

Overcoming Resource Scarcity: Consumers' Response to Gifts Intending to Save Time and Money

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Working Paper 20-072



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Funding for this research was provided in part by Harvard Business School.

Overcoming Resource Scarcity:

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ABSTRACT

Consumers feel increasingly pressed for time and money. Gifts have the potential to reduce scarcity in recipients' lives, yet little is known about how recipients perceive gifts given with the intention of saving them time or money. Across 4 studies ($N=1,403$), we demonstrate that the recipients of gifts intending to save money experience more negative self-conscious emotions and infer lower status position than recipients of gifts intending to save time. Recipients who report experiencing greater financial scarcity in their daily lives (who may benefit most from gifts intending to save them money), experience negative emotions to a greater extent and perceive an even lower status position than recipients who experience relatively little money scarcity. These findings are the first to directly evaluate the implications of receiving gifts seeking to address time and money scarcity and suggest that recipients may benefit more from gifts given with the intention to save time.

Keywords: scarcity, status, money, time, gift-giving, emotions

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Resource scarcity is an increasingly pressing problem. Many consumers report that they do not have enough time or money to meet the demands of daily life (e.g., DeVoe and Pfeffer 2011). Across the income spectrum, consumers feel financially constrained (Sharma and Alter 2012; Tully, Hershfield, and Meyvis 2015). In a recent survey of over 7,000 Americans, 60% of consumers reported having less than \$1,000 in their savings account (Huddleston 2016). In another nationally representative survey, the average consumer reported spending less than 45 minutes of quality time with family in a typical day (Paul 2018).

Experiencing scarcity of financial and temporal resources generally does not make people feel good. For example, previous work has shown that time stress prevents consumers from engaging in behaviors essential for good health such as exercising and preparing healthy food (e.g., Jabs and Devine 2006), and increases emotional irritation (Höge 2008), predicting lower well-being and higher feelings of depression and anxiety (Giurge, West, and Whillans 2019 for a review). This pattern is also true for financial scarcity, such that money stress is linked to lower marital satisfaction (Hill et al. 2017), higher depression and poorer physical health (e.g., O'Neill et al. 2006).

Experiencing scarcity can also influence consumer thinking and decision-making. Recent theorization suggests that restricted resources limit consumer behavior. As a result, consumers must shift their thinking and decision-making to mitigate the negative impacts that this constraint can have on their ability to carry out their goals (Hamilton et al. 2018). Indeed, to the extent that a constraint is mutable, consumers may seek to remove the constraint (e.g., Cannon, Goldsmith, and Roux 2018). For example, consumers facing scarcity use resources more efficiently, allowing them to maximize the limited access they have to these resources (Fernbach, Kan, and Lynch 2015; Shah, Mullainathan, and Shafir 2012). Scarcity not only influences how consumers

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manage their resources, but scarcity can also influence the items that they purchase. For example, consumers experiencing financial scarcity are more inclined to purchase material goods for their long-lasting utility over experiences that are more ephemeral (Tully et al. 2015).

Consumers experiencing time scarcity are more inclined to purchase services that save time such as housecleaning and meal delivery (Whillans et al. 2017). Ultimately, reminders of scarcity guide consumer decisions toward advancing their own welfare (Roux, Goldsmith, and Bonezzi 2015).

While consumers regularly make decisions to alleviate and adapt to their own experiences of scarcity, scarcity can also be addressed through the help and assistance of others. In fact, consumers are regularly motivated to give their money and time to others when they perceive that their help will address relative disadvantage and make a difference in the recipient's life (Cryder, Loewenstein and Scheines 2013; Cryder, Loewenstein and Seltman 2013). Furthermore, consumers are relatively accurate in identifying when other people lack money (Kraus, Park, and Tan 2017) and time (Bellezza, Paharia, and Keinan 2017), demonstrating the fact that consumers may be able to accurately address the perceived scarcity of others.

One approach that consumers may take to address the perceived scarcity of others is through gift-giving. Gift-giving occasions are frequent: The average US household spends nearly 2% of its annual income on gifts (US Bureau of Labor and Statistics 2017), and gift-givers are motivated to give gifts that address the perceived need of the recipient (Williams and Rosenzweig 2017), including the desire to save others time and money (see web appendix A). Yet, little is known about how consumers respond to gifts intending to address their scarcity, and whether consumers experience gifts intending to save money differently from gifts intending to save time.

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Status

Consumers experiencing resource scarcity may be confronted by the perception of relative disadvantage by comparing their access to a resource as compared to the access of other people. One domain in which consumers may experience scarcity of money and time differently is through impressions of status. In one related study, participants who were asked to recall a circumstance where they had fewer financial resources than a peer indicated that they felt more inferior and experienced more negative emotions than participants who recalled a circumstance where they had relatively more financial resources than a peer (Sharma and Alter 2012).

Relatedly, financially constrained consumers avoid talking about their purchasing decisions with others because such discussions reinforce negative feelings about their disadvantaged position (Paley, Tully, and Sharma 2019). In contrast, status is conferred to consumers experiencing time scarcity. This is because "busyness"—devoting more time to work and less time to leisure—leads to a perception of the time scarce individual as having valuable human capital that is in demand (Bellezza et al. 2017). Resultingly, time strapped consumers regularly broadcast their time constraints to others in public such as on social media (Bellezza et al. 2017).

Enhancing one's status is a fundamental human motive (e.g., Anderson, Hildreth, and Howland 2015 for a review), that is associated with evolutionary benefits (Griskevicius and Kenrick 2013) and positive social rewards (Henrich and Gil-White 2001). Hence, people are sensitive to how their status is displayed to others (Eastman, Goldsmith, and Flynn 1999). Given the different perceptions of status regarding scarcity of time and money, we predict that receiving a gift with the intention to help address money scarcity will result in the recipient perceiving a greater status differential between themselves and the gift-giver than a gift intending to address time scarcity. Self-evaluations to a social reference have been found to influence self-

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conscious emotions like pride, guilt and shame (Sandstrom et al. 2019; Sun and Trudel 2017).

Therefore, we predict the following:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): Receiving a gift with the intention of reducing money (vs. time) scarcity will result in the recipient experiencing greater negative self-conscious emotions.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): Receiving a gift with the intention of reducing money (vs. time) scarcity will result in a greater perceived status differential between the gift recipient and the gift-giver. These status differences will partly explain why consumers feel more negative self-conscious emotions after receiving a gift that address their money (vs. time) scarcity.

Experienced scarcity

The status inferences and negative emotional experience of receiving a gift intending to save money could be moderated by the extent to which the recipient is experiencing financial scarcity. One possibility is that consumers who are experiencing a greater degree of financial scarcity may have a more positive experience receiving a gift intending to save them money because the gift addresses a more pressing need. However, past research has found evidence that perceiving inferior status through financial disadvantage results in greater negative emotions (Sharma and Alter 2012). Thus, it is also possible that recipients experiencing greater financial scarcity may perceive an even greater status differential, leading to more negative emotions.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Recipients of gifts intending to save money who experience greater day-to-day money scarcity will report even greater feelings of negative self-conscious emotions.

Hypothesis 4 (H4): This effect will partly be explained by the fact that recipients who experience greater day-to-day money scarcity will perceive an even greater status differential between themselves and the gift giver when receiving a gift intending to reduce money (vs. time) scarcity.

