



Western Washington University
Western CEDAR

WWU Graduate School Collection

WWU Graduate and Undergraduate Scholarship

Fall 2019

An Ideal Approach to Prejudice: An Investigation of Promotion-oriented Motivators Underlying Interracial Interactions

Rachael Waldrop

Western Washington University, waldropj@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://cedar.wwu.edu/wwuet>



Part of the [Psychology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Waldrop, Rachael, "An Ideal Approach to Prejudice: An Investigation of Promotion-oriented Motivators Underlying Interracial Interactions" (2019). *WWU Graduate School Collection*. 916.

<https://cedar.wwu.edu/wwuet/916>

This Masters Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the WWU Graduate and Undergraduate Scholarship at Western CEDAR. It has been accepted for inclusion in WWU Graduate School Collection by an authorized administrator of Western CEDAR. For more information, please contact westerncedar@wwu.edu.

**An Ideal Approach to Prejudice: An Investigation of Promotion-Oriented Motivators
Underlying Interracial Interactions**

By

Rachael J. Waldrop

Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Dr. Kristi Lemm, Chair

Dr. Kate McLean

Dr. Antonya Gonzalez

GRADUATE SCHOOL

David L. Patrick, Interim Dean

Master's Thesis

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a master's degree at Western Washington University, I grant to Western Washington University the non-exclusive royalty-free right to archive, reproduce, distribute, and display the thesis in any and all forms, including electronic format, via any digital library mechanisms maintained by WWU.

I represent and warrant this is my original work, and does not infringe or violate any rights of others. I warrant that I have obtained written permissions from the owner of any third party copyrighted material included in these files.

I acknowledge that I retain ownership rights to the copyright of this work, including but not limited to the right to use all or part of this work in future works, such as articles or books.

Library users are granted permission for individual, research and non-commercial reproduction of this work for educational purposes only. Any further digital posting of this document requires specific permission from the author.

Any copying or publication of this thesis for commercial purposes, or for financial gain, is not allowed without my written permission.

Rachael J. Waldrop

December 2, 2019

**An Ideal Approach to Prejudice: An Investigation of Promotion-Oriented Motivators
Underlying Interracial Interactions**

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Rachael J. Waldrop
November 2019

Abstract

Avoidant-based processes motivate the inhibition of prejudiced responding; however, approach-based responding can lead to more positive experiences within interracial interactions. Research has delineated the intrapersonal mechanisms that influence avoidant behavior in relation to prejudice and nonprejudiced values, yet the same exploration has not been observed among the psychological motivators of approach-oriented behaviors. As such, the purpose of the current research was to test the intrapersonal mechanisms that influence Whites' use of approach behaviors during interracial interactions. Drawing upon regulatory focus theory and prejudice-discrepancy based models, we hypothesized that (1) chronic motivations to avoid negative outcomes (prevention focus) would stimulate avoidant responses following prejudice self-discrepancies and (2) chronic motivations to pursue positive outcomes (promotion focus) would stimulate approach behavior following egalitarian self-congruencies. In Study 1, participants were induced to feel close to or distant from their nonprejudiced or egalitarian values. Violations of nonprejudiced values were hypothesized to produce agitation among participants with high levels of prevention focus and successful displays of egalitarian values were predicted to produce cheerfulness among participants with high levels of promotion focus. In Study 2, using a different manipulation, prevention components (prevention focus, prejudice discrepancies, and agitation) were hypothesized to influence avoidant behavior and promotion components (promotion focus, egalitarian congruencies, and cheerfulness) were hypothesized to influence approach behavior. We found that promotion focus directly predicted approach behavior whereas prevention focus predicted avoidant behavior only following a prejudice discrepancy. Implications for the distinct motivational processes underlying behavior during interracial interactions are discussed.

Keywords. interracial interactions, regulatory focus, egalitarianism, motivation

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge the research assistants who helped collect data by interviewing several White students about their views on diversity. This process was tedious, extended several quarters, and was imaginably difficult at times. Their graciousness and willingness to support the scientific pursuits of this project are so appreciated. Without them, this project would not have been possible. Thank you, Ellie, Calvin, Gus, and Ashley.

I would like to extend immense gratitude to my chair, Dr. Kristi Lemm, for reviewing drafts, offering statistical advice, and supporting me through the last few months of the research process. On top of her many obligations, Dr. Lemm graciously offered her supervision in my time of need. Thank you.

I would like to acknowledge my committee members, Dr. Kate McLean and Dr. Antonya Gonzalez for their support, encouragement, and valuable feedback.

I would additionally like to acknowledge Dr. Barbara Lehman for her professional and personal support through graduate school. She will always be my inner voice of statistical reasoning. Her supportive efforts impact students in more ways than she will ever realize. Thank you, Dr. Lehman.

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Alex Czopp for his contributions to the theoretical and methodological development of this research.

I would like to thank my strong supportive network of family and friends. To my cohort, your female prowess and insightful perspectives over the past years have shaped me into a stronger and better person. I am grateful to have met, learned, and academically developed with each of you. To my fiancé, thank you for keeping me grounded, for supporting and encouraging me always, for listening to me talk about interaction effects and process models for far too long, for encouraging me to breathe, and for being my forever rock. To my family across the country, thank you for your support, encouragement, and patience while I pursue my dreams. I couldn't ask for anything more.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the academic role models who have come before me. Your dedication to your students and to your intellectual passions has inspired me and undoubtedly inspired many others. May we continue to pursue our aspirations of positively influencing the world, one person and one research question at a time. Thank you for living out your values.

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Tables and Figures	ix
Introduction	1
Prevention-focused Values and Avoidance	2
Prevention Focus within the Context of Prejudice	6
Promotion-focused Values and Approach	10
Promotion Focus Missing from Interracial Contexts	13
Study 1	16
Method	18
Participants	18
Materials	18
Procedure	21
Results	22
Data Cleaning	23
Manipulation Check	24
Analytic Approach for Regulatory Focus Hypotheses	24
Emotion Outcomes for Promotion Focus	26

Emotion Outcomes for Prevention Focus	27
Analytic Approach for Prejudice Discrepancy-based Hypotheses	28
Emotion Outcomes for Nonprejudiced Discrepancies.....	29
Emotion Outcomes for Egalitarian Congruencies	29
Discussion of Findings.....	30
Study 2	32
Method	33
Participants.....	33
Materials	34
Procedure	37
Results.....	38
Data Cleaning.....	38
Analytic Approach for Moderated Mediation Models.....	39
Moderated Mediation Models.....	40
Predicting Approach Behavior.....	40
Predicting Avoidance Behavior	43
Analytic Approach for Nonprejudiced Discrepancy-based Hypotheses	46
Outcomes for Nonprejudiced Discrepancies	48
Outcomes for Egalitarian Congruencies	48
Discussion of Findings.....	49
General Discussion	52

Limitations and Future Directions	56
Conclusions.....	59
References.....	61
Footnotes.....	65
Tables and Figures	67
Appendix A.....	100
Appendix B.....	102
Appendix C	103
Appendix D.....	106
Appendix E	108
Appendix F.....	109

List of Tables and Figures

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Emotional Ratings by Condition Study 1	67
Table 2. Correlations between Variables in Study 1	68
Table 3. Model Summary of Predictors of Cheerfulness Study 1.....	69
Table 4. Model Summary of Predictors of Dejection Study 1	70
Table 5. Model Summary of Predictors of Quiescence Study 1	71
Table 6. Model Summary of Predictors of Agitation Study 1	72
Table 7. Model Summary of Discrepancy and Prevention Focus Predicting Agitation Study 1..	73
Table 8. Model Summary of Congruency and Prevention Focus Predicting Quiescence Study 1	74
Table 9. Model Summary of Congruency and Promotion Focus Predicting Cheerfulness Study 1	75
Table 10. Model Summary of Discrepancy and Promotion Focus Predicting Dejection Study 1	76
Table 11. Descriptive Statistics for Emotional Ratings by Condition Study 2	77
Table 12. Descriptive Statistics for Approach Behaviors by Condition Study 2.....	78
Table 13. Descriptive Statistics for Avoidant Behaviors by Condition Study 2.....	79
Table 14. Correlations and Descriptive Statistics of Variables Study 2	80
Table 15. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Participant Approach Behaviors Study 2	81
Table 16. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Researcher Approach Behaviors Study 2	82
Table 17. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Chair Closeness Study 2.....	83
Table 18. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Promotion Article Interest Study 2.....	84

Table 19. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Participant Avoidant Behavior Study 285

Table 20. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Researcher Avoidant Behavior Study 286

Table 21. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Chair Closeness Study 2.....87

Table 22. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Prevention Article Interest Study 288

Table 23. Model Summary of Predictors of Chair Closeness Study 2.....89

Table 24. Model Summary of Predictors of Prevention Article Interest Study 290

Table 25. Model Summary of Predictors of Participant Approach Behavior Study 2.....91

Table 26. Model Summary of Predictors of Researcher Approach Behavior Study 292

Table 27. Model Summary of Predictors of Promotion Article Interest Study 293

Figure 1. Theoretical Model of the Cognitive and Emotional Components of Regulatory Focus94

Figure 2. Tested Moderated Mediation Model for Study 295

Figure 3. Moderated Mediation Model Summary for Promotion Focus96

Figure 4. Moderated Mediation Model Summary for Prevention Focus97

Figure 5. Differences in Chair Closeness by Condition and Prevention Focus98

Figure 6. Differences in Prevention-framed Article Interest by Condition and Prevention Focus99

An Investigation of Promotion-Oriented Motivators Underlying Interracial Interactions

Culturally, America has become a place of low tolerance for explicit racism. As these explicit displays have become socially unacceptable, racial bias and prejudice in their many forms have become increasingly popular topics in academic and lay settings. Over the past several years, prejudice and stereotyping researchers have shifted from studying explicit forms of racism to more implicit forms due to the emerging ideology that America has become “post racial.” Based on the findings that many people, regardless of their standards and evaluations of themselves, hold some level of implicit racial bias, the question “Is everyone racist?” has become quite pervasive. This question, and others like it, can make navigating the topic of race quite tricky, even among those who are personally committed to doing the right thing.

