

# Theoretical Framework of Online Compulsive Buying

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## Abstract

**Research purpose:** Today the consumer behavior has changed to a great extent. A lot of research has been done previously on the various areas of Consumer Research. Consumers do have different needs, urges (physical, psychological) and for the satisfaction of their needs they adopt different kinds of behavior. There have been increasing incidents of compulsive shopping among the Indian consumers. Even than very few research studies have been done in this area. The number of internet users is increasing dramatically. We live in a constant changing society and technology age which is named as information age and internet is the largest revolution in this era. A theoretical framework of online compulsive buying is presented, incorporating constructs/data themes from previous research in various disciplines such as psychology, sociology, and marketing. Personality antecedents and short and long term consequences describe the addictive consumer disease. Marketing implications and future research directions are discussed. Thus this research paper is an honest effort to provide new insights by consolidating the important research studies, articles, papers that analyze and evaluate the vast literature that is available in this context with the main aim of contributing to development of a theoretical framework that can throw light on this emerging consumer behavior problem.

**Research Methodology/Approach:** An extensive secondary research in the form of literature review was done. The methodology used was empirical and qualitative in nature.

**Research Limitations:** This theoretical study does not provide additional empirical evidence about the constructs related to the compulsive buying disease. Even though literature was reviewed from different disciplines, there may be studies currently in progress that expose new and important concepts and data subjects related to compulsive buying not previously published or reviewed.

**Practical implications:** This research study in this area will bring empirical data to provide useful information that will provide directions for designing and implementing online marketing strategies and exploring several broad research questions as a means of developing a better understanding of online compulsive buying behavior.

**Keywords:** Online compulsive buying, Compulsive buying Framework, shopping addiction, Materialism, Consumer Behavior

## Introduction

A lot of research has been done previously on the various areas of Consumer Research. Consumers do have different needs, urges (physical, psychological) and for the satisfaction of their needs they adopt different kinds of behavior. Today's lifestyle changes, access to high technology, availability of complex products, high incomes, high standard of living, change in the socio-cultural set up, single parents, nuclear families, double Income Single Kids (DISK), the growing urban culture, materialism solicitation have all resulted in enhancing stress and anxiety in an individual's life. The individual shed off the negative feelings of stress and anxiety by material acquisition. Tweens and teenagers who relied on materialistic products for satisfying their deeper sentiments are more prone to become impulsive buyers due to the privation of emotions and feelings they earlier used to satisfy from their family and friends. The purchase instead of the plaything or the provisions is replaced for love and attachment. This has paved a way to an altogether new Consumer Behavior which has resulted in Compulsiveness (Shopping Addiction, Compulsive Buying Disorder)

According to Vohs Kathleen and Faber Ronald 2007 Compulsive buying behavior has cropped to be an imperative field of research in the area of consumer behavior. Compulsive shopping disorder or shopping addiction is characterized by a mania with buying activities that causes adverse consequences. According to Kellett and Bolton (2009) Compulsive buying is witnessed as an enticing-uncontrollable desire or urge, resulting in undue, luxurious and protracted merchandise activity which is usually provoked by depressing and negative response and cause gross societal, personal and/or economic adversities. Shopping as a mood changer may be an accommodative or an adaptive behavior if there is no compulsiveness involved; it has teasingly been called retail therapy. But like drug use, it can be either a treatment or a compulsion.

Obsessive buying is a behavioral disorder that propels a person to repeatedly make purchases in spite of the economic, social, or psychosomatic consequences (Faber 1992; Faber and O'Guinn 1992; Scherhorn 1990, Damon 1988; Krueger 1988; Valence et al. 1988). Impulsive buying is the consequence of dysfunction in one or all of the elements such as inheritance, family background, mental, and society (Faber 1992, Hirschman 1992; Scherhorn 1990; Valence et al. 1988, Damon 1988,). Habitual (impulsive) buying is

distinguished from functional purchasing as the products are not purchased for their intrinsic value, the end cost there is denial to the negative consequences of the actions, it is disruptive to the individual's life, recurring failures in attempts to direct the actions, and a urge or drive to buy (O'Guinn and Faber 1989; Krueger 1988; Valence et al. 1988; Faber O'Guinn, and Krych 1987)

It is claimed that the society and culture are the two main elements in the formation of obsessive buyers (Faber 1992; Hirschman 1992; Valence et al. 1988). People's discernment of what is right and wrong behavior is based on communal, cultural, and personal standards.

