

## The Interplay between Goal Systems and Identities

*Maferima Touré-Tillery and Jessica Gamlin*

Identities are collections of thoughts, ideas, and pieces of knowledge people have about themselves (e.g., professional chef, mother, good person); and together, identities constitute the self-concept. Socio-cognitive theorists conceptualize the self-concept as an elaborate, dynamic, memory-based structure that is hierarchically organized and comprised of interconnected “identity” nodes (e.g., Greenwald & Banaji, 1989; Klein & Kihlstrom, 1986; Markus, 1977). Each identity is cognitively associated with subordinate traits, personal memories, thoughts, and emotions that describe a person’s perception of themselves within that aspect of their life (Garczynski & Brown, 2013; Showers, 1992; Zeigler-Hill & Showers, 2007). Contextual cues (e.g., advertisements) can activate specific identities and their corresponding characteristics, which guide subsequent thoughts, feelings, and behaviors (Bolton & Reed, 2004; Linville & Carlston, 1994; Markus & Wurf, 1987; Reed et al., 2012). Identities may be personal (e.g., professional chef), relational (e.g., mother; Andersen & Chen, 2002), or collective (e.g., club member; Brewer & Gardner, 1996) and vary in importance (Winterich et al., 2009) and centrality to the self-concept (Aquino et al., 2009; Holmes et al., 2019; Settles, 2004).

Goals are mental representations of desired end states (e.g., obtain a degree; Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Fishbach & Ferguson, 2007; E. T. Higgins & Kruglanski, 2000). According to goal systems theory, people’s goals and the objects or activities that facilitate them (i.e., means) are stored in memory in an interconnected, hierarchical structure (Kruglanski et al., 2002; see Chapter 1 in this volume). In this mental network, goals are cognitively associated with corresponding means and related goals, and means are associated with related means and goals. Subordinate elements (means or subgoals) support superordinate goals. Facilitative links exist between vertically connected elements, such that the activation of one leads to the activation of the other. By contrast, inhibitory links typically exist between lateral elements, such that active goals may block out competing goals (Shah et al., 2002) or competing means (Kruglanski et al., 2002). Multiple means can serve a single goal (*equifinality*), and one means

can serve multiple goals (*multifinality*; see Chapter 7 in this volume). As with identities, goals vary in their importance (Austin & Vancouver, 1996; Locke et al., 1981) and may be personal (e.g., start a restaurant; Baum & Locke, 2004), relational (e.g., adopt a child; Langher et al., 2019), or collective (e.g., fundraise for a club; Hogg et al., 2008).

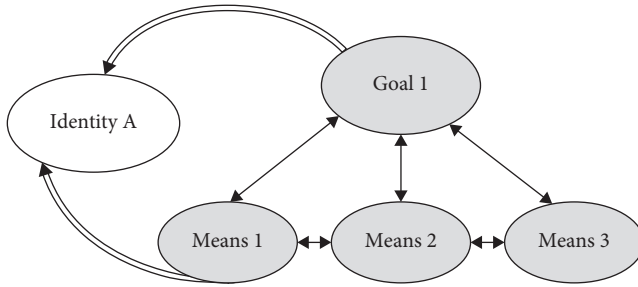
The cognitive structures that support goals and identities are intricately linked. This chapter examines the bidirectional relationship between goal systems and identities and the unique roles identities play within goal systems. First, the processes and outcomes of goal pursuit can shape identities (Bem, 1972; Kruglanski & Kopetz, 2009), and many identities evolve during the pursuit of important goals (Singer, 2004). For example, an identity as a restaurateur may emerge through the pursuit of the goal to open a restaurant. Second, identities affect both choices of goals (Allport, 1943; Cantor et al., 1986; Markus & Nurius, 1986; Saint Clair & Forehand, 2020) and choices of means (Berger & Heath, 2008; Escalas & Bettman, 2005; Gao et al., 2009). A chef's decision to open their own restaurant (a goal) is informed in part by the norms, expectations, and aspirations associated with their identity as a professional chef. Moreover, the means the chef chooses along the way (e.g., which ovens they select, whose capital they solicit) are likely to be influenced by their chef identity. Third, identities themselves can be both goals and means. A culinary student may pursue the goal to "be a chef" (an identity goal) as vigorously as the goal to "acquire culinary knowledge, skills, and certifications" (a learning goal). Once certified, they may join a professional chef club, thereby using their chef identity as a means to pursue their career and social goals.

### Goal Systems Shape Identities

People's identities are shaped by the goals they adopt and pursue, by the ways in which they pursue these goals, and by the outcomes of their pursuits (see Figure 13.1).

#### Goals Shape Identities

While some identities are endowed at birth (e.g., nationality, ethnicity), other identities evolve or are adopted while fulfilling fundamental needs (e.g., affiliation, belonging) or pursuing important goals (e.g., physical fitness, academic achievement; McConnell, 2011; Reed et al., 2012). For example, a person might join a local running club to train for a marathon (serving their fitness goal) and to meet new people (serving their affiliation needs). While pursuing these



**Figure 13.1** Goals and Means Shape Identities

*Note:* Elements of the goal system are depicted in gray.

goals, they may adopt a “club member” identity (resulting from their need for affiliation) and a “runner” identity (resulting from their fitness goal; see also McConnell et al., 2012). Thus, goals can shape identities by adding to the collection of thoughts, ideas, and knowledge people have about themselves.

According to self-perception theory (Bem, 1972), people learn about themselves by observing their own behaviors and drawing inferences about themselves (e.g., their own skills, characteristics, competencies, and values), just as they draw inferences about others from their behaviors. Narrative identity researchers conceptualize identity as the evolving story people tell themselves about their own lives, in which they are the protagonists (McAdams, 1987; Singer, 2004). Observations about one’s own goals (and associated successes and failures) add to the narrative of who one is (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). A chef who is pursuing the goal of opening their own restaurant inevitably will encounter breakthroughs (e.g., securing a loan) and setbacks (e.g., delayed delivery of ovens) that contribute to the story they tell themselves about their life and who they are as a person. Once our chef opens the doors to their restaurant, “Chez Moi,” their identity as a restaurateur will be cemented. If their venture fails, however, this identity may be disrupted as they dust themselves off and try again, or it may dissolve altogether if they decide to abandon the goal (see Chapter 9 in this volume).

### Means Shape Identities

Just as people make self-inferences from their goals, people also learn about themselves by observing the means they select during goal pursuit (Fishbach & Dhar, 2005). The self-inferences drawn from goal-related choices and actions are affected by several factors including the initial level of commitment to the goal

(Koo & Fishbach, 2008), the structure of a choice set (Fishbach & Zhang, 2008), and the ease of making external attributions (Zhang & Huang, 2010). Fishbach et al. (2006) find that people are more likely to make self-inferences about their commitment to a goal when they interpret goal-related choices or actions at an abstract (vs. concrete) level; then, the self-inferences increase their motivation to pursue similar goal-related actions. For example, actions such as cooking and eating vegetables are more likely to increase a person's motivation to take other steps consistent with their physical fitness goal (e.g., go to the gym) if they interpret the actions abstractly as "health consciousness" than if they focus on the concrete steps involved in cooking and eating vegetables.

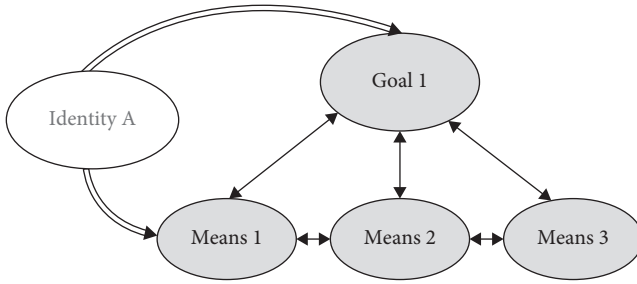
Identities also can be informed and defined by the objects, products, and brands people purchase and use in goal pursuit (Ahuvia, 2005; Brasel & Gips, 2011; Elliot & Wattanasuwan, 1998; Fitzsimons et al., 2008; James, 1890; Markman & Brendl, 2000). For example, donning an apron to cook (a functional means to the cooking goal) may make a culinary student feel like a true chef (an identity). Over time, people may form intimate connections with the objects, products, and brands they use in goal pursuit (Escalas & Bettman, 2003; Fournier, 1998) and adopt identities based on their use of specific brands and products (e.g., "Instagrammer," "sneaker head," "Target mom"). Marketers actively encourage consumers to form identities around brands. A good example of this strategy is Apple's popular "Get a Mac" television advertising campaign (2006–2009), in which a cool young man dressed in casual clothes introduces himself as an Apple computer ("Hello, I'm a Mac"), while an uptight man in a more formal attire introduces himself as a Microsoft personal computer ("And I'm a PC"). Today, many Mac and PC users—including the authors of this chapter—have come to embrace the identities conferred by means, such as computers and other devices, with which they pursue their academic, career, and social goals (see Chapter 6 in this volume).

