

The Effects of Power on Financial Aspirations and Expenditures in Poland and the UK

ANNA MARIA ZAWADZKA¹

*Institute of Psychology,
University of Gdańsk, Poland*

ANNA STRUŻYŃSKA-KUJAŁOWICZ²

University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Sopot, Poland

MAGDALENA ZAWISZA³

University of Winchester, UK

Abstract

This paper presents two experiments conducted in UK and Poland on how different positions in a hierarchy of power may affect financial aspirations and declared expenditures. The authors also tried to determine whether there are any cultural differences within these relationships. The results indicate that both groups, Polish and British, show an effect of being above average as far as financial aspirations are concerned. Moreover, power appears to influence investment and education in the Polish group (experiment 1) and expenditures on entertainment in the British group (experiment 2). The results also show differences in financial aspirations between the two groups. The British expected to earn more money than the Polish and have more expensive automobiles. Additionally, the British declared higher expenditures on housing, family, and friends, as well as clothes and cosmetics, whereas Polish declared higher expenditure on entertainment and day-to-day needs.

Keywords: Power; Financial aspirations; Savings; Poland; UK.

Introduction

The phenomenon of power has long intrigued and inspired numerous researchers. One of the more recent approaches to the problem of power is the self-regulation perspective (Carver & Scheier, 1998; Higgins, 1998). In this approach, power and subordination are understood as a function of two factors: access to resources and control over reward and punishment (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003). These two factors trigger different motivational systems in those who have power and in those who do not. Access to, and control of, resources activates the behavioural approach

¹ Postal Address: Institute of Psychology, University of Gdańsk, ul. Bażyńskiego 4, 80-952 Gdańsk, Poland. E-mail Address: psyamz@univ.gda.pl.

² Postal Address: University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Faculty in Sopot, ul. Polna 16/20, 81-745 Sopot, Poland. E-mail Address: astruzynska-kujalowicz@swps.edu.pl.

³ Postal Address: University of Winchester, Herbert Jarman Bld., rm 204, West Hill, Winchester, SO22 4NR UK. E-mail Address: Magdalena.Zawisza@winchester.ac.uk.

system, which involves focus on opportunities and goal-attainment drive. On the contrary, lack of access to resources and the threat of punishment activate the behavioural inhibition system, which involves focus on avoiding potential threats. Individuals with or without power determine their actions according to different standards of self. Those who possess power relate their actions to aspirations, possibilities and wishes (promotional aims), while those in subordinate roles relate their actions to duties, commitments and obligations (preventative aims).

Cultural background significantly shapes the dominant self-constructs, which then determine the individual's behaviour and actions (Aaker & Lee, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Lee, Aaker & Gardner, 2000). For example, in an individualistic culture one's behaviours are shaped by the construct of the independent self and the individual's actions are motivated by promotional aims. In a collectivistic culture, on the other hand, their behaviour falls under the dominant influence of the interdependent self construct, and their actions are motivated by preventative aims. Thus, power based on the dominant interdependent or independent self-construal leads to different choices and aims. Since culture may influence the dominant basis of power, power may manifest itself differently depending on the culture (Chen, Lee-Chai & Bargh, 2001; Winter, 1973).

The research presented in this article investigates the relationship between power, culture and individual financial aspirations and expenditures. The findings indicate that both power and lack of power are related to differing economic aspirations (Henry, 2005) and consumption patterns (Rucker & Galinsky, 2008; Rucker & Galinsky, 2009; Zawadzka & Strużyńska-Kujałowicz 2008). It is predicted that the possession of power, as opposed to subordination to power, gives rise to economic aspirations, i.e. financial aspirations and expenditures related to the attainment of one's own goals and displaying one's status. It is also predicted that the individualistic culture from which an individual originates may intensify the relationships between power and financial aspirations.

Although there is some research analysing the relationship between power and economic behaviour, the results of these studies have been inconclusive. Moreover, little is known about the cross-cultural aspects of the relationship between power and economic behaviour. Analysing these relationships has important implications for understanding both the behaviour of the individual holding/not holding power and the behaviour of societies under a stronger or weaker dominance of individualistic culture, where self-construal values power more or less. The two experiments presented here test the influence of power on financial aspirations and expenditures in two different cultural contexts (Poland and the United Kingdom). To the author's best knowledge, there is little research on financial aspirations in the context of power activation comparing PL and the UK. Therefore, the two countries are interesting to compare; they both have market economy and democracy but they differ in individualism and economic welfare (PL is less individualistic and less wealthy than the UK) (Zawisza, Luyt & Zawadzka, 2012). We also analysed cross-cultural differences in the relationship between power and financial aspirations and expenditures.

The effects of power on motivations, attitudes and behaviour

The research mentioned below has provided evidence that power activates the behavioural approach system, while subordination activates the behavioural inhibition system (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003). Individuals in possession of power concentrate on rewards in their environment to a greater extent than on avoiding threats, compared to people who do not possess power (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002). Extensive research into motivational systems has been conducted, documenting the functioning of the approach system (related to the position of power) and the inhibition system (typical for the position of subordination). For example, it has been shown that individuals with activated power display higher self-esteem (Wojciszke & Strużyńska-Kujałowicz, 2007) and greater positive emotions (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002), rate the effectiveness of their own actions higher (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003) and claim that they are more liked by others (Anderson & Berdahl, 2002), compared to people in whom subordination is dominant. Classic research indicates that powerless individuals do not share

their opinions on a given subject with others, but rather conform to the opinions of others (Asch, 1955; Milgram, 1974).

The most recent research has confirmed the relationships previously observed. For example, Galinsky et al. (2008) found differences in the functioning of people possessing and not possessing power. Their first study assessed the extent to which power or lack of power influenced the originality of ideas (new names created for existing products). The results indicated that people in whom power had been previously activated invented more non-typical product names, compared to those with activated subordination, who offered more typical product names (i.e. similar to name patterns already in existence in a given product category). The results of this study pointed out both the influence of power on activation of the behavioural approach system and the influence of the lack of power on activation of the behavioural inhibition system. The second study (Galinsky et al., 2008) investigated how people with activated power or subordination assess a rather tedious task which they were asked to complete, having previously been told that others had found the task to be excellent. The results of this study showed that individuals from the power group gave the task, supposedly assessed by others as excellent, a less satisfactory rating than did the subordination and control groups. Individuals from the latter two groups evaluated the task in a similar way to the supposed evaluation of others. Thus people with activated power were less influenced by others than those with activated subordination or the control group. Other studies (Sivanathan, Pillutla & Murnighan, 2008) aimed to establish how the gain vs. loss of power correlate with the demands presented by the participants in the so-called 'dictatorship game'. It appeared that the participants' demands in the game differed according to whether they were gaining or losing power. What is more, those participants who were gaining power demanded significantly more in subsequent stages of the game, while the demands of those who were losing power were similar.

Given the above, and specifically in line with Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson (2003), it would be expected that power and lack of power activate different motivational systems, i.e. power activates the approach system and lack of power activates the inhibition system, which in turn may manifest itself in different financial aspirations and expenditure patterns.

