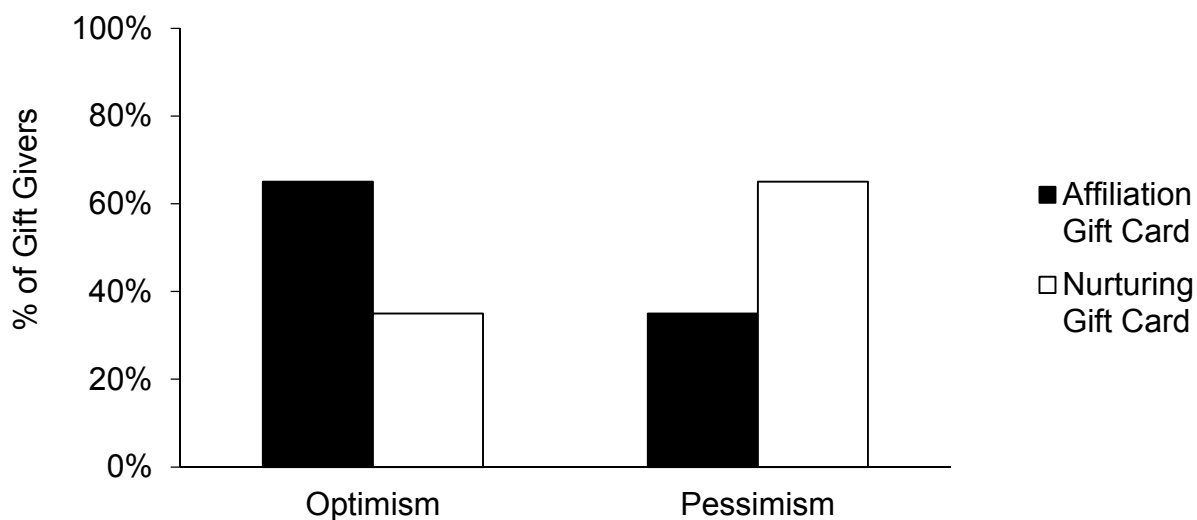
Results and Discussion

Because I had choice data, I analyzed the results with a chi-square test. I found that participants shifted preferences between affiliation and nurturing gifts depending on the recipient’s outlook ($\chi^2(2, N = 200) = 18.00, p < .001, \phi = .30$); see Figure 8. I then probed the interaction by contrasting individual cells. More participants chose the affiliation (65%) over the nurturing framed gift card (35%) for the optimistic recipient ($\chi^2(1, N = 100) = 9.00, p = .003$). In contrast, more participants chose the nurturing (65%) over the affiliation framed gift card (35%) for the pessimistic recipient ($\chi^2(1, N = 100) = 9.00, p = .003$).³

Figure 8

Study 6: The Effect of Recipient Outlook on Affiliation versus Nurturing Framed Gift Giving

³ Because the pattern of results is a perfect crossover interaction, we confirmed that the results are not due to a coding error by consulting the raw data.



This experiment provides several contributions. First, this experiment extends the prior studies to a new hardship context: relationship rejection. Second, I provide further evidence that participants are choosing based on the fulfilment of affiliation versus nurturing needs. By framing the gift card in terms of affiliation versus nurturing needs, I rule out the possibility that qualitative differences between the gift basket items used in the prior studies fully account for the proposed conceptual relationship.

Study 7: Moderation by Social Closeness

In Study 7, I explored a boundary condition for the effects: social closeness. Psychological distance refers to how far away something is from the self, and can include both physical distance (e.g., the gift giver and gift recipient live in the same versus different cities) and social closeness (e.g., gift recipient is a close friend versus an acquaintance). Greater psychological distance has been shown to increase one's construal of the situation and thus increase one's reliance on abstract concepts such as needs or values (Trope & Liberman, 2010). Based on this logic, I propose that consumers should rely more on others' psychological needs in

their gift-giving decisions for distant recipients than close recipients. Therefore, if the effects are due to inferred needs, then the effects of recipient outlook on gift giving should be more likely to emerge in response to distant recipients compared with close recipients.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 300$; 158 males, 141 females, 1 other; $M_{\text{age}} = 36.10$, $SD = 11.90$) were recruited from MTurk for monetary compensation. I predicted gift givers' preference for affiliation versus nurturing gifts by recipient outlook and social closeness.

Procedure and Measures

All participants completed a survey on life experiences. Participants were asked to "recall a person who is currently experiencing a difficult life experience, and the outcome is uncertain." Participants wrote the first name of this person, indicated their gender, and categorized the nature of the hardship (e.g., illness, relationship). Participants then answered whether they thought this person was more optimistic or pessimistic about their situation from 1 (*very optimistic*) to 7 (*very pessimistic*). Then, participants chose between two restaurant gift cards from Study 6, one framed in terms of affiliation needs and the other framed in terms of nurturing needs. Whereas Study 6 used a choice task, in this study I measured purchase intentions with the same three bipolar items from Study 3 (1 = nurturing gift card preference, 7 = affiliation gift card preference; $\alpha = .99$).

To measure social closeness, participants indicated how psychologically close they felt to the gift recipient using a scale comprised of different degrees of overlap between two circles (Aron et al., 1992). I instructed participants that the closer they feel to the recipient, they should