### **Identities Shape Goal Systems**

Identities shape people's goals and the means they select for goal pursuit (see Figure 13.2).

#### **Identities Shape Goals**

Identities come with norms that guide a person's behavior and provide a sense of purpose in life (Thoits, 1983, 2003). For example, a masculine identity generally is associated with agentic (self-focused) goals, whereas a feminine identity



**Figure 13.2** Identities Shape Goals and Means

*Note:* Elements of the goal system are depicted in gray.

is associated with communal (other-focused) goals (Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987; He et al., 2008). Internalizing a particular gender identity increases one's likelihood of pursuing gender-stereotypic career goals (Evans & Diekmann, 2009) and influences the adoption of prosocial goals. For example, Winterich et al. (2009) study the impacts of gender identity and moral identity on donation behavior among Western consumers (United States). They find that internalizing a strong moral identity tends to increase donations to out-group recipients (e.g., Indonesia) but not to in-group recipients (e.g., New Orleans in the United States) among consumers with a feminine gender identity; the reverse occurs among those with a masculine gender identity. Similarly, Winterich et al. (2012) find that moral identity drives donations to charities that align with a person's political identity. Specifically, internalizing a strong moral identity increases liberals' willingness to donate to a charity focused on traditionally liberal values (e.g., fairness, preventing harm) and increases conservatives' willingness to donate to a charity focused on traditionally conservative values (e.g., private enterprise; for more on political goals, see Chapter 12 in this volume).

Research on expectancy-value theory shows that people are more motivated to adopt a goal if the outcome seems attractive (value) and attainable (expectancy; Brehm & Self, 1989; Liberman & Förster, 2008; Mitchell, 1982). Personal factors related to identity (e.g., personality type, background, occupation) can influence assessments of value and expectancy (Eccles, 2009; Hollenbeck & Klein, 1987), which affect the motivation to adopt a goal and commitment to the goal (Reed et al., 2012). Goals that are relevant to a person's identities usually seem the most valuable (Berkman et al., 2017) and attainable (Oyserman et al., 2017). For example, people who identify as independent report a higher likelihood of speaking their mind, an act that is congruent with the independent identity (Markus, 1977); people with (vs. without) an exerciser identity are more

committed to and interested in the goal of exercising regularly and have more “tricks and strategies” (i.e., means) for getting themselves to exercise on days when their motivation is low (Kendzierski, 1988).

Furthermore, people tend to be more committed to goals that are relevant to identities that are central or important to their self-concepts (Holmes et al., 2019; Reitzes & Mutran, 2002). For example, the centrality of their “student” identity is positively related to college students’ commitment to educational goals and to their institution, as well as to their intentions to persist at school (Bowman & Felix, 2017). Settles (2004) also finds that when people are pursuing goals such as getting good grades in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) classes, the centrality of one goal-relevant identity (e.g., scientist) can counteract some of the negative effects of conflicting identities (e.g., female) that might otherwise impede goal attainment due to negative stereotypes about such identities in the goal domain.

Within this perspective, identities can not only encourage but also discourage the adoption of a goal, depending on the congruence of that goal with a particular identity. For example, Diekmann et al. (2010) show that women avoid careers in STEM partly because women tend to endorse communal goals (e.g., working with or helping others) more than men, and STEM careers are perceived as relatively unlikely to fulfill communal goals. Finally, if an identity becomes incompatible with a person’s current goals, they may need to actively distance themselves from that identity. For example, Lavalley and Robinson (2007) found that gymnasts who were retiring from athletic careers had to relinquish their strong gymnast identities before they could embrace new life goals and identities.

### Identities Shape Means

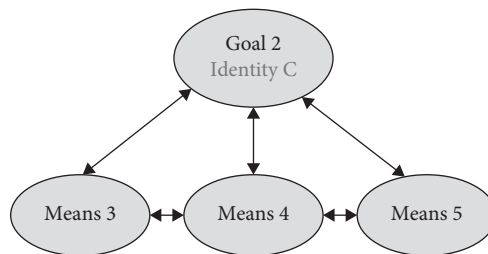
A rich literature spanning social psychology, sociology, and consumer research shows that identities can determine the means people choose to pursue their goals (Bolton & Reed, 2004; Epp & Price, 2008; Gao et al., 2020; Reed, 2004; Shang et al., 2008; Summers et al., 2016). Gender identity has well-documented effects on the choice of means. For example, men tend to avoid stereotypically feminine objects, activities, and products (e.g., body care, jewelry; Brough et al., 2016; Dittmar et al., 1996). Brough et al. (2016) showed that men were more likely to choose non-green (vs. green) products when their masculine identity was salient/activated because of the strong implicit association between greenness and femininity. Similarly, Meyers-Levy (1988) activated either a masculine or feminine identity and asked participants to evaluate a new mouthwash; activating

the masculine identity led male participants to make agentic judgments focused on self-relevant information (e.g., “kills germs and bacteria that cause decay”), whereas activating the feminine identity led female participants to make communal judgments focused on self- and other-relevant information (e.g., “provides pleasing fresh breath”). We might expect a male (vs. female) chef’s gender and the salience of this gender identity to undermine the use of eco-friendly culinary tools (perceived as feminine) and the choice of ingredients marketed with other-focused claims (perceived as more feminine than self-focused claims).

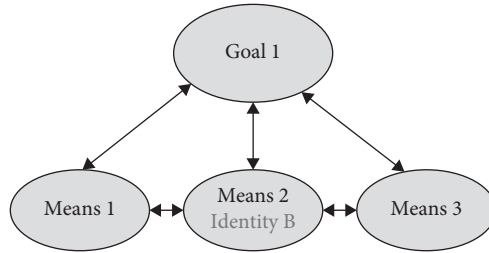
Other identities besides gender can affect the perceived value of objects, brands, and products (Reed et al., 2012) and thus influence the selection of means during goal pursuit. For example, a person’s chef identity may influence the cooking tools they select for not only their restaurant but also their home. Forehand et al. (2002) find that a salient identity boosts the evaluation of identity-relevant target stimuli (such as means to a goal) but hurts the evaluation of stimuli associated with an identity one does not hold. In one study, Forehand et al. increased ethnic identity salience among Asian and Caucasian students. When their ethnic identities were salient, Asian participants had more positive reactions than Caucasian participants to a computer advertisement featuring an Asian spokesperson. This finding suggests that, under certain circumstances, people’s choices of laptops (a means to academic and career goals) may be influenced by their racial or ethnic identities.

### Identities Within Goal Systems

Beyond shaping and being shaped by goals and means, identities play important roles within goal systems, where they can operate as goals (Figure 13.3) or as means (Figure 13.4).



**Figure 13.3** Identities Operate as Goals Within Goal Systems



**Figure 13.4** Identities Operate as Means Within Goal Systems

### Identities as Goals

Identities can operate as goals in the sense that people take steps to achieve desired perceptions of themselves or to avoid undesired perceptions (Berger & Heath, 2007; Berger & Ward, 2010). Like other goals within a goal system, an identity goal (e.g., become a chef) is linked to subgoals (get a culinary arts degree) and means (study for a test, join a professional chef association). In addition to specific identity goals, most people have an overarching motivation—that is, a higher-order goal—to maintain an overall positive self-concept as a good, moral, and competent individual (Dunning, 2007; Greenwald, 1980; Greenwald & Breckler, 1985; Steele, 1988). Our aspiring chef may wish to “be a good person” as a higher-order goal; they may have an associated subgoal such as “helping the homeless,” which they may achieve by means of “volunteering at a soup kitchen.”