Power and consumption

The research conducted to date concerning power and consumption has not yet produced conclusive results. Some findings indicate that not possessing power is linked to status and luxury brands to a greater degree than possessing power (Rucker & Galinsky, 2008, 2009), while others show that possessing power is related to increased economic aspirations and certain types of expenditures, as well as to the amount of food consumed, to a greater degree than not possessing power (Henry, 2005; Zawadzka & Strużyńska-Kujałowicz, 2008).

Rucker and Galinsky (2008) have conducted research on the influence of power or lack of power on the choice of status-related goods and luxury goods, which revealed that people not possessing power, as opposed to those who held it, expressed a greater desire to: 1) receive a given product when it was associated with status; and 2) pay a certain price for a given product when it was associated with status. In a subsequent study Rucker and Galinsky (2009) showed further that both power and no-power groups prefer luxury goods, but the reasons for such preference are divergent. In those without power the motives are compensatory, while in the case of people with power the preferences stem from utilitarian motives, i.e. searching for the best quality in goods. Dubois, Rucker & Galinsky (2012) found that these preferences for products associated with greater status is presented only for publicly used products. In addition it is worth mentioning that high-power individuals ascribed greater value to possessions they owned than subordinates, who estimated the same products as less valuable when they were the owners.

Rucker, Dubois & Galinsky (2011) also focused on how power shapes the willingness to spend on themselves and others. They found that participants in a high-power condition purchased twice as many chocolates than low-power participants when purchasing for oneself. In contrast, when

purchasing for others, high-power individuals bought smaller amounts of chocolates than low-power participants. Differences in spending on oneself were mediated by differences in self-importance, whereas differences in spending on others were mediated by differences in dependence on others. According to Rucker, Galinsky and Dubois (2012) the purchase recipient and product status should not be tested separately but it is necessary to take into consideration the interaction between these factors in research on the relationship between power and consumer behaviour. Henry (2005), in turn, has explored the relationship between power and selected consumer practices. His research showed that the possession of power was linked to long-term expenditure plans, while lack of power to short-term plans. Moreover, the expenditure plans of people with power were controlled and carefully considered, but the expenditure plans of people without power concerned day-to-day matters and paying bills. Another study pointing to the connection between power and consumption was conducted by Weick and Guinote (2008), who have demonstrated that the amount of food consumed by power-holding individuals (when asked to sample food) depends on whether they found the food tasty or not. In the case of people without power, the amount of food consumed was unrelated to whether the individuals liked the food or not. Also, Zawadzka and Strużyńska-Kujałowicz (2008) observed that superiors were willing to spend more on cars and investments than subordinates. Another study by Zawadzka (2008a) revealed that activation of power led to greater preferences for functional materialism (searching for the latest models of products, purchasing exclusive brands) than activation of lack of power.

By referring to the approach/inhibition theory of power (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2003), according to which people with or without power use different motivational systems, it has been predicted here that activation of power will lead to greater financial aspirations and expenditures to attain one's own goals, as well as on goals related to retaining power, as opposed to no-power conditions.

Culture, attitudes and behaviour

Culture shapes significant associations in individuals' minds (McClelland, 1973; Winter, 1988). Individualism-collectivism is a dimension relevant to studying intercultural differences, as it affects the dominant self-constructs in a given culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and thus the aims and values which then determine the individual's actions (Singelis et. al., 1995; Triandis, 1995). Individuals from individualistic cultures give priority to their personal aims over the aims of the group, and define themselves independent of others. Individuals from collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, concentrate on reaching communal goals, important for the group, and define themselves in relation to the group (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Cultural values relevant to individualism-collectivism are reflected in greater access to certain self-constructs (independent self-construal/individualistic self-construal and interdependent self-construal/collectivistic self-construal respectively; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, et al., 1995; Triandis, 1995).

It can be inferred from consumer decision-making research that activation of certain self-constructs influences individuals' decisions. In Mandel (2003), the participants' interdependent or independent self-construals were activated, and then the participants were asked to reach a decision concerning the choice of attire for a family meeting. Those with activated interdependent self-construals tended to make very careful decisions concerning what to wear for a family meeting, as opposed to those whose independent self-construals had been activated. Other studies reveal that people with activated independent self-construals choose more hazardous investments more readily than those whose interdependent self-construals have been activated (Hamilton & Biehal, 2005). Moreover, other researchers have reported culture-related differences (i.e. salience of certain self-construal) in assessment of aims and long- and short-term events (Maddux & Yuki, 2006). Specifically, individuals from collectivistic cultures, contrary to those from individualistic cultures, attach greater value to involvement in long-term plans, and consider events with far-reaching consequences more significant.

What follows from the above is that culture values should modify the relationship between power and financial aspirations.

Poland and the United Kingdom are interesting cultures to compare. PL is less individualistic and more collectivistic than the UK. Intercultural studies comparing countries on a cultural value level initiated by Hofstede (2001) reveal that there is a considerable difference between the UK and PL in respect to individualism, the UK (89) being more individualistic than PL (60). What is more, the UK has long history of modernisation, is relatively socioeconomically stable and is considered one of the richest countries in the world. PL is described as a society in transition - after political and economic isolation until 1989, PL has undergone dynamic socioeconomic changes (Zawisza, Luyt & Zawadzka 2013).

In the light of the above, and since economic status is more important for well-being in transition societies with low income than in well developed societies (Howell & Howell 2008), we argue that different nature of values and socioeconomic context in the UK and PL will contribute to distinct patterns of financial aspiration and expenditures.

Power, culture, and consumption

The dominance of a certain self-construct is connected with an individual's pursuit of certain goals. As research on the relationship between motivation underlying power and goal orientation would suggest, individuals in possession of power are oriented towards different goals, depending on the type of motivation accompanying power. Communal-motivated individuals focus on responsibility for others, in the same manner as individuals with dominant interdependent self-construals. By contrast, exchange-motivated individuals concentrate on the attainment of their own interests and goals (Chen, Lee-Chai & Bargh, 2001), as individuals with dominant independent self-construals do (Chen Lee-Chai & Bargh, 2001). The research suggests that in individuals from an individualistic culture, power activates the pursuit of goals for one's own good (e.g. acquiring a certain status, gaining the admiration of others), while in individuals from a collectivistic culture, power activates actions aimed at attaining goals connected with the good of others (e.g. sacrificing oneself for others, caring for others) (Bargh & Alvarez, 2001).

Individuals may purchase goods or spend money in order to exhibit their wealth and affluence and, at the same time, their status. Conspicuous consumption serves as a good example of such actions (Veblen, 1899/1994), since acquiring or displaying one's status is a way of achieving and retaining power (Fiske & Berdahl, 2007). The research conducted has demonstrated that power display (i.e. exhibiting or expressing one's power) and individuals' choices are linked to culture, i.e. to the dominant self-construal (Winter, 1988), whether interdependent or independent. Individuals with a dominant independent self-construal focus on retaining power, which allows them to attain their own goals. Individuals with a dominant interdependent self-construal concentrate on being responsible for others. Rucker, Galinsky and Dubois (2012) indicated that high power fosters an agentic orientation among consumers, and low power supports a communal orientation.

