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THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION ON SHOPLIFTING

by

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Edward and Monique, and my sister Melissa. Thank you for always encouraging and believing in me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude for all the guidance and support my co-chairs Thomas Kramer and Anastasiya Pocheptsova Ghosh have given me. I thank Tom for his invaluable mentorship from day 1 of my Ph.D. journey. Tom taught me not just how to do research, but also how to enjoy the process as well, which I view as an invaluable life lesson. I thank Anastasiya for her strong support and guidance which has been pivotal towards my progress.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the effect of social exclusion on shoplifting. Shoplifting is a serious problem for marketers, yet surprisingly little attention in the literature has been paid to its underlying social factors. The current research therefore seeks to document conditions under which, and the process through which, consumers may engage in aggressive behavior in the form of shoplifting. Supporting the proposition that shoplifting is an antisocial response to social exclusion that depends on prior shoplifting experience, four studies provide evidence that prior shoplifters (vs. non-shoplifters) are more likely to shoplift again when they are socially excluded because they expect that shoplifting will improve the negative mood engendered by social exclusion. In support of the proposed mood repair process, prior shoplifting experience impacts intentions to shoplift hedonic, but not utilitarian, items, and is mediated by the pleasure component of affect. These findings provide implications for the shoplifting, social acceptance, and affect literatures, in addition to managerial implications for retailers.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Consumer shoplifting, the theft of merchandise from retail establishments, is a serious problem for retailers, representing more than \$16 billion worth of lost sales each year (Allen 2014; National Learning & Resource Center 2014). Company losses due to shoplifting, in turn, bring about higher prices for paying consumers, as well as inconvenient security measures aimed at deterring would-be shoplifters (Wilkes 1978). Surprisingly, shoplifting is quite a ubiquitous phenomenon: an astounding 60% of consumers admit to having shoplifted at some point in their lifetime (Baumer and Rosenbaum 1984). Most shoplifters are "non-professionals" without prior criminal record, who steal not because of financial need but because of social influences (National Learning & Resource Center 2014). It is such social influences, and the responses thereto, on which this dissertation focuses on to advance our understanding of shoplifting. This dissertation thus examines under which conditions, shoplifting intentions and actual shoplifting behavior may ensue from social exclusion – experiencing a lack of social connection because of being alone, isolated, or rejected (Baumeister et al. 2005; Twenge et al. 2001).

Social exclusion is an important antecedent to shoplifting to examine for a number of reasons. First, individuals quite commonly experience social rejection or

exclusion (Baumeister et al. 2005; Twenge et al. 2001): from being ignored at office parties or blocked on Facebook, to having offers of friendship or romantic interest rebuffed, social exclusion is a pervasive part of life. Further, research has only recently begun to examine the impact of social exclusion on consumer behavior in the marketplace and the ways in which socially-excluded consumers may seek subsequent reaffiliation (Mead et al. 2011). Importantly, when re-affiliation is not possible, consumers might cope with social exclusion through selfish, aggressive behaviors (DeWall and Bushman 2011; Maner et al. 2007; Poon, Chen, and Dewall 2013; Wan, Xu, and Ding 2014), of which shoplifting is an important, yet understudied, one, and, as I mentioned in the introduction it is of serious concern to marketers and retailers.

This dissertation therefore explores if social exclusion may prompt as aggressive and anti-social a behavior as shoplifting. Indeed, shoplifting behavior usually begins when social influence has a particularly strong effect on consumers – in adolescence (Cox, Cox, and Moschis 1990; Mangleburg, Doney, and Bristol 2004), and adolescents frequently cite social influences to justify their shoplifting behavior (Cox et al. 1990; Forney, Crutsinger, and Forney 2006). Further, because social exclusion engenders negative affect, I expect that a driving reason for the effect of social exclusion on shoplifting is that socially-excluded consumers are motivated to engage in behavior to repair and escape their negative mood through the theft of merchandise. Finally, social exclusion is unlikely to have a uniform impact on the shoplifting intentions of all consumers. Instead, although socially-excluded (vs. included) consumers generally are likely to experience greater negative affect, only those who have also experienced

shoplifting's mood-enhancing properties in the past should seek to repair their mood by shoplifting.

The primary contribution of this research is a theoretical account that demonstrates the conditions under which socially-excluded consumers may use shoplifting to make themselves feel better. Specifically, I manipulate whether participants are socially excluded versus included to demonstrate the differences in shoplifting rates between those with shoplifting experience (shoplifters) and those without (nonshoplifters) (chapter 4). Next, I examine whether shoplifters respond to social exclusionrelated negative affect by making themselves feel better through seeking pleasure, showing that socially-excluded shoplifters (vs. non-shoplifters) are motivated to improve their mood by pursuing pleasure associated with shoplifting (chapter 5). I offer further evidence for my mood repair account by testing the moderating role of the hedonic versus utilitarian nature of the target product (chapter 6). Finally, I investigate the effect of paratelic dominance and provide behavioral evidence for the effect of shoplifting history on shoplifting among socially-excluded consumers, finding that when individuals are telic towards arousal avoidance, socially-excluded shoplifters are more likely to shoplift than non-shoplifters. By contrast, shoplifting history does not predict current shoplifting for paratelic consumers (chapter 7).

Theoretically, this research adds to the literature on social exclusion by focusing on aggressive behavior as a consequence of social exclusion, and by providing evidence that mood repair motivations in the form of pleasure can drive shoplifting intentions.

Surprisingly, very little research has examined how consumers cope with social exclusion when subsequent re-affiliation is not immediately available (for an exception, see Wan et

al. 2014). Whereas past research has largely focused on demographic factors as predictors of shoplifting, my research is the first to systematically test a social influence factor that might have an effect on shoplifting; namely, social exclusion. Further, this research is the first to proffer that one way in which experienced shoplifters differ from non-shoplifters is in their reactions to social exclusion. These findings also have important implications for marketing managers whose strategies may actually incorporate social exclusion by, for example, conveying exclusivity for particular brands or stores, which may inadvertently increase shoplifting intentions among some consumers.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Humans have a fundamental need to build and maintain social connections (Baumeister and Leary 1995): they join brand communities, support groups, or Facebook and other social media platforms to make and keep relationships with others (Hampton et al. 2011). However, individuals are also often socially excluded from others and experience a lack of social connection. Such social exclusion can have a host of negative consequences for individuals' emotional, psychological, and physical health. For example, social exclusion has the same neural correlates as those of physical pain (Eisenberger, Lieberman, and Williams 2003), and individuals subject to exclusion report feeling physically colder and lonelier (Zhong and Leonardelli 2008). Relatedly, individuals who experience social exclusion are more likely to rate their life as being without purpose and meaningless, and to have lower levels of performance on complex cognitive tasks (Baumeister, Twenge, and Nuss 2002; Stillman et al. 2009; Twenge, Catanese, and Baumeister 2003).

