

Indulgence or Self-Control: A Dual Process Model of the Effect of Incidental Pride on Indulgent Choice

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This research examines the largely unexamined effect of incidental pride on consumer self-control. The results demonstrate that incidental pride influences long-term goal pursuit through dual processes that result in conflicting outcomes for consumer decisions: indulgent choices when promoting a sense of achievement and virtuous choices when promoting self-awareness. A series of four experiments in the money and health domains shows that the relative weight of each process at the time of a decision determines whether incidental pride leads to more or less indulgence. We provide outcome and process support for our theory, linking pride to self-control behavior in the consumption domain, and rule out alternative explanations for our findings. Thus, the findings demonstrate that the influence of incidental pride on self-control is contingent on the cognitive and contextual factors that affect decision making.

The experience of pride is a natural outcome of successful self-control and long-term goal pursuit (MacInnis and Patrick 2006; Mukhopadhyay and Johar 2007). Exerting self-discipline to study, rather than watching television or socializing, often results in pride of academic accomplishment. Resisting appealing yet unhealthy foods to lose a few pounds makes people feel proud for achieving good looks,

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being healthy, or both. Pride is thus a pervasive emotion that is engendered by important life-changing events (e.g., graduating from college) and everyday occurrences (e.g., getting a compliment on an outfit) alike. Therefore, it is possible that pride may actually shape rather than merely emanate from many of our daily efforts at self-control and goal pursuit, even though the source of its experience may be unrelated to these efforts. For example, could the proud feeling that accompanies a good workout affect spending decisions later in the day? Could pride experienced from doing well on an exam influence one's lunch choice?

The present research examines the interesting but largely unexamined effects of incidental pride on consumer self-control. In particular, we explore how the experience of incidental pride affects decisions in self-control dilemmas in which consumers face choices between virtuous options, which are consistent with their long-term goals, and indulgent options that undermine such goals. Pride, a positive emotion typically experienced after the achievement of long-term goals (Giner-Sorolla 2001), is thought to motivate people toward future achievements (Fredrickson 2001; Louro, Pieters, and Zeelenberg 2005), suggesting that its experience should promote more virtuous choices at the expense of immediate indulgence. However, as we demonstrate, the in-

fluence of pride on consumer choice is contingent on the cognitive and contextual factors that affect decision making.

We demonstrate that incidental pride is associated with two distinct processes, the promotion of a sense of achievement and the promotion of self-awareness, which produce opposing effects on consumers' preference for indulgence. Specifically, while the sense of achievement reduces the pursuit of long-term goals and leads to more indulgence, self-awareness motivates consumers to act consistently with their long-term objectives, leading to less indulgence. In four studies, across two important domains (health and money), we show that the relative weight of each process at the time of a decision determines whether incidental pride leads to more or less indulgence. In addition, we demonstrate that the effects are unique to pride; the incidental experience of another positive emotion (e.g., happiness) does not have a similar effect on decision making.

This research makes three contributions. First, it is the only research, to the best of our knowledge, to examine how the experience of incidental pride affects consumer decision making. In doing so, we identify the process through which this ubiquitous, but largely unexplored, emotion (Tracy and Robins 2007) influences goal pursuit. Second, the findings advance our understanding of the motivational properties of discrete emotions, which has been primarily limited to negative emotions thus far (Raghunathan and Pham 1999; Raghunathan, Pham, and Corfman 2006), by demonstrating that distinct positive emotions (pride vs. happiness) can have unique effects on consumer choice. Third, while previous research suggests that task-induced pride enhances goal pursuit (Williams and Desteno 2008), we demonstrate that its incidental experience can increase or decrease consumers' motivation to pursue long-term goals. Finally, because a number of key societal issues, such as the credit and obesity crises, have been attributed to poor self-control in money and health decisions (Elfhag and Morey 2008; Thaler and Sunstein 2008), this research has important implications for improving consumer welfare.

PRIDE

Emotions are often classified into two general classes: self-conscious emotions and basic emotions (Beer and Keltner 2004). Self-conscious emotions (e.g., guilt, shame, embarrassment, and pride) represent a special class of emotions because they are cognition dependent and require self-evaluative processes (Tracy and Robins 2004). Much of the research on self-conscious emotions has focused on the impact of negative self-conscious emotions on behavior, including indulgent consumption. For example, it is well established that consumers need to justify indulgent choices in order to reduce the guilt associated with such behavior (Okada 2005). Less is known about how positive self-conscious emotions, such as pride, influence behavior (Tracy and Robins 2007).

Pride performs a number of important psychological functions. For example, feelings of pride promote prosocial behaviors such as altruism (Hart and Matsuba 2007), while

the loss of pride is thought to provoke aggression and antisocial behaviors in response to ego threats (Bushman and Baumeister 1998). It is important to note that pride is a unique positive emotion in two important ways relevant to self-control. First, pride is elicited as a result of a cognitively complex appraisal process whereby the self is attributed as having achieved or made progress toward an important objective (Tracy and Robins 2004). Pride thus is often viewed as a more cognitively complex emotion compared to other positive emotions. Second, pride involves increased self-awareness, whereas other emotions can be experienced without focusing on the self (Tracy and Robins 2004). As we explain next, these two processes (promoting a sense of achievement or self-awareness) make conflicting predictions regarding the effect of incidental pride on consumer preference for indulgence or virtue.

PRIDE AND INDULGENCE

Pride Promotes a Sense of Achievement

When faced with temptation, consumers often focus on competing long-term goals as a means of self-regulation (Fishbach, Friedman, and Kruglanski 2003). For instance, deciding whether to make an unnecessary purchase can remind consumers of their goal to save money, and selecting a dessert might bring to mind their desire to cut calories. Given repeated attempts at self-control over the course of their lives, people develop links between the cognitive representations of indulgences and the goals with which they conflict. As a result, these links are overlearned to the extent that simply exposing people to indulgences spontaneously activates competing long-term goals designed to resist temptation (Fishbach et al. 2003; Wilcox et al. 2009).

