

PRIDE: A LICENSE TO INDULGE AND A CUE FOR GREATER SELF-  
CONTROL

by

KEITH WILCOX

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Business in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New  
York

2009

© 2009

KEITH WILCOX

All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the  
Graduate Faculty in Business in satisfaction of the  
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Thomas Kramer, Ph.D.

---

---

Date: 05/07/09

---

Co-Chair of Examining Committee

Sankar Sen, Ph.D.

---

---

Date: 05/07/09

---

Co-Chair of Examining Committee

Joseph Weintrop, Ph.D.

---

---

Date: 05/07/09

---

Executive Officer

---

Lauren Block, Ph.D.

---

Gavan Fitzsimons, Ph.D.

---

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

**ABSTRACT****PRIDE: A LICENSE TO INDULGE AND A CUE FOR GREATER SELF-CONTROL**

by

Keith Wilcox

Advisers: Professors Thomas Kramer and Sankar Sen

Emotions play an important role in the pursuit of goals. Because previous research on emotions has focused primarily on the effect of happiness (versus sadness) on indulgent consumption, we know little about how other positive emotions, such as pride, affect behavior. This dissertation introduces a theoretical model to explain how the experience of pride affects the pursuit of long-term goals and consumers' preference for indulgent products that undermine such pursuits. In four studies, I demonstrate that when consumers are consciously monitoring their behavior, pride serves as a source of information that reduces their long-term goal pursuit and, in turn, increases their preference for indulgent products. When consumers are unable to monitor their behavior or when the experience of pride is discredited as a source of information, pride reduces their preference for indulgent alternatives by cuing the pursuit of long-term goals.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During my five years at Baruch College I have had the pleasure of working with a number of helpful, selfless and intelligent people, each of whom have contributed to my research in a number of ways. I would like to express my gratitude to them because without their help and guidance this dissertation would not have been possible.

My former classmates in the PhD program have been a great source of support, entertainment and inspiration. I would like to acknowledge Sertan Kabadayi, Beth Vallen, Caglar Irmak, Nicole Kirpalani, Luke Kachersky and Ryall Carroll for their encouragement and assistance. Additionally, I would like to thank the current PhD students at Baruch College who I have had the pleasure to assist with their own research because it is through this process that I have learned how to communicate and develop research ideas. Additionally, this work would not have been possible without the guidance and dedication of the Baruch College administration and current and former marketing faculty members. I am extremely thankful for the commitment of Joseph Weintrop, who put forth a lot of effort to build a successful PhD program. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to professors Robert Ducoffe, Eleonora Curlo, Charles Gengler, Stephen Gould, Gloria Thomas, Myung-Soo Lee, Hammou Elbarmi, Matthew Johnson, Sangyoung Song, Hyeong Min Kim and Kapil Bawa for their support with course work, research, and teaching.

I would especially like to thank the co-chairs of this dissertation, Thomas Kramer and Sankar Sen, and the rest of my committee, Lauren Block and Gavan Fitzsimons, for teaching me so much and providing guidance throughout this process.

I could not have found more knowledgeable and approachable mentors for my academic career.

I would also like to thank my family Samantha Wilcox, Venois Wilcox, Shonna Wilcox, Mitchell Cross and Ron Wilcox for their help and support throughout this process. I would also like to thank my late father, Ronald Wilcox, who passed away after my first year in the PhD program. Although he was unable to see me complete this dissertation, his life inspired me to take this journey and his death motivated me finish it.

Finally, none of this would be possible without my wife, best friend and copyeditor, Jessica Liberman.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Introduction.....  | 1  |
| The Influence of Emotions on Goal Pursuit and Indulgent Consumption..... | 5  |
| The Concept of Pride .....   | 9  |
| A Model of Pride and Indulgence.....                                     | 12 |
| Self Regulation and Indulgence .....                                     | 12 |
| Pride as Information .....   | 13 |
| Pride as a Behavioral Cue .....  | 16 |
| Demonstrating the Dual Pathways.....                                     | 20 |
| Pride and Cognitive Resources .....                                      | 20 |
| Discrediting the Experience of Pride .....                               | 22 |
| Study 1: The Influence of Pride on Health Decisions.....                 | 25 |
| Method .....   | 25 |
| Results .....  | 28 |
| Discussion .....   | 30 |
| Study 2: The Effect of Pride Versus Happiness on Money Decisions .....   | 32 |
| Method .....   | 32 |
| Results .....  | 35 |
| Discussion .....   | 37 |
| Study 3: Pride and Source Salience .....                                 | 39 |
| Method .....   | 40 |
| Results .....  | 42 |
| Discussion .....   | 44 |
| Study 4: Pride and Domain Relevance .....                                | 47 |
| Method .....   | 47 |
| Results .....  | 49 |
| Discussion .....   | 52 |
| General Discussion .....   | 53 |
| Implications .....   | 53 |
| Limitations and Future Research .....                                    | 57 |
| Appendix A.....  | 60 |
| Appendix B.....  | 61 |
| References.....  | 62 |

**LIST OF FIGURES**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Figure 1: A Model of Pride and Indulgent Consumption .....  | 19 |
| Figure 2: The Interactive Effect of Pride and Cognitive Resources on Indulgent Food Choices (Study 1).....              | 30 |
| Figure 3: The Interactive Effect of Pride, Happiness and Cognitive Resources on Indulgent Money Choices (Study 2) ..... | 37 |
| Figure 4: The Interactive Effect of Pride and Source Salience on Indulgent Money Choices (Study 3).....                 | 43 |
| Figure 5: The Effect of Pride and Monitored Goal Relevance on Indulgent Choice (Study 4).....                           | 51 |

## INTRODUCTION

Despite their best intentions, consumers often give in to temptation. They may want to live a good life, yet choose to eat fattening foods, spend on luxuries instead of saving money, and, more generally, select vices over virtues. In 2005, the personal savings rate in the United States was negative for the first time in modern history (Taylor, Funk and Clark 2007). Ironically, this occurred despite the fact that 77% of Americans indicated that they considered themselves to be the type of person that saves money (Taylor et al. 2007). Similarly, purchases of unhealthy items on menus has led to a recent surge in sales at fast food chains (Case 2006), and expanding waistlines, while 72% of consumers indicate that they are trying to eat healthier at restaurants (Warner 2006). Although there are numerous factors underlying these paradoxical findings, it is apparent that even though consumers want to make good decisions, they often fail and make indulgent choices that undermine their long-term goals.

Research suggests that emotions play an important role in the pursuit of goals (Carver and Scheier 1998; Higgins, Shah and Friedman 1997). People experience positive emotions in response to goal attainment and experience negative emotions in response to goal failure. Thus, consumers experience positive emotions when they make decisions that are consistent with their goals and negative emotions when they make choices that undermine their goals. More recently, studies have found that the experience of an emotion, even one that is incidental to a decision, has motivational properties that can affect consumers' preference for indulgence (Garg, Wansink and

Inman 2007). However, much of this research has focused on the effect of incidental happiness (versus sadness) on consumption (Andrade 2005; Garg et al. 2007). Thus, we know very little about how other incidental positive emotions, such as pride, affect consumers' goal pursuit. This lack of research is even more surprising given the relationship between pride and goal achievement.

Pride is a positive emotion that is typically experienced after important achievements, both everyday and life changing (Tracy and Robins 2007). Children experience pride when they do well at new tasks; adults feel pride when they get a good performance review at work; consumers feel pride when they buy their first home. Despite the prevalence of pride in daily life, however, little is known about its effect on behavior. Thus, the objective of this dissertation is to examine how pride affects consumers' long-term goal pursuit by examining how its experience affects consumer decisions when they are given a choice between a product that is consistent with a long-term goal and an indulgent option that would undermine the goal.

In four studies, across two important domains (health and money), I demonstrate that pride affects consumer decision-making through dual pathways with different outcomes in terms of their preference for indulgent options that undermine long-term goal pursuit. When individuals are monitoring their behavior, pride serves as a source of information that licenses indulgence through a conscious process. However, when individuals are not monitoring their behavior or its experience is no longer perceived to be diagnostic, pride reduces preference for indulgent alternatives through an automatic process. Additionally, I show that the effects are unique to the experience of pride and that other positive emotions do not have a similar effect.

In Study 1, individuals were given a choice between two food options where one was consistent with a healthy goal and one was an indulgent alternative that would undermine the goal. I find that the experience of pride reduces preference for the indulgent alternative when respondents are unable to monitor their behavior following an ego depletion task. However, when they are able to monitor their behavior, pride increases preference for the indulgent alternative. In study 2, I replicate the results of the first study in a different domain (money) using a short-term memory load task to impair respondents ability to monitor their behavior. Additionally, I rule out valence as an alternative explanation for the results by demonstrating that happiness does not have a similar effect on indulgent choice. In study 3, I demonstrate that pride serves as a source of information by having individuals discount the informational value of pride on their decision. I find that when the source of pride is made salient, and its experience is discredited, pride reduces preference for an indulgent option. However, when the experience is not discredited pride increases preference for the indulgent alternative. Finally, in study 4, I rule out a general increase in reward-seeking behavior as an alternative explanation for the conscious effect of pride by separating the goal monitoring process from the choice task. Specifically, I demonstrate that when individuals monitor their behavior relative to a long-term goal prior to a decision, pride increases subsequent preference for indulgent options in domains that are related to the monitored goal, but decreases preference for indulgent alternatives in domains that are unrelated to the goal.

This research makes an important contribution to the literature on the motivational properties of emotions by: a) identifying the process through which pride affects long-term goal pursuit; and b) demonstrating the effect of its experience on consumer preference. My findings also contribute to the decision-making literature, which has focused primarily on discrete negative emotions (e.g., Raghunathan, Pham and Corfman 2006), by demonstrating that distinct positive emotions (pride versus happiness) can have unique effects on consumer choice. Finally, this research integrates inconsistent findings in the self-control literature (Eyal and Fishbach 2009; Giner-Sorolla 2001) by demonstrating that the dual nature of the experience of pride can have both a conscious and nonconscious influence on long-term goal pursuit. Because self-control may constrain consumption in a number of different categories such as luxury products and snack food, this dissertation suggests that managers of such products should consider integrating pride appeals into their marketing communications.

Next, I review the literature that examines the effect of emotions on goal pursuit and indulgent consumption. I then introduce a model for understanding how pride influences consumers' long-term goal pursuit and preference for indulgent products. Then, I summarize the findings of the four studies that demonstrate the model and offer insight into its underlying processes. Finally, I end with a discussion of the theoretical and managerial implications of this dissertation.

## **THE INFLUENCE OF EMOTIONS ON GOAL PURSUIT AND INDULGENT CONSUMPTION**

The goal literature suggests that emotions may play an important role in the pursuit of goals (Carver and Scheier 1998; Higgins et al. 1997). People experience positive emotions in response to goal attainment and negative emotions in response to goal failure. Thus, consumers experience positive emotions when they make decisions that are consistent with their goals and negative emotions when they make choices that undermine their goals. For example, when consumers engage in indulgent consumption, they often feel both positive emotions from short-term goal attainment and negative emotions from acting inconsistently with their long-term objectives (Ramanathan and Williams 2007).

More recently, Fishbach and Labroo (2007) demonstrated that emotions, even ones that are incidental to a task, have motivational properties that can affect goal pursuit. Specifically, they suggest that because positive emotions signal approach and negative emotions signal avoidance (Cacioppo, Gardner and Berntson 1999; Higgins 1997; Larsen, McGraw and Cacioppo, 2001), positive affect promotes a tendency to adopt goals, whereas negative emotions lead to the rejection of goals. Thus, people in happy moods, compared to those in sad moods, donate more money to charity when self-improvement goals are accessible and they exhibit greater physical endurance when health goals are accessible. These findings also are consistent with recent research suggesting that positive emotions can increase a person's effort toward a focal goal and negative emotions can decrease someone's effort toward a goal (Louro, Pieters and Zeelenberg 2007).