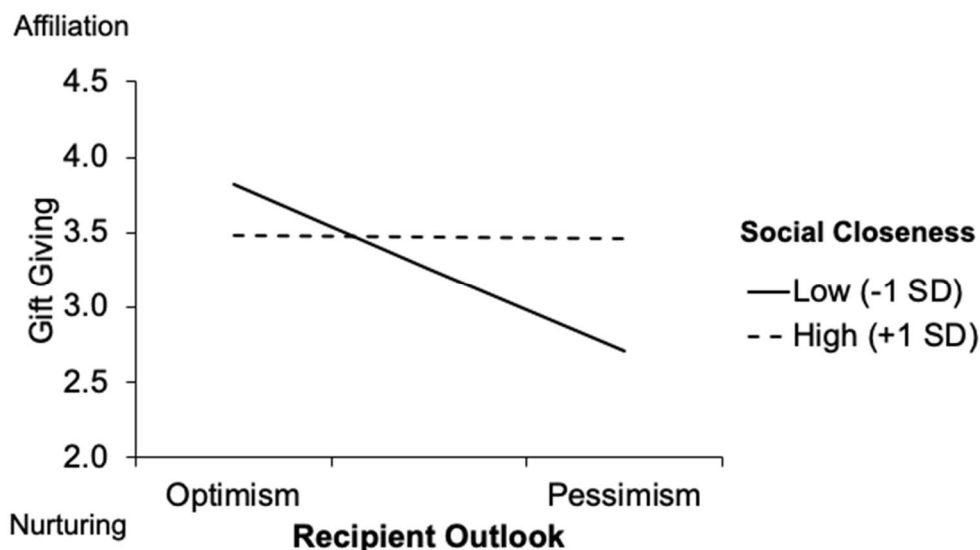
choose circles with more overlap, and the less close they feel to the recipient, they should choose circles with less overlap. Finally, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

First, participants shifted preferences between affiliation and nurturing gifts depending on the recipient's outlook. Participants were more likely to choose the affiliation over the nurturing framed restaurant gift card when the recipient was optimistic versus pessimistic ($\beta = 0.12$, $t(298) = 2.02$, $p = .045$). I tested the role of social closeness using Model 1 of the SPSS PROCESS macro (Hayes, 2013) for moderation with 5,000 bootstrapping samples. I included recipient outlook (centered) as the independent variable, social closeness (centered) as the moderating variable, and gift card purchase intentions as the dependent variable. As with the previous analysis, recipient outlook had a significant effect on gift card purchase intentions ($\beta = 0.12$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(296) = 2.16$, $p = .032$). Importantly, social closeness also moderated the effect of recipient outlook on gift card purchase intentions ($\beta = -0.11$, $SE = 0.05$, $t(296) = -2.26$, $p = .024$). When the recipient was a distant other ($-1 SD$), participants differentiated between the affiliation and nurturing gifts ($\beta = 0.24$, $SE = 0.08$, $t(296) = 3.05$, $p = .002$). However, when the recipient was a close other ($+1 SD$), participants did not differentiate between the two gifts ($\beta = 0.01$, $SE = 0.08$, $t(296) = 0.07$, $p = .947$); see Figure 9.

Figure 9

Study 7: The Effect of Recipient Outlook on Affiliation versus Nurturing Gift Giving, Moderated by Social Closeness



Because the distribution of responses appeared visually non-normal, I also analyzed the data by dichotomizing both recipient outlook and gift card purchase intentions as in Study 3.⁴ I find similar results. Participants shifted preferences between affiliation and nurturing gifts depending on the recipient's optimistic versus pessimistic outlook ($\chi^2(1, N = 249) = 2.82, p = .093, \phi = .11$). Moreover, more participants chose the affiliation gift card for the optimistic recipient (41%) than the pessimistic recipient (30%). As another way to understand the data, I find that more participants chose the nurturing gift card for the pessimistic recipient (70%) than the optimistic recipient (59%).

⁴ For recipient outlook, values below the scale midpoint (< 4) were recoded as "optimism" ($n = 111$), and values above the scale midpoint (> 4) were recoded as "pessimism" ($n = 144$). Values of 4 (neither optimistic nor pessimistic) were excluded from analysis. For gift card purchase intentions, values below the scale midpoint (< 4) were recoded as a choice for the affiliation gift card ($n = 104$), and values above the scale midpoint (> 4) were recoded as a choice for the nurturing gift card ($n = 185$). Values of 4 (indicating no gift card preference) were excluded from analysis. For social closeness, values below the scale midpoint (< 4) were recoded as distant ($n = 79$), and values above the scale midpoint (> 4) were recoded as close ($n = 127$). Values of 4 (indicating neither distant nor close) were excluded from analysis.

I also examined the effect of recipient outlook on gift-giving behavior by social closeness. Participants shifted preferences between affiliation and nurturing gifts depending on the recipient's optimistic versus pessimistic outlook for distant recipients ($\chi^2(1, N = 60) = 5.01, p = .025, \phi = .29$). Moreover, more participants chose the affiliation gift card for the optimistic recipient (45%) than the pessimistic recipient (18%). As another way to understand the data, I find that more participants chose the nurturing gift card for the pessimistic recipient (82%) than the optimistic recipient (55%). However, participants did not differentiate between affiliation and nurturing gifts for close recipients, regardless of outlook ($\chi^2(1, N = 113) = 0.46, p = .497, \phi = .06$).

This study provides a means to examine my theoretical perspective via moderation (Spencer et al., 2005). If gift givers are selecting gifts based on the psychological needs, I should observe the effects to be stronger for individuals adopting a high-level construal (Baskin et al., 2014; Trope & Liberman, 2010). In line with this perspective, gift givers differentiated between the affiliation and nurturing gift cards for socially distant recipients, but not close recipients.

Study 8: Integral versus Incidental Effects

Thus far, I have observed that the recipient's outlook influences gift givers' behavior in response to affiliation and nurturing needs. I have proposed that this desire to purchase specific gifts results from gift givers viewing them as integral to what is needed by the experiencer of the hardship. However, an alternative explanation is that an individual's optimistic versus pessimistic outlook elicits more general incidental priming. Specifically, perhaps optimistic people evoke a general desire to affiliate with others and thus lead observers to provide affiliation gifts to any person in which they come in contact. Conversely, engaging with

pessimistic people might evoke a general desire to be nurturing and thus lead observers to provide nurturing gifts to any person in which they come in contact.

Put simply, whereas my perspective focuses on the gift being integral to the recipient's outlook, it is possible that a recipient's outlook activates a more general approach in gift givers. To test this possibility, Study 8 included two new conditions. First, I included a condition in which participants, after seeing an individual who was optimistic or pessimistic, had the option to choose a gift for a different individual. Second, I included a condition where participants were asked to select a gift for themselves. If another person's optimistic or pessimistic outlook fosters a more general approach in participants, than this should carry over to the gifts they give to someone whose outlook is unknown as well as to themselves. In contrast, if gifts are integral to the recipient, I should not observe a carryover effect.

