

The Effect of Incidental Emotions on Judgments and Behavior in Unrelated Situations: A Review

ROBERT S. WYER JR., PING DONG, XUN (IRENE) HUANG, ZHONGQIANG (TAK) HUANG, AND LISA C. WAN

ABSTRACT The emotions that people experience in one situation can influence their judgments and behavioral decisions in other situations that are objectively unrelated to the conditions that gave rise to them. These effects are evident in a variety of emotions, including embarrassment, guilt and shame, jealousy and envy, anger and fear, sadness, disgust, hopelessness, hope, pride, romantic crushes, and nostalgia. In this article, we review the results of research that exemplify the impact of specific emotions on consumer behavior. Specifically, negative emotions motivate individuals to eliminate the unpleasant feelings they elicit and activate concepts concerning the means of attaining this general goal. Once activated, these concepts influence behavior in unrelated situations independently of the conditions that gave rise to the feelings. Positive emotions do not induce such compensatory motivation. Nevertheless, they can sometimes trigger desires, and the behavioral disposition activated by these desires can also influence behavior in unrelated situations.

The influence of people's affect and emotions on their behavior and decisions has been a focus of psychological research and theory for decades. Conceptualizations of this influence have changed over the years, however. Research in the 1980s focused mainly on the influence of affect on information processing (e.g., comprehension, recall, and judgment; see Bower 1981; Schwarz and Clore 1983, 1996; Wyer, Clore, and Isbell 1999). Recent research has begun to consider the impact of specific emotions on information processing. Of particular interest has been the possibility that the emotions elicited in one situation can influence judgments and behavior in a later, unrelated situation. This possibility might have important implications for consumer behavior (e.g., the way that an emotion-eliciting television movie might influence viewers' reactions to the products displayed in the commercials that accompany it).

However, not all negative emotions elicit compensatory behavior. Moreover, incidental positive emotions can also influence behavior in unrelated situations. In this article, we provide a more general conceptualization of the effects of incidental emotions on behavior in unrelated domains.

We then review representative research that is consistent with this conceptualization, touching on the impact of positive emotions as well as negative ones.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Affect is a physiological reaction that is subjectively experienced as either pleasant or unpleasant (Wyer et al. 1999). A specific cluster of reactions might be conceptualized metaphorically as an array of the form [a, b, c . . .]. One of these reactions might be "pure affect," and others might distinguish one affect-related experience from another. Each cluster of reactions gives rise to a different subjective experience and might be assigned a different verbal label. Each of these subjective experiences constitutes an *emotion*.

The subjective reactions that give rise to an emotion can be elicited by proprioceptive stimulation (e.g., facial expressions or posture; see Strack, Martin, and Stepper 1988; Stepper and Strack 1993). However, they are more often stimulated by a configuration of concepts or cognitions that is brought to bear on the interpretation of a stimulus event. This configuration constitutes an *appraisal* of the event (Lazarus 1991). The cognitive appraisals that give rise to differ-

Robert S. Wyer Jr. (mkwyer@ust.hk), visiting professor of marketing, Lindner College of Business, University of Cincinnati. Ping Dong (ping.dong@kellogg.northwestern.edu), assistant professor of marketing, Kellogg School of Management, Northwestern University. Xun (Irene) Huang (huangxun@ntu.edu.sg), assistant professor of marketing, Nanyang Business School, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Zhongqiang (Tak) Huang (takhuang@hku.hk), assistant professor of marketing, Faculty of Business and Economics, University of Hong Kong. Lisa C. Wan (lisawan@baf.cuhk.edu.hk), assistant professor of the School of Hotel and Tourism Management, The Chinese University of Hong Kong. All but the first author are listed in alphabetical order.

JACR, volume 4, number 2. Published online February 1, 2019. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/701889>
 © 2019 the Association for Consumer Research. All rights reserved. 2378-1815/2019/0402-0060\$10.00

ent emotions have been conceptualized by some researchers (Smith and Ellsworth 1985; Ortony, Clore, and Collins 1988; Roseman, Wiest, and Swartz 1994; see also Han, Lerner, and Keltner 2007). The physiological reactions to an appraisal and the subjective experience that they elicit may become associated with the configuration through learning and may often constitute a conditioned or unconditioned response. This response is experienced as an emotion.

Appraisals and Goal-Directed Processing

The emotion that is elicited by a cognitive appraisal can be positively or negatively valenced. Positive emotions are pleasant and elicit attempts to maintain them, whereas negative emotions are aversive and stimulate attempts to reduce or eliminate them (Isen 1984; see also Cohen and Andrade 2004; Andrade 2005). Although this possibility is self-evident, it does not account for the effect of an emotion that is elicited in one situation on behavior and judgments in a later, unrelated situation.

Effects of Negative Emotions. Incidental emotions are particularly likely to influence behavior when they are unpleasant. Our conceptualization of the processes that underlie this influence, which is an extension of an earlier formulation by Raghunathan, Pham, and Corfman (2006; see also Raghunathan and Pham 1999; Pham 2004, 2009). They proposed that distinct negative emotional states are associated with distinct patterns of emotional appraisal (Lerner and Keltner 2001; Han et al. 2007) and that these appraisals trigger distinct goals. These goals, in turn, govern subsequent behavior. Raghunathan et al. (2006) describe this behavior as “displaced coping,” that is, a pseudo-resolution of the original emotion-inducing problem in an objectively unrelated domain.