Once a particular goal is activated, however, consumers may disengage from its pursuit if they feel that it has been satisfied (Fishbach and Zhang 2008). That is, when individuals believe that they have made satisfactory progress toward a focal goal, they are likely to temporarily disengage from its pursuit and focus on tempting alternatives (Fishbach and Dhar 2005; Fishbach and Zhang 2008). The most common way individuals perceive goal progress is by actively pursuing the goal. For example, someone who has just finished working out may feel that he has successfully achieved, or made sufficient progress toward, his goal to be healthy, thus choosing to indulge during his next meal. However, recent research suggests that simply intending to pursue the goal (Fishbach and Dhar 2005) or merely considering goal-consistent options (Wilcox et al. 2009) can also satisfy the goal. In other words, individuals may disengage from a salient long-term goal when they sense it has been accomplished, even when no actual goal progress has been made.

It is important to note that experiencing pride may suggest goal progress and hence promote a sense of achievement, leading to goal disengagement. Specifically, consumers often rely on their affect for information during decision making (Raghunathan and Pham 1999; Schwarz and Clore 1983), even when the source of the emotion is unrelated or

incidental to the choice at hand. The information conveyed by an emotion tends to be determined by its appraisal-generated meaning, which is often based on its typical experience (Raghunathan and Pham 1999). For example, sadness is experienced when people lose something of value, so incidental sadness is interpreted as the loss of something rewarding, which increases preference for high-risk/high-reward options in subsequent decisions (Raghunathan and Pham 1999). Because pride generally is experienced when individuals have achieved or made good progress toward a long-term goal (Giner-Sorolla 2001; MacInnis and Patrick 2006), people should interpret feelings of incidental pride as a “sense of accomplishment” toward a long-term goal. However, since the experience of pride is not linked to a specific source, individuals might misattribute the sense of achievement to salient long-term goals, even if such goals are unrelated to its actual source.

Overall, this suggests that when consumers face an indulgent choice and a competing long-term goal becomes salient, they may misattribute the experience of incidental pride as having achieved the goal, leading them to disengage from its pursuit. Thus, by signaling goal achievement, incidental pride may increase consumers’ preference for indulgent options even though its source is unrelated to the decision. However, promoting a sense of achievement that leads to more indulgence is only one process through which incidental pride affects decision making. As we discuss next, pride can also promote self-awareness and lead to less indulgence.

Pride Promotes Self-Awareness

According to the theory of objective self-awareness (Duval and Wicklund 1972) and the literature on self-regulation (Carver and Scheier 1981), attention can be focused on the environment or the self, but not both. Although people are typically externally focused, there are certain situations, such as giving a speech in front of an audience or looking in a mirror, that increase attention to the self, resulting in a state of objective self-awareness (Goukens, Dewitte, and Warlop 2009). Higher levels of self-awareness increase the degree to which the self is compared to personal standards, which motivates people to avoid situations that might lead to incongruities between the self and their personal goals (Duval, Duval, and Mulilis 1992). As a result, high self-awareness has been linked to effective self-regulation and the inhibition of behaviors that conflict with personal standards. For example, self-focusing cues substantially reduce the likelihood of cheating on exams and instances of stealing (Beaman et al. 1979; Diener and Wallbom 1976). Similarly, seeing oneself in a mirror can reduce the consumption of unhealthy foods (Patrick, Chun, and MacInnis 2009). Thus, increased self-awareness tends to increase consumers’ motivation to act consistently with their long-term goals.

Because pride is experienced when attention is focused on the self, the experience of pride is associated with heightened levels of self-awareness (Tracy and Robins 2004). As a result, when consumers face a choice between indulgence

and virtue, incidental pride may decrease their preference for indulgence by promoting self-awareness. It is important to note that self-awareness results from the spontaneous activation of knowledge about the self, which does not require conscious awareness to influence behavior (Hull et al. 2002). Thus, self-awareness may act as the default process through which incidental pride influences self-control; however, this process can be overridden by the more cognitively complex sense of achievement.

In sum, we propose that incidental pride is associated with two opposing forces; it promotes a sense of achievement, which is a cognitively complex process, and promotes self-awareness, which does not require conscious awareness. While previous research has shown that the experience of pride facilitates goal pursuit (Williams and Desteno 2008), we argue that its incidental experience can enhance or reduce the pursuit of long-term goals, depending on the relative weight of each process at the time of a decision. Specifically, we suggest that under conditions where the sense of achievement factors more heavily in a decision, incidental pride will reduce the pursuit of long-term goals and lead to greater indulgence. In contrast, when self-awareness plays a stronger role, incidental pride will motivate people to act consistently with their long-term goals and lead to less indulgence.

To tease apart the two processes through which incidental pride is expected to affect indulgent choice, we test our model in four studies, using manipulations that distinctly affect the relative weight of only one of the two processes. In each study, participants make choices between two options, where one is consistent with a long-term goal and the other is an indulgent alternative that conflicts with the goal. Specifically, we manipulate the relative weight accorded to the sense of achievement through a cognitive load task in study 1, and we show that incidental pride leads to more (less) indulgence when cognitive resources are high (low). In study 2, we manipulate the relative weight given to the sense of achievement through a misattribution task and find that when the source of pride is (not) made salient, incidental pride decreases (increases) indulgence. In study 3, we provide process evidence that incidental pride increases indulgence through a sense of achievement. This was accomplished by manipulating the extent to which participants attributed the experience of pride to a salient long-term goal related to the decision. We demonstrate that pride reduces effort toward the salient long-term goal, which, in turn, increases preference for indulgent options in subsequent choices that are related to the goal. Our final study, which manipulates the relative weight of self-awareness, finds that higher levels of self-awareness due to incidental pride decrease indulgent behavior.

STUDY 1: PRIDE, HAPPINESS, AND COGNITIVE RESOURCES

The primary purpose of study 1 was to manipulate the relative weight of respondents’ sense of achievement due to

incidental pride through the availability of cognitive resources. If promoting a sense of achievement is a cognitive complex process, then its influence should be reduced or eliminated when cognitive resources are constrained (Shiv and Fedorikhin 1999). We expected incidental pride to increase preference for indulgence when cognitive resources are high and reduce preference for indulgence when cognitive resources are low. Thus, while previous research finds that cognitive constraints often make consumers more likely to indulge (see Shiv and Fedorikhin [1999] for a review), we expected the opposite pattern to emerge for those primed to experience pride. In addition, we wanted to demonstrate that the expected effects were unique to the experience of pride and that another positive emotion (i.e., happiness) would not produce the same pattern of results.