Because there is no guidebook for successfully navigating interracial settings, people vary in the way they approach these contexts. Many people try to behave consistently with values that are derived from social norms. Popular canons in American society, “we *ought to* treat all people equally” and “we *should not* discriminate based on skin color,” lead people to focus on avoiding the appearance of harboring prejudice. When public violations occur, people receive varying forms of social backlash, like comedian Shane Gillis who was fired from “Saturday Night Live” after making racist and homophobic remarks, or ex-Google employee James Damore who was fired for circulating a sexist memo. Due to these punitive consequences, people may feel obligated to show open disapproval of prejudice and avoid speaking or engaging in racist ways.

Some people approach the topic of race using more proactive methods. Instead of worrying about what they should not do, some people focus on *doing*: taking classes to educate themselves, reading books and articles, engaging in discussions, attending public demonstrations

or social justice events. Although both types of behaviors may emerge from people who are dedicated to renouncing prejudice, there are divergent outcomes associated with these two approaches. Avoidant-focused behaviors can prevent negative expressions from circulating, however there is little regard for opportunities to foster interracial harmony. Contrarily, approach-focused behaviors are primarily concerned with opportunities for progress and promoting racial equality. The norms of both American culture and academic research in recent years have primarily focused on ways to address and reduce racist and prejudiced behaviors. The purpose of the current research is to understand, among those who truly value racial equality and the demise of prejudice, the motivational forces that influence behaviors related to action, engagement, growth, and progress and to look beyond the polarized question of “Who is racist and who is not?” toward a deeper understanding of interracial behavior.

Prevention-focused values and avoidance

Social psychologists have long established that values serve as powerful influences over behavior, and once strongly internalized, additional psychological processes reinforce this relationship (Rokeach, 1973). From a social-cognitive perspective, self-discrepancy theory posits that people develop and internalize values (i.e., self-guides) based on their own beliefs or the beliefs of others (e.g., society or close others). Though these values may consciously guide behavior, observing one’s own behavior patterns serves as a cognitive indicator of value strength (Higgins, 1987). Thus, when people actively reflect on their behavior as being consistent or inconsistent with their values, they may feel that they more or less embody those values. Moreover, emotions function to reinforce the value-behavior relationship by creating either pleasant experiences that strengthen consistent behavior or punitive experiences that alter inconsistent behavior.

Among the multiple ways that people can internalize values, one way is by perceiving certain moral traits as responsibilities that should be upheld. Within self-discrepancy theory, values internalized as responsibilities or obligations are considered *ought self-guides* because they reflect values that ought to be, or should be, upheld (Higgins, 1987). For example, students may view attending class as an obligation or employees might view showing up to work on time as their responsibility. People may internalize values as ought self-guides if they anticipate and are sensitive to negative consequences that arise from failing to uphold their duties. Ought self-guide internalization can begin during childhood if parents emphasize responsibilities, obligations, and safety concerns and punish their children when they fail to behave according to certain standards (Higgins, 1997). For example, some parents might emphasize the value of honesty by explaining how lying hurts people and leads to negative consequences. When children are caught violating this value and receive a form of punishment, they learn to value telling the truth because failing to do so could lead to additional punishment in the future. Thus, honesty among children raised in this way is guided by the presence or absence of negative consequences that might occur. Though parenting style is only one explanation for value internalization, punitive reinforcement can foster the development of ought self-guides across the lifespan in multiple value domains (Higgins & Silberman, 1998).

In relation to their ought self-guides, when people perceive that their behavior is consistent with their values, they generally feel satisfied or content because there is nothing to warrant the presence of negative consequences. However, when people perceive that their behavior is inconsistent with their ought self-guides, they are likely to feel emotions of discomfort, guilt, fear, and anxiety in anticipation of negative consequences (Ausubel, 1955; Kemper, 1984; Higgins, 1987). An inconsistency between ought self-guides and behavior,

referred to as *ought self-discrepancy*, creates internal cognitive dissonance as behaviors and perceptions of the self temporarily do not align. Ought self-discrepancies are unfavorable, not only because they engender the anticipation of punishment of many forms (i.e., social exclusion, social backlash, physical punishment, etc.), but also because of the negative emotions they produce. Guilt, anxiety, and similar agitation-related emotions are uncomfortable emotions that people seek to avoid (Higgins, 1987). Thus, as children develop into adults, these negative emotions replace physical forms of punishment and function as behavioral motivators.

As these values become strongly internalized, they automatically guide or regulate behavior. This automatic regulation process, referred to as regulatory focus, is reinforced by emotional experiences (Higgins, 1997). When people experience ought self-discrepancies, which are followed by feelings of guilt and anxiety in anticipation of negative consequences, they adjust their behavior to reduce their emotional discomfort and prevent against unwanted outcomes. This specific focus that derives from ought-oriented values is called *prevention focus* because people are focused on preventing undesired outcomes (Higgins, 1997). Children who received punishment for lying might hold a prevention focus for the value of honesty such that, as adults, they may feel slight guilt over the thought of telling a lie. In order to prevent against stronger feelings of guilt and relational repercussions, they are motivated to avoid lysing.

In regard to parent rearing styles, regulatory focus can vary by individual such that a person holds an overall (i.e., chronic) regulatory focus (Higgins, 1997; Higgins & Silberman, 1998). Alternatively, regulatory focus can vary by context (i.e., momentary regulatory focus). When a negative outcome is emphasized in a specific context, people may be temporarily motivated to regulate from a prevention focus, regardless of their chronic focus. For example, when an important project arises at work, employers might choose to penalize those who do not

complete their work correctly by making them work over the weekend. By being motivated to avoid weekend work, employees become focused on the potential negative outcomes in that specific moment and aim to avoid making mistakes. Importantly, behavior change will be strongest when momentary and chronic focus align (Higgins, 1997). Within the previous example, although all employees may be motivated to avoid weekend work, those with a chronic prevention focus are likely to be more productive and make fewer errors.

To understand the relationship between regulatory focus orientation and behavior, Shah, Higgins, and Friedman (1998) measured the tendency to regulate behavior from a prevention focus (i.e., their chronic regulatory focus) and resulting progress on a word-sorting task. Regulatory focus was quantified using a self-guide strength measure, which captures the primary or chronic regulatory focus people tend to hold. Participants listed and rated the extent to which they ought to possess different self-guides. The computer recorded how long these ratings took, with quicker reaction times indicating easier accessibility to those self-guides and stronger prevention focus. After completing the self-guide strength measure, participants were offered \$5 for completing a series of anagrams but were told they would lose one dollar of compensation if they missed more than 10% of the words. This condition was reflective of a prevention focus because participants were primed to be sensitive to the possible loss of money if they committed a certain amount of errors. Consistent with their predictions, Shah and colleagues found that participants with a stronger prevention focus performed better in this condition and made fewer errors than those who did not predominately hold a prevention focus (Shah et al., 1989). Results from this study suggest that regulatory focus impacts behavior such that the match between chronic prevention focus and the emphasis of negative outcomes leads to an increase in avoidant behaviors.

Prevention focus within the context of prejudice

Just as parenting styles influence individual-level regulatory focus, evolving social norms can influence societal-level values that people deem important or socially acceptable.

Researchers have used the regulatory focus theoretical framework to understand values and behaviors in the context of prejudice and intergroup relations. Current events and conversations about race tend to emphasize the negative consequences of engaging in public, racist behaviors that violate current social norms. According to self-discrepancy theory, social norms that encourage the concealment and eradication of prejudice reflect ought self-guides because of the undesired outcomes that are emphasized if violations occur. Furthermore, researchers have found evidence that prejudice-related value violations produce negative, self-directed emotions, similar to those associated with ought self-discrepancies: guilt, anxiety, and self-disgust.