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To test these hypotheses, we conducted four studies evaluating actual and hypothetical gift exchanges. In Study 1, participants recalled a recent gift they received where they perceived the intention of the gift-giver was to save them money (or time) and they evaluated how the inferred motive of the gift-giver impacted their perceptions of status and emotional experience (H1). In Study 2, we recruited undergraduate participants to give a gift card to a friend with the intention of saving them money or time and evaluated how an explicit gift-giving motive influenced recipient experience. In Study 3, we compared the motivation to save a recipient money or time to a condition where no gift-giving motive was shared (H2). Lastly, in Study 4, we evaluated whether consumers' perceived scarcity moderated the extent to which gifts of time and money impacted negative self-conscious emotions (H3), as well as the perceived status differential of themselves to the gift giver (H4).

STUDY 1: RECALLED GIFTS & RECIPIENT EXPERIENCE

Study 1 asked consumers to recall a recent experience receiving a gift. We randomly assigned participants to think of a gift they received where they perceived the motivation of the gift-giver was to save them money or time.

Method

Participants and Design. Four hundred and five adults (58.3% female; $M_{age}=38.25$, $SD=11.95$; 77.8% Caucasian) were recruited through mTurk and paid a nominal fee for participating.

Procedure. Participants reflected on a recent gift they received and wrote a few sentences about it. The instructions in the money-saving gift condition read as follows (word changes for the time-saving condition are in brackets): *"In this task, we would like you to think about a recent gift you received where you felt the intention of the gift giver was to save you*

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money [time]. Please write a few sentences about this gift, why you think this gift was given to you and how you felt about it.” After writing about this experience, participants completed measures assessing their impressions of this gift, the gift-giver, and additional characteristics about the gift.

Self-Conscious Emotions. Participants rated the extent to which receiving the gift made them felt guilty, embarrassed, ashamed, bad, happy, proud and good on a scale from -5, *not at all* to +5, *a great deal*. Positive emotions were reverse scored and a negative self-conscious emotion scale was calculated ($\alpha=.85$; Donnelly et al. 2017).

Perceived Status. To measure perceived status inferences between themselves and the gift-giver, we used the MacArthur scale of subjective status (Adler et al. 2000). This measure consists of a drawing of a ladder with 10 rungs representing where people stand in society in terms of status (10 representing people at the top of society; 1 representing people at the bottom of society). Participants were instructed to pick the rung where they felt the gift-giver would place them (the recipient) and where the gift-giver would place themselves. We assessed the recipient’s perceived status differential between them and the gift-giver by calculating the difference between these two ratings.

Social Consumption. Previous research has demonstrated that consumption shared with others can enhance enjoyment (Caprariello and Reis 2013). We therefore asked participants to report the extent to which the gift was consumed with others on a scale ranging from 1, *Consumed Completely Alone* to 7, *Consumed Completely with Others*.

Experiential vs. Material Gift. Previous research has also demonstrated that experiential gifts can increase relationship closeness and engender more positive emotions than material gifts

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(Chan and Mogilner, 2017). Thus, we asked participants to classify the gift on a scale from 1, *Definitely a Material Item* to 7, *Definitely an Experience*.

Gift Characteristics. Participants rated the extent to which the gift was unique, something they really wanted, and useful on a 1, *Not at All*, to 7, *A Great Deal* scale. Participants also estimated the cost of the gift to the nearest dollar, the relationship they had with the gift-giver and categorized the gift in a product category (i.e., clothing and apparel, entertainment, electronics, food and dining, gift cards and money, health and wellness, home, transportation and travel).

Results

Self-Conscious Emotions. Recipients experienced greater negative self-conscious emotions when they perceived the intention of the gift-giver was to save them money than to save them time ($M_{money}=3.13$, $SD=1.81$; $M_{time}=2.61$, $SD=1.58$, $t(403)=3.11$, $p=.002$, $d=.31$).

Perceived Status. Recipients perceived a greater status differential between themselves and the gift-giver when receiving a gift intending to save them money ($M_{money}=-1.22$, $SD=1.87$; $M_{time}=-.52$, $SD=1.55$, $t(403)=4.103$, $p<.001$, $d=.40$). While recipients perceived similar status of gift-givers who gave a gift with the intention of saving them money or time ($M_{money}=6.13$, $SD=1.69$; $M_{time}=6.17$, $SD=1.71$, $t(403)=-.24$, $p=.81$, $d=.02$), the recipient inferred significantly lower status for themselves when receiving a gift with the intention of saving them money ($M_{money}=4.91$, $SD=1.81$; $M_{time}=5.65$, $SD=2.03$, $t(403)=-3.86$, $p<.001$, $d=.38$).

Gift Characteristics and Product Category. In Table 1, we report results for how gifts given with the intention of saving money and time were perceived as social, experiential (vs. material), unique, wanted, useful, and the estimated cost. The results demonstrate that gift-giving motive did not significantly influence any of these variables. Further, the results reported in

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Table 2 demonstrate that gifts given to address money and time scarcity were equally as likely to be given from friends, acquaintances, and family and generally belonged to similar product categories. We provide additional reporting of these similarities and differences in our web appendix (see Appendix B). It is also worth noting that our main effects hold when we control for these dissimilar (and similar) features of gifts intending to save money or time.

Mediation. We evaluated whether the effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions was mediated by perceptions of status, and the social nature of the consumption of the gift using the PROCESS macro (Hayes and Preacher 2014) following model 4. Results are shown in Table 3, and demonstrate that perceptions of status partially mediate the relationship between receiving a gift with the intention of saving money and increased negative self-conscious emotions (95% CI, .02 to .20), but the social nature of consumption did not explain this relationship (95% CI, -.02 to .06). These effects held when we ran the same model controlling for other gift characteristics including the product category of the gift and the identity of the gift-giver (see Appendix).

Discussion

Study 1 provides initial evidence that gifts given with the intention of saving the recipient money have negative implications for the recipient of the gift—recipients experience more negative self-conscious emotions in part because they perceive a larger status differential between themselves and the gift-giver.

By evaluating recalled experiences of gifts, we were able to glean insight into the characteristics of gifts that were more likely to be given with the intention of saving time vs. money. Gift-giving intentions did not influence the price of the gift, nor how useful or how wanted the gift was perceived to be. Gifts intending to save money and time were largely from

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the same product categories. However, some features of the gift were more likely to be associated with gifts that saved time vs. money. For example, while prepared foods were perceived to have similar time and money saving value, gifts of groceries were more frequently recalled as a gift intending to save money, while cooking tools were more likely recalled as a gift intending to save time (see appendix).

The relationship recipients had to the gift-giver was also largely similar by gift-giving motivation. However, family members were more likely to give gifts intending to save money, while significant others were more likely to give gifts with the intention to save time. Ultimately, controlling for these factors, we still observed the finding that gifts given with the intention of saving money resulted in more negative emotional experiences for gift-recipients because of an inferred status differential between the recipient and gift-giver. In the studies that follow, we focus on one gift that was commonly represented across both gift giving motivations in Study 1 (prepared food), and manipulate the motivation of the gift giver: to either save the recipient money or time. This allows us to isolate the unique effects of time vs. money saving motivations, hold constant gift type, cost, and purchase type.