Method

Participants and Design. One hundred and ninety-five undergraduates (53% female) at Baruch College participated as part of a course requirement. The experiment had a 3 (emotion: pride vs. happiness vs. control) \times 2 (cognitive resources: high vs. low) between-subjects design.

Procedure. The study was separated into two parts that were disguised as separate studies. The first part was an emotion manipulation task that was adapted from Bosmans and Baumgartner (2005), who demonstrated that writing about an achievement-related emotion can intensify its experience. Approximately one-third of the participants were told that the researchers were developing a questionnaire that would allow them to understand which life events make people proud and to write about an accomplishment that they were very proud of (pride condition). Of the remaining participants, approximately half were instructed to write about their typical day (control condition) or an experience that made them very happy (happiness condition). All participants were told to write for 5 minutes and then were given measures of involvement in the task to test for its potential confounding influence.

In the second part, participants were instructed that they would be making a number of decisions that corresponded to frequent consumer choices. Prior to making the decisions, participants indicated their feelings on measures of pride-related and happiness-related words, which served as manipulation checks for the emotion manipulations. After this, approximately half of the participants received a cognitive load manipulation (adapted from Drolet and Luce 2004) that required them to spend 2 minutes memorizing a list of 20 words (low cognitive resources). The remaining subjects were not given a cognitive load task (high cognitive resources). All participants then made a choice between two \$25 gift certificates: one that could be used for entertainment products and one that could be used for school supplies. We selected these items based on research, which suggests that hedonic products (e.g., an entertainment gift certificate) often are considered frivolous expenses and would undermine a money-saving goal, while utilitarian products (e.g., a

school supplies gift certificate) are more consistent with a money-saving goal (Okada 2005). After making this initial decision, participants completed an unrelated filler task and were then given a number of different personal goals and asked to indicate whether or not they were currently trying to achieve these goals. The goal of saving money was included in the list. Finally, participants 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 a 3-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; $\alpha = .90$). The extent to which participants experienced pride was measured on a 3-item scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much; $\alpha = .87$) consisting of pride-related words (proud, self-respect, and self-worth; Eyal and Fishbach 2009). The extent to which participants experienced happiness was measured on a 3-item scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much; $\alpha = .90$) consisting of happiness-related words (happy, joy, and pleasure; Eyal and Fishbach 2009). Finally, participants indicated how cognitively demanding the study had been on a 3-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; $\alpha = .93$).

Results

Manipulation Checks and Additional Measures. There was no significant difference in writing task involvement between the pride, happiness, and control conditions ($M_{\text{pride}} = 4.91$; $M_{\text{happy}} = 4.76$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.75$; $F(2, 192) = .24$; NS), which suggests that all three groups were similarly engaged in the task. As expected, participants in the pride condition experienced more pride than those in the happiness condition and control group ($M_{\text{pride}} = 5.09$; $M_{\text{happy}} = 4.74$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.54$; $F(1, 192) = 3.11$; $p < .05$), confirming the validity of the pride manipulation. Similarly, participants in the happiness condition experienced more happiness than those in the pride condition and control group ($M_{\text{pride}} = 4.15$; $M_{\text{happy}} = 4.60$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.16$; $F(1, 192) = 3.10$; $p < .05$). The cognitive resources manipulation was validated through an ANOVA with cognitive resources and emotion as the factors. As expected, the main effect for cognitive resources was significant ($M_{\text{high}} = 2.99$; $M_{\text{low}} = 5.00$; $F(1, 189) = 96.02$; $p < .001$) such that those in the low resources conditions found the study more cognitively demanding. Neither the main effect of emotion nor the cognitive resources by emotion interaction was significant. Finally, 95% of participants indicated that they had the goal of saving money, and none of the participants guessed that there was a relationship between the two parts of the study. In all of the studies in this article, eliminating the participants that did not have the long-term goal did not change the significance of the effects that are reported.

Indulgent Choice. Logistic regression was used to test the prediction. The key dependent variable was indulgent choice, coded as 1 if participants selected the entertainment gift certificate and 0 if they selected the school supplies gift certificate, which was regressed on emotion, cognitive resources, and their interaction. There was a significant emotion \times cognitive resources interactive effect on indulgent choice (Wald's $\chi^2 = 11.47$; $p < .01$; see fig. 1). As expected, when cognitive resources were available, participants 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%; Wald's $\chi^2 = .08$; NS). However, when cognitive resources were low, participants were less likely to make an indulgent choice when they were primed with pride (36%) compared to the control group (67%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 6.34$; $p < .05$) and, again, there was no significant difference in indulgent choice between the happiness (68%) and control conditions (67%; Wald's $\chi^2 = .01$; NS). Finally, participants that were primed with 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 $\chi^2 = 8.55$; $p < .01$), while the reverse pattern was obtained in the control condition (41% vs. 67%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 4.73$; $p < .05$), consistent with Shiv and Fedorikhin (1999).

Discussion

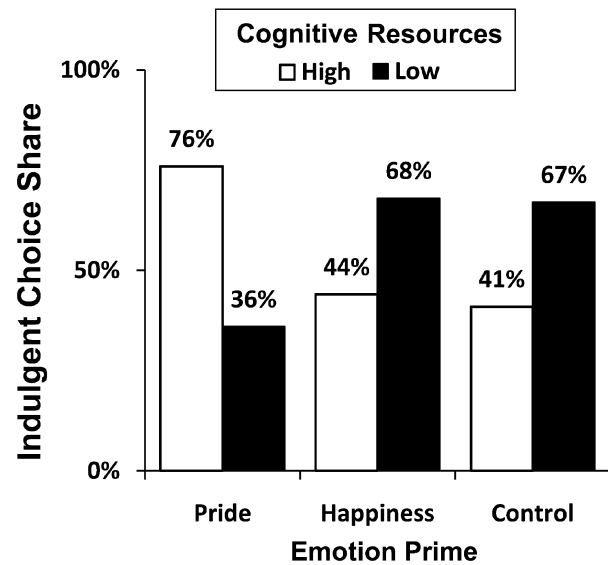
The results of this study provide initial support for our model. When cognitive resources were available to study participants, and the cognitively complex sense of achievement carried more weight in participants' decisions, pride increased indulgence. However, when cognitive resources were constrained, which reduced the weight of the sense of achievement, pride decreased indulgence. One interesting finding from this study was that cognitive resources also moderated the effect of happiness on indulgent choice, but in the opposite direction. Because this finding is not a central focus of this study, the discussion of it is reserved for the general discussion. Having found support for our predictions, the next study seeks to demonstrate that incidental pride promotes a sense of achievement that increases indulgence because it is misattributed as a source of information during decision making.