Across three studies, Devine, Monteith, Zuwerink, and Elliot (1991) observed the specific emotions experienced by people who violated their internalized, low prejudice standards. Participants read five reactions to scenarios involving Black people, first rating how they think they *should* respond, then how they think they *would* respond. For example, one scenario read: “Imagine seeing a middle-aged Black man on the street corner and thinking ‘why don’t you get a job?’.” Differences between the should-would ratings reflected higher proneness to prejudice-related discrepancies. To capture their prejudice levels, participants also completed the Modern Racism Scale (MRS; racial bias) in Study 1 and the Heterosexual Attitudes Towards Homosexuals Scale (HATH; homosexual bias) in studies 2 and 3. Although value-behavior discrepancies generated general discomfort among all participants, only low prejudiced individuals reported feeling what Devine and colleagues referred to as negative, self-directed affect (negself) (i.e., angry at myself, guilty, embarrassed, disgusted with myself). The negself

emotional dimension contains comparable high-arousal agitation emotion components to those delineated in the prevention focus framework. Devine and colleagues concluded that low prejudiced individuals felt badly because they failed to uphold their strongly internalized responsibilities. Alternatively, because high-prejudiced individuals had not internalized these standards to the same degree, their self-concept was likely not threatened by discrepancies (Devine et al., 1991). These findings show the theoretical similarity between ought self-guides and nonprejudiced standards as they operate cognitively to stimulate negative emotions following a self-discrepancy.

Establishing the long-term behavioral impact of prejudice-related discrepancies, Monteith (1993) delineated a model of prejudice regulation based on the cognitive and emotional outcomes associated with prejudice discrepancies. Consistent with previous prejudice-related discrepancy work (Monteith et al., 1991), the self-regulation of prejudice (SRP) model posits that people with internalized nonprejudiced standards who engage in behaviors that violate those standards experience negative affect after becoming aware of that discrepancy. This model extends previous work by establishing the impact of prejudice discrepancies on long-term behavior change and the mediating role of negative affect. After committing a discrepant act, people think about the details of the situation—where they are, who they are with, what they said or thought—and associate these aspects of the environment with their negative feelings. In the future, similar environmental cues prompt memories of stereotype activation, people re-experience negative affect, are reminded to be more thoughtful of their actions, and are able to inhibit discrepant responding. Thus, environmental cues, in addition to the negative affect, prompt avoidant behavior. This model is consistent with the self-discrepancy framework such that negative affect mediates the relationship between ought self-discrepancies and avoidant behavior.

To show support for this model, Monteith (1993) conducted a series of studies showing that low prejudice people regulated their future behavior after progressing through the steps outlined in the SRP model. In one study, participants completed the HATH measure of bias toward homosexual people and randomly received feedback that their purported prejudice levels were less prejudiced, consistent, or more prejudiced (discrepancy condition) than their explicit attitudes indicated they were. In separate control conditions, participants received feedback about their personality type as being less, equally, or more related to a generic personality type, “type-d.” The control conditions were used to compare prejudice-related discrepancies to general self-discrepancies. Participants in all conditions rated jokes as part of a “separate humor study” but some of the jokes contained offensive content about gay men. Monteith (1993) found that low prejudice participants who were in the prejudice-related discrepancy condition rated the jokes about gay men statistically significantly less funny, witty, and creative than low prejudice participants who were in the control discrepancy condition. By rating the offensive jokes as less humorous following an induced prejudice discrepancy, Monteith argued that participants were engaging in stereotype-inhibitory responding to compensate for the earlier “violations.” Thus, prejudice discrepancies can prompt avoidant behavior among people with internalized nonprejudiced values. In this way, people with internalized nonprejudiced values can be said to regulate from a prevention focus in the context of race.

To find further support for the SRP model in naturalistic settings, Monteith, Mark, and Ashburn-Nardo (2010) interviewed people about instances when they had engaged in prejudice-discrepant behavior—like laughing at a racist joke or making judgements based on stereotypes. When recalling prejudice discrepancies, participants who were internally motivated to respond without prejudice tended to explain how these memories influenced subsequent behavioral

change. For example, one participant who recalled a time when he thought of a racial slur when describing a biracial classmate reported “feeling the word about to roll off the tip of [his] tongue” (p. 193) but avoided saying the word out loud. In the future, when others used similarly offensive language, that participant was reminded of the guilt associated with his previous experience, paused to reflect on the moment, and avoided engaging. Monteith and colleagues (2010) found that 64% of the 153 participants reported feeling negative affect following prejudice-discrepancies. Further, only participants who felt these emotions additionally described regulating their future behavior by avoiding engaging in prejudiced responding. The overall findings of this line of research show that prejudice discrepancies prompt avoidant behavior, largely due to negative emotional experiences. Consistent with regulatory focus theory (Higgins, 1997), low prejudice people seem to regulate their behavior using a prevention focus as evidenced by the type of negative emotions they experience following a discrepancy (e.g., guilt, anxiety) and the avoidant nature of the behaviors they engage in.

Holistically, the presented research reveals that prejudice-relevant values are upheld and motivated by avoidance-oriented processes. Beyond the research presented here, the field as a whole has been researching prejudice-relevant values from a prevention focus orientation by focusing on the reduction or avoidance of prejudice’s undesired effects. In fact, two searches on the PsychInfo database using key words “Prejudice” AND “Avoidance” and “Prejudice” AND “Reduction” yields over 1,700 results, conveying the field-wide focus on reducing prejudice and preventing against aversive consequences.

Understanding the intrapersonal processes that prevent against prejudice responding can certainly lead to positive effects (i.e., reduced stereotyping). However, there are also unintended negative outcomes that arise from avoidance focus orientations. Regulating behavior from a

prevention focus is a cognitively-taxing process that depletes a person's ability to foster positive, interracial interactions (Trawalter & Richeson, 2006; Murphy, Richeson, & Molden, 2011).

Thus, people who are consistently concerned with appearing prejudiced may quickly drain their cognitive resources and feel less capable of fostering positive interracial experiences.

Avoidance orientations can also lead to negative outcomes at the interpersonal level. Plant and Butz (2006) observed the quality of interracial interactions between Black research confederates and White participants after providing participants with experimentally manipulated feedback about their racial biases. Following a computer sorting task that supposedly measured their bias, participants received feedback that they possessed a positive or negative efficacy for interracial interactions. Researchers collected reports of participants emotions and intentions leading up to an interracial interaction, as well as participant and confederate ratings of the quality of the interaction. Participants who received negative feedback about their interracial interaction ability reported higher levels of anxiety and a stronger desire to avoid the interaction compared to those who received positive feedback. Moreover, their desire to avoid the interaction predicted shorter interaction times, less pleasant interactions, and a desire to avoid future interracial interactions. Research confederates, who were unaware of the research hypotheses, reported that participants who more strongly wanted to avoid the interracial interaction ended up displaying more avoidant behaviors, appeared more anxious, and were less pleasant to interact with. These results showcase one example of how an avoidance focus negatively influences interpersonal dynamics for both White people and people of color.

Promotion-focused values and approach

Broadly, there are values and regulatory processes that influence and promote approach-oriented behaviors, however, these mechanisms have yet to be fully explored within interracial

contexts. Based on the strong evidence linking prejudice discrepancies, negative emotions, and intrapersonal regulation, we aim to explore how positive components of the regulatory framework potentially apply to egalitarian values, positive emotions, and approach-related intrapersonal regulation.

In addition to focusing on the fulfillment of obligations, people can internalize values that reflect their desires and aspirations (Higgins, 1987). These types of self-guides, referred to as *ideal self-guides*, are concerned with progress, growth, and the attainment of desirable outcomes. Higgins (1987) describes that instead of being motivated to uphold values based on the presence or absence of negative outcomes, as is the focus of ought self-guides, people who internalize ideal self-guides are motivated to pursue values based on the presence or absence of *positive* outcomes. These values can be developed through parenting styles that reinforce growth, reward, and positive behavior by emphasizing the pursuit of positive outcomes when faced with decisions (Higgins, 1997). For example, parents who want to teach the value of honesty might offer rewards to their children when and if they tell the truth. When children tell a lie, parents who withhold a reward emphasize that the child missed an opportunity to attain the desirable outcome. In the future, children would choose to tell the truth because it leads to the attainment of a reward.