STUDY 2: RECIPIENT EXPERIENCE IN REAL-LIFE GIFT GIVING

In Study 2, we continued to evaluate real gift giving experiences by randomly assigning participants to give a \$5 Starbucks gift card to another person with the intention of saving them money or time. We selected a \$5 Starbucks gift card because Study 1 demonstrated that prepared foods were equally likely to be recalled as a gift intending to save money or time. A pre-test ($N=66$, 48.5% female; $M_{age}=21.47$, $SD=9.49$; 81.8% Caucasian) revealed that participants perceived the time and money saving value of a \$5 Starbucks gift card to be equivalent

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($M_{money}=3.80$, $SD=1.83$; $M_{time}=3.64$, $SD=2.09$; $t[66]=.97$, $p=.34$, $d=.24$)¹. While our primary interest was evaluating recipient experience of receiving a gift addressing resource scarcity, we also evaluated the perspective of gift-givers to understand whether gift-givers anticipated the negative emotional experiences of recipients of a gift intending to save money (vs. time).

Method

Participants and Design. Two hundred students at a midwestern university (58.0% female; $M_{age}=20.51$, $SD=1.75$; 73.5% Caucasian) received course credit for participating in a study about gift-giving. We randomly assigned participants to a 2 condition (gift intention: save time vs. save money) between-subjects design.

Procedure. Participants were informed that they were participating in a study on gift-giving and were instructed to give an envelope that contained \$5 Starbucks gift card, a survey (for the recipient of the gift-card to complete), and a stamped and addressed envelope that the recipient could return to the researchers. The Starbucks gift card was packaged in a sleeve (see Figure 1) that contained a message that stated: “I know you’ve been stressed for time [money] lately. I hope you’ll enjoy this gift card in hopes that it will save you some time [money].” Gift-givers were instructed to give this gift-card to another person within the week.

Figure 1. GIFT CARD IN THE TIME SAVING CONDITION ($N = 200$; STUDY 2)

¹ Participants rated the extent to which a \$5 Starbucks gift card would save them money and time (counterbalanced) on a 1 (*Not at All*) to 7 (*Very Much*) scale.

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Negative Self-Conscious Emotions. Gift-givers evaluated the transcribed message on the sleeve of the gift-card and were asked to consider how the recipient of the gift would feel receiving a gift intending to save them time [money]. Participants rated the extent to which receiving the gift would make the recipient feel guilty, ashamed, embarrassed, bad, happy, proud and good about oneself (positive words were reverse scored; $\alpha=.88$).

Gift Recipients. The survey enclosed with the gift card assessed recipients negative self-conscious emotions ($\alpha=.81$). Recipients also completed the MacArthur scale of subjective status (Adler et al. 2000) as in Study 1. We received 89 responses from recipients (74.2% female; $M_{age}=22.81$, $SD=7.50$; 77.5% Caucasian). The response rate was 44.5% and did not differ by gift-giving condition. This response rate was consistent with other gift giving studies (see Chan and Mogilner 2017).

Results

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Negative Self-Conscious Emotions. Recipients experienced much more negative self-conscious emotions ($M_{money}=2.67$, $SD=1.15$, $M_{time}=2.13$, $SD=.77$, $t(87)=2.55$, $p=.01$, $d=.54$) and perceived a much greater status differential between themselves and the gift-giver ($M_{money}=-1.81$, $SD=2.10$, $M_{time}=-.45$, $SD=1.52$; $t(87)=-3.45$, $p=.001$, $d=.73$) when receiving a gift intending to save them money (vs. time). Gift-givers did not predict this difference ($M_{money}=3.15$, $SD=1.54$, $M_{time}=2.97$, $SD=1.65$; $t(198)=.79$, $p=.43$, $d=.11$).

Mediation. We evaluated whether the effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions was mediated by perceived relative status using the PROCESS macro (Model 4; see Hayes and Preacher 2014). The overall model was significant and there was an effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions (95% CI: .12 to .95, see Table 4). When we included perceived relative status in the model, the effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions disappeared (95% CI: -.10 to .76), demonstrating full mediation.

Discussion

Study 2 provided further evidence that receiving a gift intending to save money increases negative self-conscious emotions because of perceived differences in status between the gift-giver and the recipient. This study documented our effect among real gift-giving with the same gift where only the intention of the gift varied. We also demonstrated that givers of gifts failed to predict the negative experience of recipients.

In Study 1 and 2 we evaluated real experiences receiving gifts by evaluating the inferred (Study 1) and explicit (Study 2) motive of the gift-giver. In Study 3, we asked participants to consider a circumstance in which they received a gift where the motive was either not mentioned, or was made explicit: to save money or time. This design allows us to test the effect

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of making a saving motive explicit while also evaluating differences between a financial or time saving motive.

STUDY 3: COMPARING THE INTENTION TO SAVE TIME AND MONEY TO NO INTENTION

Method

Participants and Design. We recruited three hundred and two adults (50.7% female; $M_{age}=40.21$, $SD=11.67$; 77.8% Caucasian) through MTurk and paid them a nominal fee for participating. We randomly assigned participants to a 3 condition (gift type: time saving vs. money saving vs. no information) between-subjects design.

As in Study 2, we held constant the gift (Chipotle dinner) and vary the gift-giving motive. A post-test ($N=120$, 51.7% female; $M_{age}=36.08$, $SD=12.71$; 70.0% Caucasian) revealed that participants perceived the time and money saving value of a Chipotle dinner to be equivalent ($M_{money}=3.69$, $SD=1.63$; $M_{time}=3.74$, $SD=1.76$; $t[119]=-0.39$, $p=.69$, $d=.07$)².

Procedure. Participants imagined a scenario in which they received a gift by reading the following instructions: *"Imagine that you are coming home after a long day. Shortly after you arrive home, your friend stops by with a meal from Chipotle for you. Your friend says..."*

In the no information control condition, participants read: *"I was at Chipotle tonight and thought I'd grab you some dinner"* In the time-saving intention condition participants read (word changes in the money-saving intention condition are shown in brackets): *"I know that you've been stressed for time [money] lately. I was at Chipotle tonight and thought I'd grab you some*

² Participants rated the extent to which a Chipotle dinner would save them money and time (counterbalanced) on a 1 (*Not at All*) to 7 (*Very Much*) scale.

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dinner, in hopes that it would save you some time [money]." Next, participants completed measures assessing how receiving the gift would make them feel.

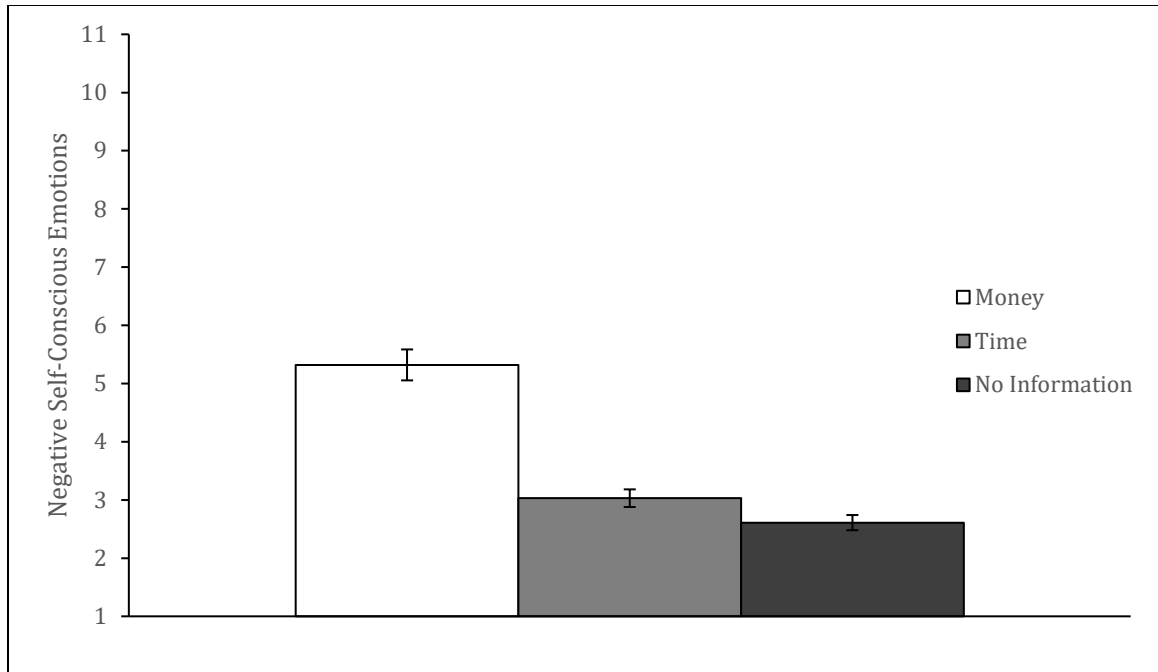
Negative Self-Conscious Emotions and Perceived Status. We used the same measure from Study 1 ($\alpha=.89$). To measure perceived status inferences of the gift-giver, we used the same MacArthur scale of subjective status (Adler et al. 2000) as Study 1, and assessed the recipient's perceived status differential between them and the gift-giver.

