What Are Friends for: Shifting the Focus of Social Relationships to Their Instrumentality as a Response to Future Anxiety

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ABSTRACT

This research suggests that future anxiety heightens the perceived instrumental value of social relationships. As individuals feel more anxious about their future, their appreciation for the instrumental support from a relationship intensifies, and they are likely to show more positive attitudes toward an experience that provides an opportunity to meet new people. The current investigation is the first to show that people's future anxiety can pull them together (rather than isolate them) by making people view social ties as a means of preparing for the future. Indeed, future anxiety is not only related to goal-directed behaviors, but also inevitably entails concerns about uncertainty and unpredictability regarding life events.

Keywords: Future Anxiety, Uncertainty, Instrumentality, Objectification, Goal Orientation, Social Relationships

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초 록

미래에 대한 불안감은 목표 지향적인 행동과 연관이 있을 뿐 아니라, 인생에서 발생하는 다양한 사건들에 대한 불 확실성과 예측 불가능함에 대한 걱정을 내포하고 있다. 본 연구는 미래에 대한 불안감이 개인으로 하여금 사회적 관계에 대한 도구적인 가치 인식을 증가시킬 수 있음을 제안한다. 구체적으로, 개인이 자신의 미래에 대해 불안감 을 많이 느낄 수록, 이들은 자신이 인적 관계에서 획득할 수 있는 도구적이고 수단적인 도움에 대한 가치가 더 높 다고 인지할 수 있고, 결과적으로 새로운 사람들을 만날 수 있는 기회를 제공하는 경험에 대해 보다 긍정적인 태도 를 보인다. 본 연구는 미래에 대한 불안감이 소비자들로 하여금 사회적 관계를 향후에 발생할 수 있는 일들에 대비 하기위한 수단으로서 볼 수 있게 함으로서, 결과적으로 소비자들이 고립되기보다 서로 모이게 할 수 있음을 보여 주는 최초의 연구이다.

핵심주제어: 미래에 대한 불안감, 불확실성, 도구성, 대상화, 목표 지향성, 사회적 관계

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I. Introduction

In modern society, our culture encourages and rewards future-oriented behavior such as delaying gratification, planning, and investing in the future. Previous research has also provided evidence on the virtue of being future-oriented; in fact, future-oriented people tend to be professionally and academically more successful (Zimbardo and Boyd 1999), eat well, and exercise regularly (Joireman et al. 2012). Not surprisingly, how to imbue a future-oriented mindset is often considered as a critical issue in the education and business fields.

Although the benefits of a future orientation seem quite solid, people's emotions in response to the future may not always be positive. Oftentimes we are anxious, fearful, or stressed when we think about the future. Indeed, people around the world are generally concerned about the future with regard to a variety of aspects (Ro 2019; Stokes 2015). For example, a recent poll shows that the majority of Americans are pessimistic about their future with respect to the political system, income polarization, and environmental issues (Parker, Morin, and Horowitz 2019). Likewise, South Korea has the lowest birth rate among OECD countries, which may indicate how worried people are about the future economy (Song 2019).

Interestingly, however, most of the literature regarding the effect of temporal orientation on human judgment has focused on the benefits of future-oriented cognition, especially because it can facilitate a goal-oriented approach toward life (Karniol and Ross 1996) and can thus lead individuals to give greater weight to possible future rewards over short-term interests (Liu and Aaker 2008). To date, however, little research has directly investigated the negative emotions (such as anxiety) that people experience when they have future-oriented thoughts.

In this paper, we focused on a particular type of anxiety that people experience when they feel unable to predict or control what will happen in the future. We refer to this emotion as *future anxiety*. Specifically, we investigate how the future anxiety that consumers experience can systematically influence how they view their social relationships, and how this can influence subsequent perceptions and judgments.

II. Conceptual Background

1. Future anxiety

The future is inherently uncertain and uncontrollable. As such, it is likely to elicit anxiety among people. Although previous research has hardly paid attention to the negative emotions that consumers experience when thinking about their future, a handful of studies have noted that people often feel anxiety with regard to the future. For example, Zaleski (1996) defined future anxiety as "a state of apprehension, uncertainty, fear, worry, and concern of unfavorable changes in a more remote personal future" (p. 165). Such future anxiety that individuals experience can affect their perspectives and judgments (Zaleski, Chlewinski, and Lens 1994).