Method

Participants and Design

Participants ($N = 400$; 185 males, 214 females, 1 other; $M_{\text{age}} = 35.93$, $SD = 11.27$) were recruited from MTurk for monetary compensation. Participants were randomly assigned to a 2 (recipient outlook: optimistic vs. pessimistic) \times 3 (recipient: co-worker, acquaintance, oneself) between-subjects design on affiliation versus nurturing gift basket choice.

Procedure and Measures

Participants read and wrote about an interaction between themselves and a co-worker named Jennifer who was either optimistic or pessimistic about her recent Crohn's disease diagnosis (see Study 1). Participants were then assigned to choose between the affiliation and nurturing gift baskets. Critical to this study, participants were randomly assigned to choose this gift for (a) Jennifer, the specific co-worker in need, (b) an acquaintance of their choice, or (c)

themselves. Furthermore, in the acquaintance condition, participants wrote the first name of an acquaintance of their choice to ensure that they were recalling a single individual. Participants then completed a series of additional exploratory items. Finally, participants completed a short demographic questionnaire.

Results and Discussion

Because I had choice data, I analyzed the results using a chi-square test. First, when the recipient was the co-worker in need, I found that participants shifted preferences between affiliation and nurturing gift baskets depending on the recipient's outlook ($\chi^2(1, N = 135) = 10.35, p = .001, \phi = .28$). Replicating prior studies, more participants chose the affiliation gift basket (62%) for the optimistic co-worker than the nurturing gift basket (38%; $\chi^2(1, N = 73) = 3.96, p = .047$), whereas more participants chose the nurturing gift basket (66%) for the pessimistic co-worker than the affiliation gift basket (34%; $\chi^2(1, N = 62) = 6.45, p = .011$). In contrast, I found no significant interactions between recipient outlook and gift type when the recipient of the gift was either an acquaintance ($\chi^2(1, N = 133) = 0.05, p = .83, \phi = .02$) or oneself ($\chi^2(1, N = 131) = 0.27, p = .60, \phi = .05$). Instead, I observed only a main effect of gift basket type. Participants were more likely to choose the affiliation gift basket over the nurturing gift basket for either an acquaintance (68% vs. 32%; $\chi^2(1, N = 133) = 18.05, p < .001$) or themselves (65% vs. 35%; $\chi^2(1, N = 131) = 11.61, p < .001$).

These results suggest that the prior effects are not a result of incidental priming. Whereas senders systematically shifted between choosing the affiliation and nurturing gift baskets when the recipient was their co-worker in need, recipient outlook did not carry over and influence gift choice for an acquaintance or oneself.

Additional Evidence for Affiliation versus Nurturing Needs

In several of the studies, participants wrote about their thoughts and feelings toward the experiencer of the hardship (see Studies 1, 2, 5, 6, and 8). As an additional test of people's emphasis on affiliation versus nurturing needs, I ran participants' free responses through the same affiliation and nurturing LIWC dictionaries I developed to understand the natural language companies use to describe the needs afforded by their gifts in the Introduction; see Appendix C.

I calculated the mean percentage of affiliation and nurturing words for the optimism and pessimism conditions in Studies 1, 2, 5, 6, and 8 ($N = 1235$). Using independent-samples t-tests, I find that participants were more likely to use affiliation words in response to the optimistic (vs. pessimistic) recipient, whereas participants were more likely to use nurturing words in response to the pessimistic (vs. optimistic) recipient; see Table 2.⁵ Using a single paper meta-analysis (McShane & Böckenholt, 2017), participants used 0.77% ($SE = 0.17$) more affiliation words to describe the optimistic ($M = 1.14%$, $SE = 0.15$) than the pessimistic recipient ($M = 0.37%$, $SE = 0.09$). In contrast, participants used 1.31% ($SE = 0.13$) more nurturing words to describe the pessimistic optimistic ($M = 1.73%$, $SE = 0.15$) than the optimistic recipient optimistic ($M = 0.41%$, $SE = 0.11$). This provides additional evidence that a person's optimistic versus pessimistic outlook leads gift givers to view their needs differentially related to affiliation and nurturing.

Table 2

Mean Percentage of Affiliation and Nurturing Words by Optimistic and Pessimistic Outlook

Measures	Optimism $M (SD)$	Pessimism $M (SD)$	t	df	p	d
Affiliation words						
Study 1	1.01% (2.53)	0.48% (1.43)	2.23	298	.026	0.26
Study 2	1.25% (3.23)	0.13% (0.62)	2.72	135	.007	0.48

⁵ Because there were a disproportionately high number of zero values, I also analyzed the data using the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test which does not require the assumption that the data is normally distributed. Collapsing across studies ($N = 1235$), I find the same results for both affiliation and nurturing words ($p < .001$).

Study 5	1.01% (2.28)	0.31% (1.00)	2.75	198	.007	0.40
Study 6	2.31% (10.25)	0.78% (1.66)	1.47	197	.144	0.21
Study 8	1.29% (3.50)	0.31% (1.14)	3.76	397	<.001	0.38
Nurturing words						
Study 1	0.49% (1.67)	2.79% (5.27)	-5.15	298	<.001	-0.59
Study 2	0.53% (1.52)	2.07% (3.54)	-3.37	135	<.001	-0.57
Study 5	0.53% (1.30)	1.57% (2.30)	-3.98	198	<.001	-0.56
Study 6	0.09% (0.51)	1.05% (2.53)	-3.71	197	<.001	-0.53
Study 8	0.46% (1.40)	1.92% (2.95)	-6.32	397	<.001	-0.63

General Discussion

The bulk of the work within the consumer behavior literature has focused on gift giving during pleasant events, such as birthdays and holidays. Within the past decade, a small amount of work has emerged examining gift giving during hardship (for discussion, see Klein et al., 2015). This chapter of my dissertation builds on this literature by providing insight into how recipients' outlook on their hardship affects gift givers' behavior. Moreover, this research provides insight into the psychological process. As depicted in Figure 3, people provide gifts to fulfill heightened affiliation needs in optimistic recipients. In contrast, people provide gifts to fulfill heightened nurturing needs in pessimistic recipients.