Results

Negative Self-Conscious Emotions. There was a main effect of gift type, $F(2,299)=63.68, p<.001$. Planned contrasts indicated that participants felt more negative self-conscious emotions when receiving a gift intending to save them money ($M_{money}=5.32, SD=2.29$) than a gift intending to save them time ($M_{time}=3.03, SD=1.67, t(299)=8.94, p<.001, d=1.25$) and a gift without information explaining the intention of the gift ($M_{no_information}=2.61, SD=1.41, t(299)=10.45, p<.001, d=1.49$). Participants felt marginally more negative self-conscious emotions when receiving a gift intending to save them time than a gift without any information explaining the intention of the gift ($t[299]=1.66, p=.10, d=.24$; Figure 2), suggesting that sharing the intention to save the recipient time *and* money resulted in more negative self-conscious emotions than not providing any intention at all—although the effect was much larger for financial-savings.

Figure 2. NEGATIVE SELF-CONSCIOUS EMOTIONS BY GIFT TYPE ($N = 302$; STUDY 3)

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Perceived Relative Status. There was a main effect of gift type, $F(2,299)=35.76, p<.001$ on perceived relative status. Planned contrasts indicated that participants perceived a greater status differential between themselves and the gift-giver when they received a gift with the intention to save themselves money rather than a gift intending to save them time ($M_{money}=-1.76, SD=1.72, M_{time}=-.15, SD=1.06, t[299]=8.00, p<.001, d=1.12$) or a gift that did not provide information about the intention of the gift ($M_{no_information}=-.46, SD=1.45, t(299)=6.39, p<.001, d=.91$). Participants had similar perceptions of status when they received a gift intending to save time than a gift without any information explaining the intention of the gift ($t[299]=1.51, p=.13, d=.21$).

Mediation. We evaluated whether the effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions was mediated by perceived relative status. We compared gifts with the intention of saving money vs. time, using the PROCESS macro (Hayes and Preacher 2014) following model 4. The overall model was significant and there was an effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions (95% CI: 1.73 to 2.84 Table 5). When we included perceived relative status

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in the model, the effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions weakened (95% CI: .99 to 2.21), demonstrating partial mediation.

Discussion

Study 3 provided further evidence of the role of perceived status as a mechanism for increasing negative self-conscious emotions when receiving a gift intending to save money (versus time). By adding a control condition, we demonstrated that communicating gift intentions, whether it is to save time or money, may arouse negative emotions. However, our results still highlight that communicating intentions to save money (versus time) brings significantly worse emotional consequences on the recipient.

STUDY 4: THE MODERATING ROLE OF PERSONAL RESOURCE SCARCITY

Based on our theorization that the negative emotional experience of receiving a gift intending to save money results from differences in perceived status between the recipient and gift-giver, our effect should be moderated by the degree to which people generally experience scarcity of the resource that the gift-giver is intending to save. Given that consumers generally wish to hide their financial scarcity from others (Davis and Manter 2004) but regularly broadcast their time scarcity to others (as documented by the tendency to humblebrag on social media; see Bellezza et al. 2017), individuals who experience greater money scarcity in their day-to-day life may experience a greater intensity of negative emotions, in part because the gift-giving motive may acknowledge a scarcity they hope others might not realize.

Method

Participants and Design. Four hundred and seven adults (52.2% female; $M_{age} = 39.19$, $SD = 11.33$; 77.6% Caucasian) were recruited through MTurk and were paid a nominal fee. We

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randomly assigned participants to a 2 condition (gift type: time saving vs. money saving) between-subjects design.

Procedure. Participants imagined the same scenario from Study 3, in which they received a meal from their friend with the intention of saving them money or time.

Negative Self-Conscious Emotions and Perceived Status. We used the same questions from our earlier Studies to measure negative self-conscious emotions ($\alpha=.89$) and subjective status (Adler et al. 2000).

Experienced Scarcity. To measure participant's experience of resource scarcity in their daily life, all participants completed an adapted 4-item measure (e.g., "I don't have enough money [time]"; "my money [time] is scarce;" $\alpha=.88$) from Roux, Goldsmith and Bonezzi (2015) on an 11-point scale (from -5, *not at all*, to +5, *very much*).

Results

Negative Self-Conscious Emotions. Participants felt more negative self-conscious emotions when receiving a gift intending to save them money than a gift intending to save them time ($M_{money}=5.48, SD=2.44, M_{time}=3.29, SD=1.89, t[405]=10.13, p<.001; d=1.00$).

Perceived Relative Status. Participants perceived a greater status differential between themselves and the gift-giver when receiving a gift intending to save them money ($M_{money}=-1.76, SD=1.65, M_{time}=-.25, SD=1.18, t[405]=10.65, p<.001, d=1.06$).

Mediation. We evaluated whether the effect of gift type on negative self-conscious emotions was mediated by perceived relative status. Consistent with our past studies, gift given with the intention of saving money increased negative self-conscious emotions in part because these gifts led recipients to perceive inferior status to the gift giver (see Table 6).

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Moderation. We conducted a 2 (gift intention: save money vs. save time) x continuous (experienced scarcity) linear regression predicting negative self-conscious emotions. The model was significant, $F(3,403)=39.08$, $p<.001$, and there was a significant interaction between gift type and scarcity, ($b=.24$, $t[403]=2.47$, $p=.01$). We ran a floodlight analysis using the Johnson-Neyman (1936) technique to identify the range of experienced scarcity for which the simple effect of gift type was significant (Figure 3; see also Spiller et al. 2013). This analysis revealed a significant increase in negative self-conscious emotions when receiving a gift intended to save money for any value of experienced scarcity above 3.26 (at $p<.05$).