Incidental emotions also have been shown to affect consumers' preference for indulgent products. For example, Andrade (2005) demonstrated that incidental emotions may influence indulgent consumption through either an affect evaluation process or an affect regulation process. Affect evaluation theories suggest that people's current affective state motivates them to act in an affect congruent manner (Bower 1981; Isen et al. 1978; Forgas 1995). Positive affect leads to more favorable evaluations of the environment, which promotes action. In contrast, negative affect leads to less favorable evaluations of the environment, which impedes action. Consequently, when consumers experience positive affect they are more likely to consume more positively affective-laden products (i.e., indulgences) compared to when they experience negative affect (Andrade 2005). However, when consumers believe that their behavior may have mood-changing properties, affect regulation motivates them to engage in behavior that will either protect or repair their mood (Clark and Isen 1982; Zillmann 1988). Consequently, consumers in sad moods are more likely to attempt to repair their moods through indulgent consumption in the presence of a mood lifting cue. In contrast, consumers in happy moods are more likely to avoid indulgent consumption in the presence of a mood threatening cue, because such behavior may make them regret their consumption later (Garg et al. 2007).

Recently, research on emotions has moved away from the valence approach in order to examine how discrete emotions influence consumer behavior (Lerner and Keltner 2000; 2001; Raghunathan and Pham 1999). This research has found that distinct emotions of the same valence can differentially affect how consumers

respond to advertisements (Agrawal, Menon and Aaker 2007), their ability to make difficult product tradeoffs (Garg, Inman, and Mittal 2005), which coping strategies they use to deal with stressful events (Yi and Baumgartner 2004), and their assessment of risk and value (Han, Lerner and Keltner 2008). This approach argues that discrete emotions are associated with specific appraisals that have different effects on judgment. For example, Raghunathan and Pham (1999) found that people who experience anxiousness prefer low-risk/low-reward options and that sad individuals prefer high-risk/high-reward options. They argue that sad individuals tend to infer that they have lost something of value, which activates a goal of reward-seeking that shifts preference toward high-reward options. In contrast, anxious individuals tend to appraise the situation as uncertain, which activates a goal of risk-avoidance that shifts preferences toward low-risk options. Raghunathan and colleagues (2006) replicated the findings from this earlier research and demonstrated that the effects are driven by an affect-as-information process. According to the affect-as-information model, individuals often are unable to distinguish between the different sources of affect they are experiencing while evaluating products. Consequently, they frequently misattribute their current emotional state, even if it is incidental to the task, with their judgment (Schwarz and Clore 1983, 1996). However, the use of affect as a source of information in judgment only occurs when it is perceived as diagnostic for the target evaluation. Thus, it ceases to be informative when it is discredited as a source of information. Consequently, the effects of anxiety and sadness on risk-reward preference in Raghunathan and colleagues' (2006) studies

were mitigated when their experience was discredited as a source of information for judgment.

Together, these findings suggest that emotions may play a central role in goal pursuit and their experience can have a significant influence on indulgent consumption; however a number of issues remain to be explored. Although it is clear that consumers' incidental mood can affect goal pursuit, less is known about how specific emotions influence goal pursuit and their preference for indulgent products. Additionally, while much attention has been devoted to the influence of discrete negative emotions on consumer judgment, researchers have not explored the effect of positive emotions, with the exception of happiness, on consumer decision-making. Finally, if emotions serve as a source of goal-related information, it is possible that specific emotions, such as pride, may contain unique sources of information that make them more informative for the pursuit of long-term goals. Next, I discuss the concept of pride before introducing a model that explains how it influences long-term goal pursuit and indulgent consumption.

## THE CONCEPT OF PRIDE

Broadly, the emotion literature classifies emotions into two general classes of emotions: self-conscious emotions and basic emotions (e.g., Beer and Keltner 2004; Tangney and Fischer 1995; Tracy and Robins 2004). According to this research, self-conscious emotions (e.g., guilt, shame, embarrassment and pride) represent a special class of emotions because they are cognition-dependent emotions that involve high-level self-appraisals and require self-evaluative processes (Tracy and Robins 2004). In contrast, basic emotions (e.g., fear, anger, sadness and happiness) are presumed to have a biological origin related to adaptation and survival tasks (Eyal and Fishbach 2009). For example, fear is experienced in response to danger (Tooby and Cosmides 1990). Additionally, basic emotions have been shown to appear earlier in life than self-conscious emotions (Lewis 2000).

Self-conscious emotions play an important role in motivating and regulating behavior (Fisher and Tangney 1995). For example, self-conscious emotions motivate individuals to work harder in achievement tasks (Weiner 1985) and to behave in socially appropriate ways (Baumeister, Stillwell and Heatherton 1994). Additionally, self-conscious emotions provide individuals with important feedback related to where they stand compared to important personal standards (Beer and Keltner 2004). Thus, recent research has found evidence that self-conscious emotions are associated with long-term goals (Giner-Sorolla 2001; Eyal and Fishbach 2009). However, most of the research to date on self-conscious emotions has focused on how negative self-conscious emotions influence behavior, including indulgent consumption. For

example, the consumer behavior literature typically assumes that guilt plays a central role in allowing individuals to avoid indulgences (see for further review Dhar and Wertenbroch 2000). However, less is known about how positive self-conscious emotions, specifically pride, influence behavior (Tracy and Robins 2007).

Pride is a prevalent human emotion that performs a number of important psychological functions. Children experience pride when they do well at new tasks; adults feel pride when they get a good performance review at work; parents feel pride when their children take their first steps; consumers feel pride when they buy their first home. Feelings of pride have been shown to promote prosocial behaviors such as altruism (Hart and Matsuba 2007; Weiner 1985). The loss of pride is thought to provoke aggression and antisocial behaviors in response to ego threats (Bushman and Baumeister 1998). Additionally, pride is thought to perform a number of social functions. For example, recent research suggests that there are distinctly recognized nonverbal expressions attributable to pride that can be identified by children and adults (Tracy and Robins 2004; Tracy, Robins, and Lagattuta 2005). Consequently, pride is thought to be a key emotion for communicating success to others, which may enhance a person's social status (Tracy and Robins 2007) and aide in group acceptance (Leary et al. 1995).

Although pride may be an understudied emotion in the cognitive and social psychology literature, even less is known about its effect on consumer behavior. The marketing literature has identified several of the factors that can lead consumers to experience pride. For example, consumers experience pride when they feel personally responsible for obtaining a discount (Louro, Pieters and Zeelenberg 2005;

Schindler 1998). The anticipation of pride has been theorized to help consumers avoid indulgences (MacInnis and Patrick 2006), but not empirically examined. Moreover, pride appeals have been shown to affect consumers' attitudes toward advertisements and brands (Aaker and Williams 1998). However, we do not have a clear understanding of how its experience motivates behavior.

Perhaps the most relevant aspect to the experience of pride for goal pursuit is that individuals generally feel pride when they have achieved or made progress toward a long-term goal (Giner-Sorolla 2001; Eyal and Fishbach 2009). For instance, consumers experience pride when they avoid impulsive purchases and act in accordance with their long-term money savings goals (Mukhopadhyay and Johar 2007). This would seem to suggest that the experience of pride should motivate consumers toward long-term achievements and, in turn, reduce their preference for indulgent products that undermine such pursuits. However, the literature on self-regulation suggests that pride may have a different effect on consumer decision-making.

## A MODEL OF PRIDE AND INDULGENCE

### Self Regulation and Indulgence

When consumers are exposed to threats to their long-term goals (i.e., indulgences), self-regulatory processes often facilitate their ability to act in accordance with such objectives (Fishbach and Shah 2006). For example, self regulation has been viewed as the process by which consumers avoid impulsive purchases that would undermine their money savings goals (Baumeister 2002). The feedback models of self-regulation (Baumeister and Heatherton 1996; Carver and Scheier 1981) suggest that there are three main components to successful self regulation and that people may fail in their goal pursuit due to either component. The first component is standards, which refers to goals and other guidelines that a consumer wishes to achieve. Without clear and appropriate goals, self regulation will be hindered. For example, overly optimistic individuals often suffer self regulation failures because they set unrealistic goals that they cannot achieve (Heatherton and Ambady 1993). In the marketing literature, research has found that chronically impulsive consumers have more accessible hedonic goals that lead them to choose immediate indulgent options over more prudent alternatives associated with long-term goals (Ramanathan and Menon 2006).

The second component of self regulation is the process of monitoring behavior. Monitoring involves comparing one's current state to a desired goal to ensure that one's actions are consistent with that goal (Baumeister, Heatherton and

Tice 1994). Thus, when consumers face indulgent decisions, they are able to avoid indulging themselves by consciously monitoring their behavior relative to their long-term goals. For example, a dieter is able to avoid eating fattening food by consciously monitoring his food intake to ensure that it is consistent with his dieting goal. When individuals are unable to effectively monitor their behavior, they frequently choose indulgent options over those that are more consistent with their important long-term objectives (Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999; 2000).

The third component, the operate phase, refers to individuals' ability to control or change their behavior. When the monitoring process sends feedback that a person's current behavior (or intended behavior) falls short of a goal, he will attempt to change his behavior to act in accordance with his long-term objectives. Without the ability to change or adjust one's behavior, self regulation will fail. Although little attention has been devoted to this component in previous research, it is apparent that self regulation can fail despite having appropriate goals and the ability to monitor behavior (Baumeister and Heatherton 1996). Notably, the feedback models suggest that emotions are a central component of self regulation and their experience has motivational properties that can enhance or reduce goal pursuit.

#### Pride as Information

Carver and Scheier (1990; 1998) suggest that when people are monitoring their behavior relative to a goal, emotions provide them with important information on their progress toward the goal. Specifically, they suggest that emotions signal to

individuals that there is discrepancy between their actual and expected progress toward a goal. Consequently, when individuals perceive that their progress toward a goal is below their standard, they experience negative emotions, which signal goal failure. In contrast, if they perceive that their progress exceeds their standard, they experience positive emotions, which signal goal attainment. If emotions reflect feedback from the monitoring process related to the pursuit of personal goals, then the experience of emotions should motivate individuals to adjust their behavior to remain consistent with their expectations – whether the emotion is positive or negative.

When individuals experience negative emotions, it signals they need to try harder to achieve their goal or control their behavior to ensure that it is in accordance with their goal. This is consistent with previous research suggesting that consumers are less likely to indulge themselves because of the anticipation of negative emotions that would result from such behaviors (Dhar and Wertenbroch 2000; Okada 2005; Strahilevitz and Myers 1998). For example, Okada (2005) demonstrated that individuals are more likely to prefer indulgent foods when such items are considered alone compared to when they are considered jointly with a healthy option, because choosing an indulgent option over a healthy alternative requires justification to reduce guilt. Additionally, research has shown that consumers often experience a range of negative emotions when they fail to regulate their behavior (Ramanathan and Williams 2007). These emotions then lead them to overcome their negative emotions by choosing virtuous options in subsequent decisions.

Carver and Scheier's model (1990; 1998) also makes an interesting prediction regarding the effect of positive emotions on goal pursuit. If positive emotions signal

goal achievement, then upon experiencing positive emotions, consumers are likely to reduce subsequent effort in the domain (Carver 2006) or “coast” a little in their goal pursuit (cf. Frijda 1994, p. 113). Interestingly, this suggests that positive emotions may reduce a person’s effort toward a long-term goal, which, in turn, should increase his or her preference for indulgent options that would undermine such goals. However, the model does not specify the nature of the goal that individuals are pursuing or the type of emotion that they happen to be experiencing. It also appears counter to what we already know about the motivational properties of emotions since happiness, a positive emotion, has been shown to reduce indulgent behavior compared to sadness, a negative emotion (e.g., Andrade 2005; Garg et al. 2007; Giner-Sorolla 2001). Additionally, Tice and colleagues (2007) found that positive affect can enhance self regulation under conditions that typically limit self-control. Finally, Fishbach and Labroo (2007) found that happy moods make people more likely to adopt goals compared to sad moods. Thus, there must be an additional dimension to the experience of an emotion that has not been considered.

I suggest that in order to understand how an emotion influences the pursuit of long-term goals, one must not only consider the valence of the emotion, but whether the information conveyed by its experience will be informative for long-term goal pursuit. Because pride is experienced in response to the achievement of long-term goals, upon experiencing pride, individuals are likely to infer that they have achieved or have made satisfactory progress toward a long-term goal. Consequently, when consumers face an indulgent choice and they begin to monitor their behavior relative to a long-term goal, they should misattribute the experience of pride as having

temporarily satisfied the goal, which, in turn, should license indulgence. Thus, the experience of pride, even if it is incidental to a decision, should serve as a source of information (Schwarz and Clore 1983) that increases preference for indulgent products when consumers are monitoring their behavior.