People perform many behaviors in the service of acquiring, claiming, or maintaining desired identities (Wicklund & Gollwitzer, 1982). Specifically, people self-signal: They strategically engage in behaviors they consider consistent with a desired identity to signal to themselves that they have the identity (Prelec & Bodner, 2003). In some cases, identity goals supersede related non-identity goals. For example, a music student might value acquiring the identity of a guitarist more than acquiring the ability to play the guitar (a non-identity, learning goal). The dominance of the identity goal might lead the music student to purchase the flashiest guitar case available, which signals their guitarist identity to the world and themselves but does not help them actually learn to play the instrument. In other cases, identity goals are secondary to (or as important as) related non-identity goals. For example, a culinary student might value the ability to prepare delicious foods (a non-identity, learning goal) more than the identity goal of being a professional chef; they might value the goal of helping the homeless (a non-identity, prosocial goal) as much as the goal of being kind and generous (an identity goal).



## Self-Discrepancy

As with non-identity goals, successful attainment or progress toward an identity goal elicits positive emotional responses, whereas failure to attain or make progress toward the goal elicits negative emotional responses and coping methods such as shifting means (Kruglanski & Jaffe, 1988; see Chapter 9 in this volume) and abandoning the goal (Lewin, 1935; Miller, 1944). In the case of identity goals, “failure” can take the form of negative feedback that is related to the identity (e.g., low performance on a test; Eskreis-Winkler & Fishbach, 2019), upward social comparison (e.g., images of idealized attractive models in an advertisement; Richins, 1991; Sobol & Darke, 2014), or social exclusion (Lee & Shrum, 2012). These types of failures elicit a *self-discrepancy*: a perceived inconsistency between who a person is (their current identity) and who they ideally want to be, ought to be, or possibly could be (E. T. Higgins, 1987). Such self-discrepancy threatens the person’s self-concept and motivates them to engage in compensatory behaviors that might reduce or resolve the discrepancy (Gollwitzer et al., 2013; Heine et al., 2006; Tesser et al., 2000).

To illustrate, imagine that our aspiring chef prepares a lackluster soufflé, which prompts a self-discrepancy between the resultant self-perception as an incompetent cook and their desired identity as a chef. According to the compensatory consumer behavior model (Mandel et al., 2017), the aspiring chef might seek to resolve the self-discrepancy through (a) direct resolution (e.g., getting more practice), (b) symbolic self-completion (e.g., buying the tallest white chef’s hat), (c) dissociation (e.g., giving away their apron), (d) escapism (e.g., going to a bar to drown their sorrows), or (e) fluid compensation (e.g., taking up rock climbing to assert their athleticism). These five strategies can be categorized broadly as either shifting means (direct resolution, symbolic self-completion, and fluid compensation) or abandoning the goal (dissociation and escapism).

In one demonstration of symbolic self-completion, Gao et al. (2009) asked participants to write about their intelligence using either their dominant or non-dominant hand; those who had to use their non-dominant hand experienced a self-discrepancy with the identity of being an intelligent person. Then, to resolve the self-discrepancy, the non-dominant-hand participants were more likely than the dominant-hand participants to select a fountain pen—closely associated with intelligence—over a pack of M&Ms as a reward for participation.

## Self-Diagnosticity

In general, people tend to select means or actions that seem most instrumental to (i.e., useful for) goal attainment (Markman & Brendl, 2000; Shah & Kruglanski,

2003; Zhang et al., 2007). For identity goals, people tend to select means or goal-consistent actions that seem particularly *self-diagnostic*, or indicative of the type of person they are (Prelec & Bodner, 2003; Touré-Tillery & Fishbach, 2012, 2015). A prospective volunteer is more likely to help at the soup kitchen if they believe that the acts of preparing and serving meals to the homeless are particularly self-diagnostic (e.g., of their kindness and generosity) than if they perceive these acts as non-diagnostic. In the next two subsections, we explain how an action is more likely to be perceived as self-diagnostic if it (a) unambiguously signals the identity or (b) is expected to be memorable.

### Unambiguous Signals

Behaviors and choices that can be attributed unambiguously to one's internal traits and characteristics seem more self-diagnostic (Baumeister et al., 2001; Schweitzer & Hsee, 2002), while behaviors with multiple possible attributions seem less self-diagnostic (Dana et al., 2007; Gur & Sackeim, 1979; Hsee et al., 2003). For example, while browsing a bookstore for a good read, we would expect our aspiring chef to choose a book on molecular gastronomy over a book of culinary jokes. Molecular gastronomy is inaccessible to most readers, so it unambiguously signals their professional identity, whereas culinary jokes may be enjoyed by Food Network enthusiasts as well as professional chefs. Similarly, our aspiring chef may decide to whip up a soufflé from memory rather than from a cookbook to unambiguously signal their professional identity, as “regular people” presumably would need to use a cookbook to make such a complicated recipe.

People who hold a higher-order goal of being a good person tend to favor unambiguously good behaviors over behaviors that could be categorized as good or neutral. They also tend to favor bad behaviors that could be categorized as bad or neutral over those that are unambiguously bad because the former could serve other goals without hurting the identity goal. For example, a “good person” who is browsing the office supply closet is more likely to take home a \$5 pack of pens than \$5 in cash because taking pens from the office is easier to rationalize (e.g., “I work here,” “I am going to use them for work-related things”). Mazar et al. (2008) provided participants with an opportunity to cheat for financial gain, and participants tended to take the opportunity—but they pursued less than the maximum amount of money possible. Furthermore, after performing the dishonest behavior, participants still perceived themselves as good, honest people. The authors concluded that people behave dishonestly enough to benefit their wallets but not so dishonestly that it would hurt their perceptions of themselves as good people.

Recent research posits another dimension of ambiguity: the extent to which decisions seem real. The rationale is that a person will perceive themselves as more generous if they actually donate (vs. imagine donating) \$50 because a

hypothetical or imagined donation is an ambiguous signal of generosity. Touré-Tillery and Wang (2022) show that decisions made on paper seem more real and hence more self-diagnostic than those made on digital devices, which are inextricably linked to the virtual world—conceptualized as not actual, not real, and not of the physical, natural, or material world. Accordingly, Touré-Tillery and Wang find that people make more virtuous decisions on paper than on digital devices in the contexts of prosocial decisions, book choices, and food choices. In one field experiment involving a student-led charity event, potential donors read a charitable appeal on paper or on a digital device (tablet) and decided whether to help. People who decided on paper (vs. a tablet) were more likely both to pledge and to fulfill the pledge with monetary or in-kind donations.

The self-diagnostics of a behavior that is consistent with an identity goal may be threatened if the person obtains large benefits (or incurs very low costs) from the behavior, in terms of time, effort (Dhar & Wertenbroch, 2012), financial or material resources (Dubé et al., 2017; Gneezy, Gneezy, et al., 2012; Mazar et al., 2008; Savary et al., 2020), or social capital (Kristofferson et al., 2014). Then, the behavior could be attributed to the external benefits (or lack of costs) instead of internal traits and characteristics (i.e., identity). Highly self-diagnostic behaviors are those that do not seem to benefit the person directly or seem to be costly, in which case there is no ambiguity about the person's motives.

For example, Gneezy, Imas, et al. (2012) show that a costly prosocial act (e.g., donating one's own money to charity) is a stronger signal of prosocial identity than a costless prosocial act (e.g., having someone else donate money to charity in one's name). Indeed, a costless prosocial behavior provides an ambiguous signal of identity as it could be attributed to the effortlessness of the act or to the generosity of the proxy. Accordingly, people are more likely to continue to behave in line with their prosocial identity for subsequent decisions after performing a costly (vs. costless) prosocial act because the prosocial identity is solidified by costly behavior.

The same principle applies to benefits/costs that are social rather than financial. Savary and Goldsmith (2020) show that the presence of a social-signaling or impression-management motive can reduce the perceived self-diagnostics of virtuous behaviors. For example, donating to charity seems more self-diagnostic of generosity if the donation is private than if the donation is public, in which case the donor's motivation could be attributed to either the donor's generosity or the donor's desire to show off or receive social praise (a social-signaling motive). By contrast, a private donation cannot be attributed to social-signaling motives, leaving the donor's generosity as the only viable explanation and enabling the donor to fulfill their identity goal. Accordingly, public recognition decreases people's willingness to donate (Savary & Goldsmith, 2020). Making publicity a mandatory (vs. voluntary) feature of the donation may help mitigate

this effect because it removes the ambiguity associated with a public donation (A. X. Yang & Hsee, 2022).