Over time, as children develop into adults, positive emotions, such as happiness or pride that have been associated with telling the truth, function as internal motivators that replace physical rewards. When people behave consistently with their ideal self-guides, they tend to feel happy, cheerful, and enthusiastic because they have fulfilled their personal goals. However, when people behave in ways that violate their ideal self-guides, they tend to experience dejection emotions such as disappointment or frustration because they failed to achieve their personal

desires (Roseman, 1984; Abelson, 1983; Phillips & Silvia, 2005). Though these negative feelings are unpleasant, they do not motivate behavior in the same way that agitation-related emotions do. Indeed, unlike ought self-discrepancies that are motivating due to the negative emotions they produce, positive emotions experienced after an *ideal self-congruency*—the cognitive recognition of having behaved consistently with one’s ideal self-guides—motivate people with internalized ideals to continue pursuing desired outcomes (Higgins, 1997). Thus, even in the absence of external rewards (e.g., the hardworking student is admitted to college, the diligent employee receives a promotion for their hard work), positive emotions such as happiness and pride may function as internal rewards on their own (e.g., the diligent student and hardworking employee feel proud of their work and continue to work effortfully).

In the same way that ought self-discrepancies motivate behavior change through emotional experiences, ideal self-congruencies motivate behavior change through *positive* emotional experiences (Higgins, 1997). To continue feeling positively about themselves and to obtain their desired rewards, people tend to repeat behaviors that achieved those feelings and rewards in the first place. This type of behavioral regulation is referred to as a *promotion focus* because people engage in active, approach-related behaviors in order to reach their goals (Higgins, 1997). Moreover, people who chronically hold a promotion focus may more effectively regulate their behavior when external positive rewards are emphasized compared to people who do not chronically hold this focus. For example, promotion-focused employees who are met with recognition, raises, and other positive rewards will be more motivated and will more effectively complete their work than when they are met with punishments.

Promotion regulatory focus specifically motivates the use of approach-related behaviors. Looking again at the research of Shah et al. (1998) that was described previously, they found

support for the impact of promotion-framing on behavior regulation as well. In addition to the prevention-framed condition, participants in another condition were instructed to solve anagrams and were offered \$4 as compensation. If participants could find 90% of the words or more, they were promised an additional dollar. This condition was reflective of promotion-framing because participants were primed to think about additional rewards if they correctly solved enough anagrams. Participants who held a promotion focus solved more anagrams in the promotion-framed condition than those who held a prevention focus, showing that promotion-framing increased behaviors among promotion-focused individuals. Within this task, participants were not concerned about the number of errors they may have made in an effort to solve the anagrams. By instead focusing on solving as many anagrams as they could, they worked more quickly and took more risks to achieve their goals. Thus, promotion framing can effectively increase approach behaviors among chronic promotion focused individuals.

Promotion focus missing from interracial contexts

In regard to the regulatory focus framework, researchers who study race relations have focused on the emotions and behaviors that occur as a result of violating nonprejudiced values. As such, outcomes from this perspective tend to be measured in terms of avoidance, suppression, and inhibition. Murphy, Richeson, and Molden (2011) have advocated for “a motivational approach to the study of interracial interactions,” stating that “although no studies to [their] knowledge have examined these questions yet, people who hold a promotion mindset should be less concerned with controlling their thoughts, experience less cognitive depletion, and lead to more pleasant interracial interactions” (p. 123). To answer their call, we aim to explore the promotion-related motivational mechanisms that could potentially influence approach-related behaviors within interracial contexts.

Some existing research has begun to examine promotion/approach-related behaviors as an outcome of interest in the context of prejudice. Plant, Devine, and Peruche (2010) suggest that source of motivation can predict the decision to use approach or avoidant behavior during interracial interactions. In their research, Plant and colleagues measured whether participants' motivation to respond without prejudice was influenced by a desire to uphold personally important standards and values (i.e., an internal source) or by the standards and expectations emphasized by others (i.e., an external source; Motivations to Respond without Prejudice Scale, Plant & Devine, 1998). Participants were then asked to report their feelings and intentions for an upcoming interracial interaction. White participants who were highly internally motivated were more likely to report the intention of using approach-related behaviors during the interracial interaction (e.g., maintain eye contact, smile, form personal connections) whereas participants who were highly externally motivated were more likely to report the intention of using avoidant behaviors (e.g., avoid using stereotypes, avoid appearing racist, keep the conversation short). During the actual interactions, internal motivation was indeed related to approach behaviors and external motivation was related to avoidant behaviors. Moreover, approach-related behaviors led to more pleasant interactions from the perspective of both the White participants and the non-White research confederates. This research reveals that personally important values can motivate both approach behavioral *intentions* and *actual* approach behaviors during interracial interactions.

Based on the regulatory focus framework, there are several gaps that need to be addressed in order to fully understand the operations that consistently explain approach behaviors within interracial contexts. First, participants were asked to reflect on their values that were either internally or externally driven, however, the extent to which participants felt like they

fulfilled or violated these values was not measured. According to Higgins (1987; 1997), consciously recognizing how behavior reflects or fails to reflect internalized values stimulates the behavior regulation process. The way values are internalized (i.e., as oughts or ideals) triggers either a prevention or promotion regulatory response by sparking an emotional experience that subsequently influences behavior. Therefore, consciously recognizing value congruencies or discrepancies may reliably predict resulting behavior, above and beyond reflecting on simply possessing values.

Second, work by Monteith has extensively explored the relationship among prejudice discrepancies and behavior regulation, and the mediating role of affect. However, this model fails to consider the role of chronic regulatory focus. Indeed, the process of automatizing prejudice regulation tends to occur among low prejudice people. People who are low in prejudice, though, may vary considerably in the extent to which they try to strictly avoid engaging in prejudice (i.e., prevention focus) or promote egalitarian ideals (i.e., promotion focus). Moreover, the automatic process for regulating behavior has not been applied to more positively-oriented values in the context of prejudice. Thus, the SRP model may be more prominent among people who hold a prevention focus in a prejudice-relevant context whereas a separate process may be observable among people who hold a promotion focus. Importantly, these processes likely produce divergent behavior patterns during interracial interactions. While the SRP model stimulates intrapersonal, avoidant behavior regulation, a promotion-oriented model is more likely to explain intrapersonal and interpersonal approach.

The present research will address these gaps by measuring how people internalize race-relevant values and the emotions experienced following congruencies or discrepancies. Further, we will test how each of these components (regulatory focus, cognitive appraisal of values, and

emotions) influence behavior during interracial interactions. In doing so, we aim to first, extend the application of the SRP model by showing a heightened avoidant regulatory effect among people who hold a prevention focus in the context of prejudice. We expect that this process will stimulate interpersonal avoidance as well. The left side of Figure 1 outlines the theoretical process of this model that will be tested. Second, and more novel, we aim to delineate a promotion-oriented model of behavior regulation that can be observed among people who hold a promotion focus in the context of race. Most importantly, this model would outline the cognitive-emotional processes that motivate approach behavior. We predict that people who strongly internalize race-relevant values from a promotion focus will be more sensitive to egalitarian congruencies and resulting positive, cheerful emotions. Further, we hypothesize that this process produces interpersonal approach behaviors during interracial interactions. The right side of Figure 1 outlines the theoretical model that will be tested.

Study 1

Self-discrepancy and regulatory focus theories offer specific predictions about emotional experiences related to ideal and ought congruencies and discrepancies. Within the context of racial values, researchers have only observed how nonprejudiced (“ought”) values (i.e., those that require vigilance against errors of commission) instigate negative emotions following a value violation (discrepancy). In accordance with regulatory focus theory, egalitarian (“ideal”) values (i.e., those that are concerned with growth and progress) should prompt positive emotions after values are successfully engaged (congruency). The purpose of Study 1 was to differentiate the emotional consequences that follow congruencies and discrepancies between the self and one’s egalitarian versus nonprejudiced values, and to determine whether individual differences in regulatory focus potentially heighten these emotional experiences.

The specific emotional predictions associated with regulatory focus theory have not been explicitly applied to race-related values. Consequently, we generated separate hypotheses based on 1) the broad framework of self-discrepancy and regulatory focus theories and 2) previous research on nonprejudiced discrepancies. We tested both predictions using different statistical techniques. First, applying the self-discrepancy and regulatory focus framework, we predicted that people high in prevention focus would experience more agitation following the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition compared to the nonprejudiced congruency, egalitarian congruency, and egalitarian discrepancy conditions. People high in prevention focus should also experience more quiescence following the nonprejudiced congruency condition compared to all other conditions. We predicted that people high in promotion focus would experience more cheerfulness in the egalitarian congruency condition compared to the egalitarian discrepancy, nonprejudiced discrepancy, and nonprejudiced congruency conditions. People high in promotion focus should also experience more dejection in the egalitarian discrepancy condition compared to all other conditions.

Second, cognitive orientations of values (i.e., congruencies and discrepancies) should differ as primary motivational mechanisms for egalitarian and nonprejudiced values. As such, we predicted a replication of previous work that nonprejudiced discrepancies, compared to nonprejudiced congruencies, should produce higher ratings of agitation. We extended this work by testing the moderating role of prevention focus, expecting higher emotional outcomes among people high in prevention focus. More novel, we predicted that egalitarian congruencies, compared to egalitarian discrepancies, would produce higher ratings of cheerfulness. We tested the role of promotion focus, expecting higher emotional outcomes among people high in promotion focus.