STUDY 2: PRIDE AND MISATTRIBUTION

If incidental pride is misattributed as goal progress or achievement then, according to the affect-as-information model, its experience should cease to be informative if its informational value is discredited in some way (Pham 1998; Schwarz and Clore 1983). This often is demonstrated by having participants focus on a different source for their feelings that is unrelated to their judgment (Schwarz and Clore 1983). More recently, Raghunathan et al. (2006) demonstrated that when an emotion provides goal-related infor-

FIGURE 1

STUDY 1: COGNITIVE RESOURCES MODERATE THE EFFECT OF PRIDE ON INDULGENT CHOICE



mation, simply making the source of the emotion salient, rather than attributing it to an unrelated source, discredits its informational value for a decision. Thus, in study 2, we alter the weight of the sense of achievement by varying the salience of the source of incidental pride. If the sense of achievement influences decision making through a misattribution process, then we would expect it to have a greater influence on decision making when the source of pride is not made salient, but less of an influence when its source is discredited. Thus, we expected incidental pride to increase preference for indulgence when its source is not made salient and reduce preference for indulgence when its source is made salient.

Method

Participants and Design. One hundred and one undergraduates (52% female) at Baruch College participated as part of a course requirement. The experiment had a 2 (emotion: pride vs. control) \times 2 (source salience: high vs. low) between-subjects design.

Procedure. The study was separated into two parts that were disguised as separate studies. The first part was the emotion manipulation, and the procedure was identical to study 1, with the exception that we dropped the happiness condition. In the second part, participants were asked to indicate their feelings on the same emotion measures as the previous study, and then chose between two \$25 gift certificates (entertainment or school supplies). However, before making their choices, approximately half of the participants

were given a source salience manipulation (adopted from Raghunathan et al. 2006), in which they were asked to indicate on two 7-point scales (1 = not at all, 7 = very much) the extent to which their current feelings and emotional state were affected by the previous writing task (high source salience conditions). The remaining subjects were not administered the manipulation (low source salience conditions). Using the same procedure as in the previous study, after making their choice, all participants were asked to indicate whether they were currently trying to save money. Finally, the participants completed a manipulation check for the source salience manipulation and were asked to guess the true objectives of the study.

Measures. Choice of the entertainment gift certificate was recorded as a measure of indulgent choice. Involvement in the writing task ($\alpha = .86$) and pride ($\alpha = .85$) were measured on the same scales as in study 1. The manipulation check for source salience was measured on a 2-item scale ("I focused on the source of my feelings [emotional state] before making my decision"; 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree; $r = .86$).

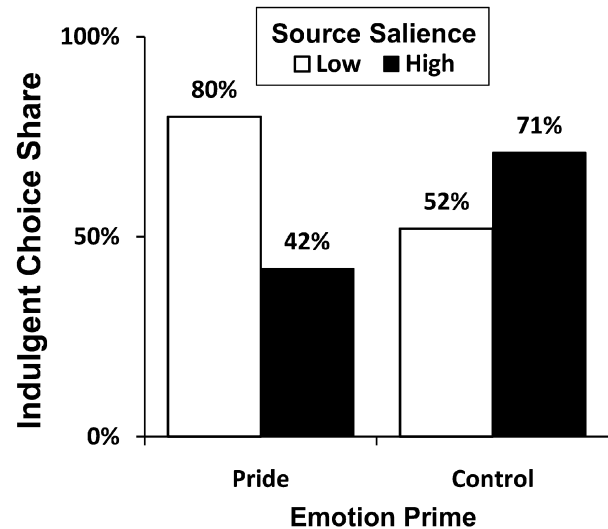
Results

Manipulation Checks and Additional Measures. There was no significant difference in involvement in the writing task between the pride and control conditions ($M_{\text{pride}} = 4.71$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.29$; $F(1, 97) = 1.96$, NS). As expected, participants in the pride condition experienced significantly more pride than those in the control group ($M_{\text{pride}} = 4.96$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.25$; $F(1, 97) = 6.28$, $p < .05$). Ninety-four percent of participants indicated that they had the goal of saving money. The source salience manipulation was validated using ANOVA with source salience and emotion as factors. As expected, the main effect for source salience was significant ($M_{\text{high}} = 5.25$; $M_{\text{low}} = 4.70$; $F(1, 97) = 4.08$, $p < .05$) such that those in the high salience conditions focused on their feelings more than those in the low salience conditions. Neither the main effect of emotion nor the source salience by emotion interaction was significant. Two participants in the high source salience conditions 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 our predictions. The key dependent variable was indulgent choice, coded as 1 if participants selected the entertainment gift certificate and 0 if they selected the school supplies gift certificate, which was regressed on emotion, source salience, and their interaction. There was a significant emotion \times source salience interactive effect on indulgent choice (Wald's $\chi^2 = 8.17$; $p < .01$; see fig. 2). As expected, when the source of pride was not made salient, participants were more likely to make an indulgent choice when they were primed with pride (80%) compared to the control group (52%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 4.32$; $p < .05$). Consistent with our prediction, when the source of pride was made salient, participants were less

FIGURE 2

STUDY 2: SOURCE SALIENCE MODERATES THE EFFECT OF PRIDE ON INDULGENT CHOICE



likely to make an indulgent choice when they were primed with pride (42%) compared to the control group (71%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 3.85$; $p < .05$). Participants primed with pride were more likely to make an indulgent choice in the low source salience condition (80%) compared to the high source salience condition (42%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 7.06$; $p < .01$). In the control conditions, there was no significant difference in preference for indulgence in the low source salience condition (52%) compared to the high source salience condition (71%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 1.86$; NS).