### Pride as a Behavioral Cue

The preceding discussion suggests that pride should influence goal pursuit through a conscious process while consumers are monitoring their behavior. However, recent evidence suggests that emotions may also influence goal pursuit through an automatic process that does not require the capacity to consciously monitor behavior (Lang, Bradley and Cuthbert 1998; Zemack-Rugar et al. 2006; Eyal and Fishbach 2009). When individuals experience an emotion or are primed with an emotion, it is accompanied by a number of cognitions that comprise the emotion's experience. Together, the cognitions form the mental representation of the emotion (i.e., the schema) that is linked to past behaviors and action tendencies in memory (Lang et al. 1998), which help guide actions and facilitate emotion-appropriate behavior (Schachter and Singer 1962). For example, people who experience fear are more likely to shy away from risk compared to those who experience anger because the experience of fear is accompanied by cognitions that lead individuals to appraise the environment as uncertain and beyond their control (Lerner and Keltner 2001). Additionally, people in happy and sad moods have been shown to process mood consistent words easier and be more likely to respond to lexical ambiguity in a mood

consistent manner (Halberstadt, Niedenthal and Kushner 1995; Niedenthal and Setterlund 1994).

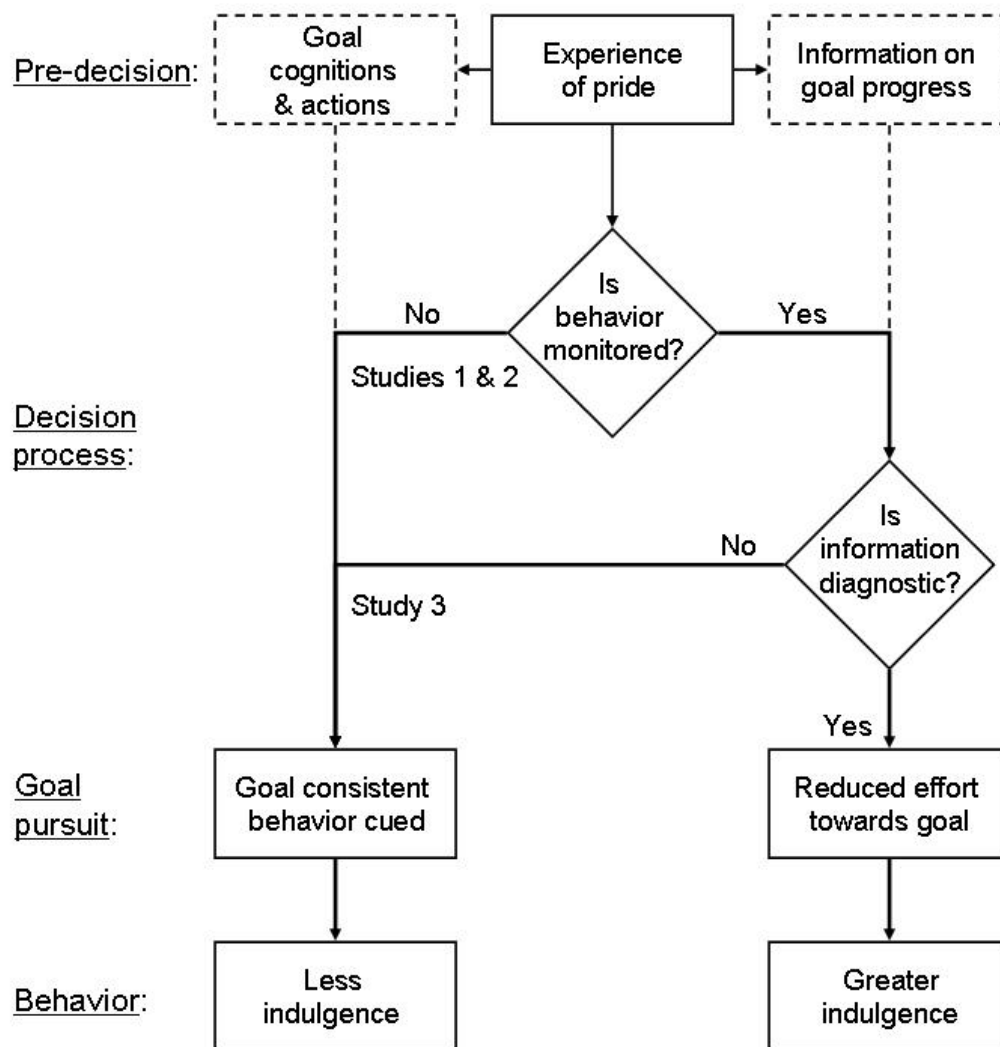
Much of the previous research in this area has demonstrated the behavioral consequences of emotions by consciously activating an emotion's schema through consciously priming the emotional concept (Giner-Sorolla 2001) or inducing the emotional experience (Lerner and Keltner 2001). However, an emotion's schema and related cognitions may also be activated outside of conscious awareness, suggesting that emotions may have an automatic influence on behavior. In a recent study, Zemack-Rugar and colleagues (2006) found that nonconsciously priming participants with concepts associated with guilt decreased indulgent behavior compared to when participants were nonconsciously primed with sad emotional concepts because sadness is linked in memory to indulgent behaviors, whereas guilt is linked to behaviors consistent with indulgence avoidance.

This suggests that pride may have a different influence on goal pursuit beyond that of the information provided during the monitoring process. Because pride is experienced in response to the achievement of long-term goals, its schema is linked in memory to cognitions associated with the successful pursuit of long-term goals (Eyal and Fishbach 2009). Thus, when individuals experience pride, it should activate past behaviors and action tendencies related to the successful pursuit of long-term goals, which, in turn, should serve as cues to guide behavior. Notably, this suggests that the automatic component of pride may have the opposite effect on consumers' preference for indulgence compared to the more conscious licensing effect discussed previously. Specifically, it suggest that pride may decrease consumers' preference for indulgent

options by serving as a behavioral cue through an automatic process that is not dependent upon conscious processing to influence behavior.

In sum, I argue that the experience of pride may influence consumers' pursuit of long-term goals through dual pathways with opposing predictions in terms of its effect on consumers' preference for indulgent products. When individuals face an indulgent choice and they begin to monitor their behavior relative to a long-term goal, the experience of pride should signal goal attainment and license indulgence through a deliberative, cognitive process. However, pride may also reduce consumers' preference for indulgent products through a more automatic process by activating action tendencies associated with the successful pursuit of long-term goals. Next, I discuss two factors that demonstrate the dual pathways and provide evidence for the underlying process. The first factor (cognitive resources) determines the extent to which consumers have the ability to monitor their behavior and rely on cognitive (versus associative) processes to guide their behavior. The second factor (source salience) determines the extent to which the experience of pride is informative for consumer decision-making. The model is depicted in figure 1.

**Figure 1: A Model of Pride and Indulgent Consumption**



## DEMONSTRATING THE DUAL PATHWAYS

### Pride and Cognitive Resources

The literature on self regulation has established that the cognitive functions required to monitor behavior rely on limited cognitive resources. When individuals face cognitive constraints, they often engage in greater indulgence. For example, when cognitive resources are low, individuals are more likely to go on eating binges (Ward and Mann 2000). Alcohol consumption also limits the availability of cognitive resources and therefore makes it harder for people to monitor their behavior (Hull 1990). Additionally, when cognitive resources have been depleted, individuals are less able to regulate their moods and suppress unwanted thoughts (Baumeister, Bratslavsky and Muraven 1998; Muraven, Tice, and Baumeister 1998). Finally, in the marketing literature, Shiv and Fedorikhin (1999; 2000) found that under high cognitive load, consumers are more likely to choose more indulgent options compared to when there are no constraints on their cognitive resources.

Recently, however, a number of researchers have proposed that cognitive limitations do not always lead to greater indulgence. Instead, they suggest that when cognitive resources are constrained, individuals rely on salient internal or external cues to guide their behavior (e.g., MacDonald, Fong and Zanna 2000; Mann and Ward 2004). For example, Mann and Ward (2004) asked dieters to eat a fattening milkshake after receiving a cue that focused their attention on either the milkshake or their dieting goal. They found that when cognitive resources were limited, the dieters

consumed significantly more of the milkshake when they were cued to focus on the milkshake compared to when cognitive resources were not constrained. Interestingly, when the dieters were cued to focus on their dieting goal, they consumed significantly less of the milkshake when cognitive resources were limited compared to when resources were available. Thus, individuals' ability to avoid indulgence when cognitive resources are constrained is dependent upon the salient cues (internal or external) and their reliance on such cues can lead to less indulgent behavior. This is also consistent with dual process theories of decision-making, which suggest that when individuals face cognitive constraints, lower-order affective reactions and action tendencies have a greater influence on their decision-making than higher-order cognitive processes (Epstein 1994; Kahneman 2003; Sloman 1996).

Together, these findings suggest that pride should influence consumers' decision-making differently when they face cognitive constraints compared to when their cognitive resources are available. When consumers face an indulgent decision and they have the cognitive capacity to monitoring their behavior, pride should signal long-term goal attainment and lead to greater indulgence. However, when consumers face cognitive constraints, they should be: a) less able to monitor their behavior; and b) more sensitive to behavioral cues. Thus, I predict that when consumers' cognitive resources are low, pride will reduce their preference for indulgent products by cuing the pursuit of long-term goals. Stated formally:

H1: Cognitive resources will moderate the influence of the experience of pride on indulgent choice such that pride will a) increase consumers'

preference for indulgent products when cognitive resources are available and b) decrease consumers' preference for indulgent products when cognitive resources are limited.

### Discrediting the Experience of Pride

According to the affect-as-information model, individuals often make judgments and evaluate objects by inspecting their feelings to determine if they have meaning for their decision (Schwarz and Clore 1983, Raghunathan et al. 2006). A number of studies in this area have found that consumers in happy moods give more favorable evaluations of products compared to those in sad moods, even if the emotion is incidental to their judgment (Adaval 2001; Pham 1998; Yeung and Wyer 2004). More recently, research has demonstrated that specific emotions can contain unique sources of goal-related information that can bias judgment. For example, Bosmans and Baumgartner (2005) found that achievement-related emotions, such as cheerfulness and dejection, were more informative for evaluations than protection-related emotions, such as quiescence and agitation, when achievement goals were made salient. They found the opposite pattern when consumers' protection goals were salient.

If an emotion serves as a source of information for judgment, however, then its experience should cease to be informative if its informational value is no longer perceived to be diagnostic for the decision. For example, a number of studies on the

effect of positive versus negative moods on judgment has found that mood typically only influences evaluations that are based on feeling-related criteria and they do not influence evaluations that are more cognitive and rational (Pham 1998; Yeung and Wyer 2004). Additionally, emotions cease to influence judgment when they are discredited as an information source. In typical demonstrations of this, individuals are told to focus on a different source for their current emotional state that is unrelated to the evaluation (Schwarz and Clore 1983). More recently, Raghunathan and colleagues (2006) demonstrated that when an emotion provides goal-related information, the information remains abstract and relevant across seemingly unrelated decisions. However, when the source of the emotions' experience is made salient, its informational value is discredited, mitigating its effect on consumer decision-making.

Following this logic, I argue that if pride serves as a source of information regarding goal attainment, then it should license indulgent behavior in unrelated domains when individuals have the capacity to consciously monitor their behavior. However, if the source of its experience is made salient, it should discredit the informational value of pride for a decision. Nevertheless, although pride may cease to be informative, its experience should still activate concepts associated with the successful pursuit of long-term goals. Therefore, when pride is no longer informative for the decision, it should still serve as a cue for goal-consistent behavior. Thus, I predict that when the source of pride is not made salient, its experience will license indulgence. However, if the source of pride is made salient, and its experience is discredited, it should decrease consumers' preference for indulgent products by cuing the pursuit of long-term goals. Hence, discrediting the experience of pride should

demonstrate the dual pathways even when individuals have the cognitive capacity to monitor their behavior. Specifically:

H2: Source salience will moderate the influence of the experience of pride on indulgent choice such that pride will a) increase consumer preference for indulgent products when the source of pride is not made salient and b) decrease consumer preference for indulgent products when the source of pride is made salient.

Next, I discuss the findings of four studies that were conducted to test these predictions and provide insight into the process. Study 1 demonstrates that pride reduces preference for indulgence when consumers are unable to monitor their behavior, but increases preference for indulgent alternatives when they can monitor their behavior (hypothesis 1). Study 2 replicates the results of the first study in a different domain and rules out valence as an alternative explanation. In study 3, I demonstrate that source salience moderates the influence of pride on indulgent choice (hypothesis 2). Finally, in study 4, I rule out a general increase in reward-seeking behavior as an alternative explanation for the conscious effect of pride.