To test our predictions, all participants' regulatory focus was measured with a version of the self-guide strength measure, adapted from Higgins et al. (1997). After completing this measure, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions that manipulated the cognitive orientation between participants' values and behaviors (congruency or discrepancy) and the framing of values that participants were prompted to think about (nonprejudiced or egalitarian). We hypothesized that people high in promotion focus would feel more cheerful (dejected) following an egalitarian congruency (discrepancy), and that people high in prevention focus would feel more agitated (quiescent) following a nonprejudiced discrepancy (congruency).

Method

Participants

We recruited 173 White undergraduate psychology students who received course credit for their participation. We screened for only students who identified as White. After removing two cases where there was no recorded data from the manipulations and one case where the participant did not follow directions, our final sample size consisted of 170. An a priori power analysis using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) suggested a sample size of 130 to detect a medium effect ($f^2 = .15$) and achieve .95 power (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009), conveying that our study was adequately powered. Our sample was majority female (64% female, 36% male) and ages ranged from 18 to 25 ($M = 19.46$, $SD = 1.37$).

Materials

Self-guide strength measure. To measure regulatory focus, we modified a version of the self-guide strength measure used by Higgins et al. (1997). First, participants were presented with instructions to rate how strongly they feel they should value and how strongly they want to value a list of 14 characteristics. After viewing examples, participants were then randomly presented

with the 14 items that appeared on the screen individually so that reaction times for each value rating could be recorded. Using the logic of Higgins and colleagues, reaction times were used as an indirect indicator of value strength. Quicker reaction times convey regular access to corresponding values and provide a more robust estimate of strength of value internalization.

Each value appeared twice so that participants could rate 1) the extent to which they *want* to uphold that value and 2) the extent to which they *should* uphold that value, using the scale 0 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*). Six items were included as distractor values to reduce conspicuousness about the purpose of the study and were excluded from analysis. The following eight prejudice-relevant values comprised the target block that was used to develop the regulatory focus variables: *antiracist action, being nonprejudiced, being nonjudgmental, being nonbiased, racial equality, racial awareness, multicultural education, fairness*.¹ See appendix A for the full instructions and all scale items. Scores associated with “want” responses were combined to form the promotion focus variable and scores associated with “should” responses were combined to form the prevention focus variable.

Motivation to respond without prejudice. Participants completed a version of the Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (MRP) scale (Plant & Devine, 1998) that was adapted to reflect general nonprejudice rather than prejudice directed toward Black people. Participants rated the extent to which they agreed with statements that reflected personally important reasons to respond in nonprejudiced ways (e.g., “I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways because it is personally important to me”) and statements regarding more socially pressured motives of responding without prejudice (e.g., “I try to hide prejudiced thoughts in order to avoid negative reactions from others”), using a response scale that ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 9 (*Strongly agree*). The order in which the MRP scale and the manipulation were presented was

randomized to control for potential order effects. This scale was included for exploratory purposes and was not analyzed in the present study. See appendix B for full scale items and instructions.

Ease-of-recall manipulation. We manipulated 1) the type of value framing from which participants were asked to recall past behaviors (ideal vs. ought) and 2) the perceptual orientation between the self and those values (congruency vs. discrepancy). Participants were randomly presented with a prompt to list examples of past behaviors that reflected either nonprejudiced values (ought condition) or egalitarian values (ideal condition). We manipulated ought self-guides by asking participants to think about examples when they avoided prejudice because of the social unacceptance of prejudiced displays and the vigilance with which people must monitor their behavior to avoid engaging in errors of commission. We manipulated ideal self-guides by asking participants to think about examples when they displayed egalitarianism because of the positive valence associated with this value and the eagerness that motivates the pursuit of positive expressions.

Relying on a previously developed cognitive manipulation task (Schwarz et al., 1991), participants were randomly asked to list either two (congruency) or six (discrepancy) past behaviors that reflected these values. In their initial validation of this manipulation, Schwarz and colleagues (1991) asked participants to list examples of past assertive behaviors. Those who were only asked to list six examples did so with greater ease and characterized themselves as more assertive compared to those who were asked to list 12 examples, suggesting that the characteristics by which people assessed themselves were impacted by the ease or difficulty during recall. In the present study, participants were asked to list either two or six examples because of the difficulty already associated with recalling memories within this context.²

Participants asked to recall two examples were expected to find the task relatively easy and feel consistent with their values (congruency condition). Participants asked to recall six examples, on the other hand, were expected to find the task relatively difficult and feel distant from their values (discrepancy condition). See appendix C for all condition prompts. As a manipulation check, participants rated how difficult it was to provide the number of examples required on a scale ranging from 1 (*Extremely easy*) to 7 (*Extremely difficult*).

To reinforce the experimental manipulation, participants were presented with false feedback about the performance of other college students who had supposedly completed this task. Participants in the discrepancy conditions read a false report that a majority of the previous participants found the task to be easy and that most people came up with more than six examples. Participants in the congruency conditions read a false report that a majority of the previous participants found the task to be difficult and on average were only able to list two examples. See appendix C.

Affect. Participants completed a 22-item affective measure, evaluating their current emotions using the scale 1 (*Does not apply at all*) to 7 (*Applies very much*; affective items pooled from Monteith, 1993; Higgins, 1997; Shah, Brazy, & Higgins, 2004). Specifically, participants rated their emotions according to the following items: *happy, cheerful, proud, enthusiastic, delighted, inspired, dejected, disappointed, frustrated, satisfied, relaxed, calm, embarrassed, disgusted at myself, angry, distressed, guilty, anxious, bothered, uncomfortable, upset, and dissatisfied*.

Procedure

Participants completed all measures on a computer in the lab by themselves. After reading and agreeing to the informed consent, participants were led to believe that the study they

were participating in was part of a collaboration with a nonprofit, social-educational research team called “The UpNext Project.” The UpNext project was described as being an organization interested in studying a variety of values held by college students and how those values changed over time. First, participants completed the self-guide strength measure, which assessed the prevention and promotion focus of each individual. Next, participants randomly completed both the MRP scale and the ease-of-recall manipulation in a randomized order. Within the manipulation instructions, participants were led to believe that they were “randomly selected” to write about their values in the context of race. After completing the manipulation and rating their experienced difficulty, participants were presented with more detailed information about the purpose of the project according to the cover story and were shown “results” from other participants who were college students at universities across the country. These fake results were intended to reinforce perceptions of task difficulty. After the manipulation, participants rated their current affective states. Finally, participants reported their demographics and were debriefed about the true nature of the study.

Results

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were used to test the relationships among regulatory focus, internalized values, value orientations, and the four emotional outcomes: *cheerfulness*, *dejection*, *quiescence*, and *agitation*. We tested these relationships using a 2 (prevention focus vs. promotion focus) x 4 (egalitarian congruency, egalitarian discrepancy, nonprejudiced congruency, nonprejudiced discrepancy) mixed factorial design, where the first factor was measured within subjects, and the second factor was manipulated between subjects.

Data Cleaning

Promotion and Prevention Focus. Following the guidelines of Higgins et al. (1997), time scores were logarithmically transformed to obtain a normal distribution due to their positive skew. In addition, to be consistent with the self-report extent ratings (where higher scores indicated stronger self-guide strength), all reaction time scores were subtracted from the highest value +1 so that higher numerical scores also indicated stronger self-guide strength. We multiplied each item's extent "want" ratings with the corresponding, transformed reaction time score. We took the average of these eight "want" scores to form the promotion focus variable. Likewise, we multiplied each item's extent "should" rating with the corresponding, transformed reaction time score. We took the average of these eight "should" scores to form the prevention focus variable.