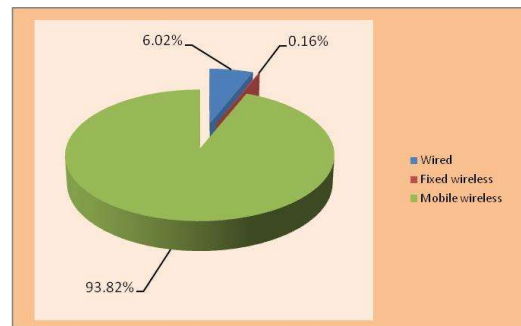
Faber and O'Guinn (1988) have defined compulsive spending as a behavior to an unmanageable urge or longing to get hold of, utilize, or experience a feeling, substance or action that results him to cyclically involve in an action that will finally cause damage to the individual and others (family, peer). The scope of this definition was widen by relating it with obsessive purchasing as a reaction to negative events or emotions (O'Guinn and Faber 1989). d'Astous (1990) claims compulsive buying as a widespread spur to buy in the buyer population and that persons who are enormously elevated on this factor may be called compulsive buyers. Faber and O'Guinn (1992, 1988 and 1989) and Faber O'Guinn, and Krych (1987) explain compulsive purchasing as relating to personality, kinship communication patterns, and population variables, and developed an indicative instrument for measurement and categorization of compulsive against non-compulsive purchasers.

Natarajan and Goff (1991) also analyze buying behavior on a continuum. They explained the continuum as founded on action (motive) and restrain (control). Thus, impulsive buyers are one who is high on motive and low on control.

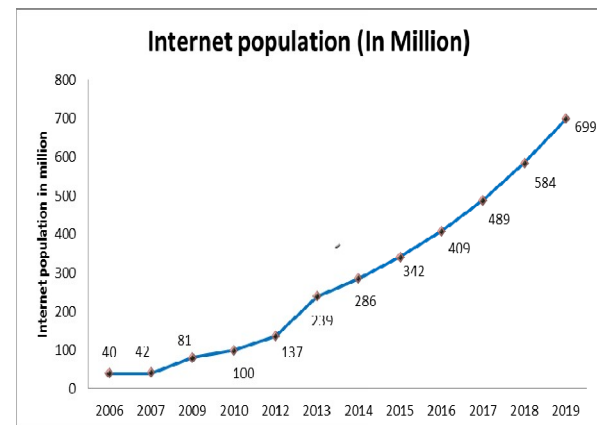
### The Internet impact

The number of internet users is increasing dramatically. We live in a constant changing society and technology age which is named as information age and internet is the largest revolution in this era. Although sluggish initially, India is steadily obtaining the impetus and is in the course of fetching the country with maximum figure of internet knowledgeable inhabitants in the world. As per data released by TRAI, Total number of Internet subscribers has increased from 324.95 million at the end of Sep-15 to 331.66 million at the end of Dec-15, registering a quarterly growth rate of 2.06%. Out of 331.66 million, Wired Internet subscribers are 19.98 million and Wireless Internet subscribers are 311.69 million. This investigative conclusion has been arrived at based on justifications like tremendous net penetration in India, which has ensued increased flexibility of online shopping among Indians and enhanced on-line shopping experience presented by the an assortment of e-commerce websites.

### Composition of internet subscription



Following diagram represents the year wise internet clients in India in Millions. It can be seen that internet users in India are growing at a Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of 20%. As a result the number of internet users in India is supposed to reach the figure of 700 million by 2019:



With 462 million people using internet, India has surpassed the United States in terms of the number of internet users and is now behind only to China, according to a latest research report. India is growing at more than 43% every year when it comes to net usage as against an even growth seen against rest of the world.