Modernisation theory (Inglehart & Baker, 2000), argues that economic advancement shifts cultural values. Growing welfare of individuals in a society increases material security. This, in turn, increases the sense of individual autonomy which results in society's growing emphasis on self-expression values. Therefore we predicted that in the event of power activation, people from the more individualistic culture (the UK) will strive towards goals related to influencing, impressing others and being rewarded by others to a greater degree than people from the less individualistic culture (PL).

The UK and PL are similar - they have market economy and democracy - but, at the same time, they are also different - the UK is a more economically developed and wealthier society than Poland. In terms of similarities, young people in both countries save for almost the same things. Young Polish people, when asked about their preferred expenditure, say that they prefer to allocate money to houses, automobiles, investments and bank deposits (Lewicka, 2004). Young British people, asked about reasons for saving, indicate the following: automobiles, houses, investments (i.e. retirement) (Webley & Burgoyne, 2003). There are also differences in spending behaviour between the British and Polish. It was shown that the reasons for saving behaviours of the British are primarily self-esteem and self-gratification, with shopping, holidays and money availability at

the bottom of the list (Canova, Rattazzi & Webley, 2005). Polish people save for electronic equipment, flats, automobiles, holidays and small pleasures (TNS Polska, 2012). When considering the differences, it must be pointed out that the UK market economy has a long tradition, but in Poland it is quite new (about 20 years) (Zawisza, Luyt & Zawadzka, 2012; Zawisza, Luyt & Zawadzka, 2013). Moreover, an average Polish household's net disposable income is almost half of the average household net disposable income in the UK (PL - 15,371 \$, UK - 26.904\$). People in Poland also work longer hours than in the UK (PL- 1937 hours per year, UK - 1625 hours per year), and have a worse housing situation (PL - 1 room per 1 person, UK – 1.8 rooms per 1 person) (OECD, 2013).

Hypotheses

With regard to the theory of having power vs. being subordinated to power in relation to the approach and the inhibition systems of self-regulation, and on the basis of the conclusions drawn from the existing research on the relationship between power and consumption, we hypothesized that high power status would lead to an increase in financial aspirations compared to low power. We also anticipated that holding a distinguished position in a power hierarchy would result in a different allocation of the amount of money to be spent on given product categories. Given the different socio-economic context, it was also expected that differences would arise as to the declared financial aspirations and expenditures between people from Poland and UK.

Experiment 1

Experiment 1, conducted in Poland, focused on analysing the differences in economic aspirations and declared expenditures between people holding different positions in the power hierarchy. It was anticipated that, in conditions where power has been activated, people would express higher expectations as to their own salaries, savings and the amount of money spent on an automobile in the future, as compared to those with activated subordination to power. Moreover, it was predicted that substantial differences between these two groups would appear concerning the type of expenditures contemplated.

Method

Participants

The experiment encompassed 89 women and 22 men, all students from the School of Social Sciences and Humanities and Gdansk University. The average age of the study group was 25.1 (SD = 6.45). They were recruited via lectures on a voluntary basis.

Procedure and materials

The participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental groups. In the first group, power was activated: the participants were asked to recall and describe situations in which they had been in possession of power. The second group was subject to the activation of subordination: the participants were asked to report situations in which they had been subject to another person's power. In the third group, the control group, the participants were asked to recall and describe situations when they had been members of a group in which everyone had equal rights (equal status). This type of power manipulation has been used successfully by other researchers (e.g. Galinsky, Grunfeld & Magee, 2003; Smith & Trope, 2006). The participants were then asked to: a) envisage their own salaries in 10 years' time, together with the average salary in their own field; b) estimate their personal savings in 10 years' time, as well as the savings of a person from the same age group and of the same sex, c) assess the value of the automobile which they expected to own in 10 years' time and the value of the automobile owned by an average person of the same age employed in the same profession. The automobile was chosen because young people appointed it the most often in their purchase plans (e.g. Lewicka, 2004; Webley & Burgoyne, 2003). What is

more, the prices of automobiles differ significantly and the high-price automobile is perceived as a status symbol. This measure of financial aspiration was successfully used in previous research (e.g. Zawadzka & Strużyńska-Kujałowicz, 2008).

Afterwards the participants declared how they would spend their money (how much and on what) if they were to be given 50,000 Polish zlotys (hereafter PLN, the equivalent of about 12,100 Euros⁴). The answers given were divided into 13 categories, assigned by competent arbiters in previous studies (Zawadzka, 2007; Zawadzka, 2008b). Finally, the participants were thanked and debriefed.

Results

Manipulation check

In order to perform a manipulation check, two independent trained judges were asked to assess to what degree each participant in the study had held or had been subordinate to power in the situation he/she had described. In their assessment, the judges adopted a 7-point scale from -3 (fully subordinated to power), through 0 (equal relationship) up to 3 (held full power). The inter-rater coefficient of concordance was high (Kendall's $W = 0.88, p < 0.001$). The one-way ANOVA conducted on the judges' average scores showed that the participants assigned to the superior group ($M = 2.13, SD = 0.71$), the equal group ($M = -0.15, SD = 0.57$) and the subordinate group ($M = -2.1, SD = 0.77$) differed significantly as to the level of power, $F(2, 104) = 343.78, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.87$. The post-hoc tests proved significantly different ($ps < 0.001$) among all groups. Moreover, the low-power group reported events that involved being subjected to power and the high-power group reported the opposite type of events, which would indicate that the power manipulation was effective.

Salary

A two-way mixed design ANOVA, using a 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) between subjects x 2 (person: self vs. others) within subjects design, revealed a significant main effect of person, $F(1,106) = 5.59, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.05$. A follow-up analysis using post-hoc tests showed that the individuals from superior positions indicated that they would earn more than the average salary of others ($p < 0.01$) for a given line of business. Such a difference between one's own expected income and the future income of others did not emerge in the subordinate and equal groups (ns.) (Table 1). The main effect of power and interactional effect (power x person) were nonsignificant.

Savings

A two-way mixed design ANOVA following a 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) between subjects x 2 (person: self vs. others) within subjects design revealed a significant main effect of person, $F(1,104) = 11.25, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.098$. In all analysed groups - with the superior ($p < 0.05$), equal ($p < 0.05$) and subordinate ($p < 0.01$) positions activated - a larger amount of one's own savings was indicated, as opposed to others' savings (Table 1). The other effects connected to power (main and interactional) did not reach statistical significance.

Table 1: Influence of position in the power hierarchy on financial aspirations in PLN (Experiment 1)

Type of financial aspiration	Power position					
	Subordinate		Equal		Superior	
	Self	Others	Self	Others	Self	Others
Salary	9,271.43 (16,699.04)	6,951.43 (6,597.70)	11,750.00 (19,261.46)	8,932.35 (19,050.12)	17,250.00 (34,919.87)	7,287.50 (9,998.01)
Savings	466,428.57 (1,693,804.27)	215,500.00 (845,021.40)	401,500.00 (893,104.47)	190,435.29 (332,001.74)	333,184.21 (698,524.62)	51,000.00 (77,519.22)
Car	112,485.71 (182,030.92)	94,714.29 (137,091.33)	61,139.40 (74,594.01)	69,018.20 (83,093.24)	84,868.42 (80,423.26)	52,118.42 (49,245.86)

⁴ All sums given in Polish zlotys (PLN) or British pounds (GBP) in this article have been converted into Euros to show how the two socioeconomic contexts compare.