Discussion

The results of the current study are consistent with our model, proposing that incidental pride is misattributed as goal progress or accomplishment. Based on this sense of achievement, respondents disengaged from their goal of saving money and indulged by choosing the entertainment gift certificate. However, this effect only occurred when the source of their pride was not made salient. As expected, when the source of their pride was salient, it reduced participants' preference for indulgence.

We have hypothesized that the impact of incidental pride on indulgent decisions depends on whether pride promotes a sense of achievement or self-awareness. The studies discussed thus far have found support for our theory by manipulating the degree to which incidental pride promotes a sense of achievement. In our next study, we seek to find more direct evidence for this process by testing whether the experience of incidental pride reduces respondents' efforts to achieve a salient goal, which would be consistent with our proposition that pride signals goal achievement.

STUDY 3: PRIDE AND DOMAIN RELEVANCE

The primary purpose of study 3 was to demonstrate that pride promotes a sense of achievement, and hence increases indulgence, by reducing goal pursuit. This was accomplished by making a long-term goal salient prior to having individuals make two decisions: one that was related to the goal and one that was unrelated to the goal. If incidental pride is misattributed as having achieved salient long-term goals, then those primed with pride should show reduced effort toward the salient goal. This would, in turn, lead to greater indulgence in the choice that is related to the goal, since decreasing consumers' commitment to a long-term goal often reduces their ability to inhibit temptation (Fishbach et al. 2003). That is, we do not expect the related indulgent choice to spontaneously activate a competing long-term goal, since the goal has been fulfilled. For the decision that is unrelated to the salient goal, we expect the pride-induced sense of achievement to carry relatively less weight in the decision, since its experience has been attributed to a source that is unrelated to the decision (i.e., an unrelated goal). Thus, pride should reduce preference for indulgence when the decision is unrelated to the goal.

Method

Participants and Design. Ninety-six undergraduates (51% female) at Baruch College participated. The experiment was a 2 (emotion: pride vs. control) \times 2 (salient goal: being healthy vs. saving money) \times 2 (choice domain: health vs. money) mixed design, with the first two factors between-subject and the third factor within-subject.

Procedure. The study was separated into three parts disguised as three unrelated studies. The first part was the emotion manipulation and was identical to the one used in previous studies. Once they finished part one, participants were administered the second part, which served as a goal salience manipulation. Half of the participants were asked to read a statement that discussed how students are trying to live healthy lives (being healthy salient goal). The other half were given a statement describing how students are trying to save money (saving money salient goal). All participants then were asked to indicate how much effort they were putting forth toward the salient goal.

In the final part, participants were presented with two indulgent choices. For one choice, participants were instructed to imagine that they were deciding which side dish to have with their lunch entrée and were given a choice between french fries or salad (health domain; adopted from Wilcox et al. 2009), with french fries serving as the indulgent option in the decision. The other decision was a choice between two \$25 gift certificates: one for entertainment and one for school supplies (money domain). The presentation order of the decisions was counterbalanced. Thus, all participants made two choices: one in a domain related to the salient goal and one in an unrelated domain. Finally, par-

ticipants indicated whether they currently had the goals of being healthy and saving money and were asked to guess the true objectives of the study.

Measures. Choice of french fries or the entertainment gift certificate was recorded as a measure of indulgent choice. Involvement in the writing task ($\alpha = .87$) and pride ($\alpha = .85$) was measured on the same scales as in our prior studies. Effort toward the goal was measured by having participants indicate how much effort they were currently putting forth toward the salient goal (1 = not a lot, 7 = a lot) and how hard they were working toward the salient goal (1 = not a lot, 7 = a lot). Responses to these questions were combined to form a goal effort index ($r = .89$).

Results

Manipulation Checks and Additional Measures.

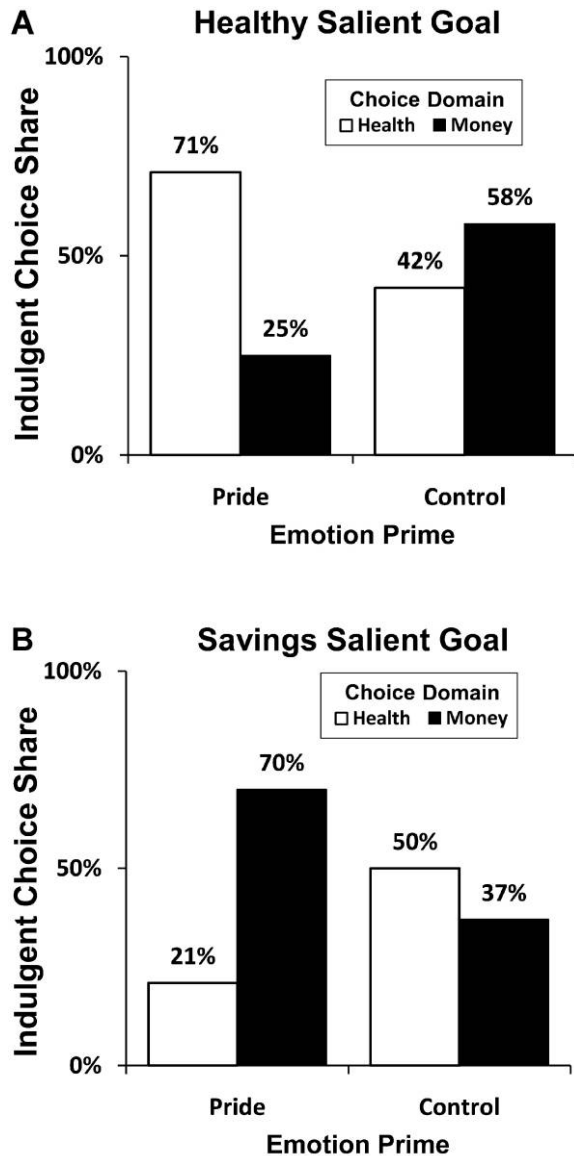
There was no significant difference in writing task involvement between the pride and control conditions ($M_{\text{pride}} = 5.23$; $M_{\text{control}} = 5.04$; $F(1, 94) = .54$, NS). As expected, the pride condition experienced significantly more pride than those in the control group ($M_{\text{pride}} = 5.46$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.81$; $F(1, 94) = 8.45$, $p < .01$). Ninety-one percent of participants indicated that they had the goal of being healthy, and 99% of participants indicated that they had the goal of saving money. None of the participants guessed that there was a relationship among the three parts of the study.