### Relevance of online shopping

Internet shopping in India will cross \$15 billion by 2016, with over 50 million new buyers emerging from tier 1 and tier 2 cities, according to the survey report from search giant Google and Forrester Consulting. The total number of online buyers in the country will nearly triple to 100 million by 2016, including 40 million women. The behavior of Indian online shoppers is fast mirroring that of shoppers in more developed market place, women buyers are set to become the most significant contributor to the growth of online shopping and there is an enormous opportunity waiting to be unlocked in this user segment. The report also

suggested that female buyers in tier 1 cities were more engaged in online buying, and outspend males by nearly two times, splurging on forms such as clothing, beauty and cosmetics, home furnishing, kitchen appliances, daily needs, baby care products and jewelry and ornaments. India is expected to have more than 236 million mobile Internet users by 2016, says a new IAMA-KPMG report. It further projected that mobile internet subscriber base will reach 314 million by 2017.

### Is it a clinical (medical) disorder?

Compulsive buying was explained in 20th century (1915) ago by German psychiatric specialist Emil Kraepelin and Bleuler. Shopping obsession, often referred to as compulsive buying disorder, was first described by Kraepelin as the disorder 'oniomania' (from Greek onios, connotation 'for sale', and mania, meaning 'madness or insanity'). Its hallmark is extreme shopping and spending activity that leads to a sense of personal anguish. It often impairs a person's life in terms of finances, matrimony, relations, frame of mind etc. Obsessive shoppers have reported undergoing a sense of stress or anxiety before purchasing and feeling a sense of comfort after a purchase. (Young, K. 2009). They tend to dissipate many hours every day shopping and spending. Most tend to focus on apparels and shoes and seem to be intensely interested in style or fashion and design. Most compulsive buyers have other troubles as well, including depression, stress or other habits, Internet addiction or compulsive gambling.

### Background

Obsessive or the compulsive shopping has been known for the past 100 years, and people with problems dominating their spending can be identified under impulse control disorder. Many experts have recommended that compulsive shopping is a form of obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD). An alternative proposal is that compulsive shopping is a form of "affective (emotional) spectrum disorder," based on its similarity to bipolar disorder. Overlap between bipolar disorders (psychotic) and impulse control disorders are characterized by impulsivity – failure to resist a temptation, urge or impulse that may harm oneself or others and engaging in behaviors that are potentially destructive, sensation-seeking and/or enjoyable; quick, poor vision into perils or outcomes and the relationship of mood symptoms with drives, and euphoria (happiness) with carrying out the "impulsive" activity, such as compulsive shopping.

An online shop or retail therapy provokes the physical analogy of purchasing products or services at a bricks-and-mortar retailer or shopping center; the procedure is called business-to-consumer (B2C) online shopping or e-commerce. In the case where a business purchases from another business, the process is called business-to-business (B2B) online shopping. The

largest of these online retailing companies are Alibaba, Amazon.com, and eBay.

Consumers find a product of importance by going to the website of the retailer directly or by searching among different vendors using a shopping search engine. Once particular manufactured goods has been found on the website of the vendor, most online retailers use shopping cart software to allow the shopper to mount up multiple items and to change quantities, just like filling a physical shopping pushcart in a traditional store. A "checkout" operation follows in which payment and delivery data is gathered. Many stores allow consumers to sign up for a permanent account so that the information only needs to be entered once. The consumer often receives an e-mail confirmation or sms once the transaction is complete.

Amongst a variety of behavior-oriented addictions, addictive or obsessive consumption draws special attention from consumer studies. Today understanding of Consumer Behavior has become more complex. Consumers are resorting to different kind of behaviors in which Compulsive Buying is also one of the main complex and not fully conceptualized area.