Our conceptualization is based in part on Kruglanski et al.’s (2002) analysis of goal-based mental representations. They assume that goals (or more precisely, goal concepts), which exist in memory at different levels of abstractness, are associated with a number of procedures that can be used to attain them, or *plan-goal schemas*. If a situation-specific goal has been induced in one situation, it may activate a more general goal with which a number of situation-specific plan-goal schemas are associated. Then, if features of the new situation match those of one of these schemas, the plan may be executed. Note, however, that the behavior involved in this plan may be inapplicable for attaining the specific goal that was induced in the first situation or the emotion that elicited it. Thus, a man who feels jealous because his girl-

friend is paying undue attention to a rival might be motivated to recapture her attention. However, this specific goal could activate a more general goal of “getting attention” that increases the disposition to purchase flashy clothes or to behave in attention-getting behavior in other situations in which his girlfriend is not involved (Huang, Dong, and Wyer 2017).

The Effect of Positive Emotions. The preceding conceptualization is particularly applicable to conditions in which people are motivated to eliminate the feelings elicited by a negative emotion. However, some positive emotions can also motivate goal-directed activity. Pride, for example, might induce a desire to convey the source of these feelings to others. Nostalgia might motivate people to prolong their reminiscence of the event that gave rise to it. Concepts activated by these goals, induced in one situation, could also influence behavior in an unrelated situation through processes similar to those we propose.

Alternative Conceptualizations. As we have noted, our conception of the processes that underlie the effects of incidental emotions is similar to that proposed by Raghunathan et al. (2006; Raghunathan and Pham 1999). However, these processes should be distinguished from those that underlie behavioral mind-sets (Wyer and Xu 2010; Wyer, Xu, and Shen 2012). Mind-sets are evidenced by a tendency for goal-directed behavior in one situation to influence behavioral decisions in a later situation in pursuit of a quite different objective. However, these effects differ from the effects of incidental emotions in an important respect. In the first case, a *behavior* that is performed in one situation activates behavior-related concepts that influence the behavior that is used to attain a quite different goal in a later situation. Thus, the behavior that occurs in the two situations are related, although the goal to which they are directed can be quite different (e.g., hearing a speech by a political candidate one opposes can induce a “counterarguing” mind-set that decreases the acceptance of an ad that is encountered in an unrelated situation; see Xu and Wyer 2012). In the second case, a *goal* that is activated in an initial situation influences the goal that is pursued later, but the goal-directed behavior that occurs could be situation-specific. Thus, as in our earlier example, feelings of jealousy can activate a general goal of getting attention and this goal can stimulate attention-getting behavior in a later situation (wearing flashy clothes) that could be inapplicable for coping with the situation that gave rise to these feelings. Put another way, in the case of a behavioral

mind-set, the behavior generalizes over situations but the goal to which it is related might not. In the conditions of concern in this article, the goal elicited by an emotion generalizes over situations but the means of attaining this goal might not.

EFFECTS OF INCIDENTAL EMOTIONS ON JUDGMENTS AND DECISIONS

The remainder of this article reviews research that exemplifies the effect of incidental emotions on judgments and behavior in an unrelated situation. We focus primarily on the effects of negative emotions, including embarrassment, guilt and shame, jealousy and envy, anger and fear, sadness, disgust, and hopelessness. However, we also consider the effects of positive emotions that have motivational properties, including hope, pride, nostalgia, and the feelings that underlie romantic relationships.

Incidental Embarrassment

Embarrassment is a transitory emotion that people experience when they perform an act that they believe to be socially inappropriate or that makes them look foolish (Blair and Roese 2013; Dong, Huang, and Wyer 2013). Thus, it is likely to activate a disposition to avoid interacting with someone they want to impress but who might view the action negatively and evaluate them unfavorably. For example, consumers generally spend more time interacting with a physically attractive service provider of the opposite sex than with a less attractive one. When they are embarrassed, however, they experience apprehension about being evaluated negatively by an attractive provider whom they want to impress. Therefore, they spend less time interacting with such a provider than with an unattractive one (Wan and Wyer 2015).

However, a behavior only elicits embarrassment if it is observed. Goffman (1959) contended that embarrassment is a transitory, situation-specific emotion and should have little influence on people's interaction with someone who is unaware of the embarrassing incident. Nevertheless, this influence could occur. If people's feelings of embarrassment in a situation motivate them to avoid interacting with a person on whom they want to make a good impression, this motive could generalize to later situations and lead them to avoid interacting with such a person even if the person has no knowledge of the incident that gave rise to their feelings. Thus, for example, recalling an embarrassing past experience decreases individuals' willingness to spend time interacting with a physically attractive service provider of the opposite sex even though the provider is quite unaware of the experience

that led them to feel embarrassed (Wan and Wyer 2018).

The avoidance behavior that is activated by the motivation to reduce or eliminate feelings of embarrassment can also be symbolic. Thus, recalling an embarrassing experience can increase people's preference for large, dark-tinted glasses and for cosmetics and facial moisturizer that would restore their complexion (Dong et al. 2013). In other words, embarrassment increase attraction to products that metaphorically allow people either to avoid presenting themselves to others (by "hiding their face") or to reduce their apprehension about their self-presentation (by "saving face").