Automobile value

A two-way mixed design ANOVA following a 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) between subjects \times 2 (person: self vs. others) within subjects design displayed the main effect of person for the amount spent in the future on an automobile, $F(1, 103) = 3.07$, $p = 0.083$, $\eta^2 = 0.029$ (tendency).

Individuals from the superior group stated that in the future they would purchase a more expensive automobile, in contrast to an average person from the same age group and profession (tendency at $p = 0.08$). The remaining groups displayed no difference (ns.) between the estimates as to the value of one's own and someone else's automobile (table 1). The other effects (main effect of power and interactional effect) were nonsignificant.

Allocation of money to be spent on different product categories

The participants were asked what they would buy with 50,000 PLN, if they happened to be in possession of such an amount of money. The analysis below presents the most commonly selected categories of expenditure: entertainment (number of respondents: 53); investment (39); automobile (32); education (32); housing (25); money spent on family and friends (23).

The categories most often mentioned by participants as the highest ranking were: education (19.6% of all respondents); investment (16.8%); housing (13.1%); entertainment (12.1%); automobile (11.2%); money spent on family and friends (9.3%).

An analysis of the importance of particular expenditure categories indicated the main effect of power hierarchy for the investment, $F(2, 36) = 3.39$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.158$, and automobile, $F(2, 29) = 7.56$, $p < 0.005$, $\eta^2 = 0.343$. People from the superior position valued the importance of investment higher (position in ranking 1.68) than people from subordinate positions (2.64). The Mann-Whitney U test revealed this difference to be statistically significant, $U = 83.5$, $p = 0.05$. Those in the superior position additionally assigned greater importance to automobile expenditure (position in ranking 1.75) compared to people from the equal group (3.3), $U = 20.5$, $p < 0.01$. Similarly, people from the subordinate group valued the significance of automobile expenditure (position: 1.6) higher than the representatives of the equal group, $U = 17.0$, $p < 0.005$.

On average, the following amounts were allocated to be spent on particular categories: investment (9,528.04 PLN, i.e. 2,312.41 Euros); automobile expenditures (6,925.23 PLN, i.e. 1,680.72 Euros); entertainment (7,317.76 PLN, i.e. 1,775.98 Euros); housing (6,892.52 PLN, i.e. 1,672.78 Euros); education (5,744.86 PLN, i.e. 1,394.25 Euros), money spent on family and friends (2,397.20 PLN, i.e. 581.79 Euros).

A one-way ANOVA calculated separately for each product category revealed a tendency towards significant main effect of power hierarchy only on the sum to be spent on education: $F(2, 110) = 2.93$, $p = 0.06$, $\eta^2 = 0.051$. Comparisons between particular groups within the selected expenditure categories (post-hoc tests) revealed that the people with superior positions in the power hierarchy, when compared to those in subordinate positions, declared higher amounts spent on investment ($p < 0.05$) and less on education ($p < 0.05$) (fig.1).

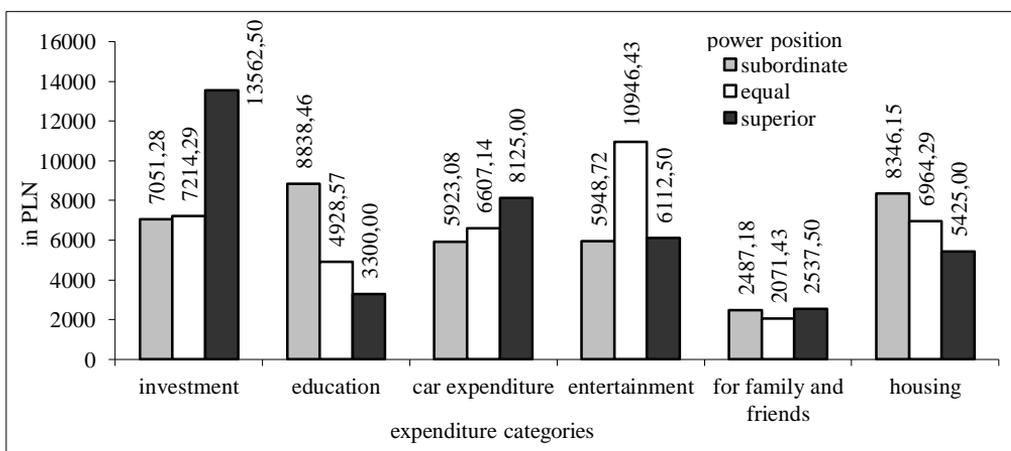


Figure 1: Sum allocated to selected expenditure as a function of position in power hierarchy (Experiment 1)

Since the same variables were measured in the subsequent study, the results of the present study will be discussed further on in this article, which will enable comparison of the results with those obtained in Experiment 2.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 was a replication of the previous study, conducted in a different cultural context.

Method

Participants

111 people were tested, 85 women and 26 men with an average age of 21.72 ($SD = 5.98$), students of the Department of Psychology at the University of Winchester in the UK. They were recruited via lectures on a voluntary basis.

Procedure and materials

The process of power activation was similar to that employed in the previous study, i.e. the participants described an autobiographical event in which they held power, were subordinated to someone, or experienced equal relations. Next they were asked to consider their expenditure plans and future assets and decide how they would dispose of £ 30,000, indicating how much they would spend and on what, in a manner similar to study 1. In the expenditure task the Polish and UK samples were given different amounts of money, which reflected each country's economic reality: different income levels and prices.

Results

Manipulation check

As in the previous study, independent trained judges assessed (on a 7-point scale) the extent to which each participant in the study either held or was subordinate to power in the situations described. The inter-rater coefficient of concordance was high (Kendall's $W = 0.64$, $p < 0.001$). The one-way ANOVA of the average results of the arbiters' assessment shows that the participants assigned to the superior group ($M = 1.58$, $SD = 0.64$), the equal group ($M = -0.31$, $SD = 0.59$) and the subordinate group ($M = -1.43$, $SD = 1.12$) differed significantly as to the level of power $F(2, 81) = 103.39$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.72$. The post-hoc tests proved significantly different ($ps < 0.001$) between all groups, which would indicate that the power manipulation was effective.

Salary

A two-way mixed design ANOVA following a 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) between subjects \times 2 (person: self vs. others) within subjects design revealed a significant main effect of person, $F(1, 105) = 13.91$, $p < 0.01$, $\eta^2 = 0.12$.

The analysis of simple effects revealed that participants with activated power-holding indicated a higher salary for themselves in contrast to those with activated subordination (an effect approaching significance at $p = 0.07$). Individuals from the subordinate group assessed their own salaries as lower than people from the equal group ($p < 0.05$). A significant difference emerged also in the assessment of other people's earnings between individuals from the equal and the subordinate groups ($p < 0.05$), and also between the equal and superior groups (an effect approaching significance at $p = 0.08$). Members of the subordinate and superior groups claimed that an average person of the same age would earn less when contrasted with the assessment conducted by members of equal groups.