In general, anxiety is often conceptualized as encompassing related states such as apprehension, nervousness, tension, and worry (Todd et al. 2015). According to the Appraisal-Tendency Framework (Han, Lerner, and Keltner 2007; Lerner and Keltner 2000, 2001), a certain cognitive appraisal induces specific emotions, which also trigger goal-directed processes. In this framework, anxiety is associated with the

cognitive appraisals of unpleasantness (i.e., negative valence of emotion), high uncertainty, and high arousal. These distinct composites of anxiety-related cognitive appraisals can lead individuals to engage in different subsequent judgments when they experience feelings of anxiety versus when they do not.

Notably, among other negative and high arousal emotions, such as anger or disgust, anxiety is distinctly accompanied by a sense of subjective uncertainty about what will happen next (Lazarus 1991; Lerner and Keltner 2000; Smith and Ellsworth 1985) and is triggered by situations that are novel, threatening, or otherwise have the potential for negative outcomes (Brooks and Schweizer 2011). Previous research has suggested that this appraisal of uncertainty uniquely results in self-centered judgments that anxious individuals adopt. For example, people with high anxiety tend to increase their self-focused attention (Easterbrook 1959; Sarason 1975). Also, compared with participants who experience other negative, high-arousal emotions (i.e., anger or disgust) or neutral feelings, anxious participants display greater egocentrism (Todd et al. 2015). Furthermore, Todd et al. (2015) found that uncertainty appraisal tendencies explain these effects.

Drawing on previous research, we propose that people with high (versus low) future anxiety will make more self-centered judgments, based on the nature of anxiety. In addition, because future anxiety is a future-related emotion, its psychological consequences will distinctively elicit goaldirected responses. That is, since much of future-oriented behavior is an instrumental means to goal achievement (Zimbardo and Boyd 2008), future anxiety can involve the proactive strategy of obtaining practical and instrumental aid in the future. Our research examines how such a goaldirected effect of future anxiety manifests itself in people's social domain.

2. Heightened attention to the instrumentality of a social target

In this research, we investigate how people manage future anxiety by adopting a certain social strategy. Since future anxiety inevitably entails concerns regarding uncertainty and unpredictability about life events, we argue that the future anxiety experienced by people may make them view social ties as a means of preparing for the future. Specifically, we propose that when people experience high (versus low) future anxiety, they are more likely to regard social relationships as an instrumental means of preparing for future uncertainty. It is well known that social relationships have functional benefits in terms of survival and success in society. These benefits provide access to critical resources needed to flourish in life, such as financial resources and needed services (Cohen and Wills 1985), and to protect against unexpected or unwanted events (Duclos, Wan, and Jiang 2013; Lieberman and Eisenberger 2009). Developing instrumental relationships particularly entails the creation of social ties, with an expectancy of support or resources from these ties in the future. This conceptualization is also similar to the notion of objectification, which refers to the tendency to view others in ways that facilitate using them for personal gain (Frederickson and Roberts 1997; Gruenfeld et al. 2008). The objectification of others involves instrumental fragmentation in social perception, such that a social target is viewed as a collection of parts in terms of serving specific goals and functions.

Previous research has suggested that under a goal-oriented or highly uncertain situation, people tend to focus on the instrumentality of other people. For instance, when people are pursuing a goal, they tend to consider how useful and "goal-relevant" a person is rather than thinking about that person's emotional warmth; in doing so, these individuals

can achieve their goals more successfully (Ferguson and Bargh 2004; Fitzsimons and Shah 2008; Orehek and Weaverling 2017). Also, when people are money-primed, and thus, highly goal-oriented (Vohs et al. 2008), they tend to objectify others and rely on a person's simple characteristics in building their relationships. As a result, these individuals can successfully calculate what others might do for them in exchange for their efforts to build such relationships (Teng et al. 2016). In addition, when people frequently change their residence, they may experience higher uncertainty over the course of life. Thus, people who frequently change their residence may try to build a larger social network to increase the potential possibility of receiving practical help for tackling various ad-hoc issues over the course of life (Oishi et al. 2013).