## STUDY 1: THE INFLUENCE OF PRIDE ON HEALTH DECISIONS

The purpose of this study was to test my central prediction that the experience of pride will lead people to make more or less indulgent decisions, depending upon whether they have the cognitive resources available to monitor their behavior. Based on previous research, which suggests that many students have the goal of being healthy (Fishbach and Dhar 2005), I selected an indulgent choice related to the health domain. Respondents either were primed with pride or not primed with pride (control group) before they were presented with a choice between two food items – one a prudent option consistent with a healthy goal and one an indulgent option that would undermine a healthy goal. Prior to making their decision, respondents were given a thought suppression task based on research which has found that attempts to suppress unwanted thoughts deplete important cognitive resources required to monitor behavior in subsequent tasks (see Muraven, Baumeister and Tice 1999 for a recent review). I predicted that when participants' cognitive resources were available, pride would increase their preference for the indulgent food item compared to the control group. However, when cognitive resources were depleted, I anticipated that priming pride would lower respondents' preference for the indulgent option.

### Method

*Participants and Design.* One hundred thirty-three undergraduates (55% female) at a large North Eastern university took part in the study as part of a course

requirement. The experiment had a 2 (Emotion Prime: Pride vs. Control) x 2 (Cognitive Resources: High vs. Low) between-subjects design.

*Procedure.* The study was separated into three parts in order to disguise the true objectives of the study. Respondents were instructed that they were going to be participating in three unrelated studies. The first part, entitled Life Events Study, was an emotion manipulation task that was adapted from Bosmans and Baumgartner (2005), which demonstrated that writing about an achievement-related emotion can intensify the experience of the emotion. Half of the respondents were told that the researchers were currently developing a questionnaire that would allow them to understand which life events make people proud, and that the respondents would be writing about an accomplishment that they were very proud of (Pride condition). Respondents were encouraged to clearly describe the achievement, the emotions they experienced and any images that they could remember that enhanced the experience. The remaining participants were instructed that the researchers were interested in understanding which life events are considered typical and were instructed to write about their typical day (Control condition). They were encouraged to describe the tasks they perform and any thoughts that usually come to mind. Because this later group was not instructed to write about an achievement they were proud of, it was anticipated that they would experience less pride than those instructed to write about an achievement. All respondents then were told to write about their experiences for five minutes. Afterward, they were given measures of involvement in the writing task to test for its potential confounding influence.

Once they finished the first part, participants were administered the second part, entitled Thoughts Study. Respondents were instructed that the purpose of the study was to explore their thoughts and feelings. First, they were asked to indicate their current feelings on measures that corresponded to eight different emotional states (happiness, joy, pleasure, excitement, enjoyment, pride, confidence and reassurance). The presentation order of the measures was counterbalanced. The measure for pride served as a manipulation check for the previous pride manipulation. After indicating their feelings, respondents were given an ego-depletion task as a manipulation of cognitive resources. Respondents were instructed that they would be given three minutes to write about whatever came to their mind. Approximately half of the respondents were further instructed that they could think about anything that they wanted during the task (High Cognitive Resources). The remaining participants were instructed to think about anything they wanted except for a *white bear* (Low Cognitive Resources). Based on previous research (Wegner, Schneider and Carter 1987), I anticipated that attempts to suppress the thoughts of a white bear would deplete cognitive resources necessary for respondents to monitor their behavior in the subsequent indulgent choice task.

After finishing the Thoughts Study, respondents were administered the final part, entitled Decision-Making Study. Respondents were instructed that they would be making a number of different decisions that corresponded to choices that people have to make in their daily lives. The first decision was the relevant indulgent choice (adopted from Wilcox et al. 2009). In this decision, respondents were instructed to imagine that they are trying to decide which side dish to have with their main course

and that they had a choice between french fries or salad (see Appendix A for stimuli). These two options were selected based on a previous pretest, from the same student population, which indicated that salad was considered to be very healthy while french fries were very unhealthy and would undermine a healthy goal. After making this initial decision, respondents were given a number of unrelated decisions, as a filler task, before indicating whether they had the goal of being healthy. Finally, respondents were asked to guess the true objectives of the study before being debriefed and dismissed.

*Measures.* Choice of french fries was recorded as a measure of Indulgent Choice. Involvement in the writing task was measured on a three-item scale (1 = “Not involved at all,” 7 = “Very involved”; 1 = “Not interested at all,” 7 = “Very interested”; 1 = “Not engaged at all,” 7 = “Very engaged”;  $M = 4.83$ ,  $SD = 1.42$ ,  $\alpha = .90$ ). The extent to which respondents experienced pride was measured on a one-item scale (1 = “Not at all,” and 7 = “Very much”;  $M = 4.38$ ;  $SD = 1.64$ ). The goal of being healthy was measure on a two point scale (1 = “Yes”; 2 = “No”).

## Results

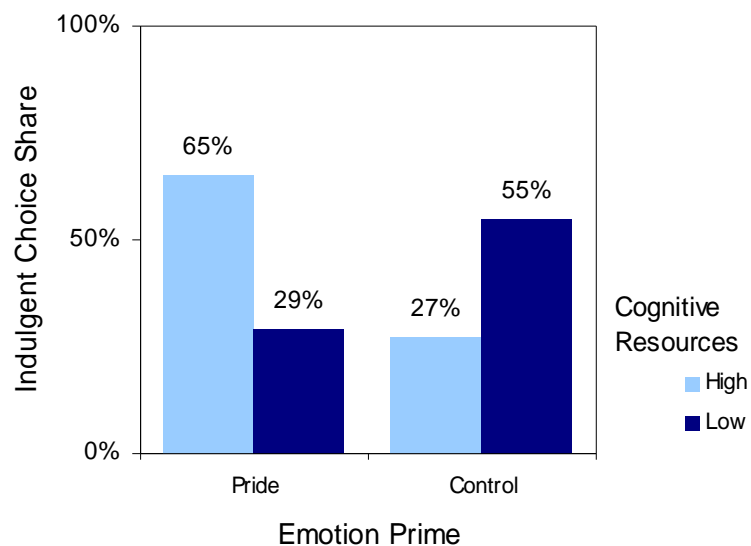
*Manipulation Checks and Additional Measures.* There was no significant difference in involvement in the writing task between Emotion Prime conditions ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 4.91$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.92$ ;  $t = .45$ ; ns), which suggests that both groups were similarly engaged in the task. As expected, the individuals in the Pride condition

experienced significantly more pride than those in the Control condition ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 4.93$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.35$ ;  $t = 2.19$ ;  $p < .05$ ), confirming the validity of the pride manipulation. Additionally, ninety-six percent of respondents indicated that they had the goal of being healthy. Finally, none of the subjects indicated that they had guessed that there was a relationship between the three, supposedly unrelated, studies.

*Indulgent Choice.* Logistic regression was used to test my prediction. The key dependent variable was Indulgent Choice, coded as 1 if a participant selected french fries as a side dish and 0 if they selected salad, which was regressed on Emotion Prime, Cognitive Resources and their interaction. As depicted in figure 2, I obtained a significant Emotion Prime X Cognitive Resources interactive effect on Indulgent Choice (Wald's  $\chi^2 = 13.19$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Planned linear contrasts revealed that, consistent with hypothesis 1a, when cognitive resources were available, individuals were more likely to make an Indulgent Choice when they were primed with Pride (65%) compared to the Control group (27%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 9.47$ ;  $p < .01$ ). As predicted by hypothesis 1b, when cognitive resources were low, individuals were less likely to make an Indulgent Choice when they were primed with Pride (29%) compared to the Control group (55%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 4.21$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Finally, respondents that were primed to experience pride were more likely to make an indulgent choice in the High Cognitive Resources condition (65%) compared to the Low Cognitive Resources condition (29%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 8.12$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Thus, the results are consistent with hypothesis 1; priming pride increased indulgent behavior when individuals had the

cognitive resources available to monitor their behavior (H1a), but when cognitive resources were constrained, priming pride reduced indulgent behavior (H1b).

**Figure 2: The Interactive Effect of Pride and Cognitive Resources on Indulgent Food Choices (Study 1)**



## Discussion

The results of the first study support hypothesis 1. As predicted, pride led to greater indulgence when individuals had the resources available to monitor their behavior, but when cognitive resources were limited, pride led to less indulgent decisions. However, one limitation of this study is that it could be argued that the results were not unique to the experience of pride and that other positive emotions could have produced the same pattern of results. Thus, the purpose of the next study

was to demonstrate that another emotion of the same valence (i.e., happiness), which is not linked to long-term goal pursuit (Eyal and Fishbach 2009), does not have a similar effect on indulgent choice. Additionally, I wanted to demonstrate that the findings can generalize to a different goal domain. Finally, I used a different manipulation of cognitive resources because recent research suggests that the experience of happiness may counteract the effects of an ego depletion task (Tice et al. 2007). To minimize this potential confounding influence, I manipulated cognitive resources using a memory load task, which also has been shown to limit individuals' ability to monitor their behavior (Drolet and Luce 2004).

## **STUDY 2: THE EFFECT OF PRIDE VERSUS HAPPINESS ON MONEY DECISIONS**

Based on previous research, which has demonstrated that many students have the goal of saving money (Fishbach and Dhar 2005), participants in this study were presented with a decision related to the money-saving domain. Respondents were primed to experience pride, happiness or no emotion (control group) before they were presented with an indulgent choice that involved a choice between two gift certificates where one was consistent with a money-saving goal and the other was an indulgent option that would undermine this goal. I predicted that when participants' cognitive resources were available, the experience of pride would correspond with a greater preference for the indulgent gift certificate compared to the control group. However, when cognitive resources were limited, I expected pride to lower preference for the indulgent option compared to the control group. Moreover, I did not expect happiness to have the same influence on indulgent choice as pride.

### Method

*Participants and Design.* One hundred ninety-five undergraduates (53% female) at a large North Eastern university participated as part of a course requirement. The experiment had a 3 (Emotion Prime: Pride vs. Happiness vs. Control) x 2 (Cognitive Resources: High vs. Low) between-subjects design.

*Procedure.* The study was separated into two, supposedly unrelated, parts that were disguised as separate studies. The first part, entitled Life Events Study, was an emotion manipulation which was similar to that in study 1. Approximately a third of the respondents were told that the researchers were developing a questionnaire that would allow them to understand which life events make people proud and that the respondents would be writing about an accomplishment that they were very proud of (Pride condition). Of the remaining participants, approximately half were instructed that the researchers were interested in understanding which life events are considered typical and were instructed to write about their typical day (Control condition). The remaining participants were instructed to write for five minutes about an experience that made them very happy (Happiness condition). All respondents then were told to write about their experiences for five minutes. Afterward, they were given measures of involvement in the writing task to test for its potential confounding influence.

At the beginning of the second part, respondents were instructed that they would be making a number of different decisions that corresponded to choices that people have to make in their daily lives. Prior to making the decisions, respondents were asked to indicate their feelings on measures of pride-related and happiness-related words, which served as manipulation checks for the emotion manipulations. After indicating their feelings, approximately half of the respondents were given a cognitive load manipulation (adapted from Drolet and Luce 2004) that required them to spend two minutes memorizing a list of twenty words (Low Cognitive Resources). The remaining subjects were not given a cognitive load task (High Cognitive Resources). All respondents then were asked to choose between two \$25 gift

certificates: one that could be used for entertainment products, such as DVDs, music and video games, and one that could be used for school supplies and textbooks (see Appendix B for stimuli). I selected these items based on research, which suggests that hedonic products (such as the entertainment gift certificate) often are considered frivolous expenses and would undermine a money-saving goal, while utilitarian products (such as the school supplies gift certificate) are deemed more necessary and therefore would be more consistent with a money-saving goal (Okada 2005). After making their decision, respondents that had been administered the memory load task were asked to recall as many of the previously memorized words as they could. All respondents then were given a number of different personal goals and asked to indicate if they were currently trying to achieve these goals. The goal of saving money was included in the list. Finally, respondents were asked to guess the true objectives of the study and to indicate how cognitively demanding the study had been, as a manipulation check for the memory load task, before being debriefed and dismissed.