Research suggests two ways – prosocial and antisocial – in which individuals cope with social exclusion; namely, through affiliation-seeking behavior and through selfish, aggressive behavior (Maner et al. 2007), with the former having received much more attention in the literature than the latter. Specifically, one stream of research

examines how individuals change their behavior in an attempt to increase their chances of (re-) gaining affiliation following social exclusion. For example, socially-excluded individuals are more susceptible to persuasion appeals in an effort to make themselves appear more attractive to others (Carter-Sowell, Chen, and Williams 2008). Sociallyexcluded individuals also become more sensitive to social cues leading to social acceptance and are more motivated to affiliate (Dewall, Maner, and Rouby 2009; Maner et al. 2007; Pickett, Gardner, and Knowles 2004). Socially-excluded consumers tend to consume products that increase their chances at affiliation, and this is more likely to occur among those who believe such consumption would increase the likelihood of making social connections (Mead et al. 2011). Lastly, findings by Wan and colleagues (2014) showing that socially-excluded consumers prefer options that signal affiliation when the exclusion is perceived to be unstable and changeable, but options that signal uniqueness when the exclusion is expected to be stable and unchangeable, illustrate a second strategy consumers use to cope with exclusion. That is, as I discuss next, in contexts in which the possibility to gain affiliation following social exclusion is unlikely, individuals may instead engage in selfish, aggressive, or self-focused behavior (Twenge et al. 2001; Twenge, Catanese, and Baumeister 2002).

2.1 THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION ON SHOPLIFTING

When re-affiliation is unlikely following social exclusion, consumers may engage in selfish or aggressive antisocial behaviors, rather than in prosocial behaviors that foster affiliation and social connection (DeWall and Bushman 2011; Loveland, Smeesters, and Mandel 2010; Poon et al. 2013; Twenge et al. 2001; Wan et al. 2014). For example, socially-excluded individuals are significantly more likely to blast higher levels of aversive noise to others, issue more negative evaluations of others, and more generally engage in antisocial behaviors (Chow, Tiedens, and Govan 2008; Twenge et al. 2001). Moreover, excluded individuals are likely to give up sooner on a problem solving task, make riskier financial decisions, and consume less of a healthy but bad-tasting beverage (Baumeister et al. 2005; Duclos, Wan, and Jiang 2013). Finally, social exclusion may put consumers in a more myopic state in general, in which they prefer unhealthy beverages and snacks, procrastinate on more pleasurable activities, and choose more present-focused options over more attractive future-focused options (Baumeister et al. 2002; Twenge et al. 2003).

Extending this stream of research, I examine if – or more specifically, under which conditions – consumers' antisocial responses to social exclusion involve the theft of merchandise. Although to the best of my knowledge no research has heretofore examined the link between social exclusion and shoplifting, the proposition that shoplifting may serve as a coping mechanism for social exclusion is consistent with related findings. First, according to Poon and colleagues (2013), social exclusion increases an individual's sense of entitlement, which then leads to increases in dishonest

behavior, such as selling illegal drugs or cheating on exams. Next, research on shoplifting has found that it is an extremely common crime (National Learning & Resource Center 2014), but one that is often not premeditated (Sarasalo, Bergman, and Toth 1997), suggesting that social or situational influences may contribute to forming intentions to shoplift. Additionally, not even chronic shoplifters only steal for purely economic reasons; instead, individuals who experience more social isolation and emotional depression are likely to shoplift for non-economic reasons (Yates 1986). Further, suggesting a relationship between social exclusion and shoplifting, differences in selfworth between adolescent shoplifters and non-shoplifters reveal that shoplifters derive their self-worth primarily from peer social acceptance, whereas non-shoplifters derive their self-worth from parent-child relationships (Forney et al. 2006). Finally, following social exclusion, individuals are more likely to engage in aggressive behavior in the pursuit of immediate pleasures when affiliation opportunities do not present themselves, and consumers in retail environments are often exposed to hedonic options that are associated with pleasurable experiences; indeed, shoplifting constitutes a form of hedonic consumption for some consumers (Fullerton and Puni 1998; Kallis and Vanier 1985).

Interestingly, despite the important marketing implications of shoplifting, it is still a relatively understudied area. Preliminary work attempted to identify consumers who were most likely to shoplift based on demographic factors. For example, low socioeconomic status was found to have a moderately strong relationship with shoplifting (Ray 1987; Yates 1986). Despite the once-held belief that women shoplift more than men (i.e., kleptomania; Abelson 1989), numerous studies have shown that males and females are about equally likely to shoplift (Abelson 1989; Ray and Briar 1988). In addition,

attempts at profiling shoplifters based on ethnicity were found to be ineffective once controlling for socioeconomic status (Flanagan and Maguire 1990). However, there appears to be a significant association between shoplifting and age (Klemke 1978), with shoplifting rates peaking in adolescence and then decreasing with age. To illustrate, in one of the few consumer studies on shoplifting, Cox et al. (1990) reported that 37% of adolescents admitting to having shoplifted at least once within the prior year.

Based on this discussion, I therefore propose that social exclusion increases shoplifting intentions. As I discuss next, because social exclusion triggers negative affect (Blackhart et al. 2009; Gerber and Wheeler 2009), I expect that the underlying mechanism for increased shoplifting after social exclusion is a heightened motivation for mood repair.

CHAPTER 3

MOOD REPAIR AND SHOPLIFTING

Being isolated from or rejected by others is not only painful physically (Eisenberger et al. 2003), but also emotionally. In a meta-analysis of 192 studies and of 88 studies examining the effects of social exclusion on individuals' emotional state, Blackhart and colleagues (2009) and Gerber and Wheeler (2009), respectively, found that while social acceptance caused slight increases in positive mood, social exclusion caused significant shifts towards more emotionally negative states, such as more negative moods on clinical depression scales, on negative affect scales, and on one-dimensional mood continuum scales. Thus, social exclusion moves emotional states away from positive affect towards negative affect, and socially-excluded (vs. accepted or neutral) participants experience significantly more negative affect.

Given the aversive properties of negative affect, much literature documents that individuals are motivated to overcome such negative emotional states (Larsen 2000; Tice and Bratslavsky 2000). For example, individuals who are in a negative mood are likely to give in to their immediate impulses to feel better by engaging in activities such as eating unhealthy foods and failing to delay gratification (Tice, Bratslavsky, and Baumeister 2001). Other research has found that individuals in negative moods will use aggressive behavior in order to feel better. For example, Bushman and colleagues (2001) found that

individuals were relatively more likely to use aggression as a response when placed in a negative mood and when they believed that aggression would improve their mood by blasting louder and longer durations of aversive noise towards their partner in a game.