Participants from the superior ($p < 0.001$), equal and subordinate groups (effects approaching significance at $ps < 0.08$) claimed that they would earn more than an average person of the same age in the same line of business (table 2).

Savings

A two-way mixed design ANOVA following a 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) between subjects \times 2 (person: self vs. others) within subjects design revealed a significant main effect of person, $F(1, 98) = 5.38, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.052$, and almost significant main effect of power, $F(2, 98) = 2.46, p < 0.09, \eta^2 = 0.048$.

Individuals from the superior group ($p < 0.05$) and the equal group ($p < 0.07$) rated alike the level of their own savings higher than representatives of the subordinate group. In the same parameter, however, no difference emerged between the superior group and the equal group.

Differences were observed in the estimation of the savings of an average person from the same age group in 10 years' time between people from the equal group and the subordinate group ($p < 0.05$), whose members estimated the savings of another person at a lower level.

Individuals from the group with activated power indicated higher savings for themselves as opposed to the savings of others (table 2), whereas in the remaining groups the differences between one's own and the average savings in the peer group did not reach the level of statistical significance.

Automobile value

A two-way mixed design ANOVA following a 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) between subjects \times 2 (person: self vs. others) within subjects design revealed neither a main effect for position in the power hierarchy ($F < 1$) nor for person ($F < 1$). The interaction effect was also insignificant: $F = 1.42, ns$.

Table 2: Influence of position in the power hierarchy on financial aspirations in £ (Experiment 2)

Type of financial aspiration	Status					
	Subordinate		Equal		Superior	
	Self	Others	Self	Others	Self	Others
Salary	36,657.14 (12,430.85)	32,542.86 (10,752.14)	49,307.69 (35,555.85)	41,338.46 (28,161.08)	51,735.29 (48,005.25)	33,588.24 (10,660.37)
Savings	12,621.21 (9,206.85)	11,145.45 (12,940.78)	42,337.84 (94,865.41)	29,474.32 (57,421.31)	23,441.94 (28,665.80)	14,529.03 (14,941.98)
Car	11,157.14 (7,109.20)	11,388.57 (8,238.32)	23,307.89 (44,805.85)	15,776.32 (16,311.52)	13,500.00 (10,263.94)	30,250.00 (104,400.76)

Money allocated to selected product categories

As in study 1, participants indicated in what way they would spend a certain sum of money (£ 30,000). The expenditure categories most often chosen by the participants were analysed once more: automobile (68 respondents); entertainment (62); investment (54); housing (48); education (44); money spent on family and friends (44).

Participants ranked particular categories according to their importance. Housing was most often specified as the most important (32% of respondents chose it as the first place in the hierarchy of importance), followed by expenditure on family and friends (15%), entertainment (12%), investment (11.7%), education (11%), and automobile (4%). An analysis of the importance of particular expenditure did not display a main effect for position in the power hierarchy.

The average sums declared as expenditures in particular categories emerged as follows: housing (£ 10,617.21, i.e. 11,904.04 Euros); investment (£ 5,017.12, i.e. 5,625.20 Euros); automobile (£ 4,069.40, i.e. 4,562.62 Euros); family and friends (£ 2,650.00, i.e. 2,971.18 Euros); education (£ 2,526.10, i.e. 2,832.27 Euros); entertainment (£ 2,391.40, i.e. circa 2,681.24 Euros).

A one-way ANOVA concerning the average sums allotted to particular categories of expenditure by individuals with varied positions in the power hierarchy did not display a main effect of power position for any of the expenditure categories. Our analysis of the differences between particular groups' expenditure pointed to a significant difference in spending on entertainment between the equal and the subordinate groups ($p < 0.05$). Individuals from the

subordinate group declared a much lower spending on entertainment when compared to individuals from the equal group (fig. 2).

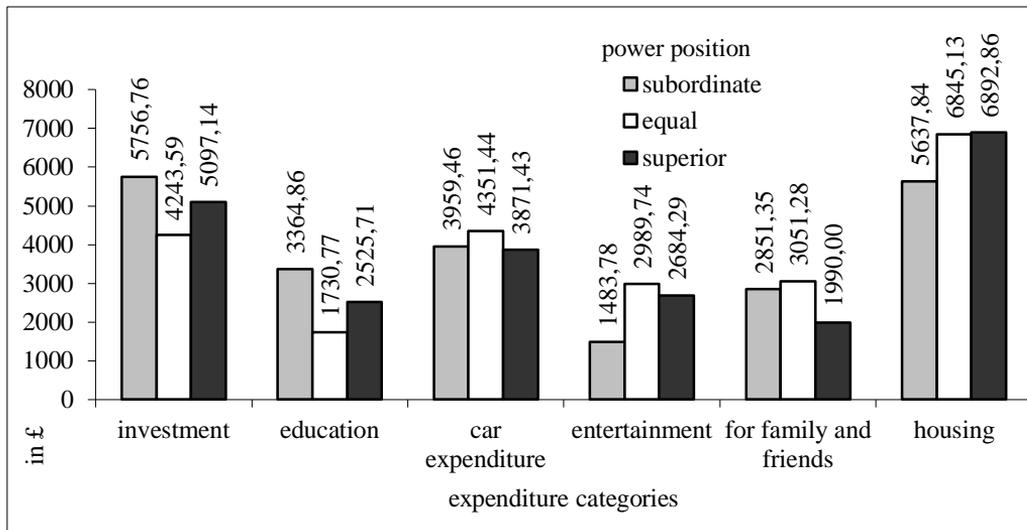


Figure 2: Sum allocated to selected expenditure as a function of position in power hierarchy (Experiment 2)

Polish-British Comparative Analysis

In order to carry out a comparison of data collected in Poland and the UK, relating to one's own estimated salary and the salary of an average person of the same age, estimated savings, automobile expenditures, and expenditures on certain product categories, the data were converted into standardised z-values.

Salary

The estimated salary was analyzed in two separate analyses of variance (for self and for others), with nationality (Polish vs. English) and power position (subordination vs. equality vs. superior) as factors. Both of these analyses yielded a significant main effect of the respondents' nationality: for one's own salary $F(1, 183) = 101.95, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.36$, as well as for the estimated salary of an average person of the same age in the same line of business $F(1, 183) = 239.19, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.57$. People working in the UK expected higher salaries ($M = \text{£}46,313.13$, i.e. 51,926.37 Euros, $SD = 36,203.69$) than people working in Poland ($M = 7,311.11$ PLN, i.e. 1,774.37 Euros, $SD = 6,581.63$). The estimates of the average salary of a person of the same age are also higher in the UK ($M = \text{£}35,365.66$, i.e. circa 39,652.04 Euros, $SD = 17,842.97$) than in Poland ($M = 5,242.22$ PLN, i.e. circa 1,272.26 Euros, $SD = 4,519.32$). We did not observe any effect for position in the power hierarchy as to one's own salary, $F(2, 204) = 1.96, ns.$, or the salary of an average person of the same age, $F(2, 204) = 1.09, ns.$

Savings

The estimated savings were subjected to a 2 (nationality: Polish vs. English) \times 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) analysis of variance in two separate procedures (for self and for the others). The main effects of nationality for the amount of one's own savings, $F(1, 183) = 13.96, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.07$, and for the savings of an average person of the same age, $F(1, 183) = 27.04, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.13$, proved to be statistically significant. Polish people expected to have accumulated greater savings ($M = 206,422.22$ PLN, i.e. circa 50,097.62 Euros, $SD = 336,502.67$) than the British ($M = \text{£}27,057.58$, i.e. circa 30,337.01 Euros, $SD = 61,180.43$). Polish people estimated the average peer group savings as larger ($M =$

87,436.67 PLN, i.e. circa 21,220.43 Euro, $SD = 186\ 182.44$) than the British ($M = \text{£}18,532.83$, i.e. circa 20,779.04 Euros, $SD = 37,063.58$).