Guilt and Shame

Embarrassment should be distinguished from *guilt* and *shame*. All three emotions are likely to result from engaging in a behavior that might elicit disapproval from others. Consequently, they are often assumed to co-occur (Izard 1977; Borg, Staufenbeil, and Scherer 1988). However, the conditions that elicit these emotions and their motivational consequences can differ (Tangney et al. 1996). Embarrassment arises from an unintended behavior that has no enduring consequences for one's personal deficiencies and is only likely to affect one's concern about presenting oneself to others. Shame, however, results from behavior that has potentially negative implications for one's basic personality and self-esteem. Guilt also results from behavior that violates one's self-imposed standard of appropriateness. In contrast to shame, however, guilt-eliciting behavior is situation specific and does not necessarily reflect on one's self-worth. Thus, feelings of guilt are likely to motivate individuals to remedy the negative consequences of their behavior. For example, people who feel guilty because they have not purchased something from a friendly salesperson might give the person more credit for their later purchases (Dahl, Honea, and Manchanda 2005).

Shame, however, is less likely to stimulate such compensatory behavior. Participants in a study by Chu, Wan, and Wyer (2018) first described an experience that made them feel either guilty or ashamed. After doing so, they reported their reactions to a university-sponsored recycling program. Participants were more likely to use the recycling facilities if they felt guilty than if they felt ashamed. Other studies have also shown that feelings of guilt motivate individuals to compensate for the guilt-eliciting behavior by performing normatively admirable actions such as volunteering, providing help to strangers (Regan, Williams, and Sparling 1972; Cialdini, Finch, and De Nicholas 1990) or avoiding consumer

waste (Kivetz and Keinen 2006). Moreover, when people feel guilty about receiving a windfall, they are more likely to engage in utilitarian consumption than in hedonic consumption (Levav and McGraw 2009).

If feelings of guilt motivate people to remedy the effects of the guilt-inducing behavior, they might activate a more general goal of self-improvement that generalizes to unrelated situations. In a study by Allard and White (2015), participants who had been induced to feel guilty, ashamed, or sad were given an opportunity to choose between a number of herbal teas. One tea purportedly increased brain power and mental status, whereas another allegedly improved their mood. Guilty participants showed a greater preference for the self-improving tea, whereas sad participants were more likely to prefer the mood-restoring tea; ashamed participants had no preference.

If shame induces concerns about oneself as a whole, it might activate a more general disposition to interpret events in terms of global, high-level concepts that influence information processing in unrelated situations. In contrast, guilt presumably disposes people to focus on situation-specific concerns and therefore might lead them to process information in terms of concrete, low-level concepts. Thus, in a study by Han, Duhachek, and Agrawal (2014), participants who were induced to feel either guilty or ashamed were asked the likelihood they would attend a concert that varied in terms of both its desirability (the favorableness of the performers) and its feasibility (the cost of the tickets). Ashamed participants were inclined to choose the high desirability, low feasibility option whereas guilty participants were more likely to choose the low desirability, high feasibility alternative.

Jealousy

Jealousy results from the perception that one's status in a social relationship is being usurped by another (Parrott and Smith 1993; Buss and Haselton 2005). In social relationships, for example, learning that one's significant other is spending time with someone else might elicit jealousy, whereas learning that a friend has become engaged to a person one has worshiped from afar might elicit envy. Therefore, the experience of jealousy is likely to motivate a desire to regain the attention that one has lost. To this extent, it may activate a more general goal concept of getting attention and this concept, once accessible in memory, can influence behavior in an unrelated situation to which the concept is applicable. Wang and Griskevicius (2014) confirmed this possibility. Participants in one study were induced to feel

jealous by imagining that someone had flirted with their date. Then, in an ostensibly unrelated study, these participants reported willingness to pay more for an ostentatious luxury product than control participants were. In another study, jealous participants were asked to draw a logo that they would like to display on a product. They drew larger logos than control participants did. Other studies have also shown that jealous individuals are relatively more likely to choose products that display a large, attention-grabbing brand logo and to choose brightly colored clothing even when their attention-getting behavior is likely to be considered inappropriate (Huang et al. 2017).

Envy

As noted earlier, feelings of envy result from the perception that another has a social position or possessions that one would like to have but does not (Smith and Kim 2007). As Van de Ven, Zeelenberg, and Pieters (2011) note, envy can be of two types. *Benign* envy occurs when the desired status or possessions of a superior other are seen as deserved. These feelings stimulate a desire to eliminate the discrepancy between the other and oneself through self-improvement. In contrast, *malicious* envy occurs when the others' desired status or possessions are undeserved and stimulates a desire to eliminate the discrepancy by bringing the others down.

Feelings of envy are likely to stimulate a general motivation to eliminate the gap between a superior other and oneself, and this can occur in situations that are unrelated to those in which the feelings of envy are activated. Envious persons consider it more acceptable for others to engage in immoral behaviors than for themselves to do so (Polman and Ruttan 2012). Thus, whereas nonenvious individuals generally exhibit "moral hypocrisy" (i.e., imposing higher standards on others than on themselves), envious individuals exhibit moral "superiority."

Anger

Feelings of anger typically result from an action that is intentionally performed by another and has negative consequences for oneself (Lerner and Keltner 2001; Lerner et al. 2003). And anger is attributed to an action that is performed intentionally by another person (Smith and Ellsworth 1985). These feelings often motivate individuals to eliminate the negative feelings they are experiencing by aggressing against the perpetrator. However, this disposition can generalize to unrelated situations. Thus, for example, angry persons act more aggressively toward people in general (Goldberg, Lerner, and Tetlock 1999) and are more punitive in evaluating

fictional legal cases (Lerner, Goldberg, and Tetlock 1998). Moreover, angry consumers were more inclined than control consumers to complain to a restaurant about a problem they encountered (Su, Wan, and Wyer 2018). This disposition was evident even when feelings of anger were caused by an international incident in which the consumers were not personally involved.