Thus, individuals may engage in behaviors that are indulgent and aggressive because they believe that doing so will help them escape their negative affect.

I argue that one way to cope with negative affect triggered by social exclusion is through shoplifting because of its perceived mood repair properties. The theft of merchandise has been linked with excitement and experiential properties (Kallis and Vanier 1985; Sarasalo et al. 1997), with shoplifting providing both the pleasure from consumption and also from the acquisition of the product. Some shoplifters, for example, have self-reported experiencing hedonic pleasure from the act of successfully shoplifting (Fullerton and Punj 1993). When in a negative mood, socially-excluded (vs. included) consumers may be motivated to engage in deviant thrill-seeking in an effort to feel better, and shoplifting constitutes such a means (Fullerton and Punj 1998).

However, as I discuss next, social exclusion is unlikely to impact the shoplifting intentions of all consumers equally. Instead, although socially-excluded (vs. included) consumers generally are likely to experience greater negative affect, it is only socially-excluded consumers who will seek to repair their mood and make themselves feel better by shoplifting.

3.1 SOCIAL EXCLUSION, MOOD REPAIR AND SHOPLIFTING HISTORY

Although social exclusion may engender negative affect for everyone, I predict that only consumers with shoplifting history will have experience with shoplifting moodenhancing properties. Indeed, shoplifters and non-shoplifters differ in a number of ways that might influence their reactions to social exclusion (Tonglet 2002). For instance, experienced shoplifters perceive a significantly lower risk of detection and apprehension than those who have never shoplifted (Day et al. 2000; Kraut 1976; Tonglet 2002). In addition, experienced shoplifters are less likely to view stealing as bad, dishonest, or wrong than are non-shoplifters (Egan and Taylor 2010; Tonglet 2002). Finally, experienced shoplifters express significantly higher intention to shoplift again compared to those who have never shoplifted (Tonglet 2002). All of these factors suggest that socially-excluded shoplifters, as compared to non-shoplifters, will be more likely to rely on shoplifting for negative mood repair.

I therefore propose the following:

H1: Shoplifters (vs. non-shoplifters) will be more likely to express shoplifting intention after social exclusion

I propose that social exclusion has a stronger effect on shoplifting intentions among shoplifters versus non-shoplifters, and that this effect is driven by differences in the perceived mood-enhancing properties of shoplifting among those who have shoplifted before. I test my main propositions in a series of studies, as explained next.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND SHOPLIFTING HISTORY

In this chapter, I test for the moderating role of social acceptance. Study 1 manipulates whether participants are socially excluded versus included and tests for differences between those with shoplifting experience (shoplifters) and those without (non-shoplifters), in support of H1. Since my mood repair account of the effect implies that participants should experience a negative mood they are motivated to repair, I also examine in this study if socially-excluded and socially-included participants exhibit differences in their level of negative mood.

4.1 STUDY 1

Method

Participants and Procedure. Eighty-two Mturk participants (average age = 36.05, SD = 12.94, 40% female) took part in a series of ostensibly unrelated studies for nominal payment. Eight participants failed an attention check and were thus removed from the analysis, leaving a final sample of 74. The study relied on a 2 (social acceptance: exclusion vs. inclusion) x 2 (shoplifting history: shoplifter vs. non-shoplifter) between-

subject design, in which I manipulated social acceptance and measured shoplifting history.

The first part of the study session was the Cyberball game with participants informed of the rules of an online ball-tossing exercise, in which they would simulate real-life ball-tossing by taking turns throwing the ball to other supposed online players and receiving the ball from the other players (Warburton, Williams, and Cairns 2006). In reality, however, the other players are controlled by the Cyberball software that primes social exclusion by controlling the percentage of ball throws that the participant receives (Williams and Jarvis 2006). Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two social acceptance conditions (social exclusion vs. inclusion). Those in the exclusion condition received the ball approximately ten percent of the time (three ball tosses at the beginning of the game and never again afterward). However, those in the inclusion condition received the ball one third of the time (10 out of 30 ball tosses) throughout the game.

Participants were informed that they would be linked with two other players online to complete an ostensible visualization task. Specifically, they were to focus on imagining what the other two players looked like, what the weather would be like, and to create a complete mental picture of what was happening in the Cyberball game. The instructions were thus used to create experiences similar to a real-world ball-tossing game under the guise of a simple visualization task. After the ball-tossing task, participants indicated the degree to which they felt excluded and the degree to which they felt ignored (where 1 = not at all, and 5 = extremely), which I combined into a felt social exclusion composite that served as the manipulation check (r = .97; Williams and Jarvis 2006). Additionally, they also completed an 8-item, 5-point mood scale that measured the extent

to which they felt good, bad, friendly, unfriendly, angry, pleasant, happy, and sad (where 1 = not at all, and 5 = extremely; Williams and Jarvis 2006). All mood items loaded on a single factor (eigenvalue = 5.83) that explained 73% of variance. The four negative items were thus reverse-coded, so that a higher mood index score indicated higher levels of positive affect ($\alpha = .94$).

Next, in a supposed unrelated study, all participants were then asked to read through, and imagine themselves in, a shopping scenario. For this scenario I did not use the indirect questioning technique as past research has shown that it may lead to additional noise in the form of attitude-irrelevant variance (Fisher 1993; Fisher and Tellis 1998). However, particular care was taken in assuring respondents of their anonymity to encourage honest responses. After being assured of their anonymity to encourage honest responses, participants were instructed to imagine that they were alone in a department store and happened to see a pair of designer jeans that they really wanted. The pair of jeans cost \$150 and despite being able to afford it, with no one around, they could easily shoplift it without getting caught. They were then asked to indicate their shoplifting intentions on six 9-point scales (where 1 = completely unlikely, and 9 = completely likely; $\alpha = .99$), which included items such as, "Indicate the likelihood that you would shoplift the jeans," "Indicate your likelihood to take the jeans without paying," and "Indicate the probability that you would steal the jeans." This formed my shoplifting intention composite and served as my dependent measure. Finally, participants indicated their age and gender, before marking if they had shoplifted before (coded 1 if yes, 0 otherwise).

Results

Manipulation Check. Overall, 39% of participants in my sample had shoplifted before, with 90% of these shoplifters stating that it had been more than a year since they had last shoplifted. Importantly, the proportion of shoplifters did not differ between the social exclusion and inclusion conditions (32% vs. 44%, respectively; $\chi^2 = 1.08$, p > .20).

Confirming that my social acceptance manipulation was successful, a 2 (social acceptance: exclusion vs. inclusion) x 2 (shoplifting history: shoplifter vs. non-shoplifter) ANCOVA, controlling for age, on the felt social exclusion manipulation check revealed only the expected main effect of social acceptance (F(1, 69) = 150.94, p < .001). Specifically, socially-excluded (vs. included) participants were significantly more likely to feel socially excluded following the Cyberball game (4.32 vs. 1.53). Neither shoplifting history nor the social acceptance x shoplifting history interaction were significant predictors of felt social exclusion (all F's < 1; all p's > .30).