People not only behave in accordance with the degree of clarity or ambiguity of the signal their actions carry but also attempt to manipulate the clarity or ambiguity of this signal. When pursuing identity goals in conjunction with related non-identity goals (e.g., achievement), people often introduce ambiguity by choosing detrimental means for the achievement goal (“self-handicapping”) or remove ambiguity by avoiding instrumental means for the achievement goal (“self-sabotaging”). Self-handicapping occurs when people expect to fail at a focal achievement goal that is strongly connected to an important identity goal, such that failing at the achievement goal would damage their self-worth and constitute a setback for their identity goal (Berglas & Jones, 1978; R. L. Higgins & Harris, 1988). In such cases, people may intentionally introduce ambiguity into the attribution of their impending failure by selecting means that will impede their progress. Then, they can attribute their failure to external obstacles or circumstances instead of themselves (Martin et al., 2003). Self-sabotaging occurs in the opposite situation: When people expect to succeed at a focal achievement goal that is strongly connected to an important identity goal, they steer clear of instrumental means to avoid adding ambiguity to the attribution of their success. Then, they can attribute their success to themselves instead of external circumstances (Gamlin, 2019).

For example, studying for a test is an important means to the focal goal of getting good grades (a non-identity, achievement goal), which may be related to the goal of being a competent person (identity goal). Gamlin’s (2019) studies showed that students who anticipated getting an A on an important final exam self-sabotaged by avoiding instrumental means (e.g., declining to study with a more knowledgeable student before the exam). The decision was driven by ego-enhancement needs—that is, a desire to advance the identity goal of being a competent individual. By contrast, students who anticipated doing poorly on the exam tended to self-handicap by choosing to party the night before, and the decision was driven by ego-protection needs—that is, a desire to avoid setbacks in the pursuit of the goal of being a competent individual. Research shows that self-handicapping by procrastinating, slacking, abusing substances, or finding distractions instead of studying for tests is more likely among students who strongly associate getting good grades with being a competent person (R. L. Higgins et al., 1990).

### Expected Memorability

It is well documented that what people remember about themselves (i.e., autobiographical memory) has a strong influence on their self-concept (Belk, 1988; Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000; McAdams, 1987; Wilson & Ross, 2003).

Recent studies suggest that, beyond what people actually remember, what they expect to remember or forget (i.e., expected memorability) affects the self-diagnostics of identity-goal-consistent actions. People perceive an action as more self-diagnostic if they expect to remember (vs. forget) the action because remembered actions will have a greater influence on the ability to maintain a desired self-concept in the future. For example, while making a sweet-potato pie, our aspiring chef may be more likely to make the crust from scratch (rather than expediting the task with store-bought crust) if they expect to remember the choice than if they expect to forget it.

Touré-Tillery and Kouchaki (2021) show that when people have low memory efficacy—that is, when they believe they have a poor memory—they are less likely to contribute to a charitable cause or to make healthy food choices than a control group. In one study, the researchers manipulated memory efficacy by asking participants to write a short essay about what they did the previous morning (control condition) or a morning 1 month ago (low-memory efficacy condition). This task relied on meta-cognitive difficulty to change participants' perceptions of their memory efficacy; recalling a relatively mundane activity from 1 month ago is difficult and should cause participants to doubt their memory capabilities. Participants then decided whether to donate part of their study compensation to charity or keep it for themselves. The results showed that participants in the low-memory efficacy condition were less likely to donate than those in the control condition—that is, they were less likely to select the identity-goal-consistent action—because the lower likelihood of memory formation made the action seem less self-diagnostic.

Drawing from research on primacy and recency memory effects (see Greene, 1986, for a review), Touré-Tillery and Fishbach (2012) posit that people not only are actually more likely to remember experiences that happened first or last (vs. in the middle) but also expect to form stronger memories of first and last experiences. When people complete a sequence of actions toward a goal, the actions at the beginning and end (vs. in the middle) have greater expected memorability, so they seem more self-diagnostic. In one study, participants were tasked with proofreading 10 passages, and they were instructed to assign themselves to the short or long version of each passage by privately flipping a coin (labeled *short* on one side and *long* on the other). When a participant got a long coin flip, they could either be honest and work on the long task or lie about the coin flip and work on the short task to finish the study more quickly. The authors estimated the rate of lying by comparing the percentage of participants who reported a short coin flip with chance (50%). The results showed that significantly more participants lied in the middle of the task than at the beginning and end, when the dishonest action might be more memorable and, thus, more threatening to one's identity as a good person.

Touré-Tillery and Fishbach (2015) replicated the findings in a single-decision context to rule out alternative explanations (e.g., perhaps people behave less virtuously in the middle of multiple sequential actions due to tiredness or boredom). In a field experiment at a business school, Touré-Tillery and Fishbach (2015) set up a free snack table (a common offering at the school) with an indulgent option (Kit Kat bars) and a healthier option (Sunkist raisin packets). A pretest confirmed that most students at the school valued health consciousness, so raisins were the more virtuous, identity-goal-consistent choice. Behind the snack table, a poster described the snack choice as occurring at the beginning of the afternoon, in the middle of the day, or at the end of the morning—all accurate descriptions since the experiment ran around noon. The results showed that students were more likely to choose raisins, behaving in line with the identity goal of being health-conscious, when the poster described the choice as occurring at the beginning or end (vs. middle) of the time frame.

The expected memorability of a specific action also is affected by the extent to which a person's identities overlap. People vary in the number of identities they hold and the degree of overlap among these identities (Brewer & Gardner, 1996); *identity-overlap* is the extent to which a person's thoughts and feelings about themselves are consistent across their identities (see Linville, 1985; Rafaeli-Mor et al., 1999). People with low identity-overlap view their identities as compartmentalized, such that their thoughts and feelings about themselves differ across identities ("I am a gentle and relaxed parent, but I am a competitive and resilient business owner"). People with high identity-overlap view their identities as interconnected, such that their thoughts and feelings about themselves are similar across identities ("I am a gentle and relaxed parent and business owner"). Touré-Tillery and Light (2018) posit that when a person with high identity-overlap performs a "good deed" in one identity (e.g., keeping a difficult promise to a business partner), the associated positive thoughts ("I am a reliable business owner") will generalize to the person's other identities ("I am a reliable parent"). The same occurs with negative thoughts after a "bad deed." Thus, people with high (vs. low) identity-overlap see their actions as more self-diagnostic because they expect their actions and the accompanying thoughts and feelings to be more salient in all aspects of their lives. In turn, people with high (vs. low) identity-overlap are more likely to behave in line with their identity goals.

In one study, Touré-Tillery and Light (2018) manipulated participants' perceptions of identity-overlap (high vs. low) and then had them complete a study, ostensibly about intuition, in which participants predicted the outcome of a private coin flip. Half of the participants read that they would receive additional compensation if their prediction was correct, introducing an incentive to (dishonestly) report correct predictions. The no-incentive condition established the baseline prediction accuracy: There was no difference in the rate of reported

correct predictions between the low- and high-overlap conditions. In the presence of an incentive, however, more participants in the low- (vs. high-) overlap condition reported correct predictions, indicating more dishonesty. In sum, participants with high identity-overlap were less likely to lie, so they were more likely to behave consistently with the identity goal of being a good person.

Finally, Gai and Puntoni (2021) examine whether the self-diagnosticsity of a dishonest action—lying—is affected by whether the person uses their first language (L1) or a foreign language (L2). Most experiences and knowledge are encoded in L1, so the authors argue that L1 is a stronger cue for autobiographical memories than L2. Thus, actions conducted in L1 should have higher expected memorability and hence should seem more self-diagnostic. In one study, the authors recruited Dutch participants who were fluent in English to complete a series of surveys in Dutch (L1) or English (L2). After completing one survey, participants were instructed to use a private coin flip to assign themselves to a short version (2 minutes) or a long version (10 minutes) of the next study. A significantly higher percentage of participants reported a short coin flip in the L2 condition than in the L1 condition, indicating that participants were more likely to lie to save time in L2 than in L1. Thus, participants behaved more consistently with the identity goal of being an honest person when using L1, the language with stronger cues for autobiographical memory.