More generally, this work suggests the importance of attending not only to psychological factors of the gift giver that influence the gifts selected, but also how characteristics of the recipient provide information that inform the gift giver's behavior. For example, prior research has documented the role of the recipient's relationship with the gift giver on the giver's purchase decisions. This research has found that people tend to give more experiential and expressive gifts to close others, but they give more material and instrumental gifts to distant others (Goodman & Lim, 2018; Joy, 2001). I add to this burgeoning literature by identifying recipient outlook as another important driver of consumer gift giving.

This work also contributes to understanding the distinction between the two communal needs of affiliation and nurturing raised in Chapter 1 of this dissertation. Prior work has recognized that a broad communal orientation can, in general, lead to more spending on others or increased prosocial behavior. For example, people are more likely to volunteer to do extra tasks after receiving an expression of gratitude because of a broad communal motivation (Grant & Gino, 2010). In addition, an interdependent self-construal can increase donation behavior (Winterich & Barone, 2011) and increase sensitivity to the gift recipient's perspective (Lalwani & Shavitt, 2009). Lastly, gift giving is often viewed as an expression of love (Belk & Coon, 1993). However, the present work demonstrates that helping behavior does not only arise from a broad communal orientation but can also be associated more specifically with the fulfillment of affiliation versus nurturing needs. Therefore, in addition to recognizing that individuals can vary along two distinct communal motives (see Chapter 1), Chapter 2 recognizes that people can perceive needs associated with these motives in other people. As such, this work provides evidence of the importance of greater nuance to understand the more specific needs associated with gift giving.

Limitations and Future Directions

My theorizing proposes that gift givers are in tune to the psychological needs of the recipient. In support of this perspective, I find that gift givers are able to detect affiliation and nurturing needs in others (Study 5). However, it is possible that some participants anchor on their *own* needs to affiliate and nurture. For example, in Study 4, although participants were sensitive to the needs of the patient going through rehabilitation exercises based on their outlook, I also observed a main effect, in which participants were more willing to help and interact with the optimistic (vs. pessimistic) individual. In addition, in Study 7, gift givers were sensitive to the

outlook of the recipient when they were socially distant, but insensitive to the recipient's outlook when they were socially close. Future work can explore when gift givers rely more on their own needs when selecting gifts and offering support to others enduring hardship.

Future research could examine if recipients appreciate the affiliation versus nurturing gifts that they receive. On the one hand, it is plausible that a matching effect would be observed: optimistic recipients might greatly value receiving affiliation gifts and pessimistic recipients might greatly value receiving nurturing gifts. Indeed, such a matching effect might occur because it signifies that the gift giver understands their needs. On the other hand, it is also possible that a disconnect might exist between what the gift giver infers and what the recipient actually wants. A growing body of research has begun to recognize a number of common errors emerge in gift exchange between gift givers and recipients (Galak et al., 2016; Givi & Galak, 2017). It is possible that gift givers might overweight optimism and pessimism, which could lead to errors in the type of gifts given.

Future work could extend the present findings from gift giving to other forms of prosocial spending, such as charitable giving (Aknin et al., 2013). For example, based on the present findings, charitable causes that are framed pessimistically (e.g., foster kids feel hopeless about their future) may do well to frame their donation behavior in terms of fulfilling nurturing needs (e.g., providing them with a care package). In contrast, charitable causes that are framed optimistically (e.g., foster kids feel hopeful about their future) may do well to frame their donation behavior in terms of fulfilling affiliation needs (e.g., providing them with a birthday party).

Practical Relevance

This work also has potential relevance for practice. In particular, this work suggests that gift givers do not react to the hardships of others in the same way. Rather, the response of gift givers depends on the recipients' outlook. Recall that companies that sell gifts to alleviate hardship typically use nurturing language to frame the needs afforded by the gift. As such, companies such as these might use these findings by including *both* affiliation and nurturing gifts. For example, Harry & David, a gourmet gift basket company, sells gift baskets for consumers enduring hardship with nurturing descriptions, such as "In difficult times, a tasteful sympathy gift basket or floral arrangement can bring comfort and be a kind reminder of your support." Based on my theory, I would expect consumers to be more likely to purchase this nurturing gift basket for a pessimistic recipient. However, Harry & David does not typically sell gift baskets for consumers enduring hardship with affiliation descriptions. Instead, Harry & David primarily uses affiliation language to sell gift baskets for other occasions like birthdays or anniversaries, such as "every day you're together is a day worth celebrating." Therefore, based on my theory, Harry & David might consider also offering affiliation gift baskets in their online catalogue for consumers enduring hardship. In addition, Harry & David could tailor which gift baskets appears to consumers based on their search behavior. For example, they might want affiliation gift baskets to pop up when people search for phrases associated with optimism, such as "gifts for a friend who is feeling hopeful," but nurturing gift baskets when people search for phrases associated with pessimism, such as "gifts for a friend who is feeling down."

More broadly, companies might benefit from considering the implications of framing their brands and products in terms of affiliation versus nurturing needs. For example, Coca-Cola first launched the 'Share a Coke' campaign in the U.S. in 2016. The purpose of the campaign was to increase interpersonal relationships by purchasing and sharing Coca-Cola with friends and

family—to be affiliative. In addition, Coca-Cola collaborated from 2014-2016 with FareShare in the UK to redistribute surplus drinks to charities and community groups as well as raise funds to provide meals to people in need (*FareShare*, n.d.). The purpose of this campaign was to help alleviate hunger and improve the lives of others—to be nurturing. Although both campaigns appeared successful in their missions, future work could benefit from understanding when companies should leverage affiliation versus nurturing associations in their advertisements and promotions.