Shoplifting Intentions. A 2 (social acceptance: exclusion vs. inclusion) x 2 (shoplifting history: shoplifter vs. non-shoplifter) ANCOVA, controlling for age, revealed a main effect of shoplifting history (F(1, 69) = 13.03, p < .001), such that shoplifters (vs. non-shoplifters) reported significantly higher intentions to shoplift the jeans (2.26 vs. 1.16). More interestingly, and consistent with my hypothesis, the social acceptance x shoplifting history interaction was also significant; F(1, 69) = 4.41, p < .05. As shown in figure 4.1, planned contrasts revealed that the socially-excluded shoplifters expressed greater intentions to shoplift the jeans than did the socially-excluded non-

shoplifters (3.08 vs. .99; F(1, 69) = 13.32, p = .001). However, shoplifting history did not impact shoplifting intentions among socially-included participants (1.85 vs. 1.30 for shoplifters vs. non-shoplifters; F(1, 69) = 1.45, p > .20). Further, while socially-excluded (vs. included) shoplifters expressed greater shoplifting intentions (3.08 vs. 1.85; F(1, 69) = 4.47, p < .05), social acceptance did not impact shoplifting intentions among non-shoplifters (.99 vs. 1.30 for socially-excluded vs. included non-shoplifters; F(1, 69) = .48, p > .20).

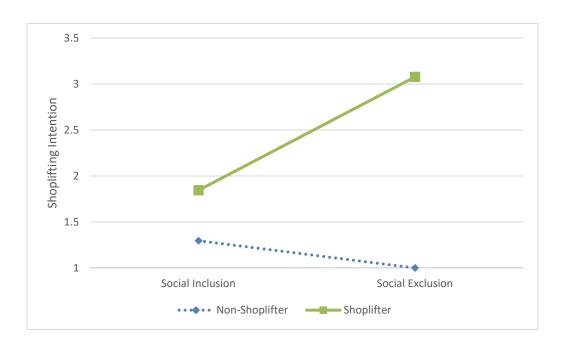


Figure 4.1, Study 1 Results

Ancillary Analysis - Negative Mood. A 2 (social acceptance: exclusion vs. inclusion) x 2 (shoplifting history: shoplifter vs. non-shoplifter) ANCOVA, controlling for age, on the mood index only yielded a main effect of social acceptance (F(1, 69) = 77.00, p < .001), such that socially-excluded participants (M = 2.54) were in a significantly more negative mood than their socially-included counterparts (M = 4.04).

Interestingly, there was no difference in mood between the socially-excluded shoplifters and socially-excluded non-shoplifters (2.32 vs. 2.51; F(1, 69) = .43, p > .20), suggesting that it is not differences in negative mood per se, but instead differences in the motivation to repair the negative mood, which may engender differential shoplifting intentions.

Discussion

In support of H1, study 1 found that social acceptance interacts with shoplifting history in its effect on intentions to shoplift a pair of designer jeans. That is, shoplifting history impacted shoplifting intentions for socially-excluded, but not for socially-included, participants.

Study 1 also found – consistent with prior literature (Blackhart et al. 2009; Gerber and Wheeler 2009) – that social exclusion elicited more negative affect than did social inclusion, which supports my proposition that social exclusion may motivate at least some consumers to improve their mood via shoplifting.

CHAPTER 5

THE ROLE OF AFFECT: PLEASURE, AROUSAL AND DOMINANCE

This next study seeks to examine the process through which mood repair occurs more closely. Specifically, moods and other transient affective states differ not only in how pleasurable they are, but also on their arousal and dominance dimensions (Mehrabian 1996; Mehrabian and Russell 1974). My dissertation thus far has focused on the pleasure dimension of mood, proposing that socially-excluded shoplifters are motivated to make themselves feel better; however, shoplifting may also be motivated by a desire to feel excited or powerful, which map onto the arousal and dominance dimensions of affect. Specifically, arousal refers to a physiological response that is characterized by a stimulus' novelty and unpredictable quality (Mehrabian and de Wetter 1987). Shoplifting, an illegal act, may appear differentially novel and unpredictable as a function of participants' shoplifting history. Dominance refers to feelings of power and control over a situation (Mehrabian and de Wetter 1987), and shoplifting may also give rise to differences in levels of dominance based on shoplifting history. Study 2 therefore seeks to examine if socially-excluded shoplifters versus non-shoplifters differ in the degree to which they are motivated to improve their mood based on enhancing their feelings of pleasure, arousal, or dominance.

5.1 STUDY 2

Method

Participants and Procedure. One hundred and seven participants (average age = 34.90, SD = 11.94, 49% female) were recruited from Mturk to participate in the study for a nominal payment. Eight participants failed an attention check and were hence removed from the analysis, leaving a final sample of 99. The study used a single factor, between-subject design (shoplifting history: shoplifter vs. non-shoplifter), in which I exposed everyone to the social exclusion manipulation and measured shoplifting history.

As before, participants were apprised that they would take part in a series of unrelated studies, the first of which was the social exclusion manipulation. All participants received the social exclusion manipulation and were asked to relive and write about "a time when you experienced rejection or exclusion by others. Think of a time when you felt that others did not want to be in your company and when you did not feel a strong sense of belongingness with another person or group." Subsequently, they completed the social exclusion manipulation check as before (r = .83).

The next study then presented participants with the shoplifting scenario from study 1, with the target product being hedonic (i.e., energy drinks), worth about \$10. Following the shoplifting scenario, I measured shoplifting intentions (α =.98), collected age and gender information, and shoplifting history. I then assessed the three dimensions of affect on 9-point bipolar scales: pleasure (7 items such as happy/unhappy, pleased/annoyed and satisfied/unsatisfied; α = .92), arousal (6 items such as

stimulated/relaxed, excited/calm, and aroused/unaroused; α = .88), and dominance (4 items such as dominant/submissive, influential/influenced and controlling/controlled; α = .75), adapted from past research (Havlena and Holbrook 1986; Mehrabian and Russell 1974; Shapiro, MacInnis, and Park 2002). I include the full scale and instructions in Appendix A. In particular, participants were asked to imagine they had shoplifted the energy drinks as described in the scenario and rate how they would feel on the three dimensions of affect as a result.

Results

Manipulation Check. Confirming that the social acceptance manipulation was successful, a t-test showed that the mean felt exclusion was significantly above the midpoint (M = 3.74; t(98)= 6.62, p < .001). In addition, there were no differences in how socially-excluded shoplifters versus non-shoplifters felt (3.55 vs. 3.86; F(1, 96) = 1.81, p > .10).