### Identities as Means

Identities serve as resources in the pursuit of various goals. For one, an identity may facilitate one's need for affiliation or the pursuit of a career goal (L. Q. Yang et al., 2013). Upon moving to a new city, a professional chef who identifies as female may join the local women's business association to make new friends and build her professional network. For another, an identity might be useful for establishing credibility or authority in social interactions (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002; Llewellyn, 2004). During a casual conversation about soufflés, our professional chef might establish her expertise by starting her argument with, "As a pastry chef, I think. . ." In the next two subsections, we explain how the extent to which an identity functions as an instrumental means (or as an impediment) depends on the person's self-efficacy and the existence of stereotypes or discrimination associated with the person's identity in the goal context.

#### Self-Efficacy

Like other means, identities—or, generally, the self—can be perceived as more or less instrumental for achieving a goal. *Self-efficacy* is a person's belief in their own capacity to execute behaviors necessary to attain a desired outcome (Bandura,



1977, 1986, 1997). A person high in self-efficacy in a given context sees themselves as an instrumental means to ends in that context, which increases their commitment and motivation to pursue the ends. Self-efficacy affects a broad range of behaviors: academic and work-related performance (Bandura et al., 2001; Honicke & Broadbent, 2016; Lane et al., 2004; Stajkovic & Luthans, 1998), athletic performance (Vargas, 2010; Wurtele, 1986), prosocial behaviors (Caprara & Steca, 2007; Sharma & Morwitz, 2016; Yao & Enright, 2020), and health behaviors (Grembowski et al., 1993; Keller, 2006; Strecher et al., 1986). For example, Park and John (2014) find that people tend to perform better on a strenuous handgrip exercise when they drink water from a Gatorade (vs. HydroPure) cup because the strong association between the Gatorade brand and athletic performance increases self-efficacy. If our culinary student has strong self-efficacy in the context of school, then they may perceive that their own skill is the ultimate tool for success, and they may be more likely to persist and succeed at their goal than another student with weaker self-efficacy in this domain.

Self-efficacy (and goal commitment) may be boosted by goal progress if the progress can be attributed to personal or internal factors rather than situational or external ones. In one study by Zhang and Huang (2010), participants pursued a goal of burning 300 calories in an exercise task. They first performed a “warm-up” task and were told that they burned either 40 calories (low progress) or 120 calories (high progress). Also, some participants were told that the number of calories burned was mostly attributable to the temperature of the room (i.e., an external factor); other participants were given no information about attribution, so they could make an internal attribution. Among the participants with high progress on the warm-up task, goal commitment (as measured by effort on the main task) was stronger for participants who could make an internal attribution. The reverse occurred among participants with low progress on the warm-up task, presumably because internal attributions of poor goal progress damaged their self-efficacy.

### Stereotypes and Discrimination

The traits and characteristics associated with a specific identity can determine whether and how that identity might facilitate goal attainment. For example, research on stereotype threat suggests that identities can be instrumental (means) as well as detrimental (impediments) to goal pursuit (Oyserman, 2009; Steele, 1997; Wheeler & Petty, 2001). Stereotype threat occurs when a person’s social group or identity is viewed negatively in a domain by most of society (e.g., “women are bad at math”), such that the stereotype is internalized by everyone, including the subjects of the stereotype. The extra pressure of avoiding judgment or disconfirming the negative stereotype can hurt one’s performance, ironically reinforcing the stereotype (Stone et al., 1999). Spencer et al. (1999) find



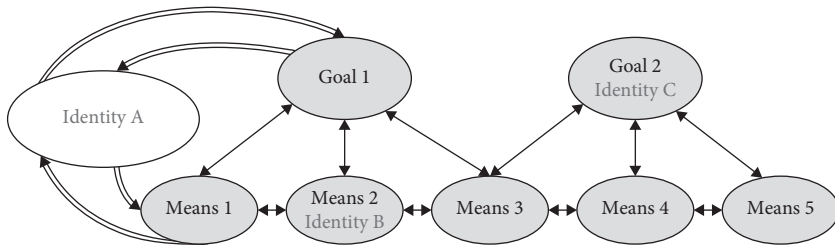
that women perform worse than men on a difficult math test; the difference in performance disappears when the test is described as “not producing gender differences,” which reduces the stereotype threat for women. The results imply that a female identity can be an impediment to STEM-related goals when the negative stereotype is salient.

The reverse can also occur—a salient positive stereotype can improve performance. Indeed, although all stereotypes can be problematic, not all stereotypes are negative. While women (vs. men) are stereotyped as having inferior quantitative skills, some societies hold a stereotype that people of Asian descent (vs. other ethnicities) have superior quantitative skills. Accordingly, Shih et al. (1999) find that Asian American women performed worse on a math test when their gender identity was primed (vs. not primed) but performed better when their Asian identity was primed (vs. not primed).

Beyond stereotypes, overt discrimination based on social identity constitutes a major obstacle to goal attainment for racial, ethnic, and religious minorities; women and girls; LGBTQ and gender-non-conforming people; older people; and people with disabilities or stigmatized illnesses (Al Ramiah et al., 2010; Colella et al., 2017; Horowitz et al., 2018). Marginalized identities may be impediments in the pursuit of goals that society deems “inappropriate” for people with the identity. For example, a 2020 report from the US Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that less than 25% of chefs are women; according to Troitino (2020), less than 7% of US restaurants are led by women. The gender gap stems in part from entrenched societal beliefs that men are more adept chefs and business owners than women; women may face discrimination when applying for top positions in restaurants or soliciting investments to open new restaurants. Thus, a female identity may impede a successful career as a chef and restaurateur, while a male identity may be instrumental to such a pursuit.

## Conclusion

Goals and identities are intricately linked but typically are studied separately. This chapter integrates the previously siloed literatures to highlight the interplay between goal systems and identities (see Figure 13.5 for a visual summary). We describe three major types of interactions between goals and identities. First, *goal systems shape identities* because people learn about themselves from both the goals they pursue and the means they choose. Inferences drawn from goal pursuit inform identities around those goals and their outcomes. Second, *identities shape goal systems* by providing inputs (e.g., norms, preferences, beliefs, memory accessibility) that guide choices of goals and means. Third, *identities can operate within the goal system as goals or as means*. In the pursuit of an identity



**Figure 13.5** Interplay Between Identities and Goal Systems

*Note.* Elements of the goal system are depicted in gray. In addition to shaping and being shaped by goal systems (e.g., Identity A), identities can operate as means (e.g., Identity B) and goals (e.g., Identity C) within goal systems.

goal, people may strategically engage in behaviors they consider consistent with the desired identity to signal to themselves (and others) that they possess the traits and characteristics associated with the identity. People favor goals and means that unambiguously signal the desired identity and that seem memorable, such that the behavior is highly self-diagnostic. As a means, identity can be instrumental or impedimental depending on the person's self-efficacy and the existence of stereotypes or discrimination associated with the person's identity in the goal context. Our analysis is a step toward developing a more comprehensive picture of the interrelated cognitive systems that support goals and identities.

## References

- Ahuvia, A. C. (2005). Beyond the extended self: Loved objects and consumers' identity narratives. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32(1), 171–184.
- Allport, G. W. (1943). The ego in contemporary psychology. *Psychological Review*, 50(5), 451–478.
- Al Ramiah, A., Hewstone, M., Dovidio, J. F., & Penner, L. A. (2010). The social psychology of discrimination: Theory, measurement and consequences. In L. Bond, F. McGinnity, & H. Russell (Eds.), *Making equality count: Irish and international research measuring equality and discrimination* (pp. 84–112). Liffey Press.
- Andersen, S. M., & Chen, S. (2002). The relational self: An interpersonal social-cognitive theory. *Psychological Review*, 109(4), 619–645.
- Aquino, K., Freeman, D., Reed, A., II, Lim, V. K., & Felps, W. (2009). Testing a social-cognitive model of moral behavior: The interactive influence of situations and moral identity centrality. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 97(1), 123–141.
- Austin, J. T., & Vancouver, J. B. (1996). Goal constructs in psychology: Structure, process, and content. *Psychological Bulletin*, 120(3), 338–375.
- Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence: An essay on psychology and religion*. Rand McNally.

- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84(2), 191–215.
- Bandura, A. (1986). The explanatory and predictive scope of self-efficacy theory. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 4(3), 359–373.
- Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. Freeman.
- Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C. (2001). Self-efficacy beliefs as shapers of children's aspirations and career trajectories. *Child Development*, 72(1), 187–206.
- Baum, J. R., & Locke, E. A. (2004). The relationship of entrepreneurial traits, skill, and motivation to subsequent venture growth. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(4), 587–598.
- Baumeister, R. F., Bratslavsky, E., Finkenauer, C., & Vohs, K. D. (2001). Bad is stronger than good. *Review of General Psychology*, 5(4), 323–370.
- Belk, R. W. (1988). Possessions and the extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15(2), 139–168.
- Bem, D. J. (1972). Self-perception theory. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 1–62). Academic Press.
- Berger, J., & Heath, C. (2007). Where consumers diverge from others: Identity signaling and product domains. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(2), 121–134.
- Berger, J., & Heath, C. (2008). Who drives divergence? Identity signaling, outgroup dissimilarity, and the abandonment of cultural tastes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(3), 593–607.
- Berger, J., & Ward, M. (2010). Subtle signals of inconspicuous consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(4), 555–569.
- Berglas, S., & Jones, E. E. (1978). Drug choice as a self-handicapping strategy in response to noncontingent success. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36(4), 405–417.
- Berkman, E. T., Livingston, J. L., & Kahn, L. E. (2017). Finding the “self” in self-regulation: The identity-value model. *Psychological Inquiry*, 28(2–3), 77–98.
- Bolton, L. E., & Reed, A., II. (2004). Sticky priors: The perseverance of identity effects on judgment. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 41(4), 397–410.
- Bowman, N. A., & Felix, V. (2017). It's who I am: Student identity centrality and college student success. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 54(3), 235–247.
- Brasel, S. A., & Gips, J. (2011). Red Bull “gives you wings” for better or worse: A double-edged impact of brand exposure on consumer performance. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 21(1), 57–64.
- Brehm, J. W., & Self, E. A. (1989). The intensity of motivation. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 40(1), 109–131.
- Brewer, M. B., & Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this “we”? Levels of collective identity and self-representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71(1), 83–93.
- Brough, A. R., Wilkie, J. E., Ma, J., Isaac, M. S., & Gal, D. (2016). Is eco-friendly unmanly? The green-feminine stereotype and its effect on sustainable consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43(4), 567–582.
- Cantor, N., Markus, H., Niedenthal, P., & Nurius, P. (1986). On motivation and the self-concept. In R. M. Sorrentino & T. E. Higgins (Eds.), *Motivation and cognition: Foundations of social behavior* (pp. 96–127). Guilford Press.
- Caprara, G. V., & Steca, P. (2007). Prosocial agency: The contribution of values and self-efficacy beliefs to prosocial behavior across ages. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 26(2), 218–239.

- Colella, A., Hebl, M., & King, E. (2017). One hundred years of discrimination research in the *Journal of Applied Psychology*: A sobering synopsis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *102*(3), 500–513.
- Conway, M. A., & Pleydell-Pearce, C. W. (2000). The construction of autobiographical memories in the self-memory system. *Psychological Review*, *107*(2), 261–288.
- Dana, J., Weber, R. A., & Kuang, J. X. (2007). Exploiting moral wiggle room: Experiments demonstrating an illusory preference for fairness. *Economic Theory*, *33*(1), 67–80.
- Dhar, R., & Wertenbroch, K. (2012). Self-signaling and the costs and benefits of temptation in consumer choice. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *49*(1), 15–25.
- Diekmann, A. B., Brown, E. R., Johnston, A. M., & Clark, E. K. (2010). Seeking congruity between goals and roles: A new look at why women opt out of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics careers. *Psychological Science*, *21*(8), 1051–1057.
- Dittmar, H., Beattie, J., & Friese, S. (1996). Objects, decision considerations and self-image in men's and women's impulse purchases. *Acta Psychologica*, *93*(1–3), 187–206.
- Dubé, J. P., Luo, X., & Fang, Z. (2017). Self-signaling and prosocial behavior: A cause marketing experiment. *Marketing Science*, *36*(2), 161–186.
- Dunning, D. (2007). Self-image motives and consumer behavior: How sacrosanct self-beliefs sway preferences in the marketplace. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *17*(4), 237–249.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Erlbaum.
- Eccles, J. (2009). Who am I and what am I going to do with my life? Personal and collective identities as motivators of action. *Educational Psychologist*, *44*(2), 78–89.
- Elliott, R., & Wattanasuwan, K. (1998). Brands as symbolic resources for the construction of identity. *International Journal of Advertising*, *17*(2), 131–144.
- Epp, A. M., & Price, L. L. (2008). Family identity: A framework of identity interplay in consumption practices. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *35*(1), 50–70.
- Escalas, J. E., & Bettman, J. R. (2003). You are what they eat: The influence of reference groups on consumers' connections to brands. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *13*(3), 339–348.
- Escalas, J. E., & Bettman, J. R. (2005). Self-construal, reference groups, and brand meaning. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *32*(3), 378–389.
- Eskreis-Winkler, L., & Fishbach, A. (2019). Not learning from failure—The greatest failure of all. *Psychological Science*, *30*(12), 1733–1744.
- Evans, C. D., & Diekmann, A. B. (2009). On motivated role selection: Gender beliefs, distant goals, and career interest. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *33*(2), 235–249.
- Fishbach, A., & Dhar, R. (2005). Goals as excuses or guides: The liberating effect of perceived goal progress on choice. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *32*(3), 370–377.
- Fishbach, A., Dhar, R., & Zhang, Y. (2006). Subgoals as substitutes or complements: The role of goal accessibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *91*(2), 232–242.
- Fishbach, A., & Ferguson, M. J. (2007). The goal construct in social psychology. In A. W. Kruglanski & T. E. Higgins (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles* (pp. 490–515). Guilford Press.
- Fishbach, A., & Zhang, Y. (2008). Together or apart: When goals and temptations complement versus compete. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *94*(4), 547–559.
- Fitzsimons, G. M., Chartrand, T. L., & Fitzsimons, G. J. (2008). Automatic effects of brand exposure on motivated behavior: How Apple makes you “think different.” *Journal of Consumer Research*, *35*(1), 21–35.

- Forehand, M. R., Deshpandé, R., & Reed, A., II. (2002). Identity salience and the influence of differential activation of the social self-schema on advertising response. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 87*(6), 1086–1099.
- Fournier, S. (1998). Consumers and their brands: Developing relationship theory in consumer research. *Journal of Consumer Research, 24*(4), 343–373.
- Gai, P. J., & Puntoni, S. (2021). Language and consumer dishonesty: A self-diagnostics theory. *Journal of Consumer Research, 48*(2), 333–351.
- Gamlin, J. (2019). *Self-sabotaging in consumer goal pursuit* (Publication No. 13880685) [Doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University]. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.
- Gao, H., Mittal, V., & Zhang, Y. (2020). The differential effect of local–global identity among males and females: The case of price sensitivity. *Journal of Marketing Research, 57*(1), 173–191.
- Gao, L., Wheeler, S. C., & Shiv, B. (2009). The “shaken self”: Product choices as a means of restoring self-view confidence. *Journal of Consumer Research, 36*(1), 29–38.
- Garczynski, A. M., & Brown, C. M. (2013). Active self-aspects as a basis for encoding specificity effects in memory. *Self and Identity, 12*(4), 370–381.
- Gneezy, A., Gneezy, U., Riener, G., & Nelson, L. D. (2012). Pay-what-you-want, identity, and self-signaling in markets. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America, 109*(19), 7236–7240.
- Gneezy, A., Imas, A., Brown, A., Nelson, L. D., & Norton, M. I. (2012). Paying to be nice: Consistency and costly prosocial behavior. *Management Science, 58*(1), 179–187.
- Gollwitzer, P. M., Marquardt, M. K., Scherer, M., & Fujita, K. (2013). Identity-goal threats: Engaging in distinct compensatory efforts. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 4*(5), 555–562.
- Greene, R. L. (1986). Sources of recency effects in free recall. *Psychological Bulletin, 99*(2), 221–228.
- Greenwald, A. G. (1980). The totalitarian ego: Fabrication and revision of personal history. *American Psychologist, 35*(7), 603–618.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1989). The self as a memory system: Powerful, but ordinary. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*(1), 41–54.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Breckler, S. J. (1985). To whom is the self presented? In B. Schlenker (Ed.), *The self and social life* (pp. 126–145). McGraw-Hill.
- Grembowski, D., Patrick, D., Diehr, P., Durham, M., Beresford, S., Kay, E., & Hecht, J. (1993). Self-efficacy and health behavior among older adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 34*, 89–104.
- Gur, R. C., & Sackeim, H. A. (1979). Self-deception: A concept in search of a phenomenon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 37*(2), 147–169.
- He, X., Inman, J. J., & Mittal, V. (2008). Gender jeopardy in financial risk taking. *Journal of Marketing Research, 45*(4), 414–424.
- Heine, S. J., Proulx, T., & Vohs, K. D. (2006). The meaning maintenance model: On the coherence of social motivations. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 10*(2), 88–110.
- Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review, 94*(3), 319–340.
- Higgins, E. T., & Kruglanski, A. W. (2000). *Motivational science: Social and personality perspectives*. Psychology Press.
- Higgins, R. L., & Harris, R. N. (1988). Strategic “alcohol” use: Drinking to self-handicap. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 6*(2), 191–202.