*Measures.* Choice of the entertainment gift certificate was recorded as a measure of Indulgent Choice. Involvement in the writing task was measured on the same three-item scale as study 1 ( $M = 4.83$ ,  $SD = 1.42$ ,  $\alpha = .90$ ). The extent to which respondents experienced Pride was measured on a three-item scale (1 = “Not at all,” and 7 = “Very much”;  $M = 4.79$ ;  $SD = 1.25$ ;  $\alpha = .87$ ) consisting of pride-related words (proud, self-respect and self-worth; adopted from Eyal and Fishbach 2009). The extent to which respondents experienced Happiness was measured on a three-

item scale (1 = “Not at all,” and 7 = “Very much”;  $M_{\text{Pride}} = 4.38$ ;  $SD_{\text{Pride}} = 1.64$ ;  $M_{\text{Happiness}} = 4.31$ ;  $SD_{\text{Happiness}} = 1.21$ ;  $\alpha = .90$ ) that included happiness-related words (happy, joy and pleasure; adopted from Eyal and Fishbach 2009). Respondents indicated how cognitively demanding the study was on a three-item scale (1 = “Not a lot of thought,” 7 = “A lot of thought”; 1 = “Not a lot of focus,” 7 = “A lot of focus”; 1 = “Not a lot of concentration,” 7 = “A lot of concentration”;  $M = 3.96$ ;  $SD = 1.79$ ;  $\alpha = .93$ ). The goal of being healthy was measured on a two-point scale (1 = “Yes”; 2 = “No”).

## Results

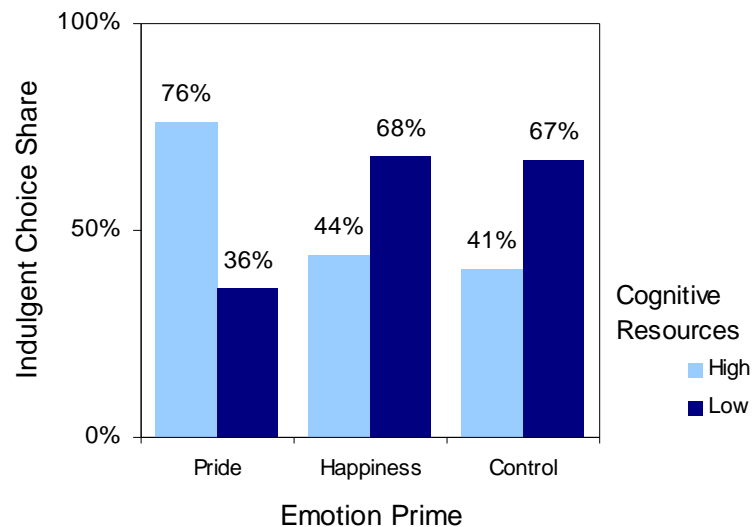
*Manipulation Checks and Additional Measures.* There was no significant difference in Involvement in the writing task between the Pride, Happiness and Control conditions ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 4.91$ ;  $M_{\text{Happiness}} = 4.76$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.75$ ;  $F = .24$ ; ns), which suggests that all three groups were similarly engaged in the task. As expected, individuals in the Pride condition experienced significantly more pride than those in the Happiness condition and Control group ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 5.07$ ;  $M_{\text{Happiness}} = 4.74$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.54$ ;  $t = 2.33$ ;  $p < .05$ ), confirming the validity of the pride manipulation. Similarly, individuals in the Happiness condition experienced significantly more happiness than those in the Pride condition and Control group ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 4.15$ ;  $M_{\text{Happiness}} = 4.60$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.16$ ;  $t = 2.49$ ;  $p < .05$ ), confirming the validity of the happiness manipulation. Additionally, the respondents in the Low Cognitive Resources condition found the study more cognitively demanding than those in the High

Cognitive Resources condition ( $M_{\text{High}} = 2.81$ ;  $M_{\text{Low}} = 5.04$ ;  $F = 9.04$ ;  $p < .001$ ). Finally, ninety-five percent of respondents indicated that they had the goal of saving money and none of the participants guessed that there was a relationship between the two studies.

*Indulgent Choice.* Logistic regression was used to test the prediction. The key dependent variable was Indulgent Choice, coded as 1 if a participant selected the entertainment gift certificate and 0 if they selected the school supplies gift certificate, which was regressed on Emotion Prime, Cognitive Resources, and their interaction. There was a significant Emotion Prime X Cognitive Resources interactive effect on Indulgent Choice (Wald's  $\chi^2 = 11.82$ ;  $p < .01$ ). As depicted in figure 3, linear contrasts revealed that when cognitive resources were available, individuals were more likely to make an Indulgent Choice when they were primed with Pride (76%) compared to the Control group (41%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 6.83$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Moreover, there was no significant difference in indulgent choice between the Happiness (44%) and Control conditions (41%) when cognitive resources were available (Wald's  $\chi^2 = .08$ ; ns). However, when cognitive resources were low, individuals were less likely to make an Indulgent Choice when they were primed with Pride (36%) compared to the Control group (67%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 6.34$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Additionally, there was no significant difference in indulgent choice between the Happiness (68%) and Control conditions (67%) when cognitive resources were constrained (Wald's  $\chi^2 = .01$ ; ns). Finally, respondents that were primed to experience pride were more likely to make an indulgent choice in the High Cognitive Resources condition (76%) compared to

the Low Cognitive Resources condition (36%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 8.55$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Thus, the results provide additional support for hypothesis 1; pride increases indulgent behavior when individuals have the cognitive resources available to monitor their behavior (H1a), but when cognitive resources are constrained, priming pride reduces indulgent behavior (H1b).

**Figure 3: The Interactive Effect of Pride, Happiness and Cognitive Resources on Indulgent Money Choices (Study 2)**



## Discussion

The results of this study provide additional support for my prediction (H1) that the experience of pride leads to greater indulgence when individuals are able to monitor their behavior, but less indulgence when individuals are unable to monitor their behavior. Thus, the results demonstrate both the conscious and automatic effect

of pride on consumers' long-term goal pursuit by demonstrating its effect on preference for indulgent products at high and low levels of cognitive load. The study also demonstrated that the influence of pride on indulgent choice is unique and that other positive emotions do not lead to the same pattern of indulgence. One interesting finding from this study was that there were no significant differences in preference for the entertainment gift certificate between the happiness and control conditions. However, because this finding is not a central focus of this dissertation, the discussion of it is reserved for the general discussion section. The purpose of the next study was to test hypothesis 2 that source salience moderates the influence of pride on indulgent choice when individuals have the cognitive resources available to monitoring their behavior. This study will also allow me to rule out constrained processing resources as the reason for the results in the low cognitive resources conditions in the previous study.

### **STUDY 3: PRIDE AND SOURCE SALIENCE**

In this study, respondents were primed to experience pride or no emotion (control group) before they were presented with a choice in the money domain between two options – one that was consistent with a money-saving goal and an indulgent option that would undermine this goal. I predicted that when participants were not asked to focus on the source of the pride they were experiencing, pride would increase preference for the indulgent option compared to the control group. However, when respondents were asked to focus on the source of the pride they were experiencing, and its informational value was discredited, pride would lower preference for the indulgent option compared to the control group.

## Method

*Participants and Design.* One hundred-one undergraduates (52% female) at a large North Eastern university participated as part of a course requirement. The experiment had a 2 (Emotion Prime: Pride vs. Control) x 2 (Source Salience: High vs. Low) between-subjects design.

*Procedure.* The study was separated into two, supposedly unrelated, parts that were disguised as separate studies. The first part was the emotion prime manipulation and the procedure was identical to study 1. Specifically, respondents were instructed either to write about an achievement they were proud of (Pride condition) or their typical day (Control group). When they were finished writing, all respondents were given measures of involvement in the writing task to rule it out as a potential confound.

At the beginning of the second part, respondents were instructed that they would be making a number of different decisions that corresponded to choices that people have to make in their daily lives. Prior to making the decisions, respondents were asked to indicate their feelings on the same emotions measures as study 2 that served as a manipulation check for the emotion prime manipulation. After indicating their feelings, respondents were asked to choose between the same two \$25 gift certificates as in study 2. However, before making their choices, approximately half of the respondents were given a source salience manipulation (adopted from Raghunathan et al. 2006), where they were asked to indicate on two seven-point

scales the extent to which their current feelings and emotional state were affected by the experience they had previously written about (High Source Salience conditions). The remaining subjects were not administered the manipulation (Low Source Salience conditions). After making their decision, all respondents were given a number of different personal goals and asked to indicate if they were currently trying to achieve these goals. The goal of saving money was included in the list. Finally, respondents completed a manipulation check for the source salience manipulation and were asked to guess the true objectives of the study before being debriefed and dismissed.

*Measures.* Choice of the entertainment gift certificate was recorded as a measure of Indulgent Choice. Involvement in the writing task was measured on the same scales as previous studies ( $M = 4.51$ ;  $SD = 1.52$ ;  $\alpha = .86$ ). The extent to which respondents experienced Pride were measured on the same three-item scale as in study 2 ( $M = 4.62$ ;  $SD = 1.44$ ;  $\alpha = .85$ ). The goal of saving money was measured on a two-point scale (1 = “Yes”; 2 = “No”). The manipulation check for the source salience manipulation was measured on a two-item likert scale (“I focused on the source of my feelings before making my decision,” and “I focused on the source of my emotional state before making my decision”; 1 = “Strongly Disagree,” and 7 = “Strongly Agree”;  $M = 4.95$ ;  $SD = 1.31$ ;  $r = .86$ ).

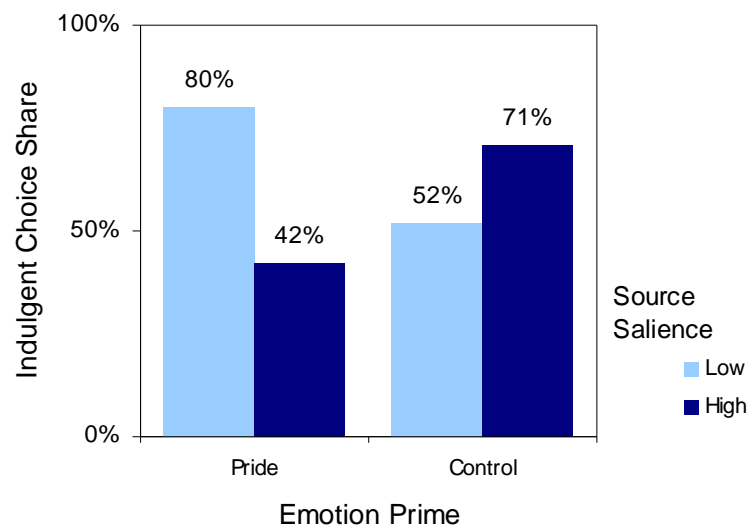
## Results

*Manipulation Checks and Additional Measures.* There was no significant difference in Involvement in the writing task between the Pride and Control conditions ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 4.71$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.29$ ;  $F = 1.96$ ; ns). As expected, individuals in the Pride condition experienced significantly more pride than those in the Control group ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 4.96$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.25$ ;  $F = 6.28$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Ninety-four percent of respondents indicated that they had the goal of saving money. Finally, respondents in the High Source Salience condition focused on their feelings more than those in the Low Source Salience condition ( $M_{\text{High}} = 5.23$ ;  $M_{\text{Low}} = 4.70$ ;  $F = 4.24$ ;  $p < .05$ ), confirming the validity of the source salience manipulation. Two respondents in the High Source salience condition correctly guessed that there was a relationship between the two parts of the study so they were excluded from the analysis.

*Indulgent Choice.* Logistic regression was used to test hypothesis 2. The key dependent variable was Indulgent Choice, coded as 1 if a participant selected the entertainment gift certificate and 0 if they selected the school supplies gift certificate, which was regressed on Emotion Prime, Source Salience, and their interaction. There was a significant Emotion Prime X Source Salience interactive effect on Indulgent Choice (Wald's  $\chi^2 = 8.17$ ;  $p < .01$ ). As depicted in figure 3, linear contrasts revealed that when the source of pride was not made salient, individuals were more likely to make an Indulgent Choice when they were primed with Pride (80%) compared to the Control group (52%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 4.32$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Additionally, when the source of

pride was made salient, individuals were less likely to make an Indulgent Choice when they were primed with Pride (42%) compared to the Control group (71%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 3.85$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Finally, respondents that were primed to experience pride were more likely to make an indulgent choice in the High Cognitive Resources condition (80%) compared to the Low Cognitive Resources condition (42%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 7.06$ ;  $p < .01$ ). These results support hypothesis 2 that pride increases preference for indulgent products when the source of pride is not made salient (H2a), but when the source of pride is made salient, pride reduces preference for indulgent products (H2b).