Indulgent Choice. Logistic regression was used to test our prediction with indulgent choice as the key dependent variable, coded as 1 if participants selected the french fries or the entertainment gift certificate and 0 if they selected the salad or the school supplies gift certificate. Indulgent choice was regressed on emotion, salient goal, choice domain, choice domain order (included to account for the counterbalancing of choice scenarios), and their higher order interactions. The four-way interaction between emotion, salient goal, choice domain, and choice domain order was not significant (Wald's $\chi^2 = 1.20$; NS). Other than the predicted emotion \times salient goal \times choice domain interactive effect on indulgent choice (Wald's $\chi^2 = 17.44$; $p < .001$), no other three-way interactions were significant.

As depicted in figure 3, when the being healthy goal was salient, participants were more likely to make an indulgent choice in the health domain when they were primed with pride (71%) compared to the control group (42%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 4.01$; $p < .05$). However, they were less likely to make an indulgent choice in the money domain when they were primed with pride (25%) compared to the control group (58%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 5.23$; $p < .05$). Similarly, when the saving money goal was salient, participants 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 $\chi^2 = 5.15$; $p < .05$), but they were less likely to make an indulgent choice in the health domain when they were primed with pride (21%) compared to the control group (50%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 4.25$; $p < .05$).

FIGURE 3

STUDY 3: CHOICE DOMAIN RELEVANCE MODERATES THE EFFECT OF PRIDE ON INDULGENT CHOICE



Goal Effort. We next analyzed how much effort participants were putting forth toward the salient goal, using ANOVA with goal effort as the dependent variable and emotion, salient goal, and their interaction as the factors. As expected, there was a significant main effect of emotion on goal effort ($M_{\text{pride}} = 3.24$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.59$; $F(1, 92) = 20.01$, $p < .001$), and the interaction was not significant ($F(1, 92) = .47$, NS). Thus, regardless of the long-term goal, pride decreased effort toward the goal once it was made salient.

Mediation. Our theory suggests that pride increases indulgence by reducing goal pursuit when the indulgence choice domain is related to the goal. To test this, we conducted a mediation analysis (Baron and Kenny 1986), to determine whether the effect of pride on indulgent choice is mediated by goal effort when the choice domains were related to the goal (i.e., being healthy goal/health domain, and saving money goal/money domain). The direct effect of emotion (0 = control and 1 = pride) on indulgent choice was significant ($\beta = .66$; Wald's $\chi^2 = 9.13$; $p < .01$). The indirect effect of emotion on goal effort was significant ($\beta = -.68$; $t(94) = -4.50$; $p < .001$). The indirect effect of goal effort on indulgent choice was significant ($\beta = -.91$; Wald's $\chi^2 = 21.49$; $p < .001$). Finally, adding goal effort to the first model reveals that the direct effect of emotion on indulgent choice is no longer significant ($\beta = .27$; Wald's $\chi^2 = 1.13$; NS; Sobel $z = 3.21$; $p < .01$). To ensure that goal effort did not mediate choice in the unrelated domain conditions (i.e., saving money goal/health domain and being healthy goal/money domain), we conducted an additional mediation analysis and found that goal effort did not mediate the effect of emotion on indulgent choice for those decisions. Specifically, the direct effect of emotion (0 = control and 1 = pride) on indulgent choice was significant ($\beta = -.69$; Wald's $\chi^2 = 9.44$; $p < .01$), but the indirect effect of goal effort on indulgent choice was insignificant ($\beta = .09$; Wald's $\chi^2 = .44$; NS). Adding goal effort to the first model reveals that the direct effect of emotion on indulgent choice is still significant ($\beta = -.77$; Wald's $\chi^2 = 9.38$; $p < .01$).

Discussion

The third study provides strong support for our hypothesis that incidental pride increases indulgence by promoting a sense of achievement. Specifically, when incidental pride was misattributed to a salient long-term goal, it reduced participants' effort toward that goal and increased preference for indulgence in subsequent decisions related to the goal. However, incidental pride reduced preference for indulgence when the choice domain was unrelated to the goal because the sense of achievement carried less weight in such decisions.

Three studies have now shown robust evidence that incidental pride increases indulgence by promoting a sense of achievement. In our final study, we seek support for the second process through which incidental pride can affect indulgence decisions. Specifically, we test whether incidental pride can also reduce indulgence by promoting self-awareness.

STUDY 4: INCREASING SELF-AWARENESS

In the previous studies, we manipulated the degree to which pride promoted a sense of achievement. In study 4, we increase self-awareness to test whether higher levels of self-awareness due to incidental pride lead to less indulgent be-

havior. A standard way to increase self-awareness is to videotape respondents and project their image on a video monitor so that they can see themselves as they are performing a task (Duval and Silvia 2002; Duval et al. 1992). We used a subtler manipulation using a webcam that ostensibly recorded half of our participants while completing the study; however, participants could not see themselves projected on a video monitor, so as not to distract them and to provide a more conservative test of our theory. We expected that the webcam videotaping manipulation would increase self-awareness and reduce preference for indulgence for those who experienced incidental pride. For participants who were not videotaped, we expected pride to increase their preference for indulgence, compared to a control condition. That is, we expected to replicate the results of the previous studies, this time by increasing the relative weight of self-awareness during decision making, while holding participants' sense of achievement constant.

Method

Participants and Design. One hundred undergraduates (52% female) at Baruch College participated. The experiment was a 2 (emotion: pride vs. control) \times 2 (self-awareness: high vs. low) between-subjects design.