Shoplifting Intentions. As predicted, a single factor (shoplifting history: shoplifter versus non-shoplifter) ANCOVA, controlling for age, on shoplifting intentions revealed that shoplifters were significantly more likely to shoplift the energy drinks than were non-shoplifters (1.93 vs. 1.21; F(1, 96) = 8.48, p < .005).

The Role of Pleasure, Arousal, and Dominance. An ANCOVA on the pleasure composite revealed a significant effect; F(1, 96) = 10.14, p < .005. That is, consistent

with my prediction, shoplifters (3.52) experienced significantly greater pleasure in response to the shoplifting scenario than non-shoplifters (2.56). On the other hand, there were no differences between shoplifters and non-shoplifters in terms of their arousal (7.18 vs. 6.99; F(1, 96) = .32, p > .50). Similarly, dominance did not differ between shoplifters and non-shoplifters (5.58 vs. 5.58; F(1, 96) = 0.00, p > .99). Next, I conducted a conditional indirect effects test (bootstrapping with 10,000 samples) with pleasure, arousal, and dominance run as mediators in parallel. Results indicated that pleasure showed significant mediation, with the 95% confidence interval excluding zero (.0488 to .6451); however, neither arousal (-.1561 to .0335) nor dominance (-.0557 to .0466) were significant mediators.

Discussion

Study 2 built on and extended my dissertation in important ways, in addition to replicating the previous results. Specifically, I explored the role of affect in response to shoplifting by exploring if shoplifting affects socially-excluded shoplifters' versus non-shoplifters' anticipated pleasure, arousal, or dominance. The results showed that while both shoplifters and non-shoplifters have relatively high levels of dominance and arousal after imagining shoplifting (compared to scale midpoints), these levels did not differ between shoplifters and non-shoplifters, and it was only differences in anticipated pleasure that impacted shoplifting intentions. The results of this study thus provide a more nuanced picture of the roles of affect and mood repair. I find that shoplifters, are

driven by perceptions of pleasure from shoplifting, which in turn increases their intention to shoplift.

CHAPTER 6

PRODUCT FRAMING AND SHOPLIFTING

In this next chapter, I continue to look into the underlying process by examining if the type of product will moderate the findings of study 2. Consistent with a mood repair account, I predict that this effect should emerge only when the product is perceived as hedonic, given the relationship between pleasure and hedonic products (Batra and Ahtola 1991). However, the effect should be attenuated or eliminated when the product is perceived as utilitarian. Specifically, and consistent with my theory that shoplifting operates as a mood repair mechanism, socially excluded consumers should also have more desire for hedonic products which provides more emotional arousal, pleasure, and immediate benefits than utilitarian products (Okada 2005; Strahilevitz and Myers 1998). Moreover, hedonic consumption can be tied to pleasurable consumption and helps the consumer escape from undesirable realities, such as social exclusion (Hirschman and Holbrook 1982). All of these reasons suggest that socially excluded consumers will prefer to shoplift hedonic (vs. utilitarian) products to cope with their social exclusion.

H2: Product type (hedonic vs. utilitarian) moderates the effect of shoplifting history on shoplifting intention for socially excluded participants.

6.1 STUDY 3

Participants and Design. Ninety-three consumers (average age = 32.80, SD = 10.16, 40% female) were recruited from Mturk and participated in the study for a nominal payment. The study used a 2 (shoplifting history: shoplifters vs. non-shoplifters) X 2 (product frame: utilitarian vs. hedonic) between-subject design on shoplifting intention with social acceptance and product frame manipulated and shoplifting history measured.

Participants first completed the same social exclusion Cyberball manipulation used in study 1. Next, in a supposed unrelated study, all participants were then asked to read through, and imagine themselves in, a shopping scenario. Participants, after being assured that their responses were anonymous, were instructed to imagine that they were alone in a department store and happened to see a pair of athletic shoes that they really wanted. The shoes cost \$100 and they were told that despite being able to afford it, with no one around, they could easily shoplift it without getting caught. Importantly, I also manipulated whether the product was framed as hedonic or utilitarian. The same product was used in both the hedonic and utilitarian conditions however it was framed to be more hedonic or more utilitarian. Drawing on past research I selected a target product that scored highly on both hedonic and utilitarian dimensions; namely athletic shoes (Voss, Spangenberg, and Grohmann 2003). In particular, I described the athletic shoes in the hedonic (utilitarian) condition as, "fun and exciting, and you believe that wearing the shoes would be very enjoyable" ("functional and effective, and you believe that wearing

the shoes would be very practical."). The full shoplifting scenario can be found in Appendix B.

A separate pre-test was conducted to test the effectiveness of the product perception manipulation. One hundred and eighty-four participants were presented with the hedonic or utilitarian framing manipulation in a one-factor between-subjects design. Participants were then asked to indicate the extent to which they found the shoes hedonic and the extent to which they found the shoes utilitarian (where 1 = not at all; and 7 = extremely). Analysis confirmed that the shoes were perceived as significantly more hedonic in the hedonic (vs. utilitarian) framing condition (M = 5.55 vs. 5.11, respectively; F(1, 182) = 4.98, p < .05), and that the shoes were perceived as significantly more utilitarian in the utilitarian (vs. hedonic) framing condition (M = 5.49 vs. 4.67, respectively; F(1, 182) = 13.94, p < .001).

After the shoplifting scenario, I measured participants' shoplifting intentions using the shoplifting intention composite from study 1. Finally, I collected age and gender information, and shoplifting history.

Results

Manipulation Check. Confirming that participants indeed felt socially excluded, a t-test on the felt social exclusion composite showed that participants' scores were significantly higher than the scale midpoint (4.18 out of 5; t = 10.53, p < .001).

Main Results. Analyses showed that the 2-way interaction between shoplifting history and product frame was significant (F(1, 89) = 4.22, p < .05). Planned contrasts

revealed that socially-excluded shoplifters (vs. non-shoplifters) expressed significantly higher intentions to shoplift the hedonic shoes; 1.93 vs. 1.18; F(1, 89) = 6.33, p < .05. However, this effect was eliminated for the utilitarian shoes (1.28 vs. 1.38 for shoplifters vs. non-shoplifters; F(1, 89) = .11, p > .20). Further, socially-excluded shoplifters were more likely to shoplift the hedonic (vs. utilitarian) shoes (1.93 vs. 1.28; F(1, 89) = 4.52, p < .05), but product frame had no effect on shoplifting intentions among non-shoplifters (1.18 vs. 1.38; F(1, 89) = .52, p > .20).