Figure 3. GIFT TYPE x EXPERIENCED SCARCITY ON NEGATIVE SELF-CONSCIOUS EMOTIONS ($N = 407$; STUDY 4)

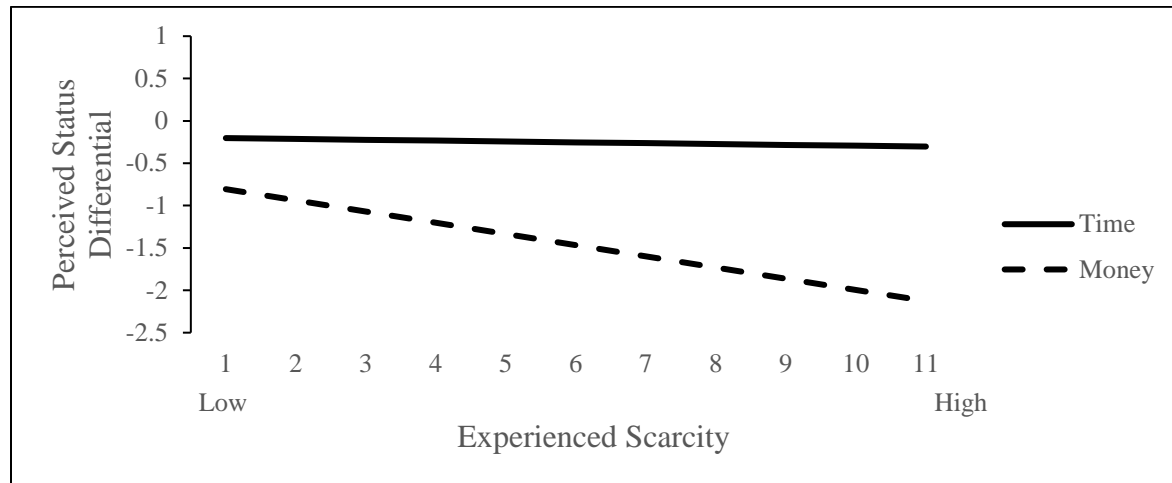


We also conducted a 2 (gift intention: save money vs. save time) x continuous (experienced scarcity) linear regression on perceived status differential. The model was significant, $F(3,403)=40.85$, $p<.001$, and there was a significant interaction between gift type and scarcity, ($b=-.12$, $t[403]=-1.95$, $p=.05$). A floodlight analysis using the Johnson-Neyman (1936) technique identified the range of experienced scarcity for which the simple effect of gift type was significant (Figure 4). This analysis revealed a significant increase in perceived status differential

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when receiving a gift intended to save money for any value of experienced scarcity above 2.27 (at $p < .05$).

Figure 4. GIFT TYPE x EXPERIENCED SCARCITY ON PERCEIVED STATUS DIFFERENTIAL ($N = 407$; STUDY 4)



Discussion

Study 4 provided further evidence of the role of perceived status and negative self-conscious emotions in response to receiving a gift intending to save money (versus time). Our effect was moderated by a relevant individual difference measure: the extent to which the recipient experienced scarcity of the resource in their daily lives. We found that a gift intending to save money was particularly detrimental to status inferences and negative self-conscious emotions when the recipient was experiencing a greater scarcity of money, while gifts intending to save the recipient time were relatively not influenced by the recipient's scarcity of time.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Four studies demonstrate the downstream consequences of giving gifts intending to address scarcity of money and time. Across our studies, gifts intending to save money resulted in higher negative self-conscious emotions than gifts intending to save time. A key mechanism underlying these results was that gifts intending to save money increased recipients' perceptions

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of a status differential between themselves and the gift-giver. We found that these effects were aggravated by the extent to which the recipient of the gift experiences financial scarcity in their daily life. Participants who experienced greater financial scarcity did not appreciate gifts addressing a pressing need, but instead perceived an even greater status differential between themselves and the gift giver, resulting in a heightened negative emotions. Lastly, gift-givers did not accurately predict recipients' experiences with receiving gifts intending to save money.

Theoretical Implications

This research contributes to the growing body of research evaluating how consumer thinking and decision-making is altered by resource scarcity. While previous research has primarily evaluated how consumers make decisions to address their own scarcity (Cannon et al. 2018; Hamilton et al. 2018; Sharma and Alter 2012), this research provides an important extension to understand how consumers respond to efforts from others to help them address their resource scarcity. While consumers generally engage in behaviors to address their own money scarcity (e.g., Shah et al. 2012), and have difficulty addressing their own time scarcity (e.g., Whillans, Lee-Yoon, and Dunn 2019), we document the fact that consumers more positively accept help addressing time (vs. money) scarcity. Utilizing insights from previous research that documents the status benefits of time scarcity (e.g., Bellezza et al. 2017) as well as the status costs of money scarcity (Sharma and Alter 2012), we show that receiving assistance from others to address money scarcity results in a negative emotional experience because consumers perceive a greater status differential between themselves and the gift giver, whereas recipients of time scarcity aid do not perceive a status differential. Thus, the current work adds nuance to the scarcity literature by demonstrating how gifts intending to address money and time scarcity are differently evaluated by consumers and result in distinct psychological consequences.

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This work also contributes to the literature on gift-giving. Research on gift-giving has primarily evaluated the positive benefits of giving-gifts (e.g., Aknin and Human 2015; Chan and Mogilner 2017), evaluating how much recipients appreciate, value, and like the gifts that they receive (e.g., Flynn and Adams 2009; Gino and Flynn 2011). Our work instead evaluates the cost to status and resulting negative emotions that result as a function of gift-giving motivation. While we observe relatively lower instances of negative emotions, these small effects have meaningful implications for the success of gift-giving. Furthermore, we observe quite large relative differences by gift-giving motivation (effect sizes range from $d = .25$ to $d = 1.25$).

By comparing gifts intending to save money and time, our work also contributes to the literature evaluating the psychological differences between money and time (e.g., Zauberaman and Lynch 2005). Finally, our finding that gift-givers fail to predict the different effect of addressing time and money scarcity through gift-giving contributes to previous work on prediction and affective forecasting errors in gift-giving (Galak, Givi, and Williams 2016).

Practical Implications

Our results suggest that gift-givers should use caution when disclosing a motive to address money or time scarcity. Explicit communication of a money and time saving intention increased negative emotions for the recipient relative to no motive. However, our results suggest that recipients can experience negative emotions even when a gift-giving motive is not explicitly communicated, but instead is merely inferred. This effect was much stronger for gifts intending to save the recipient money because of a heightened perception of a status differential between the giver and recipient. Recipients of gifts intending to save time responded much more positively, suggesting that consumers may be more accepting of receiving support from others to address their time scarcity. Time-saving services (such as cleaning services and food delivery)

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can result in positive benefits for consumers, although the tendency for consumers to make these purchases is quite low (even among millionaires; see Whillans et al. 2017) in part because addressing personal time scarcity can elicit guilt (Whillans, Lee-Yoon, and Dunn 2019). Our data suggests that giving gifts attempting to address time scarcity might be successful in reducing time scarcity, and lower the negative experience of attempting to address this scarcity oneself.

Limitations and Future Direction

One limitation and resulting question that arises from this work is that our effect was documented primarily in communal relationships (e.g., friends). While Studies 1 and 2 did capture some instances of gift-giving among other relationship partners, these instances were infrequent and our scenario studies focused on gift-giving among friends only. Previous research has found that devoting more detailed attention to money in communal relationships can make the relationship feel transactional, and undermine the cooperative nature of the relationship (Kim, Zhang, and Norton 2018). Thus, a gift intending to save money [time] may be particularly negative [positive] in the context of friendships, but may have different effects among different relationship dynamics. For instance, receiving a gift intending address time scarcity at home might imply that the gift-giver is attempting to allow the recipient to further enjoy their leisure (e.g., 'non-work') time, whereas a receiving a gift intending to address time scarcity at work might imply that the recipient is not competent in completing work tasks in a timely manner. It stands to reason then these could differentially affect recipient's negative emotions. Future work should therefore evaluate how receiving gifts from professional relationships may result in different emotional experiences.