**Figure 4: The Interactive Effect of Pride and Source Salience on Indulgent Money Choices (Study 3)**



## Discussion

The results of the third study offer additional support for my prediction that pride influences consumers' long-term goal pursuit through dual pathways that lead to differences in their preference for indulgent products. Moreover, while study 1 provided evidence for the automatic process by demonstrating that pride decreases indulgence compared to a control group when cognitive resources are limited, the third study demonstrated that pride serves as a source of information because when the source of pride was made salient, and its experience was discredited, pride decreased preference for the indulgent option even though individuals had the resources available to monitor their behavior.

Although the results of the previous studies are consistent with my proposed model, there is an alternative explanation that needs to be considered. Previous research suggests that when individuals experience success in a prior task, it may increase feelings of pride and lead to greater indulgence as a reward for achievement (Mick and Faure 1998; Mischel, Coates and Raskoff 1968). More importantly, this literature does not account for goal monitoring as the underlying process, but suggests that prior success may result in a sense of deservingness that justifies indulgence. Thus, when individuals focus on their past achievements and experience pride, it may activate a reward-seeking goal that could lead to a general increase in indulgent behavior. That is, instead of pride reducing effort toward a long-term goal and, in turn, increasing preference for indulgent options, it may increase preference for indulgent rewards independent of the goal monitoring process suggested by self

regulation. It is difficult to rule out this alternative explanation because if respondents monitored their behavior in the previous studies, it would have occurred in response to the indulgent choice set (i.e., a goal threat). Thus, there would be little difference in preference between a respondent that was reward seeking versus one that was less focused on the pursuit of long-term goals.

If, however, I separate the goal monitoring process from the choice task, that should help rule out this alternative explanation. Take for example someone who experiences pride and begins to monitoring their behavior toward the goal of being healthy. If my theory is correct, the experience of pride should reduce subsequent effort toward the goal of being healthy, but it should not license indulgent behavior in unrelated choice domains (e.g., money decisions). However, if pride activates a reward-seeking goal, then its experience should license indulgence regardless of the choice domain's relationship to the previously monitored goal. Thus, I predict that when individuals experience pride and they are asked to monitor their behavior relative to a long-term goal, it will increase subsequent preference for indulgent products in related choice domains. However, pride should decrease their preference for indulgent options in unrelated choice domains because the experience of pride should cue the pursuit of long-term goals. Thus, the relevance of the subsequent choice domain to the previously monitored goal should moderate the influence of pride on consumers' preference for indulgent products. Specifically:

H3: Choice domain relevance will moderate the influence of the experience of pride on indulgent choice such that when individuals

experience pride and begin to monitor their progress toward a long-term goal, pride will a) increase subsequent preference for indulgent products in related choice domains and b) decrease subsequent preference for indulgent products in unrelated choice domains.

## STUDY 4: PRIDE AND DOMAIN RELEVANCE

### Method

*Participants and Design.* Ninety-six undergraduates (51% female) at a large North Eastern university participated as part of a course requirement. The experiment was a 2 (Emotion Prime: Pride vs. Control) x 2 (Monitored Goal: Being Healthy vs. Saving Money) x 2 (Choice Domain: Health vs. Money) mixed design with the first two factors between subject and the third factor within subject. A fourth factor (Choice Domain Order: Health Domain First vs. Money Domain First) was included in the analysis to account for the counterbalancing of the choice domains.

*Procedure.* The study was separated into three parts disguised as three unrelated studies. The first part was the emotion manipulation and the procedure was identical to studies 1 and 3. Once they finished part one, participants were administered the second part, entitled Goals Study, which served as a goal monitoring manipulation. Respondents were told that the researchers were interested in understanding the different goals that students pursue. Half of the respondents were asked to read a statement that discussed how students are trying to live healthy lives (Being Healthy Monitored Goal conditions). The other half were given a statement describing how students are trying to save money (Saving Money Monitored Goal conditions). All respondents then were asked to monitor their behavior relative to the

goal in the statement they had just read by indicating how much progress and advancement they have made toward the goal.

Once they finished the second part, participants were given the final part, entitled Decision-Making Study. Respondents were instructed that they would be making a number of different decisions that correspond to choices people make in their daily lives. Then they were presented with two indulgent choices: a choice between french fries and salad as in study 1 (Health Domain) and a choice between two \$25 gift certificates as in studies 2 and 3 (Money Domain). The presentation order of the decisions was counterbalanced. Thus, all respondents made two choices: one in a related domain and one in an unrelated domain to their previously monitored goal. Finally, respondents indicated whether they currently had the goals of being healthy and saving money and were asked to guess the true objectives of the study before being debriefed and dismissed.

*Measures.* Choice of french fries and the entertainment gift certificate were recorded as measures of Indulgent Choice. Involvement in the writing task was measured on the same scale as previous studies ( $M = 5.13$ ;  $SD = 1.30$ ;  $\alpha = .87$ ). The emotion prime manipulation check was measured using the same scale as studies 2 and 3 ( $M = 5.14$ ;  $SD = 1.15$ ;  $\alpha = .85$ ). The goals of being healthy and saving money were measured on separate two-point scales (1 = “Yes”; 2 = “No”).

## Results

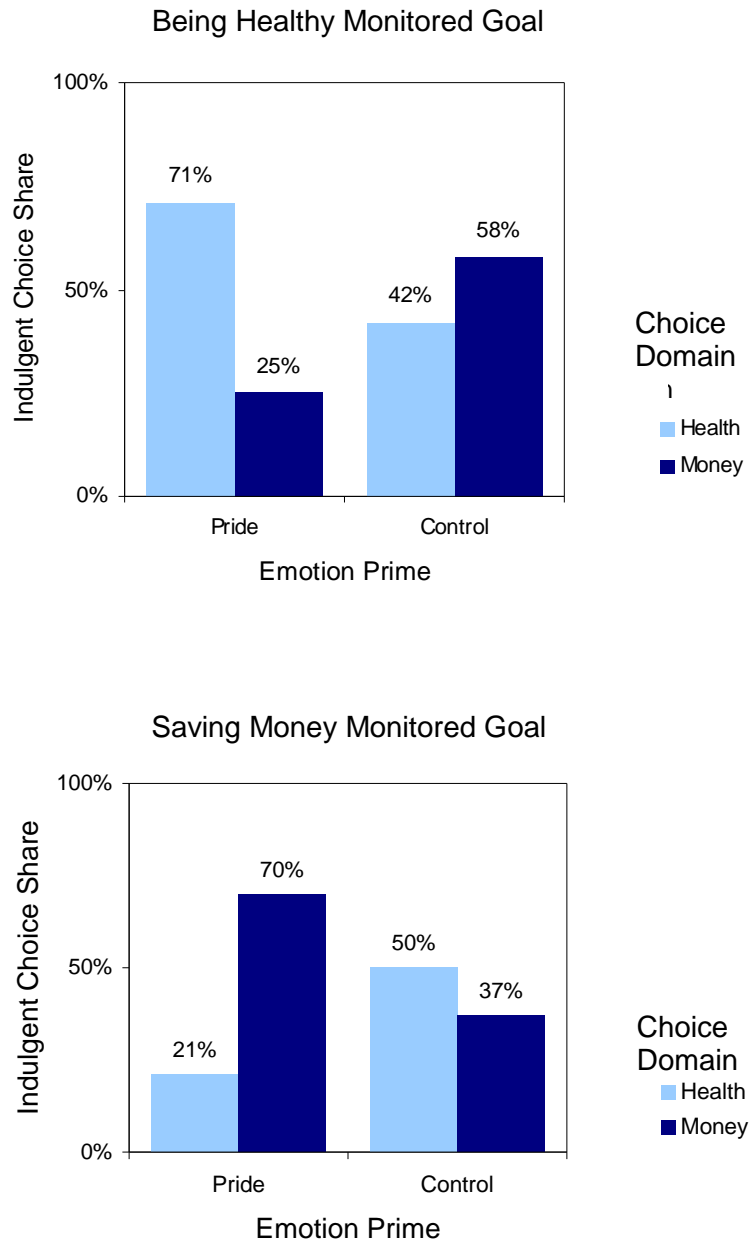
*Manipulation Checks and Additional Measures.* There was no significant difference in Involvement in the writing task between the Pride and Control conditions ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 5.35$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 5.31$ ;  $t = .54$ ; ns). As expected, the individuals in the Pride condition experienced significantly more pride than those in the control group ( $M_{\text{Pride}} = 5.46$ ;  $M_{\text{Control}} = 4.18$ ;  $F = 8.45$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Finally, ninety-one percent of respondents indicated that they had the goal of being healthy and ninety-nine percent of respondents indicated that they had the goal of saving money. None of the participants guessed that there was a relationship between the three parts of the study.

*Presentation order.* Logistic regression was used to test my prediction with Indulgent Choice as the key dependent variable, coded as 1 if a participant selected the french fries or the entertainment gift certificate and 0 if he or she selected the salad or the school supplies gift certificate. Indulgent Choice was regressed on Emotion Prime, Monitored Goal, Choice Domain, Choice Domain Order and their higher-order interactions. The four-way interaction between Emotion Prime, Monitored Goal, Choice Domain and Choice Domain Order was not significant (Wald's  $\chi^2 = 1.20$ ; ns). Other than the predicted Emotion Prime X Monitored Goal X Choice Domain interactive effect on Indulgent Choice (Wald's  $\chi^2 = 17.44$ ;  $p < .001$ ) no other higher-order interactions were significant. Thus, the presentation order of the choice domains did not interact with any other factor in the analysis.

*Relevant Choice Domain.* As depicted in figure 4, linear contrasts revealed that when individuals monitored their behavior relative to a goal of being healthy, they were more likely to make an Indulgent Choice in a health domain when they were primed with Pride (71%) compared to the Control group (42%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 4.01$ ;  $p < .05$ ), providing support for hypothesis 3a. Similarly, the respondents that monitored their behavior relative to the goal of saving money were more likely to make an Indulgent Choice in a money domain when they were primed with Pride (70%) compared to the Control group (37%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 5.15$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Thus, the experience of pride licensed indulgence when the choice domain was related to the previously monitored goal.

*Irrelevant Choice Domain.* Consistent with hypothesis 3b, when individuals monitored their behavior relative to a goal of being healthy, they were less likely to make an indulgent choice in a money domain when they were primed with Pride (25%) compared to the Control group (58%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 5.23$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Additionally, the individuals that monitored their behavior relative to a goal of saving money were less likely to make an indulgent choice in a health domain when they were primed with Pride (21%) compared to the Control group (50%; Wald's  $\chi^2 = 4.25$ ;  $p < .05$ ). Thus, the experience of pride decreased preference for indulgent products when the choice domain was unrelated to the previously monitored goal.

**Figure 5: The Effect of Pride and Monitored Goal Relevance on Indulgent Choice (Study 4)**



## Discussion

The results of the fourth study provide additional support for my prediction that the experience of pride influences long-term goal pursuit through dual pathways with different effects on their preference for indulgent products. When the experience of pride was linked to a healthy goal, respondents were more likely to make an indulgent choice in a health domain, but less likely to make an indulgent choice in a money domain. Similarly, when pride was linked to the goal of saving money, respondents were more likely to make an indulgent choice in a money domain, but less likely to make an indulgent choice in a health domain. More importantly, the results rule out reward-seeking as an alternative explanation. If pride had activated a goal of reward-seeking, then its experience should have licensed indulgence in both choice domains regardless of their relationship to the previously monitored goal. However, because pride only licensed indulgence in domains that were related to the monitored goal, the results provide support for my theory that when individuals are consciously monitoring their behavior toward a long-term goal, the experience of pride reduces subsequent effort toward the goal.

## GENERAL DISCUSSION

This paper contributes to our understanding of how pride influences consumers' long-term goal pursuit and their preference for indulgent options that undermine such goals. Through four studies, I demonstrated that the experience of pride serves as a source of information that licenses indulgence when consumers are monitoring their behavior, but when they are not monitoring their behavior, pride decreases indulgence through an automatic process by cuing the pursuit of long-term goals. Additionally, I demonstrated that the influence of pride on indulgent choice was unique to the experience of pride and that other positive emotions did not lead to the same pattern of indulgence. Finally, the fourth study rules out an alternative explanation that the experience of pride may lead to a general increase in reward-seeking behavior.