## Review of Literature

### What is Compulsive Buying?

Compulsive buying is an altogether new, growing, dynamic and an understudied area in Consumer Research. People today buy not just merely to satisfy their needs and wants but to satisfy their psychological behavior that triggers them to the adoption of such compulsive behavior. Many jokes have rightly shown light on the compulsive buying patterns e.g., "I can give up shopping but I'm not a quitter," "I love ordering stuff online because when they arrive it's like a present to me, from me," "I wish I could illegally download clothes." These customers are similar to the substance abusers as like them they are unable to control or pacify their behavior. Lot of research has been done previously. One of the most recent developments in compulsive shopping study is the finding that shopping online is mainly lucrative to people who are "addicted" to shopping. This is because online shopping appeals to several motivations that are particularly powerful in compulsive shoppers, including the want to seek out diversity in and information about products; to purchase without being sighted; to avoid social contacts while shopping; and to experience delight while shopping. As privacy and seclusion in carrying out the action of online compulsive shopping and deep pleasure while engaging in such activity are frequent across all obsessive (addictive) behaviors. They tend to spend lots of hours each week shopping and spending. There is no sole definition of Compulsive Buying; it has been defined in different research areas of clinical (medical) psychology. Both compulsive shopping and pathological gambling have been projected in group of disorders related to Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder

(OCD). But Black (2010) has incorporated Compulsive Buying in prominent and different disorder that ought to be embodied in DSM-5 and should be included with the Impulse Control Disorder (ICDs). Therapists have increasingly started to consider extreme shopping as a unique, mentally and naturally (biologically) obsessed disorder that deserves clinical (medical) investigation and customized cure (Moore, 2009). The right categorization of CBD continues to be debated. Some examiners have linked CBD to addictive disorders, while some others have connected it to obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) and still others to mood or behavior disorders. While not included in DSM-IV, CBD was incorporated in DSM-III-R as an instance of an "impulse control disorder". Research criteria have been developed that emphasize its cognitive and behavioral aspects. Some writers have criticized attempts to categorize CBD as sickness. If there is "happiness, satisfaction or release of anxiety at the time of this act," the behavior would instead be called "a disorder of impulse control" (American Psychiatric Association). Faber & O'Guinn (1988) defined Compulsive consumers as "people who are impulsively driven to consume cannot control their behavior and seem to buy in order to escape from other problems.

#### Causes of such behavior

Faber, O'Guinn, and Krych (1987):- The compulsive behavior is often used as a means of coping with stress, evading demands and force or to overcome repulsive emotions or situations. Often a lowered sense of self-worth is present. Interviews conducted with compulsive buyers typically contain accounts of shopping celebration in which they described themselves as being totally "reckless or wild," shopping things they didn't require and sometimes couldn't even utilize. These acts were said to be accrued or accompanied by a ravishing urge to purchase. Respondents frequently articulated puzzlement and considerable irritation at their failure to control this urge. They also spoke of events where the urge to buy was just too influential to resist, and how it was as if something were controlling their behaviors. This reaction is typical of compulsive behavior in that it includes an outside locus of control. For many, if not most compulsive purchasers, buying is a reaction to stress or unpleasant situations. One section of the survey that was administered to compulsive shoppers asked them to complete a number of sentences, such as "I am most likely to buy myself something when . . ." Among the respondents, 43.5% finished this sentence by giving a negative feeling such as "I'm depressed" or "feel bad about myself" as their primary response.

Valence, d'Astous, and Fortier (1988):- They pointed to the three forces which include a strong emotional activation, a high cognitive control and a high reactivity that combine to form the basis for the process of engaging in Compulsive Buying Act. In a study of CS, Faber found that 73.9 % of their population was more likely to make purchases after suffering a negative sentiment.