Chapter 2 Conclusion

As noted at the outset of this chapter, hardship is an inevitable part of the human condition. At the same time, people also rise up to help those in need. In this chapter, I find that consumers do not simply provide any gift as a gesture toward a person enduring hardship. A recipient's outlook on the hardship, and the corresponding psychological need inferred by the giver, plays an integral role in the gifts given. Specifically, observers infer heightened affiliation needs in optimistic individuals and heightened nurturing needs in pessimistic individuals. The gifts selected for the experiencer of the hardship aligns with the inferred psychological need. In doing so, the present work paves the way for more research to study both gift giving in times of others' hardship and how recipients' outlook ultimately informs and influences gift givers.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Agency and communion are fundamental orientations that help individuals navigate their social environment (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007, 2014; Bakan, 1966). This dissertation started with the observation that there exists surprisingly little guidance for how these orientations manifest as specific motives (Horowitz, 2004; Horowitz et al., 2006). To provide clarity around this issue, I began with the conceptual development of a new hierarchical framework for agency and communion. In doing so, I advanced two intermediate agentic motives and two intermediate communal motives that give rise to these broader orientations. I provided a theoretical lens leveraging internal and external standards to explain the emergence of these distinct underlying motives. Importantly, my theory also helps explain and predict numerous consumer-relevant behaviors. My framework explains how the experience of resource scarcity gives rise to the two agentic motives (Cannon et al., 2019) and how prosocial spending is driven by the two communal motives (Cannon & Rucker, 2020).

These motives can also manifest as needs in others. Building on prior work exploring how a broad communal orientation influences consumer gift giving (Belk & Coon, 1993; Lalwani & Shavitt, 2009; Winterich & Barone, 2011), I provided empirical evidence that two communal needs—affiliation and nurturing—are integral to gift giving during times of hardship. From illness and injury to relationship rejection, observers are sensitive to the optimistic versus pessimistic outlook of those experiencing hardship. Observers use the person's outlook to infer their affiliation and nurturing needs and select gifts associated with these needs.

Looking across the horizon to the future of agency and communion, I hope to continue to test the generalizability of my agency and communion framework in new domains. It is only the beginning of my exploration into how these agentic and communal motives operate in the world.

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Appendix A

Communal and Agentic Motives with Standards (CAMS) Scale (Cannon & Rucker, 2020)

Directions: Below is a list of goals that people can have and pursue. We are interested in the relative importance of each of the following goals to you.

There are no right or wrong answers, so please answer honestly as to what goals you typically view as important to you.

1 = Not at all important, 7 = Extremely important

1. Serving the community
2. Giving back to others
3. Serving humanity
4. Volunteering my time
5. Serving those in need
6. Connecting with others
7. Love
8. Friendship
9. Maintaining relationships
10. Companionship
11. Power
12. Recognition
13. Status
14. Competition
15. Dominance
16. Relying on myself
17. Self-direction
18. Independence
19. Individualism
20. Being self-sufficient

To calculate measures for the orientations and the motives, average the following items:

Orientations

Communion: 1-10

Agency: 11-20

Motives

External communion: 1-5

Internal communion: 6-10

External agency: 11-15

Internal agency: 16-20

Appendix B

Gift Giving Websites by Brand and Occasion

Brands	Hardship Occasions	Other Occasions
1-800-Flowers	Funeral Get Well I'm Sorry	Thank You Just Because Birthday Congratulations New Baby Retirement Anniversary Love & Romance
Harry and David	Sympathy Care Packages Get Well Thinking of You	Hostess Anniversary Thank You Congratulations New Baby Graduation Birthday Game Day Love and Romance
Shari's Berries	Sympathy I'm Sorry Get Well Soon	Business Gifts Birthday Just Because Housewarming Thank You Anniversary Congratulations Love & Romance Wedding
Hallmark	Sympathy Encouragement Get Well	Thank You Bar/Bat Mitzvah Teacher Appreciation Confirmation Back to School Congratulations Graduation Retirement Baby First Communion Baptism and Christening Birthday Wedding Anniversary

Appendix C

LIWC Dictionaries for Affiliation and Nurturing Needs

Affiliation Dictionary		Nurturing Dictionary
cooperat*	chat*	sympath*
friend	chit-chat*	help
friends	chitchat*	helpful
friendly	companion*	helpfulness
comrad*	interact*	helps*
relation	parent*	hug
relations	sociability	hugg*
relationship*	sociable	hugs
wife*	social	support*
wive*	socially	empath*
hangout	together	compassion*
accompan*	togetherness	tender
affil*	connect*	tenderheart*
associate	connection*	encourag*
associates	lov*	kind
associating	romantic	understanding
association	party	care*
associations	gang	caring
belong	entertain*	comfort
bestfriend	celebrat*	ease
banter	fun	thoughtful
bf	wedding	appreciat*
bff	mother	sincere
bfs	couple	
buddies	entertain*	
buddy	gathering	
camarade*		

Appendix D

Outlook Manipulations (Studies 1, 2, 5, 8)

Optimistic Outlook Condition

Workplace Interactions

Imagine that you work in the marketing department of a company that sells office supplies for local businesses. One morning, you find out that your co-worker, Jennifer, in the accounting department had recently been diagnosed with Crohn's disease, an inflammatory disease that affects the digestive tract. Crohn's disease currently has no known cure and can require substantial lifestyle changes.

Later, you run into Jennifer while you are purchasing your morning Starbucks coffee. This is the conversation that you have with her:



Photo: Picture of Jennifer

You: "Hey Jennifer, how is it going?"

Jennifer: "You probably have heard by now, but I have been diagnosed with Crohn's disease."

You: "I'm so sorry. Are you okay?"

Jennifer: "You know I'm feeling pretty optimistic about it. Yes, I have to change my daily routine and make sure I take my medications regularly, but I'm still the same person!"

You: "That's great to hear—you seem in good spirits!"

Jennifer: "You know, life is too short to focus on these little road bumps. I'm still going to do the same things, like go home to my husband and read to my kids. I think now is an appropriate time to read them the children's book "Everyone Poops." [looks at you for a reaction]

You: "Was that a Crohn's disease joke?"

Jennifer: "Yes, yes it was!" [laughs hysterically] Plus, I'm really looking forward to singing at karaoke this Friday! It's got me in a good mood"

You: "Me too! I will see you there."