### Implications

Theoretically, this research advances our understanding of the process through which emotions influence consumer goal pursuit. Previous research has demonstrated that nonconsciously priming emotional concepts can cue behavior that is consistent with the pursuit of long-term goals (Zemack-Rugar et al. 2006; Eyal and Fishbach 2009). This current research demonstrates that the experience of an emotion not only serves as a behavioral cue, but also can serve as a signal of goal progress that decreases consumers' pursuit of long-term goals. Additionally, this

research extends our understanding of how emotions influence consumer decision-making. Previous research has demonstrated that emotions can influence consumer choice, but much of the literature has taken either a valence-based approach (Qui and Yeung 2008) or examined how distinct negative emotions influence consumer choice (Raghunathan et al. 2006). In study 2, however, I demonstrate that distinct positive emotions can have different effects on consumer choice. This research also integrates contrasting results found in the prior literature on the relationship between pride and indulgence. Giner-Sorolla (2001) found that the experience of positive self-conscious emotions, such as pride, was negative correlated with self-control (i.e., more indulgent behavior). In contrast, Eyal and Fishbach (2008) demonstrated that nonconsciously priming individuals with pride increased self-control (i.e., less indulgent behavior). This paper integrates these findings by suggesting that the experience of pride may decrease consumers' self-control by serving as a source of information that licenses indulgence and activate action tendencies (which also can be activated nonconsciously) that can cue behaviors consistent with greater self-control.

The second study demonstrated that priming individuals with happiness did not result in any differences in preference for indulgence options compared to a control group at low and high levels of cognitive load. Although this finding was not central to the investigation of pride, it is still interesting because it provides additional support for recent research on happiness and indulgent consumption. In a recent study, Garg and colleagues (2007) found that people in happy moods consumed less of an indulgent product (i.e., buttered popcorn) compared to a control group, unless nutritional information was present where no differences were observed. They

suggest that, without the nutritional information, people in happy moods are more likely use a mood management strategy to maintain their positive affective state so they will avoid the indulgent alternative compared to the control group. However, once the nutritional information is present, it reminds the people in the control group of the consequences of their actions, which leads them to consume less of the indulgent product resulting in no difference between the happiness and control conditions. This finding offers one explanation for why there was no difference between the happiness and the control conditions in the high cognitive resources conditions in the first study. Because individuals were faced with a choice between an indulgent option and one that was consistent with a long-term goal, the presence of the latter is likely to have reminded those in the control group of the consequences of choosing the indulgent option, which would have resulted in no difference between the two conditions when cognitive resources were available.

Although I am not aware of any paper that has explicitly examined preference for indulgent products under high cognitive load when previously primed to experience happiness or no emotion, two recent studies might explain why there was no difference between the two emotion prime groups in the low resources conditions. Eyal and Fishbach (2008) found that nonconsciously priming individuals with happy concepts leads individuals to be more likely to consume indulgent products compared to those that were primed with pride, but they did not compare their results to a control condition. They argue, however, that because happiness is a low-order affective reaction, it cues behavior consistent with low-order, indulgent goals. Thus, their findings are similar to my findings in the high cognitive load/happiness

conditions. In related research, Shiv and Fedorikhin (1999) found that when individuals were not primed with an emotion and face cognitive constraints, they rely on their low-order affective reactions to products to guide their decision-making resulting in a greater preference for indulgent products. Together these findings suggest that in both the control and happiness conditions when cognitive resources were low, individuals were more likely to rely on low-order affect to guide their decision-making, which would explain why I did not observe any differences between the two emotion prime groups when cognitive resources were constrained.

This paper also has important managerial implications. Managers have recognized that emotions are an important component of their marketing mix because emotions have the potential to increase attention to product advertisements (Labroo and Ramanathan 2007), influence product evaluations (Pham 1998), and even facilitate brand extensions (Yeung and Wyer 2005). However, the previous research has taken a broad perspective regarding the role of emotions in marketing mix decisions and has not considered whether certain types of emotional appeals may be more important than others for specific products. This current research suggests that managers of both indulgent products (e.g., luxury and entertainment products) and those that help people reach their long-term objectives (e.g., weight-loss solutions and retirement planning) may want to consider ways to evoke pride through their marketing communications. However, this research also suggests that they must use caution if they incorporate pride into their communications mix and consider the cognitive demands placed on consumers during message processing. For example, marketers of luxury products often use pride appeals (e.g., promoting achievement) to

stimulate demand for their products and build brand identity. While such appeals are likely to be effective when consumers have the resources available to consciously process their message content, these appeals may also have a negative affect on consumers' decision to purchase luxury brands in retail environments where there is more competition for consumers' attention.

### Limitations and Future Research

Many of the limitations of this research stem from the experimental context used to test my theory. For example, all of the studies involved student participants. There is little reason to believe, however, that students' choices will differ significantly from other populations. Another potential limitation is that participants in these studies were asked to make hypothetical, rather than actual, choices. Though it is possible that actual choices would produce a different pattern of results, it also is possible that such decisions could magnify the level of conflict experienced at the time of the decision, which might increase the extent to which individuals are consciously monitoring their behavior and, thus, magnify the influence of pride on indulgent choice. Nevertheless, the external validity of my findings hinges on replications with more diverse populations using data on actual choices.

This research points to a number of interesting directions for future studies. Although the findings of this paper suggest that the experience of pride influences consumers' preference for indulgence, previous research suggests that the anticipation of pride may motivate individuals toward long-term achievements (Fredrickson

2001). This suggests that anticipating pride may reduce consumers' preference for indulgent products. Future studies may want to examine the differences between the experience of pride and the anticipation of pride on consumers' goal pursuit.

Additionally, recent research suggests that pride may be too broad of a concept to be considered one construct and that it may more appropriately be viewed as two distinct emotions: hubristic (or alpha) pride and authentic (or beta) pride (Lewis 2000; Tracy and Robins 2007). Both forms of pride are elicited as a result of an achievement, but they differ in terms of their causal attribution – hubristic pride is attributed to internal, stable, uncontrollable causes (“I did well because of who I am”), whereas authentic pride is attributed to internal, unstable, controllable causes (“I did well because I worked hard”). This current research does not distinguish between these different forms of pride because respondents were asked to write about an achievement, but they were not asked to focus on the attribution of that achievement. Future research should examine whether hubristic pride and authentic pride have different effects on consumer decision-making.

Finally, while a significant amount of consumer research has been devoted to the influence of guilt on consumer behavior and this dissertation examines pride, there are other self-conscious emotions that have been largely unexplored in the marketing literature. For example, embarrassment and shame are negative self-conscious emotions that have been well researched in the cognitive and social psychology literature, but little is known about their effect on consumer behavior. Future research investigating how these emotions influence consumer decision-

making would allow for the development of a more general framework for understanding how self-conscious emotions influence consumer behavior.

**APPENDIX A****FOOD STIMULI FOR STUDIES 1 AND 4**

Imagine that you are trying to decide on which side dish to have with your lunch. You have the option of choosing **french fries** or **salad**. Each one cost the same amount of money.



Which side dish would you choose to have with your lunch?

**APPENDIX B****GIFT CERTIFICATE STIMULI FOR STUDIES 2, 3 AND 4**

Imagine that you have been given the chance to receive one of two \$25 gift certificates. One gift certificate can be used at a local **entertainment** store to purchase *music, DVDs or video games*. The other can be used at a local **bookstore** store to purchase *school supplies and textbooks*.

**Entertainment****Bookstore**

Which gift certificate would you choose?

## REFERENCES

- Aaker, Jennifer L. and Patti Williams (1998), "Empathy versus Pride: The Influence of Emotional Appeals across Cultures," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25 (3), 241-61.
- Andrade, Eduardo B. (2005), "Behavioral Consequences of Affect: Combining Evaluative and Regulatory Mechanisms," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (3), 355-62.
- Adaval, Rashmi (2001), "Sometimes It Just Feels Right: The Differential Weighting of Affect-Consistent and Affect-Inconsistent Product Information," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28 (1), 1-17.
- Agrawal, Nidhi, Geeta Menon and Jennifer L. Aaker (2007), "Getting Emotional About Health," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 44 (1), 100-13.
- Baumeister, Roy F. (2002), "Yielding to Temptation: Self-Control Failure, Impulsive Purchasing, and Consumer Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 28 (4), 670-76.
- Baumeister, Roy F., Ellen Bratslavsky, and Mark Muraven (1998), "Ego depletion: Is the Active Self a Limited Resource?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74 (5), 1252-265.
- Baumeister, Roy F. and Todd F. Heatherton (1996), "Self-Regulation Failure: An Overview," *Psychological Inquiry*, 7 (1), 1-14.

- Baumeister, Roy F., Todd F. Heatherton and Dianne M. Tice (1993), "When Ego Threats Lead to Self-Regulation Failure: Negative Consequences of High Self-Esteem," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64 (1), 141-56.
- Baumeister, Roy F. and Arlene M. Stillwell and Todd F. Heatherton (1994), "Guilt: An Interpersonal Approach," *Psychological Bulletin*, 115 (2), 243-67.
- Beer, Jennifer S. and Dacher Keltner (2004), "What Is Unique About Self-Conscious Emotions?" *Psychological Inquiry*, 15 (2), 126-29.
- Bosmans, Anick and Hans Baumgartner (2005), "Goal-Relevant Emotional Information: When Extraneous Affect Leads to Persuasion and When It Does Not," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (3), 424-34.
- Bower, Gordon H. (1981), 'Mood and Memory,' *American Psychologist*, 36 (February), 129-48.
- Bushman, Brad J. and Roy F. Baumeister (1998), "Threatened Egotism, Narcissism, Self-Esteem, and Direct and Displaced Aggression: Does Self-Love or Self-Hate Lead to Violence?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75 (1), 219-29.
- Cacioppo, John T., Wendi L. Gardner, Gary G. Berntson, (1999), "The Affect System Has Parallel and Integrative Processing Components: Form Follows Function," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76, 839-55.
- Carver, Charles S. (2006), "Approach, Avoidance, and the Self-Regulation of Affect and Action," *Motivation and Emotion*, 30 (2), 105-10.

- Carver, Charles S. and Michael F. Scheier (1981), "The Self-Attention-Induced Feedback Loop and Social Facilitation," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 17 (6), 545-68.
- Carver, Charles S. and Michael F. Scheier (1990), "Origins and Functions of Positive and Negative Affect: A Control-Process View," *Psychological Review*, 97 (1), 19-35.
- Carver, Charles S., and Michael F. Scheier (1998), *On the Self-Regulation of Behavior*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Case, Tony (2006), "Fast Food," *Adweek*, 47(18) SU20.
- Clark, Margaret S. and Alice M. Isen (1982), "Toward Understanding the Relationship between Feeling States and Social Behavior," in *Cognitive Social Psychology*, ed. Albert H. Hastorf and Alice M. Isen, New York: Elsevier North-Holland, 73-108.
- Dhar, Ravi and Klaus Wertenbroch (2000), "Consumer Choice Between Hedonic and Utilitarian Goods," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 37 (1), 60-71.
- Drolet, Aimee and Mary Frances Luce (2004), "The Rationalizing Effects of Cognitive Load on Emotion-Based Trade-off Avoidance," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (1), 63-77.
- Epstein, Seymour (1994), "Integration of the Cognitive and the Psychodynamic Unconscious," *American Psychologist*, 49, 709-24.
- Eyal, Tal and Ayelet Fishbach (2008), "Two Affective Systems in Self-Control Conflicts," Working Paper, Ben Gurion University.

- Ferraro, Rosellina, Baba Shiv and James R. Bettman (2005), "Let Us Eat and Drink, for Tomorrow We Shall Die: Effects of Mortality Salience and Self-Esteem on Self-Regulation in Consumer Choice," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (1), 65-75.
- Fishbach, Ayelet and Ravi Dhar (2005), "Goals as Excuses or Guides: The Liberating Effect of Perceived Goal Progress on Choice," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (3), 370-77.
- Fishbach, Ayelet and James Y. Shah (2006), "Self-Control in Action: Implicit Dispositions Toward Goals and Away From Temptations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90 (5), 820-32
- Fishbach, Ayelet and Aparna A. Labroo (2007), "Be Better or Be Merry: How Mood Affects Self-Control. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93 (2), 158-73.
- Forgas, Joseph P. (1995), "Mood and Judgment: The Affect Infusion Model (AIM)," *Psychological Bulletin*. 117 (January), 39-66.
- Fredrickson, Barbara L. (2001), "The Role of Positive Emotions in Positive Psychology: The Broaden-and-Build Theory of Positive Emotions," *American Psychologist*, 56 (3), 218-26.
- Frijda, Nico H (1994), "Emotions are Functional, Most of the Time," In Paul Ekman and Richard J. Davidson (Eds.), *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions* (pp. 112–126). New York: Oxford.