We used boxplots and skewness values to examine the distribution of prevention and promotion focus and to look for potential outliers. Prevention focus contained one extreme outlier that fell beyond five standard deviations from the mean ($z = -5.08$) and produced a negative skew on the distribution (-1.32). After removing the identified case, the distribution contained a moderate negative skew (-.76). The additional outliers identified using the boxplot showed that two cases fell 2.5 standard deviations below the mean. These values were included in the analysis because they likely reflect low prevention focus rather than abnormal cases. Promotion focus also contained one extreme outlier that fell more than five standard deviations from the mean ($z = -5.64$) and produced a negative skew (-1.39). After removing the identified case, the distribution reflected an acceptable, normal curve (-.53). Promotion and prevention focus variables were statistically significantly correlated ($r = .48, p < .01$).³

Affect. Four emotion categories were created based on a priori, theoretical frameworks that have delineated goal-pursuit emotional consequences (Higgins, 1987) and intrapersonal, prejudice-based emotional reactions (Devine & Monteith, 1993; Monteith, 1993). The positive cheerful dimension consisted of *cheerful, delighted, inspired, proud, happy, and enthusiastic* and had good reliability ($\alpha = .84$). The negative dejection dimension consisted of *disappointed, dissatisfied, dejected, and frustrated* and indicated good reliability ($\alpha = .86$). The positive quiescent dimension consisted of *satisfied, calm, and relaxed* and had acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .75$). The negative agitated dimension consisted of *anxious, distressed, embarrassed, guilty, disgusted at myself, and angry* and had good reliability ($\alpha = .82$).⁴

Manipulation check

Participants in the discrepancy conditions were asked to list six personal examples of past behaviors that reflected their values whereas participants in the congruency conditions were asked to list two personal examples. Based on Schwarz and colleagues' (1991) ease-of-recall manipulation task, we expected that participants who were asked to recall six examples of past behaviors should have found the task more difficult than participants who were asked to recall only two, thus inducing a cognitive discrepancy. An independent samples *t*-test showed that participants in the discrepancy conditions ($M = 5.53, SD = 1.56$) rated the task as more difficult than participants in the congruency conditions ($M = 4.82, SD = 1.72$), $t(168) = -2.80, p = .006, d = 0.43, 95\% CI [-1.20, -0.21]$. Thus, we concluded that our orientation manipulation was successful.

Analytic Approach for Regulatory Focus Hypotheses

We generated hypotheses based on two distinct theoretical orientations and tested these predictions using two statistical methods. First, we report our findings based on the regulatory

focus framework. Due to our predictions about the relationship between each of our conditions and their unique emotional outcomes, we computed simple contrast-coded variables.

To test the promotion focus predictions, we created two simple contrast codes. To predict cheerfulness, we contrast coded the conditions such that the egalitarian *congruency* condition received a value of “3” and the other three conditions received a value of “-1.” To predict dejection, we contrast coded the conditions such that the that egalitarian *discrepancy* condition received a value of “3” and all other conditions received a value of “-1.” To test the moderating role of promotion focus, we computed an interaction term between the egalitarian congruency contrast code and promotion focus, and between the egalitarian discrepancy contrast code and promotion focus. Using hierarchical regression, we entered the contrast-coded predictor (egalitarian congruency or egalitarian discrepancy) and promotion focus into step 1, also including prevention focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction term. Promotion and prevention focus were entered as standardized values.

To test the prevention focus predictions, we created two contrast codes. To predict quiescence, we contrast coded the conditions such that the nonprejudiced *congruency* condition received a value of “3” and all other conditions received a value of “-1.” To predict agitation, we contrast coded the conditions such that the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition received a value of “3” and all other conditions received a value of “-1.” To test the moderating role of prevention focus, we computed an interaction term between the nonprejudiced congruency contrast code and prevention focus, and between the nonprejudiced discrepancy contrast code and prevention focus. Using hierarchical regression, we entered the contrast coded predictor (nonprejudiced congruency or nonprejudiced discrepancy) and prevention focus into step 1, also including

promotion focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction term. Promotion and prevention focus were again entered as standardized values.

Emotional Outcomes for Promotion Focus

See Table 1 for means and standard deviations of emotional outcomes by value and orientation conditions. See Table 2 for correlations between all variables and for overall descriptive statistics.

Cheerfulness. We predicted a two-way interaction between egalitarian congruency condition and promotion focus such that cheerfulness ratings would be higher in the egalitarian congruency condition compared to the other conditions, among high levels of promotion focus. This predicted two-way interaction, however, was not statistically significant ($\beta = -.02, p = .848$). See Table 3 for a full report of the model, including main effects and two-way interaction statistics for cheerfulness.

Dejection. We predicted a two-way interaction between egalitarian discrepancy condition and promotion focus such that dejection ratings would be higher in the egalitarian discrepancy condition compared to the other conditions, among high levels of promotion focus. The predicted two-way interaction was not statistically significant ($\beta = .04, p = .586$).

We did find, however, that promotion focus negatively predicted dejection ratings ($\beta = -.19, p = .025$) such that participants who were higher in promotion focus tended to feel less dejected, regardless of condition.

In addition, we found that the egalitarian discrepancy condition negatively predicted dejection ratings ($\beta = -.18, p = .016$). Unexpectedly, participants in the egalitarian discrepancy condition felt less dejected than participants in all other conditions. Refer to Table 1 for means and standard deviations.

Although we included prevention focus in the analysis as a covariate to control for its effects and did not hypothesize that it would be related to dejection, we found that prevention focus significantly predicted dejection ratings ($\beta = .19, p = .029$) such that participants who were higher in prevention focus tended to feel more dejected, regardless of condition. See Table 4 for a full report of the model, including main effect and interaction statistics for dejection.

In sum, we did not find support for our predicted promotional hypotheses. Moreover, the egalitarian discrepancy condition yielded unexpected results such that participants in the egalitarian discrepancy condition felt less dejected than participants in the other conditions. Promotion focus did not function as a moderator. Promotion focus directly predicted dejection ratings such that higher levels of promotion focus were related to lower feelings of dejection.

Emotion Outcomes for Prevention Focus

Quiescence ratings. We predicted a two-way interaction between nonprejudiced congruency condition and prevention focus such that quiescence ratings would be higher in the nonprejudiced congruency condition compared to the other conditions, among high levels of prevention focus. The predicted two-way interaction, however, was not statistically significant ($\beta = -.02, p = .802$). See Table 5 for a full report of the model, including main effect and interaction statistics for quiescence.

Agitation ratings. We predicted a two-way interaction between nonprejudiced discrepancy condition and prevention focus such that agitation ratings would be higher in the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition compared to the other conditions, among high levels of prevention focus. The hypothesized a two-way interaction was not statistically significant ($\beta = .04, p = .665$). See Table 6 for a full report of the model, including main effect and interaction statistics for agitation.

We did not find support for our preventative hypotheses. Moreover, neither condition nor prevention focus predicted any prevention-related emotions.

Analytic Approach for Nonprejudiced Discrepancy-based Hypotheses

The results reported above were based upon predictions delineated within the regulatory focus framework. Next, based upon prior research conducted within the context of racial values, we attempted to 1) replicate and extend previous findings of the motivating influence of nonprejudiced discrepancies and 2) compare the motivating influence of egalitarian congruencies.

For the following analyses, we only analyzed data from participants who were in the relevant value condition. That is, we first compared emotional outcomes between congruency and discrepancy conditions only within the nonprejudiced value condition. Then, we compared emotional outcomes between congruency and discrepancy conditions only within the egalitarian value condition.

We computed two contrast variables. First, predicting that agitation would be higher in the discrepancy condition compared to the congruency condition, we coded discrepancy as “1” and congruency as “-1.” Second, predicting that quiescence would be higher in the congruency condition compared to the discrepancy condition, we coded congruency as “1” and discrepancy as “-1.” Only analyzing cases from the nonprejudiced conditions, we used hierarchical multiple regression and entered discrepancy (or congruency) and prevention focus in step 1, also including promotion focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction between discrepancy (or congruency) and prevention focus. We predicted that participants high in prevention focus would experience (1) more agitation in the discrepancy condition compared to

the congruency condition and (2) more quiescence in the congruency condition compared to the discrepancy condition.

To examine the positive counterpart of the self-discrepancy model within the context of race-relevant values, we next looked at egalitarian congruencies. Only analyzing cases from the egalitarian conditions, we included congruency (or discrepancy) and promotion focus in step 1, also including prevention focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction between congruency (or discrepancy) and promotion focus. We predicted that participants high in promotion focus would experience (1) more cheerfulness in the congruency condition compared to the discrepancy condition and (2) more dejection in the discrepancy condition compared to the congruency condition.

Emotion Outcomes for Nonprejudiced Discrepancies

Nonprejudiced discrepancies. The predicted two-way interaction between discrepancy and prevention was not statistically significant, ($\beta = .04, p = .787$). Unexpectedly, there was no effect of discrepancy ($\beta = .08, p = .479$) or prevention focus ($\beta = .13, p = .293$) on agitation. See Table 7 for a summary of the regression model for agitation.

Nonprejudiced congruencies. The predicted two-way interaction between congruency and prevention was not statistically significant ($\beta = -.03, p = .809$). There was a marginal effect of congruency ($\beta = -.19, p = .091$). Contrary to the predictions, though, quiescence was higher in the discrepancy condition than in the congruency condition. There was no effect of prevention focus on quiescence. See Table 8 for a summary of the regression model for quiescence.

Emotion Outcomes for Egalitarian congruencies.

Egalitarian congruencies. The predicted two-way interaction between congruency and promotion focus was not statistically significant ($\beta = .05, p = .750$). There was no effect of

congruency ($\beta = .09, p = .435$). There was a marginal effect of promotion focus on cheerfulness ($\beta = .23, p = .078$) such that higher levels of promotion focus tended to be related to high levels of cheerfulness compared to low levels of promotion focus. See Table 9 for a summary of the regression model for cheerfulness.