Fear and Anxiety

Fear, or anxiety, is characterized by an unstable characteristic of the situation and is characterized by uncertainty and avoidance behavior (Izard 1977; Lazarus 1991; Han et al. 2007). It decreases people's willingness to take risks in gambling situations and increases their beliefs that negative events will occur due to circumstances beyond their control (Lerner and Keltner 2001; see also Raghunathan and Pham 1999; Lerner et al. 2003). For example, Chinese consumers decreased the number of complaints they registered during the month of a naturally occurring fear-evoking event (i.e., the fear of radiation leak that was caused by a major earthquake in Japan) relative to the month that followed the event (Su et al. 2018).

An additional consequence of the uncertainty associated with fear is the motivation to affiliate with others who are potential sources of reassurance. This motivation, which is manifested in fear-inducing situations themselves, can also affect behavior in unrelated situations. It also can increase the persuasiveness of appeals that emphasize conformity while decreasing the effectiveness of appeals that highlight uniqueness (Griskevicius et al. 2009). Moreover, it can increase consumers' emotional attachment to a brand that happens to be available at the time (Dunn and Hoegg 2014).

Sadness

Sadness is characterized by the loss of a cherished person or possession or the absence of a reward (Ortony et al. 1988; Roseman 1991). Like fear, it can increase the desire to affiliate with others. However, fear and sadness differ in the means of coping with these negative feelings (Raghunathan and Pham 1999; Raghunathan et al. 2006). The uncertainty associated with fear induces a "prevention" focus (Higgins 1987), that is, a desire to avoid loss. However, sadness induces a "promotion" focus, that is, a desire to recoup the positive experience that was lost. More generally, it stimulates a desire to "feel better" and, to this extent, has effects similar to those postulated to result from mood repair motivation (Isen 1984; Cohen and Andrade 2004). However, these effects can influence behavior in situations that are unrelated

to those that give rise to the emotion. Thus, in a study by Raghunathan and Pham (1999), participants who had been induced to feel sad were given the option of choosing either (a) a high likelihood of winning a small amount of money or (b) a low likelihood of winning a large amount. Sad participants were more likely to choose the latter than control participants were. Incidental sadness can also lead to more hedonic consumption. (However, this effect is weakened when the consumption has potentially negative consequences for health; Salerno, Laran, and Janiszewski 2014.)

Disgust

Disgust is a feeling of revulsion that results from real or imagined physical contact with an offensive substance (Morales and Fitzsimons 2007). Disgust could give rise to a general disposition to avoid the revolting stimulus, and this revulsion, once activated, might generalize to stimuli more generally (see, e.g., Faraji-Rad and Pham 2017, study 5). Thus, in a study by Lerner, Small, and Loewenstein (2004), participants who were feeling disgusted imagined that they had an opportunity either to buy a product or to sell it. Feeling disgusted decreased both their buying price and their selling price. In other words, it increased participants' aversion both to goods they could obtain and to goods they already owned.

Hopelessness

Hopelessness is characterized by feelings that the future holds little promise and that one has no way of attaining one's goals. These feelings could lead people to judge their immediate situation as "dark" and gloomy. At the same time, they might motivate individuals to eliminate these feelings by looking on the "bright side" of things, and this goal could influence their behavior and judgments in other situations that metaphorically satisfy this motive. For example, participants in a study by Dong, Huang, and Zhong (2015) completed an "indoor decoration survey" in which they reported their preferences for desk lamps that varied in brightness. Participants who were feeling hopeless reported a greater preference for bright lighting than control participants did.

EFFECTS OF POSITIVE EMOTIONS

The effects of negative emotions are primarily stimulated by people's desire to reduce or eliminate the unpleasant feelings they are experiencing. This motivation does not exist in the case of positive emotions. Nevertheless, some positive emotions might stimulate goal-directed activity. That is, they could activate more general goal and behavior concepts that

influence behavior in an unrelated situation through processes similar to those that underlie the impact of negative emotions. Four positive emotions—hope, pride, romantic desire, and nostalgia—exemplify this possibility.

Hope

In contrast with hopelessness, hope is a positive emotion that involves anticipation of a positive future event. It is a future-oriented emotion that may induce motivation to exercise self-control in anticipation of the desired event. This motive could generalize to unrelated situations. Thus, for example, participants who had written about experiences that made them feel hopeful consumed less unhealthy food (Winterich and Haws 2011).

At the same time, hope is associated with uncertainty about the occurrence of a desired event. To this extent, it might have effects similar to negative emotions such as anxiety in which outcome uncertainty also plays a role. For example, people who feel hopeful may have a general desire to minimize uncertain feelings this may induce a disposition to engage in more deliberative processing rather than relying on heuristics when making judgments (Tiedens and Linton 2001).

Pride

Pride is an emotional response to success or achievement (Lazarus 1991; MacInnis and Patrick 2006; Tracy and Robins 2007). The achievement, which could either be personal or be gained by a group with whom one strongly identifies, might motivate individuals to express positive feelings either directly or symbolically. Thus, for example, students are more likely to wear a sweatshirt that displays their university logo after their football team has won than after it has lost (Cialdini et al. 1976).