While we evaluated gifts with similar money and time saving abilities, future work could evaluate whether the size, cost or money and time saving abilities of a gift influence perceptions

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of status and negative emotions. An overly generous (e.g., expensive) gift may heighten the perceived status differential between recipient and gift-giver (Sandstrom et al. 2019).

Gift-giving also meaningfully shapes consumers' well-being and relationship satisfaction (Chan and Mogilner 2017, Flynn and Adams 2009, Gino and Flynn 2011). While we examine the negative emotional consequences of giving gifts intending to save time and money, future research could explore the positive implications of these gifts, such as relationship satisfaction and global evaluations of life satisfaction.

Concluding Remarks

Consumers report feeling increasingly concerned with having enough time (Perlow 1999) and money (Rheault 2011), yet feel uncomfortable communicating limited resources to others (Devaney 2018). This work demonstrates that consumers are regularly motivated to give gifts to address perceived scarcity of money and time, but suggests that gift-givers should be careful when communicating this saving motive. A gift intending to save money results in more negative emotions for the recipient and leads to inferences of lower status and is particularly detrimental for consumers experiencing financial scarcity. Whereas, addressing time scarcity through gift-giving is a relatively positive experience for recipients because this help does not threaten the recipient's perceived status. Overall these results suggest that gift-giving may be a positive approach to address others time scarcity, but less successful in addressing financial scarcity.

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Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of Gift Features by Gift-Giving Motivation (Study 1)

Variable	Gifts Intending to Save Time		Gifts Intending to Save Money		<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Social Consumption	3.14	2.11	3.51	2.07	1.75	.08
Experiential vs. Material Gifts	2.92	1.91	3.00	1.97	0.41	.68
Gift Characteristics						
Unique	2.87	1.91	2.81	1.88	0.31	.76
Wanted	5.35	1.87	5.12	1.69	1.30	.20
Useful	6.29	1.23	6.22	1.15	0.64	.52
Cost	505.83	3,125.38	312.90	2,178.28	0.73	.47

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Table 2

Gift Giver Identity and Product Category of Gifts by Gift-Giving Motive (Study 1)

Variable	Gifts Intending to Save Time		Gifts Intending to Save Money	
	%	%	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Gift Giver Identity				
Friends	27.7%	34.6%	2.23	.16
Acquaintance	2.1%	1.4%	0.33	.57
Family	37.8%	50.7%	6.81	.009
Product Category				
Food and Dining	18.6%	25.3%	2.64	.12
Clothing and Apparel	14.4%	17.1%	0.55	.46
Entertainment	12.2%	13.4%	0.12	.74
Electronics	13.3%	7.4%	3.89	.07
Transportation and Travel	6.9%	4.1%	1.50	.27
Health and Wellness	2.1%	3.7%	0.85	.36
Home	28.7%	19.4%	4.89	.04
Gift Cards	3.7%	9.7%	5.55	.02

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Table 3

Perceived Status Differential Partially Mediates the Link between Receiving a Gift Intended to Save Money and Increased Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (Study 1)

	Gift Intended to Save Money to Mediator (path a)	Mediator to Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (path b)	Indirect effects of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (ab paths)	Total effect of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (d path)	Direct effect of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (d-prime path)	Bootstrap results: 95% CI range
Perceived Status Differential	.73***	.13**	.09(.05)	.54***	.43**	[.02, .20]
Social Nature of Consumption	.36 [†]	.03	.01(.02)			[-.02, .06]

[†] $p < .10$
 $**p < .01$
 $***p < .001$

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Table 4

Perceived Status Differential Partially Mediates the Link between Receiving a Gift Intended to Save Money and Increased Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (Study 2)

	Gift Intended to Save Money to Mediator (path a)	Mediator to Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (path b)	Indirect effects of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (ab paths)	Total effect of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (d path)	Direct effect of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (d-prime path)	Bootstrap results: 95% CI range
Perceived Status Differential	1.36***	.15**	.21(.10)	.54**	.33	[.04, .44]

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

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Table 5

Perceived Status Partially Mediates the Link between a Money-Saving Gift and Negative Affect (Study 3)

	Money-Saving Gift to Mediator (path a)	Mediator to Negative Affect (path b)	Indirect effects of a Money-Saving Gift on Negative Affect (ab paths)	Total effect of a Money-Saving Gift to Negative Affect (path d)	Direct effect of a Money-Saving Gift to Negative Affect (d-prime path)	Bootstrap results: 95% CI range
Perceived Status	1.61***	.42***	.67 (.23)	1.***	2.61***	[.19, 1.29]

*** $p < .001$

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Table 6

Perceived Status Differential Partially Mediates the Link between Receiving a Gift Intended to Save Money and Increased Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (Study 4)

	Gift Intended to Save Money to Mediator (path a)	Mediator to Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (path b)	Indirect effects of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (ab paths)	Total effect of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (d path)	Direct effect of a Gift Intended to Save Money on Negative Self-Conscious Emotions (d-prime path)	Bootstrap results: 95% CI range
Perceived Status Differential	1.51***	.17*	.26 (.13)	2.19***	1.93***	[.00, .54]

* $p < .05$

*** $p < .001$

APPENDIX A

MOTIVATION FOR GIVING MONEY AND TIME SAVING GIFTS

As an initial investigation of money and time saving gifts, we sought to understand consumer motivation to save others money and time through gift-giving, and if consumer motivations were moderated by recipient identity. Therefore, we evaluate gift-giving motivation with a variety of personal and professional relationships and evaluate if consumer motivation to give money and time saving gifts are influenced by perceived recipient need.

Method

Participants and Design. We recruited six hundred fifteen adults (47.1% female; $M_{age} = 38.58$, $SD = 12.04$; 72.8% Caucasian) through MTurk and paid a nominal fee for participating. We randomly assigned participants to a 2 (relationship type: personal vs. professional) x 3 (relative social position: low vs. similar vs. high) between-subjects design.

Procedure. Participants were asked to think about giving a gift to someone they knew for his/her birthday. Participants were randomly assigned to consider a child, friend, parent, supervisee, co-worker or supervisor. Participants then completed measures assessing their motivation for giving a gift to their relationship partner and estimated how concerned this person was with having enough time and money (among other goals, such as improving friendships, appearance, or receiving unique or surprising gifts). We included these additional comparisons based on previous research suggesting that consumers are motivated to give unique and surprising gifts (Gino and Flynn 2011, Horne and Winakor 1995), as well as gifts that enhance relationships (Belk 1979) or physical appearance (Much Needed 2018). Therefore, we examined these gift-giving motivations in this study to provide a useful benchmark for gift-giving motivations of consumers to give gifts that save time or money.

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Motivation. To measure gift-giving motivation, participants responded to the prompt, “*I want to give my [relationship type] a gift that would...*” The following gift-giving motives were presented in a randomized order: *save them time, save them money, surprise them, be unique, bring them closer to me, bring them closer to other people, improve their appearance*. Each of these motives were measured on scale ranging from 1, *not at all* to 7, *a great deal*.