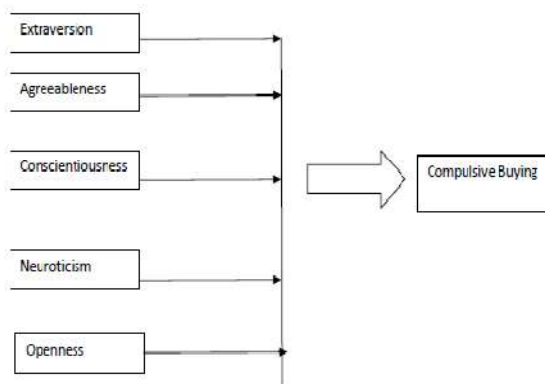
According to Arenson (1991), the act of outlaying one's money was a form of amusement, a way for the customer to forget his or her problems. Compulsive buying is typically persistent or intermittent, with an age of onset in the late teens or early 20s. Anxiety disorders, substance abuse, eating disorders, and other disorders of compulsive control are common. The disorder tends to run in families with mood disorders and substance abuse (Black DW, 2007). Compulsive buying appears to be primarily affecting women. According to Black (2001) 95% of the people suffering from this disorder are female. This gender difference in behavior toward purchase was addressed by Long, Dittmar and Meek (2004), although earlier research on this was built upon by Dittmar and Drury (2000). They contributed that females have greatly different behavior than males in regard to shopping and are at more risk to become compulsive shoppers. This question of gender differences in regard to behavior towards shopping was further investigated by Campbell (2000). According to him, women have a propensity to view the activity of shopping in a more constructive way, while men consider it to be more of an assignment.

#### Online shopping sites and Compulsive Buying

Most Internet retailers regularly send consumers e-mails, sms, notifications to remind them of new merchandise, discounts and sales, possibly making it harder to resist buying from these sources; (Nancy M. Ridgway, Monika Kukar-Kinney, and Kent B. Monroe. Rook (1987) investigated that commerce innovations such as credit cards, cash machines (ATM), instant credit, 24\*7 retailing home shopping grids, the net and teleselling have made it simpler than ever before for clients to buy the products on urge. Having a proactive knowledge about what determines the online consumers to shop without having an extended decisional process is useful in planning the promotions for online sites that sell, for example, vouchers and discount coupons. More and more people around the world purchase goods and services online influencing researchers to try and understand their consumer patterns in this non-traditional channel of the Internet. Moreover, the corporations that have joined the field of e-commerce are constantly increasing in number and are interested in awareness of the ways in which their sales volume may be augmented, the ways in which their sites may be more tempting and promotional campaigns more efficient. (Bighiu *et al.* (2015). Due to the rising presence of the internet in today's era, online compulsive shopping and addiction is becoming very common. Like compulsive shopping, online shopping addiction is harmful to one's personal, professional, and economic lives. In some way online shopping is more dangerous to one's finances than offline compulsive buying. Credit cards are mainly used to pay for online shopping which creates a mirage of not paying actual cash.

**Online compulsive buying behavior and personality**

Faber and O'Guinn (1988a, 1988b, 1989, and 1992), and O'Guinn and Faber (1987 and 1989), explain the compulsive shopping as it relates to personality (character) attributes, family interaction patterns, and population (demographic) variables, and developed an analytic instrument for measurement and categorization of compulsive versus non-compulsive buyers. DeSarbo and Edwards (1996) associated compulsiveness to a number of psychological traits, including "reliance, rejection, depression, lack of impulsive control, low vanity, approval seeking, stress, escape coping tendencies, common compulsiveness, materialism (envy), separation, pleasure seeking, and perfectionism." Many constructs have been developed by various researchers and linked to compulsive buying behavior. But in practicality no link has been made with respect to the online shopping addiction or buying behavior. Cardinal traits are proposed to exist at a deeper level (All port 1961). Moven and Spears define Cardinal traits as the essential fundamental tendencies or predispositions of individuals that crop up from the heredity and their early history. All port (1961) projected that the number is likely to be between 5 and 10.



**Fig: Big five personality traits and compulsive buying**

There is relevance of different personality traits in determining the consequence of Compulsive buying behavior. The Big five model (B5M) depicts the characteristics that sketches person's psychosomatic and social map.