Jennifer: "You better! I might need someone to sing back-up for me... or take over singing for me if I have to spontaneously run to the bathroom" [laughs hysterically, again].

You: "Oh Jennifer..." [smiles back]

In the box provided, please write a few sentences about your thoughts and feelings toward Jennifer.

Pessimistic Outlook Condition

Workplace Interactions

Imagine that you work in the marketing department of a company that sells office supplies for local businesses. One morning, you find out that your co-worker, Jennifer, in the accounting department had recently been diagnosed with Crohn's disease, an inflammatory disease that affects the digestive tract. Crohn's disease currently has no known cure and can require substantial lifestyle changes.

Later, you run into Jennifer while you are purchasing your morning Starbucks coffee. This is the conversation that you have with her:



Photo: Picture of Jennifer

You: "Hey Jennifer, how is it going?"

Jennifer: "You probably have heard by now, but I have been diagnosed with Crohn's disease."

You: "I'm so sorry. Are you okay?"

Jennifer: "You know I'm feeling pretty down about it. Now, I have to change my daily routine and make sure I take my medications regularly. I just don't feel like the same person!"

You: "That's terrible to hear—you seem so out of sorts!"

Jennifer: "You know, life is too short to have these little road bumps. I just don't want this disease to affect my daily routine, things like going home every day to my husband and reading to my kids. I think it's going to take some time to get back to normal. [starts to tear up a little]"

You: "Are you sure you don't want to take the day off?"

Jennifer: "No... no..." [voice shakes] Plus, I'm not looking forward to singing at karaoke this Friday! I don't know if I'm going to be able to be in public for that long..."

You: "But you love doing things like this."

Jennifer: "Not anymore! With the disease, it really takes a toll on me... I don't want to put anyone else in an uncomfortable situation either if I have to run to use the bathroom" [looks away, tearing up again].

You: "Oh Jennifer..." [looks back concerned]

In the box provided, please write a few sentences about your thoughts and feelings toward Jennifer.

Neutral Outlook Condition (Study 2 Only)

Workplace Interactions

Imagine that you work in the marketing department of a company that sells office supplies for local businesses. One morning, you find out that your co-worker, Karen, in the accounting department had recently been diagnosed with Crohn's disease, an inflammatory disease that affects the digestive tract. Crohn's disease currently has no known cure and can require substantial lifestyle changes.

Later, you run into a co-worker in your department, Jennifer, while you are purchasing your morning Starbucks coffee. This is the conversation you have with her:



Photo: Picture of Jennifer

You: "Hey Jennifer, how is it going?"

Jennifer: "You probably have heard by now, but Karen has been diagnosed with Crohn's disease."

You: "I'm so sorry. Is she okay?"

Jennifer: "You know, I'm not sure. She probably will have to change her daily routine and make sure she takes her medications regularly, but that's it."

You: "Yeah that's true. I still feel bad for her... [changes subject]. So, what are you doing tonight?"

Jennifer: "I think I'm going to just go home to my husband and watch television."

You: "Sounds like a pretty typical night."

Jennifer: "Yes, yes it will be. Um, are you going to go sing at karaoke this Friday? I haven't decided if this something that I really want to do."

You: "I'm planning to go! So, if you go, I'll see you there."

Jennifer: "Okay, I'll let you know if I do go. I might just... stay home and watch television."

You: "Oh Jennifer... again?"

In the box provided, please write a few sentences about your thoughts and feelings toward Jennifer.

Appendix E

Gift Baskets (Studies 1-3, 5, 8)

Choose a Gift Basket

Please imagine that you are deciding between gift baskets to give to Jennifer. You have three options to choose from, which are pictured below. Please read the descriptions of each of the three gift baskets. Then decide, which gift basket would you choose to give to her?

Please assume that the price of each gift basket is equivalent (\$150).

Affiliation Gift Basket

Gift Basket



Includes:

- A pair of movie tickets
- An assorted popcorn tin
- A restaurant gift certificate for two
- A book from Better World Books (promotes world literacy)
- A group paint night with friends

Nurturing Gift Basket

Gift Basket



Includes:

- An artisan scarf made by Malian refugees
- A box of assorted nuts
- A sustainable (eco-friendly) bracelet
- A family board game
- Bar of natural hand soap from Hand in Hand (supports clean water initiatives)

Control Gift Basket (Studies 1 and 2 Only)

Gift Basket



Includes:

- A box of assorted chocolates
- A pair of concert tickets
- Gourmet fruits (apples, pears, peaches)
- A pair of Conscious Step socks (profits go to non-profits)
- A set of fresh jams (apricot, blackberry, and raspberry)

Appendix F

Gift Basket Pre-Testing

Participants from MTurk ($N = 60$; 34 males, 25 females, 1 other) were shown images and descriptions of the three gift baskets from Appendix E (i.e., control, affiliation, and nurturing). To assess affiliation perceptions, I asked, “which gift basket contains items most associated with affiliation (e.g., socializing, connecting, and bonding with people)?” To assess nurturing perceptions, I asked, “which gift basket contains items most associated with nurturing (e.g., caring, supporting, and helping people or things in need)?” For each question, participants chose one of the three gift baskets. As seen in the table below, more participants perceived the affiliation (vs. nurturing, control) gift basket to be most associated with the concept of affiliation ($\chi^2(2, N = 60) = 33.10, p < .001$), whereas more participants perceived the nurturing (vs. affiliation, control) gift basket to be most associated with the concept of nurturing ($\chi^2(2, N = 60) = 63.10, p < .001$).

Percent of Participants Who Chose Each Gift Basket as Most Associated with Affiliation and Nurturing

Association	Affiliation gift basket	Nurturing gift basket	Control gift basket
Affiliation	68% _a	17% _b	15% _b
Nurturing	8% _a	82% _b	10% _a

Note. In each row, percentages that are significantly different from each other at $p < .05$ are denoted by different subscripts.