Pride can be of two types (McFerran, Aquino, and Tracy 2014). People could take *authentic* pride in their ability to perform a task or could take *hubristic* pride in their superiority relative to others. In one study by McFerran et al. (2014), participants first wrote a story about themselves that induced authentic pride, hubristic pride, or neither. Compared with control conditions, participants who experienced authentic pride were subsequently more likely to purchase luxury products that could serve as a reward for their accomplishment. This tendency was not evident among those who experienced hubristic pride. Authentic pride can also motivate people to signal their achievement to others. Therefore, imagining themselves scoring high on an important exam increased these participants' desire for products

that they could display in public (e.g., watches, shoes) but not for products that are normally used in private (e.g., a Dyson vacuum cleaner, a Maytag dishwasher, etc.; Griskevicius, Shiota, and Nowlis 2010).

A related distinction was made in research on the role of pride in consumer decision-making (see also Tracy and Robins 2007; Huang, Dong, and Mukhopadhyay 2014). That is, individuals may attribute their success to either an inherent personal characteristic or to the effort they expended. *Trait-based* pride may give rise to a feeling of uniqueness and distinctiveness, whereas *effort-based* pride is less likely to do so. If this is so, and if concepts associated with these feelings are accessible in memory in a later, unrelated situation, they may activate different goals that influence behavior in this situation. Thus, some participants in the study by Huang et al. (2014) wrote about a situation in which they felt proud either because of “who they are” (trait-based pride) or because of “what they did” (effort-based pride). Other participants wrote about the events that occur in a typical day. Although participants in the two pride-induction conditions reported feeling equally proud, trait-based pride increased the disposition to choose a unique T-shirt in an unrelated situation whereas effort-based pride had little effect. Similarly, participants with trait-based pride were more likely than those in other conditions to choose a brand of products that had a low market share.

Romantic Relationships

A quite different emotion with motivational consequences occurs in the context of romantic relationships. On one hand, people who are motivated to maintain a romantic relationship often desire to be unique and thus to distinguish themselves from potential competitors. This general motive could induce a more general behavioral disposition that is manifested in unrelated situations. Watching a romantic film clip, for example, can increase motivation to distinguish oneself from same-sex others and consequently the influence of product appeals that emphasize uniqueness (e.g., an appeal to “stand out from the crowd”) rather than popularity (Griskevicius et al. 2009).

A different goal is activated by a romantic “crush,” that is, a romantic feeling toward another that is not expressed openly and is unlikely to be reciprocated. This emotion is characterized by a longing for intimate sensory contact with the object of affection, and this longing could generalize to other stimuli as well. In a series of studies by Huang, Dong, and Zhang (2019), participants who had written about a romantic crush they had were given a product evaluation task that involved choices between products of high or low sen-

sory intensity (e.g., a light-colored or dark-colored postcard, a high- vs. low-volume video, etc.). Romantically primed participants were typically more inclined than control participants to prefer the high-intensity options over the alternatives. This difference was not evident among individuals who were already involved in a positive romantic relationship. Thus, although both groups of reported equally intense feelings, only those whose desire was unfulfilled generalized their desire for intense stimuli to unrelated situations.

Nostalgia: A Mixture of Happiness and Sadness

Although emotions are generally either positive or negative, some events can elicit a mixture of positive and negative feelings. For example, a man may feel happy that he has been offered a lucrative job in a foreign country but sad at the thought of leaving home. A particularly interesting example of mixed emotions is *nostalgia*, which is stimulated by reminiscing about a positive past experience that is unlikely to reoccur. Such reminiscing may elicit happy feelings when “reliving” the positive experience but, at the same time, may induce sadness that the event will never occur again. Consumers generally like products (e.g., songs, movies, automobile styles) that remind them of their nostalgic past (Holbrook and Schindler 1989; Holbrook and Schindler 1994; Schindler and Holbrook 2003).

However, nostalgia can have motivational effects that generalize to other unrelated domains. For example, the feelings elicited by awareness that the remembered event will not reoccur can give rise to a desire to prolong the reminiscence about it. This desire, in turn, can induce a general goal of prolonging experiences that generalizes to other, unrelated situations that participants encounter. This might be manifested in patience. Thus, consumers who have recalled a nostalgic event are more likely to choose a large delayed reward rather than a smaller, immediate one. Moreover, they are more patient in waiting for a webpage to download, more likely to choose standard shipping rather than expedited shipping, and estimate having to wait a shorter period of time for service at a restaurant (Huang, Huang, and Wyer 2016). These effects are restricted to feelings of nostalgia; recalling happy or sad feelings alone does not induce the effects, nor does writing about a past event per se.

Nostalgia can also strengthen people's perceived connectedness to others and induce a general motivation to approach other persons. Therefore, thinking about a nostalgic experience leads people to sit closer to others even if these persons have nothing to do with the event they thought about (Stephan et al. 2014).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As the research we have reviewed indicates, the emotion that people experience in one situation can influence judgments and decisions in other, quite unrelated situations. This article summarizes evidence of this phenomenon in a wide range of situations and a diversity of both negative and positive emotions.