In this paper, we refer to the notion by which people view social relationships in terms of the benefits that these relationships bring them as the instrumental mindset toward social relationships. That is, because future anxiety is associated with concerns about uncertainty and unpredictability regarding future life events, people with high future anxiety may focus on the value of social relationships in terms of providing useful support and information. This notion is akin to "social forage," which Delton and Robertson (2012) noted. They argued that when the future is uncertain, individuals engage in social foraging, which creates human resource pooling systems based on the benefits that other individuals can provide.

We hypothesized that:

H1: When developing social ties, those with a high level of anxiety about the future may focus on the instrumentality of social relationships more than those with a low level of future anxiety.

We further propose that increased attention to the instrumentality of social relationships among people with a high (versus low) level of anxiety about their future can result in tendencies to engage in developing social relationships with people from diverse backgrounds. With the inclusion of non-redundant social ties, the pool of social ties can increase in potential value with respect to securing resources across domains in times of future uncertainty. Supporting this notion, the extant literature has shown that instrumental support and knowledge-related benefits often come from shallow but broad social relationships rather than narrow and close relationships (Granovetter 1974, 1983; Ambrus, Mobius, and Szeidl 2010). In fact, minorities with contacts beyond their tight-knit ethnic groups tend to have more job opportunities (Sanders, Nee, and Sernau 2002) and are more likely to find better jobs in mainstream society (Ooka and Wellman 2006). Therefore, having broad social relationships would enhance people's chances of obtaining better outcomes in the future because such relationships enable individuals to have access to various types of information and support across domains.

In this respect, if future anxiety indeed makes people adopt an instrumental mindset toward social relationships, they may be more motivated to engage in a wide search to build their social pool since diverse and broad social networks can represent a greater pool of various useful resources. Thus, this tendency may lead them to be open to opportunities that enable them to search for new social ties.

H2: Increased attention to the instrumentality of social relationships from feeling anxious about the future will lead people to favor consumption settings that can provide opportunities to make social interactions with various people.

Together, in this paper, we propose that when people feel anxious about their future, they are more likely to be open to a setting in which they can engage in building new ties from diverse backgrounds because they are more likely to adopt an instrumental mindset toward social relationships. Note that this notion is not explained by the previous literature on emotional regulation, which suggests that people generally seek emotional support from relationships when they are in distress (e.g., Mikulincer, Gillath, and Shaver 2002; Oh, Park, and Park 2017; Rofe 1984). For example, sad people may reach out to existing and close relationships since these relationships can offer a great deal of emotional support (Cunningham and Barbee 2000). In this sense, our findings suggest a new possibility that a negative emotion (namely anxiety about the future) can also lead people to focus more on the usefulness and practicality of social targets rather than on their emotional aspects.

Also, our account can provide a unique effect of future anxiety that the existing research on anxiety cannot explain. One might argue that future anxiety can lead people to avoid social interactions, given that anxiety often results in withdrawal from interpersonal interactions (Raffety, Smith, and Ptacek 1997; Turner 1988). Consistent with this viewpoint, anxiety has been suggested as a good predictor of avoidance in communication with strangers (Duronto, Nishida, and Nakayama 2005; Samochowiec and Florack, 2010). In this respect, a broader question that this research sought to answer concerns whether people will deal with their future anxiety by pursuing social connections, or whether people will withdraw from social networking. Given that little research has discussed the role of future anxiety in forming social relationships, the current investigation is the first to show that future anxiety can pull people together rather than isolate them by leading people to view social ties as a means of preparing for the future, given that future anxiety inevitably entails concerns about the uncertainty and unpredictability of life events.

III. Studies

To test these hypotheses, we conducted two studies. In both studies, we measured people's chronic anxiety regarding the future and examined whether future anxiety can differentially shape their mindsets toward social relationships. Specifically, in Study 1, we directly examined whether future anxiety can affect instrumental mindsets toward social relationships, using two measures - objectification tendency and perceived substitutability of money and social relationships. In Study 2, we investigated whether future anxiety affects (1) people's attitudes toward a consumption setting that enables them to form diverse social relationships, and (2) heightened attention to the instrumentality of social relationships, which can mediate this link between future anxiety and diverse social relationships.