Appendix G

Outlook Manipulations (Study 4)

Adapted from Batson et al. (2005)

Task Instructions: Please imagine yourself as the main character of the scenario indicated by "I." You are a volunteer at a local hospital and had been assigned to assist Kathy, a post-surgery patient, with her rehabilitation exercises.

Scenario: I was a bit nervous, not knowing what might lie ahead. As it turned out, what I encountered that first day was a badly hurt and struggling 36-year-old, Kathy. Kathy was recovering from a severely broken leg. The leg had been splintered in one place and broken in two others.

Kathy had had reconstructive surgery on the leg 2 days before. The surgeon put in four pins to secure the bone, and then the leg was put in a plaster cast from the hip down. Kathy could not move without experiencing considerable discomfort, and often, sharp pain. Still, it was important that she try to walk with the cast to get used to it and to build up strength in her muscles.

[Optimism manipulation] Kathy's rehabilitation exercises sounded like a real ordeal, but when I went to get her she was more than ready! She believed that she would be able to hobble around the therapy room even with that bulky cast. She was optimistic that she would try to walk without assistance, even if the pain was so great that she could only take 3 or 4 steps. She was in the mindset that she could keep trying. Once she slipped and fell, and let out a cry of pain. Still, she did not let that set her back. Kathy had faith that things would return to normal again!

[Pessimism manipulation] Kathy's rehabilitation exercises sounded like a real ordeal, and when I went to get her she did not seem ready. She believed that she would not be able to hobble around the therapy room with that bulky cast. She was pessimistic that she would never be able to walk without assistance, especially because the pain was so great that she could only take 3 or 4 steps. She was in the mindset that trying would not matter. Once she slipped and fell, and let out a cry of pain. I think this was a big setback for her. Kathy did not have faith that things would return to normal again...

Appendix H

Outlook Manipulations (Study 6)

Adapted from Vollmann et al. (2007)

Optimistic Outlook Condition

Relationship Scenario

Please read and imagine the following conversation between you and your friend, Sarah. Then, on the following pages, you will answer questions about your thoughts and behaviors about the scenario.

--- start conversation ---

You: Didn't you tell me that you recently met someone new? How's that going so far?

Sarah: Well, we met up for coffee again and I told him honestly that I really like him. And he said that he wasn't interested in me in that way, and that he just wanted to stay friends.

You: Oh, I'm sorry... what do you think about his response?

Sarah: Although that wasn't the response I wanted, I'm fine with getting to know each other better. Also, I'm hopeful that once we get to spend time together, he might actually be interested in me. Sometimes romantic feelings take time to develop.

You: How do you feel now?

Sarah: I'm looking forward to getting to know him even better. It's also a chance for him to get to know me better. I am optimistic that we will one day be together!

You: What are your plans now?

Sarah: Well, I won't give up because all is not lost yet. I'm going to show him what a great catch I am and hopefully win him over.

You: And what are you going to do now?

Sarah: I think I will text him to ask him how his day went and hopefully meet up with him this week.

--- end conversation ---

Task: In the box provided, please write a few sentences about your thoughts and feelings toward Sarah.

Pessimistic Outlook Condition**Relationship Scenario**

Please read and imagine the following conversation between you and your friend, Sarah. Then, on the following pages, you will answer questions about your thoughts and behaviors about the scenario.

--- start conversation ---

You: Didn't you tell me that you recently met someone new? How's that going so far?

Sarah: Well, we met up for coffee again and I told him honestly that I really like him. And he said that he wasn't interested in me in that way, and that he just wanted to stay friends.

You: Oh, I'm sorry... what do you think about his response?

Sarah: Well, if he doesn't want to date, I don't know what the point is in getting to know each other better as friends. I just had a feeling that it wouldn't work out; I'm just not attractive enough. I shouldn't have even asked.

You: How do you feel now?

Sarah: The way I feel? Just awful. These kinds of things always happen to me. I'm so embarrassed. I guess he's going to gossip all around and make fun of me. I am so depressed.

You: What are your plans now?

Sarah: Nothing, I just want to forget about the whole thing and be alone. Next time, I won't be as upfront.

You: And what are you going to do now?

Sarah: I feel like crying. I can't stop thinking how awful this is. I will definitely keep out of his way.

--- end conversation ---

Task: In the box provided, please write a few sentences about your thoughts and feelings toward Sarah.

Appendix I

Affiliation and Nurturing Framed Restaurant Gift Cards (Studies 6-7)

Gift Card A [Affiliation Frame]

Mission statement: We are a group-focused restaurant where the restaurant experience is all about sharing a lively conversation with friends and family, and sharing a meal in a casual and friendly setting



Restaurant Description:

- Perfect for enjoying and sharing a meal with a friend
- Family "tapas" style restaurant with small plates to share between people at a communal table
- Comfortable ambiance for chatting and casual conversation

Gift Card B [Nurturing Frame]

Mission statement: We are a guest-focused restaurant where care is taken at every step of the restaurant experience, including preparing food to your tastes, and fostering a supportive and nurturing environment



Restaurant Description:

- Chefs provide recommendations to help you with your personal tastes
- Waitstaff are known for being supportive and taking care of customers' needs
- Drivers can deliver your meal right to your door if you feel like staying in

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PUBLICATIONS

Cannon, Christopher and Derek D. Rucker (2020), "The Communal Consumer: Longitudinal Evidence for the Distinction Between Nurturing and Affiliative Motives," forthcoming at *Journal of the Association for Consumer Research*.

Rucker, Derek D. and Christopher Cannon (2019), "Identity and Compensatory Compensation," in *Handbook of Research on Identity Theory in Marketing*, ed. Americus Reed II and Mark Forehand, Edward Elgar Publishing, 186–98.

Cannon, Christopher and Derek D. Rucker (2019), "The Dark Side of Luxury: Social Costs of Luxury Consumption," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 45(5), 767–79.

Cannon, Christopher, Kelly Goldsmith, and Caroline Roux (2019), "A Self-Regulatory Model of Resource Scarcity," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 29(1), 104–27.