- Garg, Nitika, J. Jeffrey Inman and Vikas Mittal (2005), "Incidental and Task-Related Affect: A Re-Inquiry and Extension of the Influence of Affect on Choice," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (1), 154-59.
- Garg, Nitika, Brian Wansink and Jeffrey J. Inman (2007), "The Influence of Incidental Affect on Consumers' Food Intake," *Journal of Marketing*, 71 (1), 194-206.
- Giner-Sorolla, Roger (2001), "Guilty Pleasures and Grim Necessities: Affective Attitudes in Dilemmas of Self-Control," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80 (2), 206-21.
- Halberstadt, Jamin B., Paula M. Niedenthal Julia Kushner (1995), "Resolution of Lexical Ambiguity by Emotional State," *Psychological Science*, 6, 278-82.
- Han, Seunghee, Jennifer S. Lerner and Dacher Keltner (2007), "Feelings and Consumer Decision Making: The Appraisal-Tendency Framework," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 17 (3), 158-68.
- Hart, Daniel and M. Kyle Matsuba (2007), "The Development of Pride and Moral Life," In: *The Self-Conscious Emotions: Theory and Research*. Tracy, Jessica L., Richard W. Robins, Richard W. and June Price Tangney, New York, NY, US: Guilford Press, 2007, 114-33.
- Heatherton, Todd F. and Nalini Ambady (1993), "Self-esteem, Self-prediction, and Living Up to Commitments," In: *Self-esteem: The Puzzle of Low Self-Regard*. Baumeister, Roy F.; New York, NY, US: Plenum Press, 1993, 131-45.

- Higgins, E. Tory (1997), "Beyond Pleasure and Pain," *American Psychologist*, 52 (12), 1280-300.
- Higgins, E. Tory, James Shah and Ronald Friedman (1997), "Emotional Responses to Goal Attainment: Strength of Regulatory Focus as Moderator," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 72 (3), 515-25.
- Hong, Jiewen and Angela Y. Lee (2008), "Be Fit and Be Strong: Mastering Self-Regulation through Regulatory Fit," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34 (5), 682-95.
- Hull, Jay G. (1990), "A Self-Awareness Model of the Causes and Effects of Alcohol Consumption," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 90 (6), 586-600.
- Isen, Alice M., Thomas E. Shalcker, Margaret Clark, and Lynn Karp (1978), "Affect, Accessibility of Material in Memory, and Behavior: A Cognitive Loop?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36 (January), 1-12.
- Kahneman, Daniel (2003), "Maps of Bounded Rationality: Psychology for Behavioral Economics," *American Economic Review*, 93 (5), 1449-475.
- Labroo, Aparna A. and Suresh Ramanathan (2007), "The Influence of Experience and Sequence of Conflicting Emotions on Ad Attitudes," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 33 (4), 523-28.
- Lang, Peter J., Margaret M. Bradley and Bruce N. Cuthbert (1998), "Emotion, Motivation, and Anxiety: Brain Mechanisms and Psychophysiology," *Biological Psychiatry*, 44 (12), 1248-263.

- Larsen, Jeff T., A. Peter McGraw and John T. Cacioppo (2001), "Can People Feel Happy and Sad at the Same Time?," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81 (4), 684-96.
- Leary, Mark R., Ellen S. Tambor, Sonja K. Terdal and Deborah L. Downs (1995), "Self-Esteem as an Interpersonal Monitor: The Sociometer Hypothesis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68 (3), 518-30.
- Lerner, Jennifer S. and Dacher Keltner (2001), "Fear, Anger, and Risk," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81 (1), 146-59.
- Lerner, Jennifer S. and Dacher Keltner (2000), "Beyond Valence: Toward a Model of Emotion-Specific Influences on Judgment and Choice," *Cognition and Emotion*, 14 (4), 473-93.
- Lewis, Michael (2000), "Self-Conscious Emotions: Embarrassment, Pride, Shame, and Guilt," In Michael Lewis and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, *Handbook of Emotions (2nd ed.)*, New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.
- Loewenstein, George (1996), "Out of Control: Visceral Influences on Behavior," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 65 (3), 272-92.
- Louro, Maria J., Rik Pieters and Marcel Zeelenberg (2005), "Negative Returns on Positive Emotions: The Influence of Pride and Self-Regulatory Goals on Repurchase Decisions," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (4), 833-40.
- Louro, Maria J., Rik Pieters and Marcel Zeelenberg (2007), "Dynamics of Multiple-Goal Pursuit," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93 (2), 174-93.

- MacDonald, Tara K., Geoffrey T. Fong, and Mark P. Zanna, (2000), "Alcohol Myopia and Condom Use: Can Alcohol Intoxication Be Associated With More Prudent Behavior?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78 (4), 605-19.
- MacInnis, Deborah J. and Vanessa M. Patrick (2006), "Spotlight on Affect: Affect and Affective Forecasting in Impulse Control," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 16 (3), 224-31.
- Mann, Traci and Andrew Ward (2004), "To Eat or Not to Eat: Implications of the Attentional Myopia Model for Restrained Eaters," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 113 (1), 90-8.
- Mick, David Glen and Faure, Corinne (1998), "Consumer Self-Gifts in Achievement Contexts: The Role of Outcomes, Attributions, Emotions, and Deservingness," *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 15 (4), 293-307.
- Mischel, Walter, Brian Coates and Antonette Raskoff (1968), "Effects of Success and Failure on Self-Gratification," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 10 (4), 381-90.
- Mukhopadhyay, Anirban and Gita Venkataramani Johar (2007), "Tempted or Not? The Effect of Recent Purchase History on Responses to Affective Advertising," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 33 (4) 445-53.
- Muraven, Mark; Baumeister, Roy F.; Tice, Dianne M. (1999), "Longitudinal Improvement of Self-Regulation Through Practice: Building Self-Control

- Strength Through Repeated Exercise,” *Journal of Social Psychology*, 139 (4), 446-57.
- Muraven, Mark, Dianne M. Tice and Roy F. Baumeister (1998), “Self-Control as Limited Resource: Regulatory Depletion Patterns,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74 (3), 774-89.
- Niedenthal, Paula M. and Marc B. Setterlund (1994), “Emotion Congruence in Perception,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 401-11.
- Okada, Erica Mina (2005), “Justification Effects on Consumer Choice of Hedonic and Utilitarian Goods,” *Journal of Marketing Research*, 42 (1), 43-53.
- Pham, Michel Tuan (1998), “Representativeness, Relevance, and the Use of Feelings in Decision Making,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25 (2), 144-59.
- Qiu, Cheng and Catherine W. M. Yeung (2008), “Mood and Comparative Judgment: Does Mood Influence Everything and Finally Nothing? *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34 (5), 657-69.
- Raghunathan, Rajagopal and Michel Tuan Pham (1999), “All Negative Moods Are Not Equal: Motivational Influences of Anxiety and Sadness on Decision Making,” *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 79 (1), 56-77.
- Raghunathan, Rajagopal, Pham, Michel T. and Corfman Kim P. (2006), “Informational Properties of Anxiety and Sadness, and Displaced Coping.” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (4), 596-601.

Ramanathan, Suresh and Geeta Menon (2006), "Journal Time-Varying Effects of Chronic Hedonic Goals on Impulsive Behavior," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 43 (4), 628-41.

Ramanathan, Suresh and Patti Williams (2007), "Immediate and Delayed Emotional Consequences of Indulgence: The Moderating Influence of Personality Type on Mixed Emotions," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34 (2), 212-23.

Schachter, Stanley and Jerome Singer (1962), "Cognitive, Social, and Physiological Determinants of Emotional State," *Psychological Review*, 69 (5), 379-99.

Schindler, Robert M. (1998), "Consequences of Perceiving Oneself as Responsible for Obtaining a Discount: Evidence for Smart-Shopper Feelings," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 7 (4), 371-92.

Schwarz, Norbert and Gerald L. Clore (1983), "Mood, Misattribution, and Judgments of Well-Being: Informative and Directive Functions of Affective States," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45 (3) 513-23.

Schwarz, Norbert and Gerald L. Clore (1996), "Feelings and phenomenal experiences," In: *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles*. Higgins, Edward Tory; Kruglanski, Arie W.; New York, NY, US: Guilford Press, 1996, 433-65.

Sengupta, Jaideep and Rongrong Zhou (2007), "Understanding Impulsive Eaters' Choice Behaviors: The Motivational Influences of Regulatory Focus," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 44 (2), 297-308.

- Shiv, Baba and Alexander Fedorikhin (1999), "Heart and Mind in Conflict: The Interplay of Affect and Cognition in Consumer Decision Making," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 26 (3), 278-92.
- Shiv, Baba and Alexander Fedorikhin (2000), "Spontaneous Versus Controlled Influences of Stimulus-Based Affect on Choice Behavior," *Organizational Behavior & Human Decision Processes*, 87 (2), 342-70.
- Sloman, Steven A. (1996), "The Empirical Case for Two Systems of Reasoning," *Psychological Bulletin*, 119, 3–22.
- Strahilevitz, Michael and John G. Myers (1998), "Donations to Charity as Purchase Incentives: How Well They Work May Depend on What You Are Trying to Sell," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 24 (4), 434-46.
- Tangney, June Price and Kurt W. Fischer (1995), "Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment, and Pride. New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.
- Taylor, Paul, Cary Funk and April Clark (2007), "We Try Hard. We Fall Short. Americans Assess Their Saving Habits," *Pew Research Center*, (<http://pewresearch.org/assets/social/pdf/Saving.pdf>).
- Tice, Dianne M., Roy F. Baumeister, Dikla Shmueli and Mark Muraven (2007), "Restoring the Self: Positive Affect Helps Improve Self-Regulation Following Ego Depletion," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 43 (3), 379-84.

- Tooby, John and Leda Cosmides (1990), "On the Universality of Human Nature and the Uniqueness of the Individual: The Role of Genetics and Adaptation," *Journal of Personality*, 58 (1), 17-67.
- Tracy, Jessica L. and Richard W. Robins (2004), "Putting the Self Into Self-Conscious Emotions: A Theoretical Model," *Psychological Inquiry*, 15 (2), 103-25.
- Tracy, Jessica L. and Richard W. Robins (2007), "The Psychological Structure of Pride: A Tale of Two Facets," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92 (3), 506-25.
- Tracy, Jessica L., Richard W. Robins and Kristin H. Lagattuta (2005), "Can Children Recognize Pride?," *Emotion*, 5 (3), 251-57.
- Ward, Andrew and Traci Mann (2000), "Don't Mind if I Do: Disinhibited Eating Under Cognitive Load," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78 (4), 753-63.
- Warner, Melanie (2006), "Salads or No, Burgers on Dollar Menu Revive McDonald's," *The New York Times*, July 19, C4.
- Weiner, Bernard (1985), "An Attributional Theory of Achievement Motivation and Emotion," *Psychological Review*, 92 (4), 548-73.
- Wegner, Daniel M., David J. Schneider, Samuel R. Carter (1987), "Paradoxical Effects of Thought Suppression," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53 (1), 5-13.

- Wilcox, Keith, Beth Vallen, Lauren Block and Gavan Fitzsimons (2009), "Vicarious Goal Fulfillment: When the Mere Presence of a Healthy Option Leads to an Ironically Indulgent Decision," *Journal of Consumer Research*, Forthcoming.
- Yeung, Catherine W. and Robert S. Wyer (2004), "Affect, Appraisal, and Consumer Judgment," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (2), 412-24
- Yeung, Catherine W. and Robert S. Wyer (2005), "Does Loving a Brand Mean Loving Its Products? The Role of Brand-Elicited Affect in Brand Extension Evaluations," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 42 (4), 495-506.
- Yi, Sunghwan and Hans Baumgartner (2004), "Coping With Negative Emotions in Purchase-Related Situations," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 14 (3), 303-17.
- Zemack-Rugar, Yael, James R. Bettman and Gavan J. Fitzsimons (2007), "The Effects of Nonconsciously Priming Emotion Concepts on Behavior." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 93 (6), 927-39.
- Zillmann, Dolf (1988), "Mood Management: Using Entertainment to Full Advantages," in *Communication, Social Cognition, and Affect*, ed. Lewis Donohew and Howard E. Sypher, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 147-71.