1. Study 1

In Study 1, we sought to test the basic hypothesis that when consumers experience high (versus low) future anxiety, they are more likely to focus on the instrumentality of social relationship (H1). To do so, we first measured people's future anxiety levels and examined how they can explain the degree to which people consider the instrumental value in social relationships by adopting the measure of *objectification* (Frederickson and Roberts 1997; Gruenfeld et al. 2008). Objectification refers to the tendency to view others in ways that facilitate using them for personal gain (Frederickson and Roberts 1997; Gruenfeld et al. 2008). Since objectification connotes a mindset that treats others as if they were objects

and tools (Frederickson and Roberts 1997), the concept is based heavily on instrumentality (Nussbaum 1999). Thus, we expected that those with high future anxiety (versus low) would be more likely to objectify others as an expression of their heightened attention to a social target's instrumentality.

Also, in this study, we measured the instrumental mindset toward social relationships using the measure of perceived substitutability between money and social relationships. If high future anxiety indeed evokes the instrumental mindset in forming social relationships, as we propose, people may view their social relationships as merely one resource that they can use for future survival and success. Previous research has suggested that people sometimes consider social relationships and money as interchangeable resources (Lasaleta and Vohs 2013). For example, when people feel that they do not have enough social relationships, they tend to become more motivated in acquiring money, and thus, become more willing to take financial risks (Duclos et al. 2013). Also, when people are primed with money, they tend to feel less sensitive to social rejection (Zhou, Vohs, and Baumeister 2009). These findings suggest that in some situations, people may believe that social relationships can easily be substituted with another substantial resource for the future, such as money. That is, this perception regarding the fungibility of social relationships and money can serve as additional evidence for our notion that future anxiety may lead individuals to attend to the instrumentality of a social target in forming social relationships.

Method

Participants and Design. We recruited participants on an online survey platform. A total of 93 participants were recruited using Amazon's MTurk (55% Female, Average Age = 33.7 [20-63]).

Procedures. Participants were informed that short unrelated studies were grouped together into a session. Participants first responded to measures assessing their future anxiety. Based on the construct of future anxiety, we developed eight items to capture individuals' chronic anxiety level toward their future ($\alpha = .94$; e.g., "I feel anxious when I think of my future"; "When I think of my future, I feel somewhat anxious about it"; "It is hard to know whether my life will be smooth in the future"; "Feeling uncertain about my future makes me vulnerable, unhappy, or sad"; and "I worry about my future"; 1: strongly disagree, 7: strongly agree).

After some filler items, participants responded to four items from the objectification scale ($\alpha = .64$; "I think more about what this person can do for me than what I can do for him/her"; Gruenfeld et al. 2008; 1: strongly disagree, 7: strongly agree). Afterwards, they responded to five items assessing their belief in the substitutability of money and social relationships ($\alpha = .88$; "In a modern society, money can be a substitute for social connection"; "Money can substitute for social relationships"; "Most of the benefits friends provide can also be provided by obtaining wealth"; "In the end, financial resources and social relationships provide similar benefits"; and "People obtain what they want through either popularity or money").

Next, participants reported their perceived satisfaction with their existing relationships in general ("How satisfied are you with your relationships with other people?"; 1: not satisfied at all, 7: strongly agree), education levels ("Can you tell us about your educational attainment so far?"; 1: high school, 2: associate's degree, 3: some college, 4: bachelor's degree, 5: master's degree, 6: professional degree, 7: doctorate degree), and demographic questions.

Results

Objectification of Others. We found that future anxiety and objectification tendencies are positively correlated $(\beta = .17, t (91) = 2.39, p = .02)$, suggesting that future anxiety is likely to make people objectify others more. Also, this result remains significant while controlling for perceived satisfaction with existing relationships ($\beta = -.02$, t(91) = -.27, p = .78, age ($\beta = .001, t(91) = -.05, p = .95$), gender ($\beta = -.63$, t (91) = -2.87, p = .005), and education levels ($\beta = .20$, t (91) = 2.30, p = .02).