The goal-directed effects we have reviewed in this article suggest that the cognitive appraisal of a situation that gives rise to a specific emotion typically activates not only a specific goal of eliminating the conditions that give rise to it but also a more general goal concept to which a number of plan-goal schemas might be associated. If features of a later situation exemplify the concepts that compose one of these schemas, the schema may be activated and used as a basis for judgments and behavioral decisions independently of the circumstances that elicited the emotion. This conception can account for many of the effects of incidental emotions reviewed in this article.

The effects of incidental negative emotions are similar in some respects to those observed in research on compensatory consumption (for a review, see Mandel et al. 2017). That is, individuals who feel deficient with respect to an important attribute often behave in ways that symbolically exemplify this attribute. For example, MBA students who receive low grades are more likely to wear expensive clothing indicative of success (Wicklund and Gollwitzer 1982), and people who feel unintelligent are more likely to purchase bookstore gift certificates or fountain pens (Gao, Wheeler, and Shiv 2009). Mandel et al. (2017) interpreted these and other effects in terms of a disposition to reduce or eliminate a discrepancy between the perception of one's actual self and the perception of one's ideal self, which gives rise to negative affect and stimulates behavior that will reduce this discrepancy (Higgins 1987). However, conceptualizations of compensatory consumption (e.g., Mandel et al. 2017) assume that the generalization is the result of displaced coping with negative emotions. Consequently, they have difficulty accounting for the effects of positive emotions.

Some qualifications on the goal-directed effects of incidental emotions should be noted. For one thing, the effects of incidental emotions may have little effect when people's attention is called to the source of these emotions. Thus, Lerner et al. (1998) found that although incidental feelings of anger led participants to be more punitive in evaluating fictional legal cases, the effect was eliminated when participants were reminded of the source of their feelings. Similarly, when anxious or sad participants are alerted to the source of their

emotional experiences, differences in their preference for risk are not evident (Raghunathan et al. 2006). Second, the effects of an incidental emotions may not occur unless the goal elicited by the emotion is personally relevant. Thus, sad people prefer more risky gambling options when they choose for themselves but not when they choose for others (Raghunathan and Pham 1999).

These considerations nevertheless make salient the fact that the influence of an incidental emotion on behavior in an unrelated situation could result from the generalization of (a) the feelings being experienced, (b) the goal activated by the feelings, or (c) the behavioral disposition independently of the goal (i.e., a behavioral mind-set). The conditions in which each of these factors is likely to have the dominant influence deserve further attention.

REFERENCES

- Allard, Thomas, and Katherine White (2015), "Cross-Domain Effects of Guilt on Desire for Self-Improvement Products," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42 (3), 401–19.
- Andrade, Eduardo B. (2005), "Behavioral Consequences of Affect: Combining Evaluative and Regulatory Mechanisms," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (3), 355–62.
- Blair, Sean, and Neal J. Roese (2013), "Balancing the Basket: The Role of Shopping Basket Composition in Embarrassment," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40 (4), 676–91.
- Borg, Ingwer, Thomas Staufenbiel, and Klaus R. Scherer (1988), "On the Symbolic Basis of Shame," in *Facets of Emotion: Recent Research*, ed. Klaus R. Scherer, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 79–98.
- Bower, Gordon H. (1981), "Mood and Memory," *American Psychologist*, 36 (2), 129–48.
- Buss, David M., and Martie Haselton (2005), "The Evolution of Jealousy," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 9, 506–7.
- Chu, Maggie Y., Lisa C. Wan, and Robert S. Wyer (2018), "Do Moral Emotions Make People Responsible Consumers?," unpublished manuscript, Open University of Hong Kong.
- Cialdini, Robert B., Richard J. Borden, Avril Thorne, Marcus Randall Walker, Stephen Freeman, and Lloyd Reynolds Sloan (1976), "Basking in Reflected Glory: Three (Football) Field Studies," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 34 (3), 366–75.