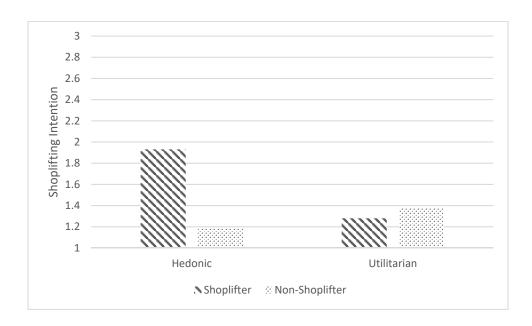


Figure 6.1, Study 3 Results

Discussion. Study 3 introduced the moderator of product type by manipulating whether the same product, a pair of athletic shoes was framed as hedonic or utilitarian. Consistent with my theorizing, socially excluded participants had higher shoplifting intention towards the hedonic framed product if they had shoplifted in the past.

In this study, I demonstrated that hedonic framed products are more appealing to socially excluded participants. However, a limitation of the studies thus far is that I have only measured shoplifting intentions and have not observed actual shoplifting behavior. The next chapter addresses this limitation by looking at actual shoplifting behavior in the behavior lab. Further, the next study advances our understanding of shoplifting behavior by examining an individual difference between consumers: arousal seeking and avoidance.

CHAPTER 7

PARATELIC DOMINANCE AND SHOPLIFTING BEHAVIOR

Individuals differ in their preference for arousal. For some individuals, arousal may be highly pleasant and therefore highly sought after, such as in the case of a consumer going sky-diving (Celsi, Rose, and Leigh 1993). For other individuals, arousal may be unpleasant, and anxiety-inducing, such as a consumer right before finding out the results to an important medical examination. Researchers have developed the telic dominance scale, which examines which of these two states consumers may be more predisposed towards. According to Murgatroyd and colleagues (1978), the telic dominance scale focuses on the way that arousal is interpreted by the individual rather than on the absolute level of arousal in the individual. The sub-scale of arousal avoidance thus measures the extent to which an individual avoids situations that generate high arousal and instead seeks situations that are low in arousal. Individuals who are avoiding arousal are said to be telic towards arousal avoidance, while individuals who actively seek arousal are said to be paratelic. In this study, I explore the moderating effect of the telic and paratelic states of arousal avoidance on stealing behavior. Consistent with my proposition and results of Study 2 that pleasure from shoplifting and not associated arousal drives the effect of shoplifting experience on shoplifting for socially excluded

consumers, I predict that individual differences in arousal avoidance will not affect behavior of shoplifters.

H3: Arousal avoidance (telic versus paratelic) moderates the effect of shoplifting history on shoplifting intention for socially excluded individuals.

7.1 STUDY 4

The objective of study 4 was to test if socially-excluded shoplifters, as compared to socially-excluded non-shoplifters, are more likely to shoplift, which I operationalized here as taking pieces of chocolate (individually-wrapped Hershey's Kisses) without paying for them. In addition, I test if arousal avoidance moderates the relationship between shoplifting history and shoplifting behavior.

Method

Participants and Procedure. Eighty-five undergraduate students (average age = 20.24, SD = 2.38, 48% female), who had been recruited from a large public university to participate for course credit, agreed to take part in this study for an additional \$1 payment. Participants arrived to the lab in small groups and completed the study seated in private cubicles, so as to ensure their privacy from other participants and the lab assistant. In addition to a workstation that consisted of a desk and a computer, each cubicle also contained a bowl filled with 50 pieces of chocolate to the left of the workstation and a jar filled with 20 quarters to the right of the workstation. The latter were ostensibly payments

for chocolates made by prior participants (see below). The large number of chocolates and quarters in the jars were meant to signal to participants that taking a piece of chocolate without payment (i.e., shoplifting) was likely to go unnoticed by the lab assistant. Finally, prior to each study session, the lab assistant placed the \$1 payment in quarters in the middle of the workstation in a conspicuous white money holder. As participants entered the room, they were instructed not to touch any of the items at their desk until they had read the instructions on the computer screen. They were then informed that as a small token of my appreciation, they would find \$1 in quarters at their desk, which was theirs to keep. They were also apprised that they may be given the opportunity to spend money later during the study session but that they were under no obligation to do so, and that any money that they did not spend was theirs to keep.

Next, before a supposedly unrelated study on consumer attitudes, participants were told that I was giving them the opportunity to purchase chocolates that they could eat during the rest of the study session or that they could save for later. Specifically, they could purchase the chocolates at any point during this session for \$0.25 each by adding money to the money jar on the right side of their desk, into which prior participants who had bought chocolates had supposedly already put their money. They then completed a survey on consumer attitudes, in which they marked if they had ever engaged in each of eleven positively- and negatively-valenced activities, such as having given compliments to strangers or having drunk alcohol. Embedded in these activities was my construct of interest – namely, shoplifting history – which asked participants if they had ever shoplifted. Finally, they indicated their age and gender. Also embedded within the consumer attitudes survey was my measure of arousal avoidance. Specifically I adapted items from past research that measured the degree to which an individual avoids situations which generate high arousal and seeks situations in which arousal are low (Murgatroyd et al. 1978). Participants were presented with 14 different choices with each choice having 2 alternatives which represent the telic and paratelic choice, as well as a "not sure" option. For example, individuals could choose between "frequently trying strange foods" (paratelic), or "always eating familiar foods" (telic) or choosing "not sure". All 14 choices can be found in Appendix C. Participants were given the instructions "If you have an open choice, which of the following alternatives would you usually prefer, or which most nearly applies to you". I scored the paratelic choice as 1, and the telic choice as 0, with an answer of "not sure" receiving a score of 0.5. Thus, a

lower score indicated the telic state – individuals were arousal avoidant, and a higher score indicated the paratelic state – individuals were not arousal avoidant.

During the remainder of the 30-minute lab session, participants were able to purchase and consume chocolates while completing unrelated studies. Once the session was over and participants had left, lab assistants blind to both the hypothesis and experimental design counted the number of chocolates left in the bowl and the amount of money in the jar, so that I could examine if any chocolates had been taken without payment.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation Check. Overall, 40% of the participants had shoplifted before. Confirming that participants indeed felt socially excluded, a t-test on the felt social exclusion composite showed that participants' scores were significantly higher than the scale midpoint (3.77 out of 5; t = 5.81, p < .001). Participants who indicated that they had shoplifted before were defined as shoplifters (coded as 1), whereas those who had not previously shoplifted were defined as non-shoplifters (coded as 0).