The five dimensions that are studied under this are:

- a) Extraversion vs. Introversion
- b) Agreeableness vs. Antagonist
- c) Conscientiousness vs. Lack of direction
- d) Neuroticism vs. Emotional stability
- e) Openness vs. closeness to experience

**Scale for measuring online compulsive buying behavior**

Many scales for measuring Compulsive Buying have been developed by many authors. Valence,d' Astous and Frontier(1988) has developed Compulsive Buying Measurement Scale of 13 items. It was the foremost compulsive buying measurement scale. They recognized three constructs connected with such behavior: strong emotional activation, an acceptance that shopping will decrease the anxiety, a high reactivity to the reaction. The items on this scale assess three dimensions of compulsive buying: a tendency to spend, an urge to buy or shop, post-purchase guilt. Later, Faber and O'Guinn (1992) developed a 7 item compulsive buying scale which is the most common used scale for measuring compulsive behavior. They formed a screening scale by investigating the in depth interviews with the self-reported compulsive buyers. Self-esteem, materialism, and credit card usage were the various constructs used. The variables included behavior variables, motivations for purchasing, and results of compulsive buying. This scale is associated with behaviors toward money, but not associated with materialism. The Faber scale expresses the compulsive buying behavior, whereas the Valence scale expresses compulsive buying tendencies. This measure has verified low reliability across studies, and is best used to identify intense cases of compulsive buying behavior. Prior to this Faber and O'Guinn (1988) made a device for measuring such behavior that incorporated eight items to evaluate feelings and attitudes about the process of purchasing and the kinds of products purchased. Five-point Likert scales were used to measure the majority of items, either as a frequency or as a level of agreement. Their study focused on identifying the variables that distinguish compulsive buyers from the general population. The results of their study indicate a number of differences between compulsive buyers and members of the general population. Edwards (1993) identified five separate levels of compulsive buying into which entire consumers could be categorized, all of which were represented among a random sample of individuals from the general population. He constructed a scale which measured how compulsive or addictive the person is in their buying activities. The variable representing the level of compulsiveness in a person's buying or spending behavior was measured initially via 29 five-point Likert scaled questions indicating occurrence of behavior or level of conformity. The scale initially contained 29 items intended to measure compulsive buying. A high average or total score on this scale represents a high level of the compulsive buying tendency. According to Edwards (1993) results present meaningful substantiation that compulsive shoppers score drastically higher than the non-compulsive spenders on the full compulsive spending scale as well as on four of the five subscales.

### Depression, materialism and internet addiction

Mueller, Mitchell et al. (2010) conducted a study to investigate the relationship between depression, materialism and excessive internet use and found that amongst 314 respondents, 17.7% of them were affected by compulsive buying. According to the authors, materialistic value endorsement and depressive indications were significantly linked with compulsive shopping tendencies. Their results confirm a strong relationship between materialism and tendencies toward CB. Nimra Iqbal & Naeem Aslam (2016) researched on the similar area and came to conclusion that the materialism had a positive connection between materialism and depression, levels of depressive symptoms. Materialistic or hedonic values have constantly been connected to compulsive shopping in various researches Friese, (2000); Mowen and Spears, (1999); DeSarbo and Edwards, (1996); Mick, (1996); Faber and O’Guinn (1989); and so on. Selim Said Erena, Fizil Eroglu and Gungor Hacıoglu (2012) undertook a research to study the compulsive buying tendencies through materialistic and hedonic and concluded that there is a significant relationship between compulsive shopping tendency with materialistic and hedonic values. Population with higher compulsive buying tendency has higher materialistic and hedonic values.

Materialistic persons turn to extreme shopping in order to bridge the inequality between ‘real self and desired self. (Quoquab, Yasin, & Banu, 201; Dittmar, 2005; Xu, 2008; Roberts & Jones, 2001).

The accumulation of more and more of goods is connected to accomplishment and self-recognition, it leads to possession and exhibition of materialistic goods helps in improving status (Meskauskaite, 2013; Kasser & Ryan, 1993; Richins & Dawson, 1992). Therefore, worldly people suffer with psychosomatic disorder. Summarizing on the above, it might be stated that the association between materialism and compulsive buying behavior have been verified by various researchers. In addition, they also said that materialistic persons are more susceptible to compulsive buying as possession and display of material goods is a source of happiness for them.