- Cialdini, Robert B., John F. Finch, and Maralou E. De Nicholas (1990), "Strategic Self-Presentation: The Indirect Route," in *The Psychology of Tactical Communication*, ed. Michael J. Cody and Margaret L. McLaughlin, London: Multilingual Matters, 194–206.
- Cohen, Joel B., and Eduardo B. Andrade (2004), "Affective Intuition and Task-Contingent Affect Regulation," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (2), 358–67.
- Dahl, Darren W., Heather Honea, and Rajesh V. Manchanda (2005), "Three R's of Interpersonal Consumer Guilt: Relationship, Reciprocity, Reparation," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 15 (4), 307–15.
- Dong, Ping, Xun (Irene) Huang, and Robert S. Wyer Jr. (2013), "The Illusion of Saving Face: How People Symbolically Cope with Embarrassment," *Psychological Science*, 24 (10), 2005–12.
- Dong, Ping, Xun (Irene) Huang, and Chen-Bo Zhong (2015), "Ray of Hope: Hopelessness Increases Preferences for Brighter Lighting," *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 6 (1), 84–91.
- Dunn, Lea, and Jo Andrea Hoegg (2014), "The Impact of Fear on Emotional Brand Attachment," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (1), 152–68.
- Faraji-Rad, Ali, and Michel Tuan Pham (2017), "Uncertainty Increases the Reliance on Affect in Decisions," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 44 (1), 1–21.
- Gao, Leilei, S. Christian Wheeler, and Baba Shiv (2009), "The 'Shaken Self': Product Choices as a Means of Restoring Self-View Confidence," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (1), 29–38.
- Goffman, Eric (1959), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Goldberg, Julie H., Jennifer S. Lerner, and Philip E. Tetlock (1999), "Rage and Reason: The Psychology of the Intuitive Prosecutor," *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29 (5–6), 781–95.
- Griskevicius, Vlasdas, Noah J. Goldstein, Chad R. Mortensen, Jill M. Sundie, Robert B. Cialdini, and Douglas T. Kenrick (2009), "Fear and Loving in Las Vegas: Evolution, Emotion, and Persuasion," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 46 (3), 384–95.
- Griskevicius, Vlasdas, Michelle N. Shiota, and Stephen M. Nowlis (2010), "The Many Shades of Rose-Colored Glasses: An Evolutionary Approach to the Influence of Different Positive Emotions," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (2), 238–50.
- Han, Dahee, Adam Duhachek, and Nidhi Agrawal (2014), "Emotions Shape Decisions through Construal Level: The Case of Guilt and Shame," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (4), 1047–64.
- 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.
- Higgins, E. Tory (1987), "Self-Discrepancy: A Theory Relating Self and Affect," *Psychological Review*, 94 (3), 319–40.
- Holbrook, Morris B., and Robert M. Schindler (1989), "Some Exploratory Findings on the Development of Musical Tastes," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16 (1), 119–24.
- (1994), "Age, Sex, and Attitude toward the Past as Predictors of Consumers' Aesthetic Tastes for Cultural Products," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 31 (3), 412–22.
- Huang, Xun (Irene), Ping Dong, and Anirban Mukhopadhyay (2014), "Proud to Belong or Proudly Different? Lay Theories Determine Contrasting Effects of Incidental Pride on Uniqueness Seeking," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (3), 697–711.
- Huang, Xun (Irene), Ping Dong, and Robert S. Wyer Jr. (2017), "Competing for Attention: The Effects of Jealousy on Preference for Attention-Grabbing Products," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 27 (2), 171–81.
- Huang, Xun (Irene), Ping Dong, and Meng Zhang (2019), "Crush on You: Romantic Crushes Increase Consumers' Preferences for Strong Sensory Stimuli," *Journal of Consumer Research*, forthcoming.
- Huang, Xun (Irene), Zhongqiang (Tak) Huang, and Robert S. Wyer Jr. (2016), "Slowing Down in the Good Old Days: The Effect of Nostalgia on Consumer Patience," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 43 (3), 372–87.
- Isen, Alice M. (1984), "Toward Understanding the Role of Affect in Cognition," in *Handbook of Social Cognition*, Vol. 3, ed. R. S. Wyer Jr. and T. K. Srull, Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 179–236.
- Izard, Carroll E. (1977), *Human Emotion*, New York: Plenum.
- Kivetz, R., and A. Keinan (2006), "Repenting Hyperopia: An Analysis of Self-Control Regrets," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 33 (2), 273–82.