No main effect for position in the hierarchy for one's own estimated savings ($F < 1$) was observed, nor was there any interaction between nationality and position in the hierarchy ($F < 1$). As to the estimation of others' savings, the effect of position in the hierarchy was statistically significant: $F(2, 198) = 3.36$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.03$. People from the equal group estimated the amount of savings of the average person of the same age to be higher than the people from the power-activated group. However, there appeared to be no interaction between nationality and position in the hierarchy ($F < 1$).

Automobile

The estimated sum of money spent on an automobile was also analyzed in two separate analyses of variance (for self and for the others) with nationality (Polish vs. English) and power position (subordination vs. equality vs. superior) as factors. A main effect of nationality emerged as to the estimated sum of money that participants would spend on an automobile, $F(1, 183) = 50.57$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.22$, and the estimated sum to be spent on an automobile by an average person of the same age: $F(1, 183) = 20.82$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.1$. The British expected to buy a more expensive automobile ($M = \text{£}16,597.98$, i.e. 19,609.69 Euros, $SD = 28,920.75$) than the Polish people ($M = 69,995.56$ PLN, i.e. 16,987.56 Euros, $SD = 67,851.07$). The British also estimated that the average person of the same age would purchase a more expensive vehicle ($M = \text{£}19,662.63$, i.e. 22,045.78 Euros, $SD = 60,038.15$) in contrast to the Polish people's estimation of purchases in their peer group ($M = 62,145.56$ PLN, i.e. 15,082.41 Euros, $SD = 65,623.99$).

No main effects emerged for position in the hierarchy either as to the interaction of nationalities and power position with the estimated amount of money spent on one's automobile, or that spent on an automobile by the average person of the same age.

Money allocated to be spent on certain product categories

A Mann-Whitney U test analysis revealed that Polish people valued the importance of investment higher than the British, $U = 726.5$, $p < 0.01$, and also attached more significance to expenditures on automobiles, $U = 651.0$, $p < 0.001$.

In order to perform a comparison between the categories of expenditure, the value of each type in particular product categories was converted to a percentage of the total amount of money which the participants in the study had at their disposal. We calculated a series of 2 (nationality: Polish vs. English) \times 3 (power: subordination vs. equality vs. superior) separate analyses of variance for each category of expenditure. This analysis displayed a statistically significant effect of nationality for the following expenditure categories: entertainment; family and friends; housing and interior decoration; clothing and cosmetics; day-to-day spending.

As illustrated by table 3, the Polish people on average spent a larger percentage of their money than the British on entertainment and day-to-day spending, while the British spent more than the Polish people on family and friends, housing, and interior decoration as well as on clothing and cosmetics.

A main effect of position in the hierarchy was observed for entertainment, $F(2, 212) = 2.99$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.028$, with the subordinates allocating less for entertainment compared to individuals from the equal group. Additionally, a main effect of position in the hierarchy was displayed for education, $F(2, 212) = 2.78$, $p = 0.06$, $\eta^2 = 0.026$, with the subordinates allocating more of the total sum to education when contrasted with those from the superior and equal groups, which incidentally did not differ from each other in this respect.

Table 3: Proportional allocation of money to particular expenditure categories by the Polish and British subjects

Expenditure categories	Expenditure in % (Polish)	Expenditure in % (British)	<i>F</i>	significance	η^2
Investment	19.06	16.73	0.218	<i>ns.</i>	0.001
Education	11.49	8.42	1.112	<i>ns.</i>	0.005
Car	13.85	13.56	0.007	<i>ns.</i>	0.000
Entertainment	14.64	7.97	8.53	0.005	0.039
Housing	13.79	22.34	4.43	0.05	0.020
Family and friends	4.79	8.83	3.97	0.05	0.018
Charitable purposes	2.06	2.35	0.061	<i>ns.</i>	0.000
Day-to-day spending	2.02	0.78	3.42	0.07	0.016
Material goods	2.02	1.07	2.034	<i>ns.</i>	0.010
Financial obligations	1.84	4.99	2.636	<i>ns.</i>	0.012
Clothing and cosmetics	1.13	2.53	5.75	0.05	0.026
Interests	0.77	1.89	0.989	<i>ns.</i>	0.005
Health	0.18	0.77	0.659	<i>ns.</i>	0.003
Interior decoration	0.001	3.41	11.45	0.001	0.051

Discussion

The purpose of our research was to investigate how power and culture may influence financial aspirations and selected expenditure categories. The results obtained in the study pointed to a considerable connection between culture and individuals' declarations related to financial aspirations and expenditures.

The results presented here also indicate that the recollection of episodes from one's own life connected with occupying a certain position in a hierarchy (power vs. lack of power) contributes to the emergence of differences in financial aspirations concerning the future, and in the allocation of money to particular expenditure categories.

In both groups, Polish people and British people, the effect of being better than average with regard to future financial aspirations was clearly highlighted, with the individual's own economic status being estimated as higher in comparison to that of persons of the same age, sex and profession. It must be stated, however, that our hypothesis concerning a rise in financial aspirations as a result of holding power was not unequivocally verified. In the study conducted in Poland, the effect was displayed in the power-holding group for all three aspects analysed – the expectation of one's own salary being higher than average in a given profession, the level of one's own savings being estimated as higher than that of other people, and the anticipation of a larger sum of money to be spent on an automobile in the future. In the study carried out in the UK, the effect was replicated as to the estimation of one's own and others' salaries and savings by individuals with activated power. This might be the result of differences in economic conditions between the members of both groups under scrutiny. Available research into economic status and life satisfaction has suggested that both are linked to a greater degree in developing, as opposed to highly economically developed countries (with lower and higher revenue) (Howell & Howell, 2008). In the group subordinated to power, the effect of being better than average was displayed among Polish participants in relation to the estimation of one's own and others' savings, than among British participants in relation to the estimation of one's own and others' salaries.

It seems likely that the pattern of results may be interpreted one way in a group of individuals with activated power, and in another in a group with activated subordination. There is a rise in self-estimation as a result of possessing power (cf. Wojciszke & Strużyńska-Kujalowicz, 2007) and the observed effect of being better than average in the power group might be an indication of that phenomenon, whereas in the subordinate group this might be a form of compensation (as a way of raising one's self-esteem, lowered through occupying a

subordinate position). Such an explanation would comply with the conclusions drawn from Rucker and Galinsky (2008).