Substitutability of Money and Social Relationships. As people feel anxious about their future, they tend to think that money and social relationships can substitute for each other $(\beta = .22, t (91) = 2.35, p = .02)$. Again, the result remains significant while controlling for perceived satisfaction with existing relationships ($\beta = -.06$, t (91) = -.57, p = .57), age $(\beta = .005, t(91) = .43, p = .67)$, gender $(\beta = -.49, t(91) =$ -1.70, p = .09), and education levels ($\beta = .07$, t (91) = .63, p = .52).

Discussion

In Study 1, we found that future anxiety can heighten the value of instrumentality in social relationships. That is, people who feel anxious about their future are more likely to objectify others in terms of the benefits that others can provide for their own goals. Also, we found that when people have high future anxiety, social relationships and money can substitute for each other, given that social connections are regarded as instrumental tools that they can use, rather than placing special value on human connection. Lastly, we confirmed that these effects emerge consistently across age.

2. Study 2

In Study 1, we established a basic relationship between future anxiety and people's heightened attention to the instrumentality of a social target in forming social relationships. In Study 2, in order to conceptually replicate the key result, we sought to capture people's heightened attention to the instrumentality of a social target using a more direct measure.

More importantly, we aimed to test the mediating role of attention to the instrumental value of social relationships. That is, we sought to test whether consumers are more likely to adopt an instrumental mindset toward social relationships when they experience high Jversus low) future anxiety. If so, then we sought to test whether they are more likely to favor a consumption setting that can provide opportunities for them to form new social ties (H2). To do so, we measured consumers' attitudes toward social clubs designed to meet diverse people.

Method

Participants and Procedures. One-hundred college students in South Korea participated in the study. Two participants predicted our hypothesis, so we eliminated those two samples in the following analyses. As a cover story, we told participants that they would complete several unrelated surveys. In the first survey, they responded to questions ostensibly assessing their evaluations regarding social clubs. Participants first read a modified version of a newspaper article about new types of social clubs that have recently emerged (Appendix A). The article highlighted opportunities to build new social ties with others from diverse backgrounds. After the participants read the article, they indicated their

attitudes toward the social clubs ("I am positive toward the social clubs") and attention to the instrumentality of a social target ("I can build useful social connections through these social clubs") on a 7-point scale (1: strongly disagree, 7: strongly agree).

In the second survey, participants responded to questions regarding their own social networks. First, participants read a short description regarding three categorizations of social networks: close friends, friends, and acquaintances. Close friends are people to whom they feel very close; friends are people to whom they feel not quite as close as those in the close friends group, but with whom they still maintain good relationships; and acquaintances are people with whom they have not developed strong bonds yet, but who can provide them with new and useful information outside their regular circles. The categorizations and details of these social networks were written based on the research of Oishi et al. (2013). After reading the description, participants indicated their intentions to strengthen their acquaintance group (1: not at all, 7: very much).

In the last survey, participants responded to two items assessing their future anxiety levels (r = .67; "My future is uncertain" and "I tremble with fear at the thought of what the next day, month, year will bring"; Zaleski 1996; 1: not at all, 7: very much) and demographic questions.

Results

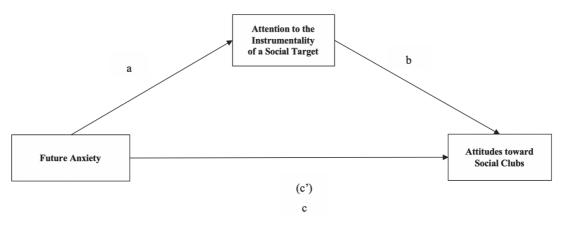
Attention to the Instrumentality of a Social Target. First, we conducted a regression analysis, with attention to the instrumentality of a social target as the dependent variable and a future anxiety index as the independent variable. As predicted, the effect of future anxiety on attention to the instrumentality of a social target was significant (β = .19, t (96) = 1.96, p = .05), suggesting that as people experience higher future anxiety, they are more likely to think about building useful social connections.