- Kruglanski, Arie W., James Y. Shah, Ayelet Fishbach, Ron Friedman, Woo Y. Chun, and David Sleeth-Keppler (2002), "A Theory of Goal Systems," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, Vol. 34, ed. Mark P. Zanna, San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 331–78.
- Lazarus, Richard S. (1991), *Emotion and Adaptation*: New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lerner, Jennifer S., Julie H. Goldberg, and Philip E. Tetlock (1998), "Sober Second Thought: The Effects of Accountability, Anger, and Authoritarianism on Attributions of Responsibility," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24 (6), 563–74.
- Lerner, Jennifer S., Roxana M. Gonzalez, Deborah A. Small, and Baruch Fischhoff (2003), "Effects of Fear and Anger on Perceived Risks of Terrorism: A National Field Experiment," *Psychological Science*, 14 (2), 144–50.
- Lerner, Jennifer S., and Dacher Keltner (2001), "Fear, Anger, and Risk," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81 (1), 146–59.
- Lerner, Jennifer S., Deborah A. Small, and George Loewenstein (2004), "Heart Strings and Purse Strings: Carryover Effects of Emotions on Economic Decisions," *Psychological Science*, 15 (5), 337–41.
- Levav, Jonathan, and A. Peter McGraw (2009), "Emotional Accounting: How Feelings about Money Influence Consumer Choice," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 46 (1), 66–80.
- MacInnis, Deborah, and Vanessa M. Patrick (2006), "A Spotlight on Affect: The Role of Affect and Affective Forecasting in Self-Regulation and Impulse Control," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 16 (3), 224–31.
- Mandel, Naomi, Derek D. Rucker, Jonathan Levav, and Adam D. Galinsky (2017), "The Compensatory Consumer Behavior Model: How Self-Discrepancies Drive Consumer Behavior," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 27 (1), 133–46.
- McFerran, Brent, Karl Aquino, and Jessica L. Tracy (2014), "Evidence for Two Facets of Pride in Consumption: Findings from Luxury Brands," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 24 (4), 455–71.
- Morales, Andrea C., and Gavan J. Fitzsimons (2007), "Product Contagion: Changing Consumer Evaluations through Physical Contact with 'Disgusting' Products," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 44 (2), 272–83.
- Ortony, Andrew, Gerald L. Clore, and Alan Collins (1988), *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Parrott, W. Gerrod, and Richard H. Smith (1993), "Distinguishing the Experiences of Envy and Jealousy," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64 (6), 906–20.
- Pham, Michel T. (2004), "The Logic of Feeling," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 14 (4), 360–69.
- (2009), "The Lexicon and Grammar of Affect-as-Information in Consumer Decision Making: The GAIM," in *Social Psychology of Consumer Behavior*, ed. Michaela Wänke, New York: Psychology Press, 167–200.
- Polman, Evan, and Rachel L. Ruttan (2012), "Effects of Anger, Guilt, and Envy on Moral Hypocrisy," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38 (1) 129–39.
- Raghunathan, Rajagopal, and Michel T. 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, Michel T. Pham, and Kim P. Corfman (2006), "Informational Properties of Anxiety and Sadness, and Displaced Coping," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32 (4), 596–601.
- Regan, Dennis T., Margo Williams, and Sondra Sparling (1972), "Voluntary Expiation of Guilt: A Field Experiment," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 24 (1), 42–45.
- Roseman, Ira J. (1991), "Appraisal Determinants of Discrete Emotions," *Cognition and Emotion*, 5 (3), 161–200.
- Roseman, Ira J., Cynthia Wiest, and Tamara S. Swartz (1994), "Phenomenology, Behaviors and Goals Differentiate Discrete Emotions," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67 (2), 206–21.
- Salerno, Anthony, Juliano Laran, and Chris Janiszewski (2014), "Hedonic Eating Goals and Emotion: When Sadness Decreases the Desire to Indulge," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (1), 135–51.
- Schindler, Robert M., and Morris B. Holbrook (2003), "Nostalgia for Early Experience as a Determinant of Consumer Preferences," *Psychology and Marketing*, 20 (4), 275–302.
- 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.
- (1996), "Feelings and Phenomenal Experiences," in *Social Psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles*, ed. Tory Higgins and Arie Kruglanski, New York: Guilford.
- Smith, Craig A., and Phoebe C. Ellsworth (1985), "Patterns of Cognitive Appraisal in Emotion," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48 (4), 813–38.
- Smith, Richard, and Sung Hee Kim (2007), "Comprehending Envy," *Psychological Bulletin*, 133 (1), 46–64.
- Stephan, Elena, Tim Wildschut, Constantine Sedikides, Xinyue Zhou, Wuming He, Clay Routledge, Wing-yee Cheung, and J. M. Vingerhoets (2014), "The Mnemonic Mover: Nostalgia Regulates Avoidance and Approach Motivation," *Emotion*, 14 (3), 545–61.
- Stepper, Sabine, and Fritz Strack (1993), "Proprioceptive Determinants of Emotional and Nonemotional Feelings," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64 (2), 213–20.
- Strack, Fritz, Leonard L. Martin, and Sabine Stepper (1988), "Inhibiting and Facilitating Conditions of the Human Smile: A Nonobtrusive Test of the Facial Feedback Hypothesis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54 (5), 768–77.
- Su, Lei, Lisa C. Wan, and Robert S. Wyer Jr. (2018), "The Contrasting Influences of Incidental Anger and Fear on Responses to a Service Failure," *Psychology and Marketing*, 35, 666–75.
- Tangney, June P., Rowland S. Miller, Laura Flicker, and Deborah H. Barlow (1996), "Are Shame, Guilt, and Embarrassment Distinct Emotions?" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70 (6), 1256–69.
- Tiedens, Larissa Z., and Susan Linton (2001), "Judgment under Emotional Certainty and Uncertainty: The Effects of Specific Emotions on Information Processing," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81 (6), 973–88.
- Tracy, Jessica L., and Richard W. Robins (2007), "The Psychological Structure of Price: A Tale of Two Facets," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92 (3), 506–25.
- Van de Ven, Niels, Marcael Zeelenberg, and Rik Pieters (2011), "The Envy Premium in Product Evaluation," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (6), 984–98.
- Wan, Lisa C., and Robert S. Wyer Jr. (2015), "Consumer Reactions to Attractive Service Providers: Approach or Avoid?" *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42 (4), 578–95.
- (2018), "What Is Beautiful Is Good but I Still Want to Avoid It: The Role of Incidental Emotion in Social Interaction," unpublished manuscript, The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- Wang, Yajin, and Vlaslas Griskevicius (2014), "Conspicuous Consumption, Relationships, and Rivals: Women's Luxury Products as Signals to Other Women," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 40 (5), 834–54.

- Wicklund, Robert A., and Peter M. Gollwitzer (1982), *Symbolic Self-Completion*, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Winterich, Karen Page, and Kelly L. Haws (2011), "Helpful Hopefulness: The Effect of Future Positive Emotions on Consumption," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38 (3), 505–24.
- Wyer, Robert S., Jr., Gerald L. Clore, and Linda M. Isbell (1999), "Affect and Information Processing," *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 31, 1–78.
- Wyer, Robert S., Jr., and Alison Jing Xu (2010), "The Role of Behavioral Mind-Sets in Goal-Directed Activity: Conceptual Underpinnings and Empirical Evidence," *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, 20 (2), 107–25.
- Wyer, Robert S., Jr., Alison Jing Xu, and Hao Shen (2012), "The Effects of Past Behavior on Future Goal-Directed Activity," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, ed. Mark P. Zanna and James M. Olson, San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Xu, Alison Jing, and Robert S. Wyer Jr. (2012) "The Role of Bolstering and Counterarguing Mind-Sets in Persuasion," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 38 (5), 920–32.