- Higgins, R. L., Snyder, C. R., & Berglas, S. (1990). *Self-handicapping: The paradox that isn't*. Plenum.
- Hogg, M. A., Hohman, Z. P., & Rivera, J. E. (2008). Why do people join groups? Three motivational accounts from social psychology. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(3), 1269–1280.
- Hollenbeck, J. R., & Klein, H. J. (1987). Goal commitment and the goal-setting process: Problems, prospects, and proposals for future research. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 72(2), 212–220.
- Holmes, J. M., Bowman, N. A., Murphy, M. C., & Carter, E. (2019). Envisioning college success: The role of student identity centrality. *Social Psychology of Education*, 22(5), 1015–1034.
- Honick, T., & Broadbent, J. (2016). The influence of academic self-efficacy on academic performance: A systematic review. *Educational Research Review*, 17, 63–84.
- Horowitz, J. M., Igielnik, R., & Parker, K. (2018, September 20). *Women and leadership 2018*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2018/09/20/women-and-leadership-2018/>
- Housley, W., & Fitzgerald, R. (2002). The reconsidered model of membership categorization analysis. *Qualitative Research*, 2(1), 59–83.
- Hsee, C. K., Yu, F., Zhang, J., & Zhang, Y. (2003). Medium maximization. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 30(1), 1–14.
- James, W. (1890). *The principles of psychology* (Vol. 1). Dover Publications.
- Keller, P. A. (2006). Regulatory focus and efficacy of health messages. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 33(1), 109–114.
- Kendzierski, D. (1988). Self-schemata and exercise. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 9(1), 45–59.
- Klein, S. B., & Kihlstrom, J. F. (1986). Elaboration, organization, and the self-reference effect in memory. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 115(1), 26–38.
- Koo, M., & Fishbach, A. (2008). Dynamics of self-regulation: How (un)accomplished goal actions affect motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(2), 183–195.
- Kristofferson, K., White, K., & Peloza, J. (2014). The nature of slacktivism: How the social observability of an initial act of token support affects subsequent prosocial action. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40(6), 1149–1166.
- Kruglanski, A. W., & Jaffe, Y. (1988). Curing by knowing: The epistemic approach to cognitive therapy. In L. Abramson (Ed.), *Social cognition and clinical psychology: A synthesis* (pp. 254–291). Guilford Press.
- Kruglanski, A. W., & Kopetz, C. (2009). What is so special (and nonspecial) about goals? A view from the cognitive perspective. In G. B. Moskowitz & H. Grant (Eds.), *The psychology of goals* (pp. 27–55). Guilford Press.
- Kruglanski, A. W., Shah, J. Y., Fishbach, A., Friedman, R., Chun, W. Y., & Sleeth-Keppler, D. (2002). A theory of goal systems. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 34(2), 331–378.
- Lane, J., Lane, A. M., & Kyprianou, A. (2004). Self-efficacy, self-esteem and their impact on academic performance. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 32(3), 247–256.
- Langher, V., Fedele, F., Caputo, A., Marchini, F., & Aragona, C. (2019). Extreme desire for motherhood: Analysis of narratives from women undergoing assisted reproductive technology (ART). *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 15(2), 292–311.



- Lavallee, D., & Robinson, H. K. (2007). In pursuit of an identity: A qualitative exploration of retirement from women's artistic gymnastics. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, 8(1), 119–141.
- Lee, J., & Shrum, L. J. (2012). Conspicuous consumption versus charitable behavior in response to social exclusion: A differential needs explanation. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39(3), 530–544.
- Lewin, K. (1935). *A dynamic theory of personality* (D. K. Adams & K. E. Zaner, Trans.). McGraw-Hill.
- Liberman, N., & Förster, J. (2008). Expectancy, value and psychological distance: A new look at goal gradients. *Social Cognition*, 26(5), 515–533.
- Linville, P. W. (1985). Self-complexity and affective extremity: Don't put all of your eggs in one cognitive basket. *Social Cognition*, 3(1), 94–120.
- Linville, P. W., & Carlston, D. E. (1994). Social cognition of the self. In P. G. Devine, D. L. Hamilton, & T. M. Ostrom (Eds.), *Social cognition: Impact on social psychology* (pp. 143–193). Academic Press.
- Llewellyn, N. (2004). In search of modernization: The negotiation of social identity in organizational reform. *Organization Studies*, 25(6), 947–968.
- Locke, E. A., Shaw, K. N., Saari, L. M., & Latham, G. P. (1981). Goal setting and task performance: 1969–1980. *Psychological Bulletin*, 90(1), 125–152.
- Mandel, N., Rucker, D. D., Levav, J., & Galinsky, A. D. (2017). The compensatory consumer behavior model: How self-discrepancies drive consumer behavior. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 27(1), 133–146.
- Markman, A. B., & Brendl, C. M. (2000). The influence of goals on value and choice. In D. L. Medin (Ed.), *The psychology of learning and motivation: Advances in research and theory* (Vol. 39, pp. 97–128). Academic Press.
- Markus, H. (1977). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35(2), 63–78.
- Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1986). Possible selves. *American Psychologist*, 41(9), 954–969.
- Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 38(1), 299–337.
- Martin, A. J., Marsh, H. W., & Debus, R. L. (2003). Self-handicapping and defensive pessimism: A model of self-protection from a longitudinal perspective. *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 28(1), 1–36.
- Mazar, N., Amir, O., & Ariely, D. (2008). The dishonesty of honest people: A theory of self-concept maintenance. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 45(6), 633–644.
- McAdams, D. P. (1987). A life-story model of identity. In R. Hogan & W. H. Jones (Eds.), *Perspectives in personality* (Vol. 2, pp. 15–50). JAI Press.
- McConnell, A. R. (2011). The multiple self-aspects framework: Self-concept representation and its implications. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 15(1), 3–27.
- McConnell, A. R., Shoda, T. M., & Skulborstad, H. M. (2012). The self as a collection of multiple self-aspects: Structure, development, operation, and implications. *Social Cognition*, 30(4), 380–395.
- Meyers-Levy, J. (1988). The influence of sex roles on judgment. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 14(4), 522–530.
- Miller, N. E. (1944). Experimental studies of conflict. In J. M. Hunt (Ed.), *Personality and the behavior disorders* (pp. 431–465). Ronald Press.
- Mitchell, T. R. (1982). Motivation: New directions for theory, research, and practice. *Academy of Management Review*, 7(1), 80–88.