### Compulsive Buying and Self Esteem

Self-esteem relates to an individual’s expression of his attitude which he has towards himself (Coppersmith, 1967). Compulsive shoppers usually have low self-worth and they try to recompense through shopping binge (Koran, et al., 2006; Roberts & Jones, 2001; Faber & O’guinn, 1992). Buying plays a very prominent role in improving the consumer’s self-confidence and self-image (Drury & Dittmar, 2000). This incident of lifting the self-regard or esteem through buying and shopping has also been verified by other researchers namely Schoppe □ Sullivan, Schermerhorn, &

Cummings, 2007 ; Banister & Hogg, 2004; Faber, 2000; Elliott, 1994; Faber & O’guinn, 1992; Hanley & Wilhelm, 1992). The literature also suggests that some of the common characters of compulsive shoppers are a higher tendency to dream, depression and nervousness (Ruvio, Shoham, & Brencic, 2008; Scherhorn, Reisch, & Raab, 1990).

Previous research studies by Lacey, & Kennett-Hensel, 2009; Dittmar, 2005; Zinkhan, & Roushanzamir, 2004 et al. have associated the factors such as materialism, tendency to fantasize, risk taking tendency, self-esteem with the compulsive buying behavior.

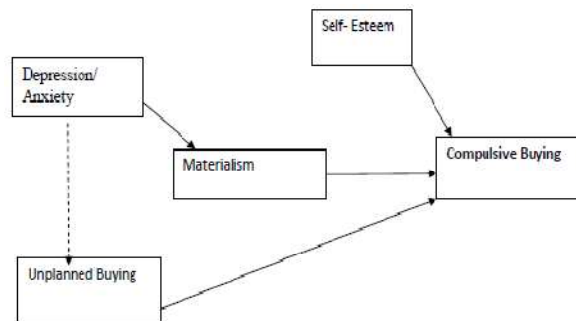


Fig: Conceptual framework depicting the relationship of Depression, Materialism, Self-esteem with compulsive buying.

### Hedonic motivation

The different past researchers (Hausman, 2000; Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982) emphasize that consumer buying behavior is not only driven by necessity or need or the economic value of the commodity but, is also driven by totally different viz. fantasizing and surprise. The various nonmonetary factors which are linked during the process of purchasing may be jointly termed as hedonic motivates and the buying of products with the aim of fulfilling these motivates is termed hedonic buying / shopping (Reynolds & Arnold, 2003). Hirschman and Holbrook (1982) regarded hedonic buying as those facets of consumer activities which are associated with the amusement, fantasy and emotions of the consumers. According to Hoch and Rook (1985) these hedonic motives results in emotional arousal which leads to compulsive buying.

### Discussion and Implications for Marketing

The literature reviewed has provided a body of knowledge from which to better understand compulsive buyers. The recent research and popular literature have begun to recognize compulsive buying as a problematic

concern driving the attention by researchers in this field, it has been evidenced that significant gaps exist in the literature that should be explored to provide better understanding of these consumers' propensities to behave.

As the internet shopping segment continues to grow, the question becomes increasingly significant as to predict the impact of increased internet shopping. This study of abnormal consumer behavior is important because these behaviors have severe consequences for both the affected and non-affected individuals. It results in many social and economic and social problems such as unmanageable amounts of debt, anxiety, depression, guilt, relationship problems, boredom can be experienced by compulsive buyers, as well as by their families. It has been reasoned that the study of destructive aspects of this kind of consumer behavior is essential to the field's further development (Faber and O'Guinn 1988; Moschis 1987; Moschis and Cox 1989; O'Guinn and Faber 1989a). Thus, the additional marketing research is of paramount importance in field of compulsive buying where a growing and significant number of consumers are emerging.

The review based study will bring empirical data to provide useful information that will provide directions for designing and implementing online marketing strategies and exploring several broad research questions as a means of developing a better understanding of online compulsive buying behavior. Future research needs to determine the effectiveness of compulsive buying from various angles including psychological, demographical, financial and social. Compulsive buyers attempt to divert themselves from the source of their problems and considered as a mental distraction by them. The role of compulsive buying as a coping strategy clearly requires further research attention.

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