Shoplifting Behavior. I conducted a binary logistic regression testing if shoplifting behavior was affected by shoplifting history and arousal avoidance. I coded shoplifting behavior as 1 if they stole any chocolates, and 0 if they did not steal. My dependent variable was whether a participant shoplifted chocolates coded as 1 for yes and 0 for no. Recall that I expect that among arousal avoidant participants, shoplifters will be

significantly more likely to shoplift than non-shoplifters. I therefore regressed shoplifting on arousal avoidance, shoplifting history, and their interaction term. As predicted, results revealed a significant main effect of history on shoplifting behavior ($\beta = 5.75$, SE = .30, z = 2.11, p < .05), such that shoplifters were significantly more likely than non-shoplifters to shoplift the chocolates after social exclusion. More importantly, results revealed a significant shoplifting history x arousal avoidance interaction ($\beta = -.73$, SE = .36, z = -2.03, p < .05). Results from a traditional spotlight analysis conducted at low (-1 SD) and high levels (+1 SD) representing telic and paratelic states conducted on arousal avoidance confirmed hypothesis 2. Shoplifters who were telic towards arousal avoidance, at 1 SD below the mean, were significantly more likely to shoplift compared to non-shoplifters (β = 2.10, SE = 1.06, z = 1.98, p < .05; % that stole chocolates: shoplifters = 30%, nonshoplifters = 5%; mean number of chocolates stolen: shoplifters = .53, non-shoplifters = .08). However, when looking at individuals who were paratelic towards arousal avoidance, at 1 SD above the mean, there were no differences between shoplifters and non-shoplifters ($\beta = -.64$, SE = .79, z = -.80, p > .40; % that stole chocolates: shoplifters = 27%, non-shoplifters = 17%; mean number of chocolates stolen: shoplifters = .43, nonshoplifters = .20). In order to identify the range of arousal avoidance for which the effects of shoplifting history was significant, I used the Johnson-Newman technique (Hayes 2013; Spiller et al. 2013). The results of the analysis indicated that there was a significant effect of shoplifters over non-shoplifters on shoplifting behavior among participants with telic scores less than 5.14 ($\beta_{JN} = 2.01$, SE = .1.02, z = 1.96, p = .05).

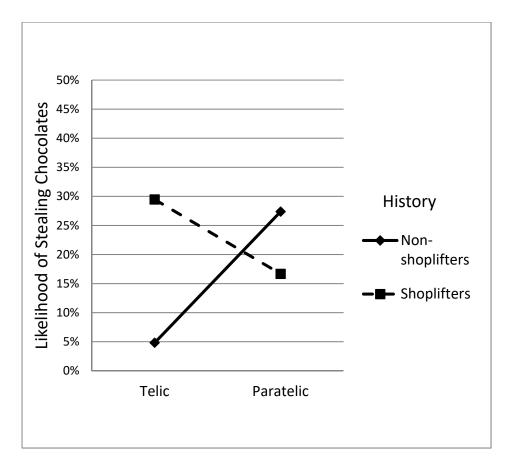


Figure 7.1, Study 4 Results

I thus found behavioral evidence for H1 and H3, finding that socially-excluded shoplifters were more likely to steal merchandise than are non-shoplifters. In addition, I found that this effect was only present for telic individuals, with shoplifters stealing chocolates significantly more than non-shoplifters. Consistent with my predictions and results of Study 2, arousal avoidance tendencies did not affect behavior of shoplifters. However, non-shoplifters who were paratelic were more likely to shoplift than non-shoplifters who were telic, suggesting that while arousal is not a motivating factor for shoplifters, it may contribute to non-shoplifter's shoplifting likelihood.

CHAPTER 8

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The current research advances research on shoplifting and on social exclusion by examining shoplifting as a type of aggressive behavioral consequence of social exclusion. This dissertation proposed that the degree to which consumers use shoplifting as a coping mechanism in response to social exclusion depends on their shoplifting history, such that socially-excluded shoplifters (vs. non-shoplifters) would express higher intentions to shoplift. Further, these differential shoplifting intentions would be driven by differences in perceptions of shoplifting as mood repair between shoplifters and non-shoplifters. Results from the studies support my propositions.

In particular, study 1 provided evidence for the hypothesized interactive effect of social acceptance and shoplifting history on shoplifting intentions, such that socially-excluded shoplifters (vs. non-shoplifters) expressed greater shoplifting intentions, whereas shoplifting history did not impact shoplifting intentions among socially-included participants. Study 2 set out to disentangle if socially-excluded shoplifters sought to remedy their exclusion-induced negative mood by shoplifting because they anticipated that shoplifting would allow them to experience pleasure, arousal, or dominance. Results showed support for shoplifting as enhancing pleasure, but not arousal or dominance. Study 3 demonstrated the moderating role of product type, evincing that the effect of

shoplifting history on shoplifting intentions emerged for a hedonic, but not for a utilitarian framed pair of shoes, as would be expected given the relationship between affect and hedonic consumption. Finally, Study 4 provided evidence for the effect with actual shoplifting behavior. Further, I find that participants who had shoplifted before (i.e., shoplifters) were not affected by arousal avoidance tendencies, however, non-shoplifters were.

8.1 THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

The present research makes several theoretical contributions. First, this dissertation adds to the literature on shoplifting. Despite the obvious importance of shoplifting for marketers, surprisingly little research has been conducted on this topic (but see Krasnovsky and Lane (1998) for important exceptions). Whereas past research on the antecedents of shoplifting behavior have largely focused on demographic factors such as age, sex, and socioeconomic status, my research is the first to systematically test a social influence factor that might have an effect on shoplifting; namely, social exclusion. I proffer that one difference between shoplifters and non-shoplifters can be found in their response to social exclusion. Although both, shoplifters and non-shoplifters, experience negative affect following social exclusion, only the former subsequently become more likely to shoplift, doing so to render their mood more pleasurable. Also, I am the first to provide evidence of shoplifters' motivation to repair their mood as a key driver of shoplifting intentions.

This research also contributes to the literature on social exclusion by investigating how and why social exclusion impacts aggressive behavior, and, more specifically, shoplifting intentions. Previous research has found that consumers will spend money in order to gain affiliation following rejection (Mead et al. 2011) and prefer unique products if affiliation is not possible (Wan et al. 2014). The current research shows that consumers are also more likely to shoplift after experiencing social exclusion. When socially-excluded consumers have shoplifted before and when they perceive the product as more hedonic in nature, they will express higher shoplifting intention because they believe that shoplifting will make them feel better.

This research further adds to the collection of findings about the consequences of social exclusion on consumer behavior. Past findings have documented consumer spending and consumer choice as responses to exclusion (Duclos et al. 2013; Lee and Shrum 2012; Mead et al. 2011; Wan et al. 2014; Ward and Dahl 2014), and this research adds to this stream of literature by demonstrating how consumers might engage in deviant and aggressive behavior in the form of shoplifting as a result of social exclusion. In addition, I show one way in which social exclusion might affect the retail environment.