This explanation of the phenomenon in terms of self-esteem being raised in the power-holding group and a compensatory process at work in the subordinate group constitutes one of many possible interpretations of the results we obtained. The effects observed may be the outcome of distortions accompanying the forecasting of a distant future (Kermer et al., 2006). In order to explain the underlying causes of the observed relationships, further analyses of this phenomenon are indispensable, all the more since in the present study no direct measurement of the level of self-assessment was undertaken.

Our findings also point to substantial differences between different culture groups (Polish vs. British) in financial aspirations and declarations related to the allocation of a given sum of money. The British expected higher earnings and a more expensive automobile than the Polish. The Polish people, on the other hand, estimated their own savings in 10 years' time as higher than the British, which might seem paradoxical in light of the expected earnings. The results relating to financial aspirations may have arisen as a consequence of different economic conditions. Discrepancies in the level of development of both countries, as well as in the affluence of their citizens, lead to different economic expectations. Studies of young British citizens and their salary aspirations indicate that their financial aspirations are unrealistic (Dawson, 2008). They claim, for example, that they will be earning decidedly more in comparison to the earnings of the average person at their age with the same qualifications, and that they will become homeowners sooner than is realistically likely.

The differences obtained in our study relating to future savings may testify to a greater need for security displayed by Polish respondents, living in a country with a less stable economy, manifesting itself in accumulating assets in order to secure the future. On the other hand, the findings may indicate a tendency on the part of the British to lead a consumer lifestyle based on spending, rather than saving money. Such conclusions are supported by research on savings and preferred expenditure among young British and Polish citizens. Webley and Burgoyne (2003) conducted research among the British (aged 18-24) concerning motivation to save. The research pointed to the following hierarchy of goals: goal saving (for a certain purchase e.g. automobile or house); holiday saving; precautionary saving; saving for nothing; saving for retirement.

In subsequent research conducted by Canova, Rattazzi & Webley (2005), the results relating to the savings motives of British youth were similar. In this study, three principal reasons for saving were singled out: self-gratification, debt avoidance/need for financial security, and retirement. Additionally, from research conducted by Lewicka (2004) on the types of expenditure preferred by young Polish people, it turned out that they are most willing to allocate money for a house/flat, an automobile, investments, and bank deposits.

As part of our research, an investigation was carried out into the relationship between power, culture and financial aspirations and the allocation of money to be spent on selected categories. The hypothesis concerning the differences between the Polish and the British, as well as people holding different positions in the hierarchy, as to the division of a particular sum of money into selected product categories, was partly supported. Differences surfaced between the Polish and the British as far as the declared spending on different product categories were concerned. The Polish spent most (of a hypothetical pool of money) on investments, an automobile, and entertainment, with the British also spending on investment and automobiles, but placing housing in first position, for which they reserved most of the expenditure analysed. Polish people placed education on the first place in the rank of importance, though they did not set aside the largest percentage of the money at their disposal for this purpose. This may be due to differences in the system of financing education in the particular countries in question. A large proportion of the Polish respondents were students in a public run university, which in Poland do not charge tuition for daytime resident students.

In the Polish group, the activation of the superior position triggered allocation of a greater sum to be spent on financial investments when compared to the situation in which the subordinate position was activated. However, the subordinate group would spend a larger amount of money on their own education than was the case in the power-holding group. In the British group, subordinate individuals set aside a smaller portion of money to be spent on

entertainment when compared to the individuals from the equal group. This points to a different consumer orientation, activated as a result of occupying a different position in the power hierarchy, which in itself is a point requiring further study.

The automobile and financial products may constitute undeniable status symbols, and serve the function of emphasizing one's position. Education, on the other hand, may be seen as a tool for advancing one's position and acquiring a higher socio-economic status (especially by individuals who are currently studying, as was the case of the participants in the study).

Course of future research

An undeniable need can be seen for further, deeper study into the question of the mechanisms underlying consumer preferences and decisions, as well as the choices made as to various product categories, or, indeed, the perception of product functions or features as to those satisfying certain consumer needs with regard to the level of one's power or socio-economic conditions.

In future research, it would be advisable to broaden the population under investigation by incorporating more countries. For comparative purposes, groups from collectivistic countries would be worth investigating, since one would then be able to highlight the significance of culture as a moderator of the relationship between power and economic aspirations. According to the existing research, cultural and social changes originating from economic changes (Inglehart & Baker, 2000) imply superiority of goods that involve self-expression over goods simply enabling survival. Therefore, it would seem worthwhile to expand the range of the economic aspirations variable by including luxury and status goods. These goods might be more sought after in highly individualistic countries and, as such, may provide more powerful connections between power and aspirations. Further study should also seek to verify the relationships studied by employing a different measurement of the independent variable. Among others, one should focus on studying groups who de facto possess power (or do not), and then verify the extent to which the holding of concrete power influences individuals' aspirations and expenditure.

In the face of growing consumerism, research tackling the question of consumer behaviour in the context of intercultural comparison seems particularly necessary. The results of the research presented here, concerning the effect of one's position in the hierarchy on consumer preferences in relation to the dominant system of self-regulation, constitute a novel and promising approach to resolving the problem.

References

1. Aaker, J.L., & Lee, A.Y. (2001). "I" seek pleasures and "we" avoid pains: The role of self-regulatory goals in information processing and persuasion. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28(1), pp. 33-49. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/321946>
2. Anderson, C. & Berdahl, J.L. (2002). The experience of power: examining the effects of power on approach and inhibition tendencies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(6), pp. 1362-1377. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.6.1362>
3. Asch, S.E. (1955). Opinions and social pressure. *Scientific American*, 193, pp. 31-35. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1038/scientificamerican1155-31>
4. Bargh, J.A., & Alvarez, J. (2001). The road to hell: Good intentions in the face of nonconscious tendencies to misuse power. In A.Y. Lee-Chai & J.A. Bargh (Eds.), *The use and abuse of power: Multiple perspectives on the causes of corruption* (pp. 41-55). New York: Psychology Press.
5. Canova, L., Rattazzi, A. M. M., & Webley, P. (2005). The hierarchical structure of saving motives. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 26(1), pp. 21-34. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.joep.2003.08.007>