- Oyserman, D. (2009). Identity-based motivation and consumer behavior. *Journal of Consumer Psychology, 19*(3), 276–279.
- Oyserman, D., Lewis, N. A., Jr., Yan, V. X., Fisher, O., O'Donnell, S. C., & Horowitz, E. (2017). An identity-based motivation framework for self-regulation. *Psychological Inquiry, 28*(2–3), 139–147.
- Park, J. K., & John, D. R. (2014). I think I can, I think I can: Brand use, self-efficacy, and performance. *Journal of Marketing Research, 51*(2), 233–247.
- Prelec, D., & Bodner, R. (2003). Self-signaling and self-control. In G. Loewenstein & D. Read (Eds.), *Time and decision: Economic and psychological perspectives on intertemporal choice* (pp. 277–298). Russell Sage.
- Rafaeli-Mor, E., Gotlib, I. H., & Revelle, W. (1999). The meaning and measurement of self-complexity. *Personality and Individual Differences, 27*(2), 341–356.
- Reed, A., II. (2004). Activating the self-importance of consumer selves: Exploring identity salience effects on judgments. *Journal of Consumer Research, 31*(2), 286–295.
- Reed, A., II., Forehand, M. R., Puntoni, S., & Warlop, L. (2012). Identity-based consumer behavior. *International Journal of Research in Marketing, 29*(4), 310–321.
- Reitzes, D. C., & Mutran, E. J. (2002). Self-concept as the organization of roles: Importance, centrality, and balance. *The Sociological Quarterly, 43*(4), 647–667.
- Richins, M. L. (1991). Social comparison and the idealized images of advertising. *Journal of Consumer Research, 18*(1), 71–83.
- Saint Clair, J. K., & Forehand, M. R. (2020). The many-faced consumer: Consumption consequences of balancing multiple identities. *Journal of Consumer Research, 46*(6), 1011–1030.
- Savary, J., & Goldsmith, K. (2020). Unobserved altruism: How self-signaling motivations and social benefits shape willingness to donate. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied, 26*(3), 538–550.
- Savary, J., Li, C. X., & Newman, G. E. (2020). Exalted purchases or tainted donations? Self-signaling and the evaluation of charitable incentives. *Journal of Consumer Psychology, 30*(4), 671–679.
- Schweitzer, M. E., & Hsee, C. K. (2002). Stretching the truth: Elastic justification and motivated communication of uncertain information. *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty, 25*(2), 185–201.
- Settles, I. H. (2004). When multiple identities interfere: The role of identity centrality. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*(4), 487–500.
- Shah, J. Y., Friedman, R., & Kruglanski, A. W. (2002). Forgetting all else: On the antecedents and consequences of goal shielding. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*(6), 1261–1280.
- Shah, J. Y., & Kruglanski, A. W. (2003). When opportunity knocks: Bottom-up priming of goals by means and its effects on self-regulation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*(6), 1109–1122.
- Shang, J., Reed, A., II., & Croson, R. (2008). Identity congruency effects on donations. *Journal of Marketing Research, 45*(3), 351–361.
- Sharma, E., & Morwitz, V. G. (2016). Saving the masses: The impact of perceived efficacy on charitable giving to single vs. multiple beneficiaries. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 135*, 45–54.
- Shih, M., Pittinsky, T. L., & Ambady, N. (1999). Stereotype susceptibility: Identity salience and shifts in quantitative performance. *Psychological Science, 10*(1), 80–83.



- Showers, C. (1992). Compartmentalization of positive and negative self-knowledge: Keeping bad apples out of the bunch. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62(6), 1036–1049.
- Singer, J. A. (2004). Narrative identity and meaning making across the adult lifespan: An introduction. *Journal of Personality*, 72(3), 437–460.
- Sobol, K., & Darke, P. R. (2014). “I’d like to be that attractive, but at least I’m smart”: How exposure to ideal advertising models motivates improved decision-making. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 24(4), 533–540.
- Spencer, S. J., Steele, C. M., & Quinn, D. M. (1999). Stereotype threat and women’s math performance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 35(1), 4–28.
- Stajkovic, A. D., & Luthans, F. (1998). Self-efficacy and work-related performance: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 124(2), 240–261.
- Steele, C. M. (1988). The psychology of self-affirmation: Sustaining the integrity of the self. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 21, pp. 181–227). Academic Press.
- Steele, C. M. (1997). A threat in the air: How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and performance. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613–629.
- Stone, J., Lynch, C. I., Sjomeling, M., & Darley, J. M. (1999). Stereotype threat effects on Black and White athletic performance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(6), 1213–1227.
- Strecher, V. J., McEvoy DeVellis, B., Becker, M. H., & Rosenstock, I. M. (1986). The role of self-efficacy in achieving health behavior change. *Health Education Quarterly*, 13(1), 73–92.
- Summers, C. A., Smith, R. W., & Reczek, R. W. (2016). An audience of one: Behaviorally targeted ads as implied social labels. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43(1), 156–178.
- Tesser, A., Crepez, N., Collins, J. C., Cornell, D., & Beach, S. R. (2000). Confluence of self-esteem regulation mechanisms: On integrating the self-zoo. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(12), 1476–1489.
- Thoits, P. A. (1983). Multiple identities and psychological well-being: A reformulation and test of the social isolation hypothesis. *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), 174–187.
- Thoits, P. A. (2003). Personal agency in the accumulation of multiple role-identities. In P. J. Burke, T. J. Owens, R. T. Serpe, & P. A. Thoits (Eds.), *Advances in identity theory and research* (pp. 179–194). Kluwer.
- Touré-Tillery, M., & Fishbach, A. (2012). The end justifies the means, but only in the middle. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 141(3), 570–583.
- Touré-Tillery, M., & Fishbach, A. (2015). It was(n’t) me: Exercising restraint when choices appear self-diagnostic. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(6), 1117–1131.
- Touré-Tillery, M., & Kouchaki, M. (2021). You will not remember this: How memory efficacy influences virtuous behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 47(5), 737–754.
- Touré-Tillery, M., & Light, A. E. (2018). No self to spare: How the cognitive structure of the self influences moral behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 147, 48–64.
- Touré-Tillery, M., & Wang, L. (2022). The good-on-paper effect: How the decision context influences prosociality. *Marketing Science*, 41(5), 1004–1024.
- Troitino, C. (2020, February 29). Less than 7% of U.S. restaurants are led by women—One director wants to change that. *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/christinatroitino/2020/02/29/less-than-7-of-us-restaurants-are-led-by-women-one-director-wants-to-change-that>

- Vargas, T. M. (2010). Small investment, big return: The art of the pep talk. In J. Csapo & A. Magyar (Eds.), *Psychology of persuasion: Psychology of emotions, motivations, and actions* (pp. 121–131). Nova Science Publishers.
- Wheeler, S. C., & Petty, R. E. (2001). The effects of stereotype activation on behavior: A review of possible mechanisms. *Psychological Bulletin*, *127*(6), 797–826.
- Wicklund, R. A., & Gollwitzer, P. M. (1982). *Symbolic self-completion*. Routledge.
- Wilson, A., & Ross, M. (2003). The identity function of autobiographical memory: Time is on our side. *Memory*, *11*(2), 137–149.
- Winterich, K. P., Mittal, V., & Ross, W. T., Jr. (2009). Donation behavior toward in-groups and out-groups: The role of gender and moral identity. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *36*(2), 199–214.
- Winterich, K. P., Zhang, Y., & Mittal, V. (2012). How political identity and charity positioning increase donations: Insights from moral foundations theory. *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, *29*(4), 346–354.
- Wurtele, S. K. (1986). Self-efficacy and athletic performance: A review. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *4*(3), 290–301.
- Yang, A. X., & Hsee, C. K. (2022). Obligatory publicity increases charitable acts. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *48*(5), 839–857.
- Yang, L. Q., Johnson, R. E., Zhang, X., Spector, P. E., & Xu, S. (2013). Relations of interpersonal unfairness with counterproductive work behavior: The moderating role of employee self-identity. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, *28*(2), 189–202.
- Yao, Z., & Enright, R. (2020). Belief in altruistic human nature and prosocial behavior: A serial mediation analysis. *Ethics & Behavior*, *30*(2), 97–111.
- Zeigler-Hill, V., & Showers, C. J. (2007). Self-structure and self-esteem stability: The hidden vulnerability of compartmentalization. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *33*(2), 143–159.
- Zhang, Y., Fishbach, A., & Kruglanski, A. W. (2007). The dilution model: How additional goals undermine the perceived instrumentality of a shared path. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *92*(3), 389–401.
- Zhang, Y., & Huang, S. C. (2010). How endowed versus earned progress affects consumer goal commitment and motivation. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *37*(4), 641–654.