Lastly, I provide evidence for pleasure as the driver of the effect of social exclusion on shoplifting. Prior research has provided evidence for the role of belonging needs when excluded individuals seek affiliation (Gerber and Wheeler 2009); however, to the best of my knowledge, no research to date has hypothesized and tested the process through which social exclusion may impact antisocial behavior. Further, past research has offered conflicting evidence for the role of affect as the mediating process driving the effect of social exclusion on aggressive behavior (Chow et al. 2008; Twenge et al. 2001);

I evince that it is not just generic mood per se that mediates the effect, but rather the pleasure component which drives my effects.

The current research also has a number of managerial implications. Given the lack of actionable evidence from past research on shoplifting demographics, this research provides insights for practitioners on the conditions under which shoplifting might be more likely which could guide retailers' strategies for combating shoplifting. For example, strategies of exclusion for luxury brands have been found to increase the preference for luxury goods (Ward and Dahl 2014), but may have the unintended consequence of causing shoplifters to experience an increase in shoplifting behavior towards that product. My results suggest that having a friendlier and warmer retail atmosphere (i.e. by installing a friendly door greeter at the entrance of a retail location) may help to decrease shoplifting intention among consumers who are particularly affected by social dynamics. In study 2, I found that socially-excluded participants presented with a target product that was hedonic in nature (more pleasurable for the consumer) were more likely to experience an increase in shoplifting intention compared to socially-excluded consumers that were shown a utilitarian product. These results suggest that the type of product matters a great deal to shoplifters, and products that are perceived as more pleasurable may be a greater target for socially-excluded would-be shoplifters. Therefore, stores that carry hedonic products might be better off by safeguarding their products more carefully, especially if their stores are seen as having an exclusionary tone.

8.2 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The current research has a number of limitations which may provide avenues for future research. First, for ethical reasons, I mainly used hypothetical scenarios to test my predictions with the exception of study 4, which was conducted in a behavioral lab.

Further, in my studies, social exclusion was incidental to the shoplifting context, rather than integral to it. One might argue that this provides a conservative test of my hypothesis, in that social exclusion that takes place while shopping, by, for example, being rejected or ignored by a store employee, should have an even greater effect on subsequent shoplifting intentions. Another potential limitation of my work might be that while I found significant differences between the different experimental conditions, the shoplifting intention means were relatively low. However, these mean values are consistent with other findings that explored intentions towards illegal behavior (Mead et al. 2011).

In addition, in this work, shoplifting was the only available antisocial behavior available to participants. That is, future research should examine the likelihood that aggressive behavior following social exclusion is expressed by shoplifting when other antisocial behaviors, such as verbal altercations or being rude to one's companions, are available. Further, my main proposition was based on the argument that some consumers (i.e., those who have shoplifted before) might resort to shoplifting following social exclusion, unless afforded the opportunity for re-affiliation. This suggest that socially-excluded shoplifters should express lower shoplifting intentions when given a re-affiliation opportunity.

Future research might also examine if exclusive retail settings (such as luxury stores), in which many consumers are likely to feel rejected or ignored, have higher incident rates of shoplifting, as compared to mass merchandisers selling the identical brand. Additionally, would retail settings that sell and display products perceived as more hedonic be more susceptible to theft? Another useful avenue for future research might be to explore what drives shoplifting behavior towards utilitarian items. Specifically, study 2 found that socially included shoplifters versus non-shoplifters had higher intentions to shoplift a utilitarian product. While not the focus of the current research, the findings suggest that there are factors which influence the shoplifting of utilitarian products and that the process underlying this effect is likely to differ from that underlying the shoplifting intentions of hedonic products.

In sum, shoplifting is a common and expensive crime that has been insufficiently explored in the consumer research literature. This research sought to begin shedding light on the social factors that influence some consumers to engage in shoplifting and, more specifically, the powerful effects that social exclusion can have in the marketplace.

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APPENDIX A – PLEASURE, AFFECT AND DOMINANCE SCALES USED IN STUDY 2

Items were adapted from past research: Havlena and Holbrook 1986; Mehrabian and Russell 1974; Shapiro, MacInnis, and Park 2002

Instructions:

In this next section, we are interested in your opinions. Please pick the choice which best represents how you would feel as a result of shoplifting the 6 pack of energy drinks.

All items used 9 point bipolar scales, with order randomized. Pleasure items: Happy/Unhappy Pleased/Annoyed Satisfied/Unsatisfied Contented/Melancholic Hopeful/Despairing Relaxed/Bored Joyful/Not Joyful Arousal items:

Stimulated/Relaxed

Excited/Calm

Frenzied/Sluggish

Jittery/Dull

Wide-awake/Sleepy

Aroused/Unaroused

Dominance items:

Controlling/Controlled

Autonomous/Guided

Influential/Influenced

Dominant/Submissive

APPENDIX B – HEDONIC AND UTILITARIAN PRODUCT FRAMING

HEDONIC PRODUCT CONDITION:

Imagine that you are alone in a department store and you happen to see a pair of athletic shoes that you really want. These shoes are fun, exciting and you believe that wearing the shoes would be very enjoyable.

The shoes cost \$150 and despite being able to afford them, with no one around, you could easily shoplift them without getting caught.

UTILITARIAN PRODUCT CONDITION:

Imagine that you are alone in a department store and you happen to see a pair of athletic shoes that you could really use. These shoes are functional, effective and you believe that wearing the shoes would be very practical.

The shoes cost \$150 and despite being able to afford them, with no one around, you could easily shoplift them without getting caught.

APPENDIX C – PARATELIC DOMINANCE, AROUSAL AVOIDANCE

The following list of questions was used in study 4, as adapted from Murgatroyd et al. (1978). A * denotes the telic choice.

Instructions: If you have an open choice, which of the following alternatives would you usually prefer, or which most nearly applies to you:

- 1. Leisure activities which are just exciting
 - Leisure activities which have a purpose *

Not sure

- 2. Spending one's life in many different places
 - Spending most of one's life in one place*

Not sure

- 3. Having your tasks set for you*
 - Choosing your own activities

Not sure

- 4. Staying in one's job*
 - Having many changes of job

Not sure

5.	Seldom doing things "for kicks"*
	Often doing things "for kicks"
	Not sure
6.	Taking holidays in many different places
	Taking holidays always in the same place*
	Not sure
7.	Frequently trying strange foods
	Always eating familiar foods*
	Not sure
8.	Recounting an incident accurately*
	Exaggerating for effect
	Not sure
9.	Having continuity in the place where you live*
	Having frequent moves of house
	Not sure
10.	Taking risks
	Going through life safely*
	Not sure
11.	Winning a game easily*
	Playing a game with scores very close
	Not sure

12. Steady routine in life*

Continual unexpectedness or surprise

Not sure

13. Working in the garden*

Picking wild fruit

Not sure

14. Traveling a great deal in one's job

Working in one office or workshop*

Not sure