6. Carver, C.S., & Scheier, M.F. (1998). *On the self-regulation of behaviour*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
7. Chen, S., Lee-Chai, A.Y., & Bargh, J.A. (2001). Relationship orientation as a moderator of the effects of social power. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80(2), pp. 173-187. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.80.2.173>
8. Dawson, M. (2008). Young Brits 'need to be aware of reality of money'. Retrieved 25 June, 2009, from www.guide2finance.info
9. Dubois, D., Rucker, D. D., & Galinsky, A. D. (2012). Super size me: Product size as a signal of status. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38(6), pp. 1047-1062. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/661890>
10. Fiske, S. T., & Berdahl, J. L. (2007). Social power. In: A. Kruglanski & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: A handbook of basic principles* (pp. 678-692). New York: Oxford University Press.
11. Galinsky, A.D., Grunfeld, D.H., & Magee, J.C. (2003). From power to action. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 85(3), pp. 453-466. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.85.3.453>
12. Galinsky, A. D., Magee, J. C., Gruenfeld, D. H, Whitson, J. A., & Liljenquist, K. A. (2008). Social power reduces the strength of the situation: Implications for creativity, conformity, and dissonance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(6), pp. 1450-1466. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0012633>
13. Hamilton R.W., & Biehal, G.J. (2005). Achieving your goals or protecting their future? The effects of self-view on goals and choices. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32(2), pp. 277-83. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/432237>
14. Higgins, E. T. (1998). Promotion and prevention; regulatory focus as a motivational principles. In M.P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (vol. 30, pp. 1-46). New York: Academic Press.
15. Henry, P.C. (2005). Social class, market situation, and consumers' metaphors of (dis)empowerments. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(4), pp. 766-778. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/426610>
16. Hofstede, G.H. (2001). *Culture's consequences: comparing values, behaviours, institutions and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage
17. Howell, R.T., & Howell, C.J. (2008). The relation of economic status to subjective well-being in developing countries: a meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(4), pp. 536-560. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.536>
18. Inglehart, R., & Baker, W.E. (2000). A Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American Sociological Review*, 65(1), pp. 19-51. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2657288>
19. Keltner, D., Gruenfeld, D.H., & Anderson, C. (2003). Power, approach, and inhibition. *Psychological Review*, 110(2), pp. 165-184. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.110.2.265>

20. Kermer, D. A., Driver-Linn, E., Wilson, T. D., & Gilbert, D. T. (2006). Loss aversion is an affective forecasting error. *Psychological Science*, 17(8), pp. 649-653. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2006.01760.x>
21. Lee, A. Y., Aaker, J. L., & Gardner, W. L. (2000). The pleasures and pains of distinct self-construals: The role of interdependence in regulatory focus. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(6), pp. 1122-1134. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.78.6.1122>
22. Lewicka, M. (2004). Gdybym miał million... Marzenia Polaków u progu XXI wieku [If I had a million zloties... Dreams of Poles at the turn of the XXI century]. In: T. Maruszewski (Eds.), *Adaptacja do Zmian [Changes and Adaptation]* (vol. 12, pp. 217-237). Warszawa: Kolokwia Psychologiczne.
23. Maddux, W.W., & Yuki, M. (2006). The ripple effect: cultural differences in the perceptions of the consequences of events. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32 (5), pp. 669-683. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167205283840>
24. Mandel, N. (2003). Shifting selves and decision making: The effects of self-construal priming on consumer risk-taking. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 30 (1), pp. 30-40. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/374700>
25. Markus, H.R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98(2), pp. 224-253. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.98.2.224>
26. McClelland, D.C. (1973). The two faces of power. In: D.C. McClelland, R.S., Steele (Eds.), *Human Motivation: A book of Readings* (pp. 300-316). Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press.
27. Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to authority: An experimental view*. New York: Harper & Row.
28. OECD (2013). Better Life Index, Retrieved August 5, 2013, from <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/>
29. Rucker, D. D., Dubois, D., & Galinsky, A. D. (2011). Generous paupers and stingy princes: Power drives consumers' spending on self versus others. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(6), pp. 1015-1029. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/657162>
30. Rucker, D.D., & Galinsky, A.D. (2008). Desire to acquire: powerless and compensatory consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35 (2), pp. 257-267. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/588569>
31. Rucker, D.D., & Galinsky, A.D., (2009). Conspicuous consumption versus utilitarian ideals: How different levels of power shape consumer behaviour. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45(3), pp. 549-555. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.01.005>
32. Rucker, D. D., Galinsky, A. D., & Dubois, D. (2012) Power and consumer behaviour: How power shapes who and what consumers value. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 22(3), pp. 352-368. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2011.06.001>
33. Singelis, T.M., Triandis, H.C., Bhawuk, D., & Gelfand, M.J. (1995). Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: Atheoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research: The Journal of Comparative Social Science*, 29(3), pp. 240-275.

34. Sivanathan, N., Pillutla, M. M., & Murnighan, J. K. (2008). Power gained, power lost. *Organizational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*, 105(2), pp. 135-146. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2007.10.003>
35. Smith, P.K., & Trope, Y. (2006). You focus on the forest when you're in charge of the trees: power priming and abstract information processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(4), pp. 578-596. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.4.578>
36. Triandis, H.C. (1995). *Individualism & collectivism*. CO: Westview Press.
37. TNS Polska (2011). Postawy Polaków wobec oszczędzania. [The Poles attitudes towards saving. Raport fundacji Kronenberga przy Citi Handlowy]. Retrieved August 10, 2013, from http://www.citibank.pl/poland/kronenberg/polish/files/fk_oszcz_2011.pdf.
38. Veblen, T. (1994/1899). *The theory of the leisure class*. New York: Penguin Books.
39. Weick, M., & Guinote, A. (2008). When subjective experience matter: power increases reliance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(6), pp. 956-970. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.6.956>
40. Winter, D. G. (1973). *The power motive*. New York, NY, US: Free Press
41. Winter, D.G. (1988). The power motive in women and men. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54(3), pp. 510-519. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.54.3.510>
42. Webley, P., & Burgoyne, C.B. (2003, December 5-7). *Saving Behaviour in Britain*. Paper presented at 2003 IAREP Conference on Household Economic Decisions: Earning, Sharing, Spending and Investing Money, Agder College, Kristiansand, Norway.
43. Wojciszke, B., & Strużyńska-Kujałowicz, A. (2007). Power influences self-esteem. *Social Cognition*, 25 (4), pp. 472-494. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1521/soco.2007.25.4.472>
44. Zawadzka, A.M. (2007, September 9-12). *Perceived self-competence, self-enhancement and self-threat vs. consumer preferences*. The International Association for Research in Economic Psychology Conference, Values and Economy, Ljubljana.
45. Zawadzka, A. M. (2008a, September 3-6). *Power and consumer preferences*. The International Association for Research in Economic Psychology Conference, Rome.
46. Zawadzka, A.M. (2008b). Nabywanie i konsumpcja w perspektywie samoregulacji - kompensacja i ucieczka. [Purchase and consumption in the light of self-regulation - compensation and escape from self-awareness?]. *Czasopismo Psychologiczne [Psychological Journal]*, 14(2), pp. 265-274.
47. Zawadzka, A. M., & Strużyńska-Kujałowicz, A. (2008). Władza i aspiracje ekonomiczne w aspekcie samoregulacji [Power vs. fiscal aspirations in the light of self-regulation]. *Czasopismo Psychologiczne [Psychological Journal]*, 14(2), pp. 275-286.
48. Zawisza, M., Luyt, R., & Zawadzka, A.M. (2012). Ambivalence toward men: Comparing sexism among Polish, South African and British university students. *Sex Roles*, 66(7), pp. 453-467. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0112-4>
49. Zawisza M., Luyt R., & Zawadzka A.M. (2013). Societies in transition: are they more sexist? A comparison between Polish, South African and British samples. *Journal of Gender Studies*, (published on-line 3.06.2013) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2013.803952>