Perceived Concern. To understand if consumers expressed greater motivation to give gifts that addressed a perceived need of their relationship partner, we asked participants the extent to which they thought their relationship partner was concerned with the gift-giving motive in question. Specifically, participants were asked to rate the extent to which they thought their relationship partner was currently concerned about: *having enough time, having enough money, being surprised, receiving unique gifts, becoming closer to the gift-giver, becoming closer to other people, improving their appearance*. All questions were presented in a randomized order and measured on a scale ranging from 1, *not at all* to 7, *a great deal*.

Results

Motivation. We ran a repeated measures analysis predicting gift-giving motivation. This analysis revealed that consumer motivation significantly differed across goal type, $F(1,602) = 181.99, p < .001$. While consumer motivation to save recipients money ($M = 4.33, SD = 1.87$) and time ($M = 4.35, SD = 1.77$) was significantly lower than the motivation to give surprising ($M = 5.59, SD = 1.43$) and unique gifts ($M = 5.22, SD = 1.52$) and gifts that would bring them closer with the recipient ($M = 4.74, SD = 1.66; ps < .001$), the motivation to save the recipient money and time was significantly higher than the motivation to give a gift that would bring them closer to others ($M = 3.86, SD = 1.70$) and improve their appearance ($M = 3.14, SD = 1.81; ps < .001$).

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Because our primary interest was to understand gift-giving motivation as it relates to saving the recipient money and time, we ran a repeated-measures analysis predicting only these two motives by relationship type (personal vs. professional) and relative social position (low vs. similar vs. high). This analysis revealed a non-significant difference in motivation to give a gift to save the recipient money or time, $F(1, 604) = .34, p = .56$, and there was no significant interaction between motive and relationship type, $F(1,604) = .00, p = .96$. Participants reported a similar desire to save personal and professional relationship partners time ($M_{personal} = 4.39, SD = 1.77; M_{professional} = 4.28, SD = 1.77, t(610) = .78, p = .44, d = .06$) and money ($M_{personal} = 4.43, SD = 1.87; M_{professional} = 4.16, SD = 1.87, t(610) = 1.74, p = .08, d = .14$).

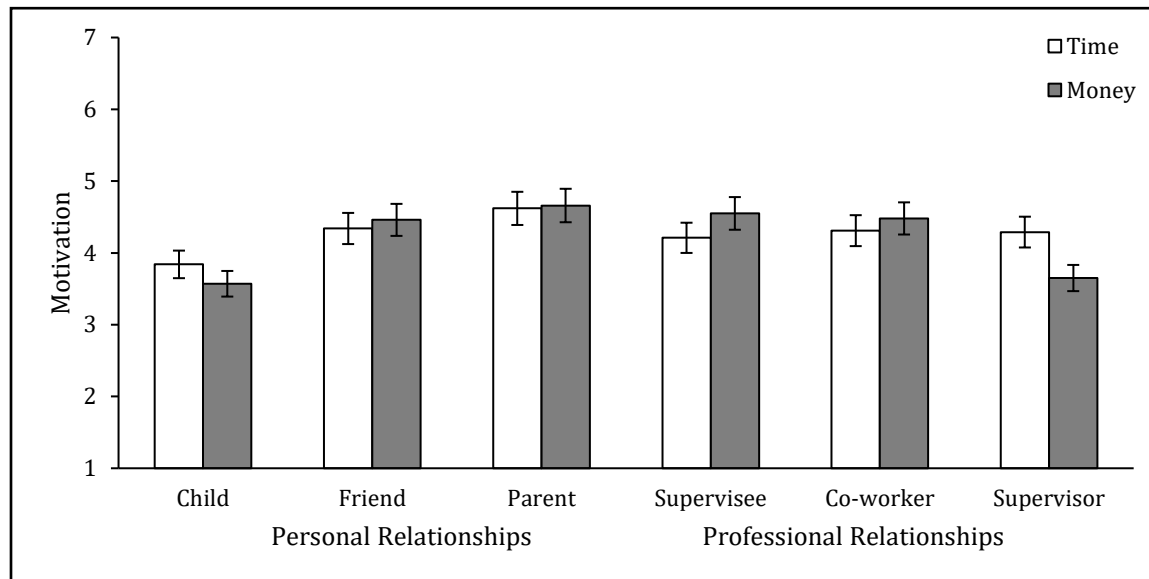
However, there was a significant interaction between motive and relative social position, $F(2,604) = 5.12, p = .006$. Participants expressed lower motivation to give a time-saving gift to someone of lower relative social position than someone of higher relative social position ($M_{lower} = 4.02, SD = 1.92; M_{higher} = 4.50, SD = 1.72, t(353) = 2.29, p = .02, d = .27$). Participants also expressed lower motivation to give a money-saving gift to someone of lower relative social position than someone of similar relative social position ($M_{lower} = 4.04, SD = 1.99; M_{similar} = 4.47, SD = 1.75, t(352) = 1.98, p = .05, d = .23$), no other comparisons were significantly different from each other.

Further, there was a three-way interaction between motive, relationship type and relative social position, $F(2,604) = 6.81, p = .001$. Regarding the motivation to save others time, in personal relationships, participants expressed marginally lower motivation to save time for relationships with lower relative social position ($M_{lower} = 3.84, SD = 1.86$) than relationships with similar ($M_{similar} = 4.33, SD = 1.72, t(352) = 1.73, p = .08, d = .28$) and higher ($M_{higher} = 4.62, SD = 1.77, t(216) = 2.74, p = .007, d = .44$) relative social position relationships. However, amongst

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professional relationships there was no significant differences in the desire to save time across relative social position $F(2,226) = .05, p = .95$. In regards to the motivation to save others money, in personal relationships, participants expressed significantly less motivation to save money for lower relative social position relationships ($M_{lower} = 3.57, SD = 1.96$) than similar ($M_{similar} = 4.46, SD = 1.74, t(215) = 3.12, p = .002, d = .50$) and higher ($M_{higher} = 4.66, SD = 1.90, t(217) = 3.57, p < .001, d = .57$) relative social position relationships. The opposite pattern was observed in professional relationships: participants expressed greater motivation to save a lower relative social position relationship money than a higher status relationship ($M_{lower} = 4.55, SD = 1.92; M_{higher} = 3.63, SD = 1.84, t(135) = 2.73, p = .007, d = .49$ see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Gift-giving motivation by relationship type and relative status ($N = 615$; Experiment 1; error bars indicate $\pm 1 SE$ of mean)



Perceived Concern. We evaluated the relationship between perceived concern and gift-giving motivation, in order to examine whether people are motivated to give gifts that address the recipient's perceived need. Indeed, consumers' motivation to give a time-saving gift was positively correlated with the perception that their relationship partner was concerned with

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having enough time, $r = .38, p < .001$. There was also a positive correlation between motivation to give a money-saving gift and perceived concern with having enough money, $r = .42, p < .001$.

Discussion

These results demonstrate that consumers are equally motivated to give time and money saving gifts. However, we do find that relative social position moderates gift-giving motivation, and that gift givers attempt to address recipients perceived need through gift-giving. In future experiments we evaluate recipient's experience of receiving a money or time saving gift and will evaluate how relative social position impacts consumer experience.