Procedure. Upon their arrival to the behavioral lab, participants were randomly assigned to one of two rooms based on self-awareness conditions. Those in the high self-awareness conditions were seated in front of a computer that had a webcam (with a visible power indicator light) set up next to the computer screen, which were adjusted to face each participant. Those in the low self-awareness conditions were seated in front of computers that did not have webcams set up next to the screens. The study was separated into two supposedly unrelated parts. The first part was the emotion manipulation, which was identical to the one used in previous studies. Once they finished part 1, participants were administered the second part, which was the indulgent choice. To rule out the possibility that our previous results were due to administering the emotion manipulation check prior to choice, we did not administer an emotion manipulation check in this study. Participants in the high self-awareness conditions were instructed that they would be making a number of different decisions. While they were making their decisions, they would be videotaped, so they were to remain in their seats until the study was over. Participants in the low self-awareness were told only that they would be making a number of different decisions. All participants were then asked to make a choice between french fries and salad as a side dish with their lunch entrée. After making their decision, participants then indicated how much effort they were putting forth toward the goal of being healthy. This measure was included to demonstrate that pride reduces goal pursuit when it promotes a sense of achievement (i.e., when not being videotaped) but increases motivation when it promotes self-awareness (i.e., when being

videotaped). Finally, they completed a manipulation check for the videotaping manipulation.

Measures. Choice of french fries was recorded as a measure of indulgent choice. Involvement in the writing task was measured on the same scales as previous studies ($\alpha = .85$). Effort toward the goal of being healthy (goal effort) was measured using the same 2-item scale as the previous study ($r = .92$). As a manipulation check for the videotaping manipulation, participants indicated whether they agreed or disagreed that they were being videotaped (1 = disagree, 7 = agree).

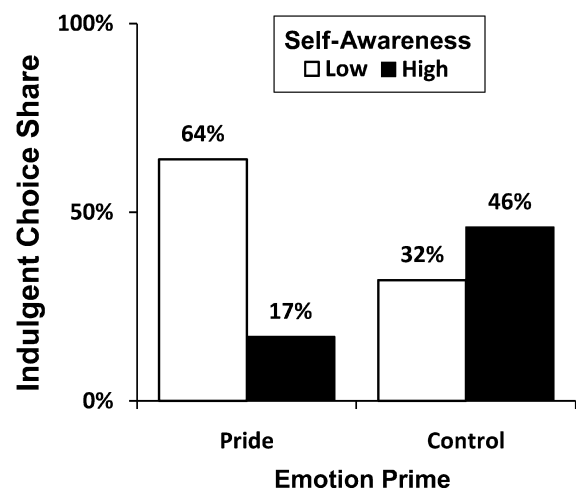
Results

Manipulation Check and Additional Measures. There was no significant difference in writing task involvement between the pride and control conditions ($M_{\text{pride}} = 4.49$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.36$; $F(1, 98) = .19$, NS). An ANOVA with emotion, self-awareness, and their interaction revealed that participants were more likely to agree they were being videotaped in the high self-awareness condition compared to the low self-awareness condition ($M_{\text{high}} = 5.92$; $M_{\text{low}} = 3.34$; $F(1, 96) = 55.84$, $p < .001$). The emotion by self-awareness interaction was not significant ($F(1, 96) = .44$, NS).

Indulgent Choice. Logistic regression was used to test our predictions. The key dependent variable was indulgent choice, coded as 1 if participants selected the french fries and 0 if they selected the salad, which was regressed on emotion, self-awareness, and their interaction. There was a significant emotion \times self-awareness interactive effect on indulgent choice (Wald's $\chi^2 = 9.55$; $p < .01$; see fig. 4). As expected, when participants were not videotaped, they

FIGURE 4

STUDY 4: SELF-AWARENESS MODERATES THE EFFECT OF PRIDE ON INDULGENT CHOICE



were more likely to make an indulgent choice when they were primed with pride (64%) compared to the control group (32%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 4.94$; $p < .05$). These results replicate those of the previous studies. However, and consistent with our prediction, when participants were made more self-aware by being videotaped, they were less likely to make an indulgent choice when they were primed with pride (17%) compared to the control group (46%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 4.66$; $p < .05$). Participants primed with pride were more likely to make an indulgent choice in the low self-awareness condition (64%) compared to the high self-awareness condition (17%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 10.08$; $p < .01$). In the control conditions, there was no significant difference in preference for indulgence in the low self-awareness condition (32%) compared to the high self-awareness condition (46%; Wald's $\chi^2 = 1.06$; NS).

Goal Effort. Because we manipulated both pride and self-awareness prior to measuring goal effort, we expected the effect of pride on goal effort to be contingent on self-awareness. Thus, we analyzed goal effort using ANOVA with emotion, self-awareness, and their interaction as the factors. The emotion by self-awareness interaction was significant ($F(1, 96) = 11.75$, $p = .001$). Consistent with the study 3 findings, when participants were not videotaped and the attribution of achievement carried more weight in their decision, pride reduced effort toward the goal of being healthy ($M_{\text{pride}} = 3.66$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.78$; $F(1, 96) = 5.69$, $p < .05$). However, as expected, when participants believed they were being videotaped, pride increased effort toward the goal of being healthy ($M_{\text{pride}} = 5.54$; $M_{\text{control}} = 4.39$; $F(1, 96) = 6.06$, $p < .05$).

Mediation. To examine whether the interactive effect of emotion and self-awareness on indulgent choice is mediated by goal effort, we conducted a test for mediated moderation using the three models suggested by Muller, Judd, and Yzerbyt (2005). The first model is the previously discussed indulgent choice analysis, which establishes the interactive effect of emotion and self-awareness on indulgent choice ($\beta = -2.78$; Wald's $\chi^2 = 9.55$; $p < .01$). The second model is a regression analysis with goal effort as the dependent variable and emotion, self-awareness, and their interaction as the independent variables, which demonstrates a significant emotion by self-awareness interaction on goal effort ($\beta = 2.28$; $t(96) = 3.43$; $p = .001$). The third model adds goal effort and the interaction between goal effort and self-awareness as independent predictors to the first model. There was a significant simple effect of goal effort on preference ($\beta = -1.18$; Wald's $\chi^2 = 12.23$; $p < .001$), and the emotion by self-awareness interaction was reduced from $\beta = -2.78$ (see above) to $\beta = -1.59$ (Wald's $\chi^2 = 2.02$; NS). This pattern of results supports goal effort as a mediator of the emotion by self-awareness interactive effect on indulgent choice.