Egalitarian discrepancies. The predicted two-way interaction between discrepancy and promotion focus was not statistically significant ($\beta = .19, p = .237$). Discrepancy statistically significantly predicted dejection ratings ($\beta = -.32, p = .003$). Participants reported feeling more dejected in the congruency condition than in the discrepancy condition. Promotion focus did not predict dejection ratings ($\beta = -.20, p = .108$). See Table 10 for a summary of the regression model for dejection.

Discussion of Findings

Overall, we did not find support for either of our hypotheses. We were not able to find support for our regulatory focus predictions that specific conditions yielded high levels of specific emotions, moderated by promotion or prevention focus. In addition, we did not find support for our predictions modeled after prejudice research suggesting that discrepancies (or congruencies) produced higher levels of negative (or positive) emotions, moderated by promotion or prevention focus.

We found some evidence to suggest that promotion and prevention focus may influence emotions, regardless of value or orientation-framing, though this evidence was not clear across our analysis. Possessing a strong promotion focus may serve as a buffer against negative emotions, as participants high in promotion focus experienced more cheerfulness and less dejection than participants low in promotion focus. Relatedly, prevention-focused individuals may be more susceptible to negative emotions, reflected by the finding that participants high in

prevention focus experienced more dejection than participants low in prevention focus. These results could be reflecting the affective recall bias associated with regulatory focus (Pattershall, Eidelman, & Beike, 2012). Across two studies, Pattershall and colleagues (2012) found that promotion focus predicted greater positive affect when recalling both positive and negative memories whereas prevention focus predicted greater negative affect when recalling positive and negative memories. Although promotion focus did not consistently predict cheerfulness and prevention focus did not consistently predict negative emotions, we may infer that an affect bias could have occurred.

Regardless of regulatory focus, our manipulation should have produced more positive emotions among people in congruency conditions and negative emotions among people in discrepancy conditions. However, we found that participants in the egalitarian congruency condition felt more dejected than participants in the egalitarian discrepancy condition. Similarly, we found that participants in the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition felt more quiescence than participants in the nonprejudiced congruency condition. These results are likely due to shortcomings of the manipulation. First, participants rated the discrepancy conditions as more difficult than the congruency conditions and as a result, could have been less engaged or thoughtful in their responses. Consequently, if participants were not thoughtfully engaged when reflecting on their potential discrepancies, their internal emotional states would not have been impacted. A qualitative review of the content of participants' recalled memories supported this reasoning. Many participants in the discrepancy conditions responded, "I can't think of any examples," or "I can't think of that many specific events."

A second possibility is that the false feedback about other college students' performance produced unintended effects. In the congruency conditions, participants received feedback that

other students found the task to be difficult. Although we intended for participants' confidence in finding the task as "easy" to be reinforced by this feedback, participants may have adjusted their perceptions of the difficulty to reflect others' experiences. Likewise, in the discrepancy condition, participants received feedback that other students found the task to be easy, which was intended to reinforce their negative emotions after finding the task personally difficult. However, participants may have also adjusted their perceptions of the difficulty to reflect others' experiences. In both cases, participants' emotional ratings may have been influenced by the feedback, which may have skewed the intended effectiveness of the manipulation. We address the possible limitations of our manipulation in Study 1 by using a different method to induce congruencies and discrepancies in Study 2.

Study 2

In a second study, we aimed to observe the influence of emotional consequences experienced as a result of congruencies or discrepancies on behavior during interracial interactions, and the moderating role of regulatory focus. Our primary purpose was to test a moderated mediation model associated with approach behaviors and avoidant behaviors, predicting that specific conditions (egalitarian congruencies and nonprejudiced discrepancies) would stimulate these outcomes. We hypothesized that cheerfulness would mediate the relationship between egalitarian congruencies and approach behavior, among people high in promotion focus. Moreover, we hypothesized that agitation would mediate the relationship between nonprejudiced discrepancies and avoidance behaviors, among people high in prevention focus.

In addition to our primary hypotheses, we were interested in testing comparisons made in prior prejudice research within the positive, ideal context of self-discrepancy theory. As an

extension of the comparisons we made in Study 1, we tested the hypothesis that distinct cognitive orientations of values would be the primary motivational mechanisms for behavior during interracial interactions. Based on prior research, we predicted that people high in prevention focus would experience more agitation and engage in more avoidant behaviors following a nonprejudiced discrepancy compared to a nonprejudiced congruency. More novel, we predicted that people high in promotion focus would experience more cheerfulness and engage in more approach behaviors following an egalitarian congruency compared to an egalitarian discrepancy.

We used the same measures of regulatory focus and affect in Study 2 as in Study 1. To address possible limitations of the manipulation used in Study 1, we utilized a different manipulation procedure that randomly assigned participants to write about one specific memory where they successfully conveyed (congruency condition) or failed to convey (discrepancy condition) their values of avoiding prejudice (nonprejudiced condition) or racial equality (egalitarian condition). We hypothesized that people high in promotion (prevention) focus would experience strong feelings of cheerfulness (agitation) following the egalitarian congruency (nonprejudiced discrepancy) manipulation and would subsequently employ approach (avoidant) behaviors during real interracial interactions.

Method

Participants

We recruited 140 White undergraduate psychology students who received course credit for their participation. After removing one case due to technological issues and one case due to a failure to complete the manipulation, our final sample size consisted of 138. An a priori power analysis suggested a sample size of 138 to detect a medium effect and achieve .95 power (Faul,

Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009). Our sample was majority female (71% female, 27% male, 2% non-binary) and ages ranged from 18 to 44 ($M = 20.57$, $SD = 1.32$).

Materials

Self-guide strength measure. To measure regulatory focus, we used the same procedure detailed in Study 1. Participants were randomly presented with 14 items that appeared on the screen individually. Each item appeared twice so that participants could rate 1) the extent to which they ought to value that item and 2) the extent to which they want to value that item, using the scale 0 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*). Again, we included only the eight race-relevant items to comprise the promotion and prevention variables. Extent and reaction time scores associated with “want” responses were combined to form the promotion focus variable and scores associated with “should” responses were combined to form the prevention focus variable.

Motivation to respond without prejudice. Participants completed the same version of the MRP scale (Plant & Devine, 1998) as in Study 1 that was adapted to reflect general nonprejudice rather than prejudice directed toward Black people. Participants rated the extent to which they agreed to internal and external reasons for responding without prejudice, using a response scale that ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The order in which these items and the manipulation were presented was again randomized to control for potential order effects.

Self-guide manipulation. We manipulated 1) the type of value framing from which participants were asked to recall past behaviors (egalitarian vs. nonprejudiced) and 2) the perceptual orientation between the self and those values (congruency vs. discrepancy). In the present study, we manipulated congruencies and discrepancies more directly by asking participants to write about one example where they failed to live up to or lived up to their values.

Research by Shelton, Richeson, Salvatore, and Hill (2006) supports that this recall task should engender discrepancies for people who are personally committed to confronting prejudice but fail to do so. In their study, participants were asked to recall instances when they either did or did not confront a perpetrator of prejudice. Among those who were personally committed to confronting prejudice, participants who did not confront when they knew they should have experienced more negative self affect and more obsessive thoughts about their actions. Similarly, participants in the present study should experience discrepancies when they are asked to recall details related to a discrepant event.

In the nonprejudiced conditions, participants were asked to write about a specific memory when they engaged in a prejudiced thought, feeling, or behavior (discrepancy condition) or when they successfully avoided engaging in a prejudiced thought, feeling, or behavior (congruency condition). In the egalitarian conditions, participants were asked to write about a specific memory when they missed an opportunity to show they value racial equality (discrepancy condition) or when they successfully displayed that they value racial equality (congruency condition). See appendix D for full writing prompts for each condition.

Affect. Participants completed a 22-item affective measure, evaluating their current emotions using the scale 1 (*does not apply at all*) to 7 (*applies very much*). Specifically, participants rated their emotions using the following affective items: *happy, cheerful, proud, enthusiastic, delighted, inspired, dejected, disappointed, frustrated, satisfied, relaxed, calm, embarrassed, disgusted at myself, angry, distressed, guilty, anxious, bothered, uncomfortable, upset, and dissatisfied*.

Behavioral Assessment. Following the manipulation and self-reported affect scale, participants were prompted to alert the researcher. Four research assistants (two Asian American

males, one Asian American female, and one biracial White-African American female) were trained to respond consistently across conditions. The research confederates informed participants that they were collecting data on students' perceptions of race and diversity on campus. The research confederates asked and audio recorded participants' responses to the following questions: "What do you think about the current diversity on this campus," "Do you think there is a diversity/inclusion issue on this campus," and "How do you think you could help address this problem as a student?" See appendix E for full researcher interview prompt.