Attitudes toward Social Clubs. We tested whether future anxiety would predict positive attitudes toward social clubs in terms of the benefits of making new and diverse social ties. We conducted a regression analysis, with attitude toward social clubs as the dependent variable and future anxiety as the independent variable. The result showed that the more people experienced future anxiety, the more they held positive attitudes toward the social clubs ($\beta = .14$, t (96) = 1.74, p = .08).

Mediation. Using PROCESS (Model 4, 5000 bootstrap samples, Hayes 2013), we found that attention to the instrumentality of a social target mediated the relationship between future anxiety and attitudes toward social clubs (.09; 90% CI from .0015 to .1753; Figure 1, Table 1). Thus, as predicted, future anxiety heightens individuals' focus on the instrumentality of other people, which results in more favorable attitudes toward social clubs providing opportunities to meet new and diverse people.

Intentions to Strengthen the Acquaintance Group. We also tested whether future anxiety would increase consumers' intentions to strengthen their acquaintance group, which can provide them with new and valuable information. A regression result showed that participants with higher future anxiety were more likely to strengthen their acquaintance group ($\beta = .20$, t (96) = 2.11, p = .03). Thus, this result provides converging evidence that future anxiety leads consumers to be more open to opportunities to meet new people from diverse backgrounds, given that they may access to useful information by utilizing these relationships.

(Figure 1) Mediation effect (Study 2)



(Table 1) Mediation effect (Study 2)

Model-Path Estimates				
	Coefficient	SE	t	р
a	.19	.10	1.96	⟨.05
b	.47	.07	6.97	⟨.01
С	.14	.08	1.77	⟨.10
c'	.05	.06	.71	>.48
Indirect effect (with Bootstrap 90% Confidence Interval and Standard Errors)				
	Effect	LL 90% CI	UL 90% CI	SE
$X \to M \to Y$.09	.001	.175	.05

Discussion

Taken together, these results provide converging evidence that future anxiety leads individuals to see the instrumental value in forming social relationships, which results in favoring opportunities to facilitate making new and diverse social ties. In a sense, future anxiety may encourage people to leave their social comfort zone and interact with new people. Considering that anxiety generally induces individuals to avoid social contact (Raffety et al. 1997), this ramification of future anxiety is quite notable. This finding may be because the key characteristics of future anxiety pertain to the uncertainty inherent in future outcomes, which drives individuals to adopt a mindset that sees the instrumentality of social relationships in order to increase the value of the "social pool" needed for the uncertain future.

IV. General Discussion

Our research examines how future anxiety affects people's judgments in the social domain. Our findings specifically show that people who experience future anxiety are more likely to focus on the instrumentality of other people, with the expectation that these relationships will provide future support (Study 1). Furthermore, we found that people with high levels of future anxiety are more likely to consider social relationships as being easily substituted by money, compared with those having low levels of future anxiety (Study 1). This finding indicates that people with high levels of future anxiety indeed view social relationships primarily as a resource to protect themselves against uncertainty. In addition, the "human" resource pooling system may have higher instrumental value when it encompasses diverse, rather than redundant resource providers. Hence, as shown by our findings in Study 2, people with high levels of future anxiety are more likely to favor consumption settings that can enable them to connect with diverse people, compared with those having low levels of future anxiety. Note that although people with high (versus low) levels of future anxiety may be more motivated to affiliate with strangers, this effect is driven by their focus on the benefits they can receive from these strangers. This heightened attention directed at a social target's instrumentality was found in our studies using different measures.

So far, little research has discussed the role of future anxiety in forming social relationships. In this sense, the current investigation is the first to show that future anxiety can shape the social strategies people use to pursue relationships. Importantly, by showing that future anxiety can pull people together (rather than isolate them) by making people consider social ties as a tool to prepare for the future, the current research provides a significantly novel phenomenon that previous studies on anxiety have not been able to explain, given that they generally predict social isolation or fear of affiliation (Teichman 1987). In addition, because people are likely to prioritize emotional support from their social relationships when they are in distress or sad (Cunningham and Barbee 2000; Mikulincer et al. 2002; Rofe 1984), our findings suggest a new possibility that a negative emotion (i.e., future anxiety) can also make people focus more on the usefulness and practicality of social targets rather than on their emotional aspects.