RESEARCH UNDER REVIEW AND IN PREPARATION

Cannon, Christopher, Derek D. Rucker, and Adam D. Galinsky, "The Third Lane to Leadership: Power is Conceptually and Empirically Distinct from Dominance and Prestige," under review at *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

Cannon, Christopher and Derek D. Rucker, “Gift Giving in Response to Others’ Hardship: The Role of Affiliation versus Nurturing Needs,” in preparation for *Journal of Consumer Research*.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

Cannon, Christopher and Derek D. Rucker, “Intermediate Motives of Agency and Communion: Importance of Internal and External Standards in Behavioral Prediction.”

Cannon, Christopher, Derek D. Rucker, and David Gal, “The Endowment Effect: Unique Predictions from a Cognitive Elaboration Account.”

Cannon, Christopher, Derek D. Rucker, and Galen V. Bodenhausen, “The Four Facets of Life: An Integrative Review of Agency and Communion.”

HONORS AND AWARDS

AMA-Sheth Foundation Doctoral Consortium Fellow, 2019

Graduate Student Poster Award Runner-up, SPSP, 2019

Conference Travel Grant, Northwestern University, 2016 & 2018

Graduate Travel Award, Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP), 2016

Graduate Fellowship, Northwestern University, 2014 – present

Rackham Graduate Student Research Grant, University of Michigan, 2013

Phi Beta Kappa, University of Michigan, 2013

INVITED TALKS

University of Miami, Miami Herbert Business School, 2019

University of Hawaii at Manoa, Shidler College of Business, 2019

Northwestern University, Kellogg School of Management, Day at Kellogg, 2019, 2020

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Conference Presentations

Cannon, Christopher,* Derek D. Rucker, and Adam D. Galinsky, “Power is Conceptually and Empirically Distinct from Dominance and Prestige,” Midwestern Psychological Association Conference, Chicago, IL, April 2020. [conference was cancelled due to COVID-19 concerns]

Cannon, Christopher,* Derek D. Rucker, and David Gal, “The Endowment Effect: Unique Predictions from a Cognitive Elaboration Account,” Society for Consumer Psychology Conference, Huntington Beach, CA, March 2020.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "The Dark Side of Luxury Consumption: The Social Costs of Luxury Consumption," Society for Consumer Psychology Conference, Savannah, GA, March 2019.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "The Dark Side of Luxury Consumption: The Social Costs of Conspicuous Consumption," Association for Consumer Research Conference, Dallas, TX, October 2018.

Cannon, Christopher* (Symposium Chair) and Derek D. Rucker, "An Integrative Theory of Social Rank: A Motivational Perspective," Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Convention, Atlanta, Georgia, March 2018.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "Agency and Communion in Consumer Behavior: Evidence for Unique Motives and their Consequences," Society for Consumer Psychology Conference, Dallas, Texas, February 2018.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "Conceptualization and Measurement of Agency and Communion in Consumer Behavior: The Communal and Agentic Motives Scale," Trans-Atlantic Doctoral Conference, London, UK, May 2017.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "The Art of Brand Name-Dropping: A Dual Attribution Model of Conspicuous Consumption," Association for Consumer Research Conference, New Orleans, LA, October 2015.

Symposium Presentations

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "A Cognitive Elaboration Perspective of the Endowment Effect," Kellogg-Booth Student Symposium, Chicago, IL, April 2018.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "Communal and Agentic Goal Endorsement: Scale Development and Validation," Kellogg-Booth Student Symposium, Chicago, IL, April 2016.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "The Art of Brand Name-Dropping: A Dual Attribution Model of Conspicuous Consumption," Kellogg-Booth Student Symposium, Chicago, IL, April 2015.

Poster Presentations

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, "What Does it Take to be a Leader? A Motivational Framework for Categorizing Leadership Type," Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Convention, Portland, Oregon, February 2019. (Graduate Student Poster Award Runner-up)

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, “Conceptualization and Measurement of Agency and Communion in Personality and Social Psychology,” Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Convention, San Antonio, Texas, January 2017.

Cannon, Christopher* and Derek D. Rucker, “Conceptualization and Measurement of Agency and Communion in Personality and Social Psychology,” Self & Identity Preconference at the Society for Personality and Social Psychology Annual Convention, San Antonio, Texas, January 2017.

* *Presenter*

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant, Kellogg School of Management

Marketing Management, Marketing Research and Analytics, Marketing Strategy, Advertising Strategy, Behavioral Marketing Science, Retail Analytics

Graduate Student Instructor, University of Michigan

Introduction to Psychology

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Marketing Association (AMA)

Association for Consumer Research (ACR)

Society for Consumer Psychology (SCP)

Society for Personality and Social Psychology (SPSP)

SELECT MEDIA MENTIONS OF MY RESEARCH

[“Why We Can’t All Get Away With Wearing Designer Clothes,”](#)

Kellogg Insight, Jan. 2, 2019

[“How to Make the Most Out of Not Having Enough,”](#)

TEDxNashville, June 10, 2019

[“De prijs van status”](#) (“The price of status”),

Het Financieele Dagblad (Dutch newspaper), June 15, 2019

[“Wearing Luxury Brands Might Give the Wrong Impression,”](#)

Character & Context, June 17, 2019

[“The Best Ways to Reverse Scarcity Mindset, According to Researchers Who Study It,”](#)

Forge, July 12, 2019

[“When Job Applicants Should—and Shouldn’t—Wear Luxury Brands,”](#)

The Wall Street Journal, Aug. 11, 2019

[“The Four Social Media Horsemen of the Scarcity Apocalypse,”](#)

Forbes, Sept. 10, 2019

[“HR Reveals What You Should \(And Shouldn’t\) Wear To A Job Interview,”](#)

Forbes, Nov. 13, 2019

SERVICE TO THE FIELD

Ad Hoc Reviewer

Journal of Consumer Research, Trainee Reviewer, 2020-present

Journal of Marketing Research, 2020-present

Journal of Consumer Psychology, 2019-present

Journal of the Association for Consumer Research, 2019-present

Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 2019-present

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

Kellogg Super Bowl Ad Review

Assistant to Derek Rucker and Tim Calkins, 2016-2020

[Ad Results](#)