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APPENDIX B

Recalled Gifts by Product Category

Subcategory	Gifts Intending to Save the Recipient Time	Gifts Intending to Save the Recipient Money	Statistic
Gifts for the Home (N = 96; 23.7% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	(N = 54; 28.7% of sample)	(N = 42; 19.4% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = 4.89, p = .04$
Appliances	(N = 47; 87.0% of category)	(N = 33; 78.6% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.22, p = .27$
Remodeling	(N = 5; 9.3% of category)	(N = 6; 14.3% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .59, p = .44$
Home décor	(N = 2, 3.7% of category)	(N = 2; 4.8% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .07, p = .80$
Furniture	(N = 0; 0.0% of category)	(N = 1; 2.4% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.30, p = .25$
Food and Dining (N = 90; 22.2% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	(N = 35; 18.6% of sample)	(N = 55; 25.3% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = 2.64, p = .12$
Groceries	(N = 0; 0.0% of category)	(N = 18; 32.7% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 14.32, p < .001$
Prepared Food	(N = 8; 22.9% of category)	(N = 6; 10.9% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 2.32, p = .15$
Restaurant Meal	(N = 6; 17.1% of category)	(N = 16; 29.1% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.65, p = .20$
Drinks	(N = 2; 5.7% of category)	(N = 7; 12.7% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.17, p = .47$
Cooking Tools	(N = 13; 37.1% of category)	(N = 5; 9.1% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 10.52, p = .002$
Cooking Storage	(N = 6; 17.1% of category)	(N = 3; 5.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 3.25, p = .09$
Apparel (N = 64; 15.8% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	(N = 27; 14.4% of sample)	(N = 37; 17.1% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = .55, p = .46$
Clothing	(N = 4; 14.8% of category)	(N = 15; 40.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 4.95, p = .03$
Accessories	(N = 7; 25.9% of category)	(N = 17; 45.9% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 2.67, p = .12$
Jewelry & Watches	(N = 16; 59.3% of category)	(N = 5; 13.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 14.82, p < .001$
Entertainment (N = 52; 12.8% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	(N = 23; 12.2% of sample)	(N = 29; 13.4% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = .12, p = .77$
Tickets to Live Events	(N = 1; 4.3% of category)	(N = 9; 31.0% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 5.88, p = .03$
Books, Toys & Tools	(N = 22; 95.7% of category)	(N = 20; 47.6% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 5.88, p = .03$
Electronics (N = 41; 10.1% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	(N = 25; 13.3% of sample)	(N = 16; 7.4% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = 3.89, p = .07$
Computers & Laptops	(N = 12; 48.0% of category)	(N = 3; 18.8% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 3.60, p = .10$
Cell phones	(N = 5; 20.0% of category)	(N = 2; 12.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .39, p = .68$
Tablets	(N = 1; 4.0% of category)	(N = 2; 12.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.04, p = .55$
Activity Trackers	(N = 7; 28.0% of category)	(N = 9; 56.3% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 3.27, p = .10$
Money & Gift Cards (N = 28; 6.9% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	(N = 7; 3.7% of sample)	(N = 21; 9.7% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = 5.55, p = .02$

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Money	($N = 1$; 14.3% of category)	($N = 3$; 14.3% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .00, p = 1.00$
Memberships	($N = 0$; 0.0% of category)	($N = 2$; 9.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .72, p = 1.00$
Coupons	($N = 0$; 0.0% of category)	($N = 3$; 14.3% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.12, p = .55$
Gift Cards	($N = 6$; 85.7% of category)	($N = 13$; 61.9% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.37, p = .37$
Transportation & Travel ($N = 22$; 5.4% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	($N = 13$; 6.9% of sample)	($N = 9$; 4.1% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = 1.50, p = .27$
Vehicle	($N = 4$; 30.8% of category)	($N = 3$; 33.3% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .02, p = 1.00$
Vehicle Maintenance	($N = 5$; 38.5% of category)	($N = 4$; 44.4% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .08, p = 1.00$
Ride Share Services	($N = 1$; 7.7% of category)	($N = 1$; 11.1% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .08, p = 1.00$
Vacations	($N = 3$; 23.1% of category)	($N = 1$; 11.1% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .51, p = .63$
Health & Wellness ($N = 12$; 3.0% of all gifts recalled)			
Overall	($N = 4$; 2.1% of sample)	($N = 8$; 3.7% of sample)	$\chi^2[1] = .85, p = .40$
Bath & Body	($N = 3$; 75.0% of category)	($N = 7$; 87.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .30, p = 1.00$
Vitamins	($N = 1$; 25.0% of category)	($N = 1$; 12.5% of category)	$\chi^2[1] = .30, p = 1.00$

Social Consumption. Participants reported that gifts given with the intention of saving them money was marginally more social than a gift given with the intention of saving time ($M_{money}=3.51, SD=2.07; M_{time}=3.14, SD=2.11, t(401)=1.75, p=.08, d=.17$).

Experiential vs. Material Gift. Gifts given with the intention of saving money and time were seen as equally experiential ($M_{money}=3.00, SD=1.97; M_{time}=2.92, SD=1.91, t(402)=.41, p=.68, d=.04$).

Gift Characteristics. Gifts given with the intention of saving money and time were seen as equally unique ($M_{money}=2.81, SD=1.88; M_{time}=2.87, SD=1.91, t(401)=.31, p=.76, d=.03$), wanted ($M_{money}=5.12, SD=1.69; M_{time}=5.35, SD=1.87, t(402)=1.30, p=.20, d=.13$), and useful ($M_{money}=6.22, SD=1.15; M_{time}=6.29, SD=1.23, t(403)=.64, p=.52, d=.06$) and cost did not significantly differ by condition ($M_{money}=\$312.90, SD=\$2,178.28; M_{time}=\$505.83, SD=\$3,125.38, t(402)=.73, p=.47, d=.07$)¹.

Gift-Giver Identity. Gifts given with the intention of saving money and time were equally likely to be given from friends ($M_{money}=34.6%; M_{time}=27.7%; \chi^2[1]=2.23, p=.16$), co-

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workers ($M_{money}=1.4\%$; $M_{time}=1.6\%$; $\chi^2[1]=.03$, $p=1.00$), and acquaintances ($M_{money}=1.4\%$; $M_{time}=2.1\%$; $\chi^2[1]=.33$, $p=.57$). However, family members were significantly more likely to give a gift with the intention of saving money ($M_{money}=50.7\%$; $M_{time}=37.8\%$; $\chi^2[1]=6.81$, $p=.009$), while significant others were significantly more likely to give a gift with the intention of saving time ($M_{money}=12.0\%$; $M_{time}=30.9\%$; $\chi^2[1]=21.82$, $p<.001$).

Product Category. Gifts intending to save time and money were equally likely to be food and dining ($M_{money}=25.3\%$; $M_{time}=18.6\%$; $\chi^2[1]=2.64$, $p=.12$), clothing and apparel ($M_{money}=17.1\%$; $M_{time}=14.4\%$; $\chi^2[1]=.55$, $p=.46$), entertainment ($M_{money}=13.4\%$; $M_{time}=12.2\%$; $\chi^2[1]=.12$, $p=.74$), electronics ($M_{money}=7.4\%$; $M_{time}=13.3\%$; $\chi^2[1]=3.89$, $p=.07$), transportation and travel ($M_{money}=4.1\%$; $M_{time}=6.9\%$; $\chi^2[1]=1.50$, $p=.27$), health and wellness ($M_{money}=3.7\%$; $M_{time}=2.1\%$; $\chi^2[1]=.85$, $p=.36$). However, gifts for the home were more likely to be recalled as gifts intending to save time ($M_{money}=19.4\%$; $M_{time}=28.7\%$; $\chi^2[1]=4.89$, $p=.04$), whereas gift cards ($M_{money}=9.7\%$; $M_{time}=3.7\%$; $\chi^2[1]=5.55$, $p=.02$) were more likely to be recalled as gifts given with the intention of saving money.