Furthermore, this research can contribute to the series of research suggesting a potential advantage of the instrumental mindset. For example, individuals who tend to view others instrumentally turn out to have more success, receive higher grades (Fitzsimons and Shah 2008), and are selected more

often as optimal job candidates (Gruenfeld et al. 2008). This research indicates another potential benefit of instrumental mindsets by demonstrating that focusing on others' instrumentality can increase an individual's openness to opportunities to meet diverse people, regardless of his or her true intentions.

The current research also suggests several practical implications. In Zimbardo and Boyd's book (2008), they pointed out that "our whole society is pushing us to be more future-oriented." While discourse on the future generally reflects hope, progressiveness, and expectation, recent reports have shown that people tend to associate their own future with anxiety and apprehension (e.g., Ro 2019; Stokes 2015). Given the presence of pessimistic views regarding the future and the rising importance of a future-oriented mindset in modern society, it is important to understand and apply the current findings across marketing programs. For example, marketers who understand the importance and prevalence of future anxiety can apply the current findings to marketing strategies using social media. Because future anxiety pulls consumers together rather than separating them, marketers can develop more successful promotion programs such as word-of-mouth programs and influencer marketing on Instagram. Additionally, as our Study 2 suggests, companies may develop opportunities to meet new and diverse people, or they may accentuate the instrumental benefits of their products or services.

This research can be extended in several ways. For example, the results in Study 2 are partially marginal. Although we provide converging evidence by showing a significant effect on consumers' intentions to strengthen their acquaintances groups (i.e., those who can provide new and useful information for them, outside their everyday circle), this aspect can be complemented in future research. Also, future study can manipulate future anxiety levels in

order to examine a more rigorous causal effect.

We must then ask what other psychological and behavioral consequences might entail future anxiety. In a broad sense, future anxiety motivates people to seek solutions in order to mitigate potential threats and to reach out to people rather than withdraw from them. Thus, it is expected that when future anxiety is high, people may be more likely to cooperate with one another in order to reduce potential negative outcomes in significant global issues. Future research can investigate whether future anxiety might facilitate cooperation with strangers in determining solutions to issues that can affect their collective lives.

In conclusion, we provide an empirical investigation into an important aspect of the future orientation: future anxiety. We suggest that when people feel anxious about their future, they are more likely to adopt an instrumental mindset toward social relationships; additionally, they are more open to settings in which they can build new ties with others from diverse backgrounds.

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(Appendix A) Article about social clubs (Study 2)

"새로운 사람들을 만날 수 있는 온오프 커뮤니티를 통해 인맥 쑥쑥"



독서모임 커뮤니티 등록회원 86% ↑… 직장인 모임 '2 교시' 등 성장가도

최근 다양한 분야의 온오프 커뮤니티에 대한 관심이 뜨겁다. 이는 다양한 분야의 새로운 사람들을 만나 인맥을 넓히려는 사람들의 욕구와 맞물린 결과로 보인다.

국내 최초로 독서모임을 자기 계발 커뮤니티 활동으로 발전시킨 '트레바리'의 경우, 올해 첫시즌 등록 회원수가 4660 명으로 전년대비 약 86% 이상 증가하였다. 이는 독서를 넘어 위스키 스터디, 여행 정보 공유 등과 같이 다양한 활동을 가미한 모임을 추가한 덕이다.

모임 문화 플랫폼 '2교시'도 성장 가도를 밟고 있다. 볼링, 와인 시음, 보드 게임, 포커 배우기, 골프 강습 등 90 개가 넘는 다양한 모임이 있으며, 직장인들이 일과 후 이러한 모임을 통해 적극적으로 새로운 네트워크를 만들어가고 있는 것이다. 한 회원은 "직업이 의사다보니 주변인들이 대부분 의료계에서 일하는 등 제한적인데 '2교시'에 오면 직장 외 새로운 전문분야를 가진 사람들을 많이 만날 수 있어서 유익하다"고 하였다.