Discussion

Our final study provides support for our proposition that pride may reduce indulgent choice by promoting self-awareness in consumers. Specifically, consistent with previous studies, those primed with pride made more indulgent choices when they were not made self-aware compared to those in a control condition. Once we increased self-awareness through a videotaping manipulation, those primed with pride actually made less indulgent choices, compared to participants who were not primed with pride. In addition, we find that increasing self-awareness increased goal pursuit for those who experienced pride and demonstrated that effort toward the goal mediated the effect of pride on indulgent choice.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This article contributes to our understanding of how incidental pride influences consumers' long-term goal pursuit and their preference for indulgent options that undermine such goals. In a series of studies, we demonstrated that incidental pride increases indulgent behavior when its experience promotes a sense of achievement but decreases indulgent behavior when its experience promotes self-awareness. In addition, we demonstrated that the influence of pride on indulgent choice was unique and that happiness, another positive emotion, did not lead to the same pattern of indulgence.

Implications

Theoretically, this research advances our understanding of the process through which emotions influence consumer goal pursuit. Previous research has demonstrated that non-consciously priming emotional concepts can cue automatic behavior that is consistent with the pursuit of long-term goals (Eyal and Fishbach 2009; Zmuck-Rugar et al. 2007). This current research demonstrates that emotions serve not only as behavioral cues but also as signals of goal progress that affect consumers' goal pursuit. In addition, 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 either taken a valence-based approach (Qiu and Yeung 2008) or examined how distinct negative emotions influence consumer choice (Raghunathan et al. 2006). In study 1, however, we demonstrate that distinct positive emotions can have different effects on consumer choice.

In addition, our findings are consistent with previous research that has examined the effect of pride on motivation. In a series of studies, Williams and Desteno (2008) find that telling people that they have just done well at a challenging task increases feelings of pride and leads to greater perseverance in subsequent tasks that are related to the source of pride. This suggests that when the experience of pride is linked to a specific goal (e.g., doing well at a task) that is incomplete, the attribution of achievement may have less of an influence on behavior, since people are likely to perceive

that the goal has not been accomplished. Our theory is consistent with their findings; it suggests that in such situations, pride increases effort by promoting self-awareness.

This research also complements recent research on licensing effects in consumer choice, which demonstrate that acting consistently with personal goals increases consumers' preference for indulgence in subsequent unrelated decisions. For instance, Khan and Dhar (2006) find that giving people the opportunity to be altruistic licenses them to be indulgent in unrelated purchasing decisions. Similarly, Mukhopadhyay and Johar (2009) demonstrate that avoiding an impulse purchase often leads consumers to reward themselves by subsequently choosing indulgences. Finally, Kivetz and Zheng (2006) find that consumers who focus on their hard work in a previous task experience a sense of entitlement that justifies indulgence in unrelated decisions. Although this literature has not examined the role of emotions in licensing effects, it is possible that the many licensing tasks (e.g., donating to charity) result in momentary experiences of pride. Thus, incidental pride offers one explanation for why licensing tasks increase indulgence even in decisions that are unrelated to the task.

Furthermore, the first study demonstrated that cognitive resources moderated the influence of happiness on indulgent choice. 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, Wansink, and Jinman (2007) found that people in happy moods consumed less of an indulgent product (i.e., buttered popcorn) compared to those in neutral moods, unless nutritional information was present. The authors argue that people in happy moods engage in mood regulation to maintain their positive affective state, so they avoid indulgence. However, reminding people in neutral moods of the consequences of indulgence (via nutritional information) reduces their indulgence and brings it to levels found for those in happy moods. These findings explain not only why participants in study 1 were less indulgent in the happiness condition compared to those that experienced pride when cognitive resources were available, but also why there was no difference between the happiness and control conditions. Specifically, because individuals were faced with a choice between an indulgent option and a virtuous option, the presence of the virtue is likely to have reminded those in the control group of the consequences of indulgence (Okada 2005).

It is important to note that mood regulation requires the ability to assess one's current and future feelings and focus on any differences between the two states during decision making (Andrade 2005), which is a process that requires cognitive resources. Consistent with this theory, study 1 showed that cognitive constraints interrupted people's ability to engage in mood regulation when they were in a happy mood, which increased their likelihood of making an indulgent choice compared to when cognitive resources were not constrained. These findings are also consistent with recent research investigating whether elevated levels of

arousal constrain cognitive resources and impair consumers' ability to engage in mood regulation (Fedorikhin and Patrick 2010).

This study also has important managerial implications. Managers have long recognized that emotions are an important component of their marketing mix because of their potential to increase attention to product advertisements (Larbroo and Ramanathan 2007), influence product evaluations (Pham 1998), and even facilitate brand extensions (Yeung and Wyer 2005). However, this research traditionally has taken a valence-based approach to examining emotions in marketing mix decisions and has not considered whether some emotions may be more important than others for specific products. Our research suggests that managers of both indulgent products (e.g., luxury and entertainment products) and, perhaps more important, those who help people reach their long-term objectives (e.g., weight-loss solutions and retirement planning services) may want to consider ways to evoke pride through their marketing communications. However, our research also suggests that marketers must use caution if they incorporate pride into their communications mix and should consider the contextual factors present during message processing.

Limitations and Future Research

Many of the limitations of this research stem from the experimental context used to test our 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 decision conflict, which might increase the extent to which individuals focus on their long-term goals and, thus, magnify the influence of pride on indulgent choice. Nevertheless, the external validity of our findings hinges on replications based on actual choices across diverse populations.

This research points to a number of interesting directions for future studies. Recent research suggests that pride may not be one construct and that it may more appropriately be viewed as two distinct emotions: hubristic (or alpha) pride and authentic (or beta) pride (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 participants were asked to write about an achievement but were not asked to attribute the experience to controllable or uncontrollable causes. Future research should examine whether hubristic pride and authentic pride have different effects on consumer decision making.

Finally, our focus was limited to the positive self-conscious emotion of pride. While a significant amount of consumer research has been devoted to the influence of guilt on consumer behavior, there are other negative self-conscious emotions that have been largely unexplored, such as embarrassment and shame. 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.

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