We used a variety of perspectives to measure approach and avoidant behavior during the interaction. All interviews were audio recorded so that content and speech patterns could be assessed. Following the interaction, participants reported their perceptions of the interaction quality by rating their behaviors (e.g., I made eye contact during the interaction), their focus during the interaction (e.g., I focused on making sure I did not say something that sounded offensive), and their general feelings (e.g., I felt confident talking to the researcher) on an 11-item scale, using the response scale 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Five items were compiled to assess self-reported approach behavior ($\alpha = .72$) and six items were compiled to assess self-reported avoidant behavior ($\alpha = .77$).

Research assistants also reported their perceptions of the interaction quality by rating participants' behaviors (e.g., The participant positioned their chair close to me) and perceived intentions during the interaction (e.g., The participant seemed to be giving thoughtful responses). Research assistants completed the 10-item scale using the response scale 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*). Five items were compiled to assess approach behavior ($\alpha = .82$) and four items were compiled to assess avoidant behavior ($\alpha = .77$). Because chair positioning represented

a more objective behavioral measure, we analyzed this item as a separate outcome. See appendix F for both participant and researcher post-interaction survey items.

Article interest ratings. Participants were presented with four article titles and asked to rate their interest in receiving this information on a 1 (*Not at all interested*) to 7 (*Extremely interested*) response scale. Two article titles conveyed promotion-framed methods (e.g., “Being an Ally: Steps to Increase Education and Compassion for Effective Ally Support” and “Dear White People: Here's How to Step Up for People of Color”) and two titles conveyed prevention-framed methods (e.g., “10 Ways to Avoid Everyday Racism” and “Unfriending a Bigot: How White Folks Can Reduce White Ignorance on the Internet”) for interacting with the topic of race.⁵ The average rating of the promotion-framed articles was used to assess future approach behavioral intentions and the average rating of the prevention-framed articles was used to assess future avoidant behavioral intentions.

Procedure

Participants completed all initial measures on a computer in the lab by themselves. After reading and agreeing to the informed consent, participants completed the self-guide strength measure, which assessed the prevention and promotion focus of each individual. Next, participants were randomly assigned to complete both the MRP scale and the manipulation in a randomized order. After completing the manipulation, participants rated their current affective states. Next, participants were instructed to alert the researcher for an audio-recorded interview. Research assistants informed the participants that they were interested in students’ perceptions of race and diversity on campus and reassured them that their responses were not connected to their names and that there were no right or wrong answers. Research assistants were trained to respond in a neutral manner and only say what was on the script in order to reduce demand

characteristics. Following the interview, participants and the research assistant completed post-interaction surveys. Finally, participants were informed that our research lab offered additional information related to current issues as a part of our normal research initiative, were presented with the titles of four articles, and were asked to rate their interest in receiving the corresponding article information. After reporting their demographic information, participants were debriefed and granted research credit.

Results

See Table 11 for descriptive statistics for emotional outcomes by condition. See Table 12 for descriptive statistics for *approach* behavior outcomes by condition. See Table 13 for descriptive statistics for *avoidant* behavior outcomes by condition. See Table 14 for correlations between all variables and overall descriptive statistics.

Data Cleaning

Promotion and Prevention Focus. We followed an identical procedure for creating the promotion and prevention focus variables as in Study 1. First, we logarithmically transformed all time scores to obtain a normal distribution. Next, all reaction time scores were subtracted from the highest value +1 so that higher numerical scores also indicated stronger self-guide strength. We multiplied each item's extent "want" ratings with the corresponding, transformed reaction time score. We took the average of these eight "want" scores to form the promotion focus variable. Likewise, we multiplied each item's extent "should" rating with the corresponding, transformed reaction time score. We took the average of these eight "should" scores to form the prevention focus variable.

We again used boxplots and skewness values to examine the distribution of promotion and prevention focus and to look for potential outliers. Prevention focus had a moderately

negative skew (-.98) but there were no extreme outliers identified. Similarly, promotion focus had a moderately negative skew (-.93) but there were no extreme outliers identified. Promotion and prevention focus were statistically significantly correlated ($r = .45, p < .01$).

Affect. Four emotion categories were created based on the same a priori, theoretical framework as in Study 1 (i.e., goal-pursuit emotional consequences, Higgins, 1987; intrapersonal, prejudice-based emotional reactions, Monteith, 1993; Devine & Monteith, 1993). The positive cheerful dimension consisted of *cheerful, delighted, inspired, proud, happy,* and *enthusiastic* and had good reliability ($\alpha = .88$). The negative dejection dimension consisted of *disappointed, dissatisfied, dejected, frustrated,* and *upset*, and indicated good reliability ($\alpha = .93$). The positive quiescent dimension consisted of *satisfied, calm,* and *relaxed* and had acceptable reliability ($\alpha = .77$). The negative agitated dimension consisted of *anxious, distressed, embarrassed, guilty, disgusted at myself,* and *angry* and had good reliability ($\alpha = .87$).

Analytic Approach for Moderated Mediation Models

Our central hypothesis, that regulatory focus would moderate the extent to which specific conditions (i.e., egalitarian congruency and nonprejudiced discrepancy) produced emotions (i.e., cheerfulness and agitation) that subsequently motivated approach or avoidant behavior, was tested using two separate moderated mediation models in the Hayes PROCESS extension (2012; 2019). First, we tested our primary model of interest to predict approach behavior from participants who were in the egalitarian congruency condition. We expected that participants high in promotion focus would feel more cheerful following this condition and that this cheerfulness would motivate approach behavior. Next, we tested a model to predict avoidant behavior from participants who were in the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition. We expected

that participants high in prevention focus would feel more agitated following this condition and that this agitation would motivate avoidant behavior.

We used separate contrast-coded variables for the two conditions of interest. To test the promotion focus model, we created a contrast code such that participants in the egalitarian congruency condition received a value of “3” and all other conditions received a value of “-1.” To test the prevention focus model, we created a contrast code such that participants in the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition received a value of “3” and all other conditions received a value of “-1.” The condition of interest was entered as the predictor variable “x.” The relevant emotion (cheerfulness or agitation) was entered as the proposed mediator “m.” The regulatory focus variable of interest (promotion or prevention) was entered as the proposed moderator “w” and the other regulatory focus variable was entered as a covariate to control for its effects. Emotion and both regulatory focus variables were entered as standardized variables.

Model 8 of the Hayes PROCESS extension (2012; 2019) first analyzed the relationship between condition and emotion (the mediator), regulatory focus and emotion, and the interaction between these two predictors (moderation effect) at Step 1. At Step 2, the ability of condition, emotion, and regulatory focus, as well as the interaction between condition and regulatory focus, to predict behavior was tested. Finally, the direct and indirect effect (condition → emotion → behavior) was tested at low, average, and high levels of regulatory focus. See Figure 2 for a visual representation of the model that was tested.

Moderated Mediation Models Predicting Approach Behavior

We predicted that participants high in promotion focus who were assigned to the egalitarian congruency condition would report and exhibit more approach behaviors, driven by their cheerfulness emotions.

To measure approach behaviors, we looked at participants' self-reported approach behaviors and intentions following the interaction. Next, we assessed the research assistants' reports of the participants behaviors. Based on the research assistants' report, we also assessed how close the participant positioned their chair for the interview. Finally, we utilized participants' interest ratings in the promotion-framed articles as a measure of intended future approach behavior.

Participant self-reported approach behavior. Using model 8 of the PROCESS extension (Hayes, 2012; 2019), there was no evidence of a moderated mediation model. Neither egalitarian congruency condition ($b = .01, p = .812$) nor promotion focus ($b = -.16, p = .701$) predicted cheerfulness. Cheerfulness ($b = .19, p = .038$) and promotion focus ($b = .91, p = .043$) significantly positively predicted participant self-reported approach behavior. However, neither egalitarian congruency condition ($b = .005, p = .937$) nor the interaction between condition and promotion focus ($b = -.03, p = .904$) predicted participant self-reported approach behaviors. Examining the indirect effect at different levels of promotion focus, there was no evidence that a mediated relationship existed at high levels of promotion focus ($b = .02$). Overall, the moderated mediation index revealed that the model was not statistically significant (index: .05, 95% CI [- .04, .15]). See Table 15 for the model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of participant self-reported approach behaviors.

Research assistant reported approach behavior. There was no evidence of a moderated mediation model predicting researcher reported approach behavior. Cheerfulness statistically significantly predicted researcher reported approach behavior ($b = .35, p = .004$). However, there was no effect of egalitarian congruency condition ($b = -.03, p = .703$), promotion focus ($b = .32, p = .584$), or the interaction ($b = .17, p = .549$) on researcher reported approach

behaviors. At high levels of promotion focus, there was no evidence of a mediated effect ($b = .03$). Overall, the moderated mediation index revealed that the model was not statistically significant (index = .08, 95% CI [-.06, .26]). See Table 16 for the model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of researcher reported approach behaviors.

Chair closeness. There was no evidence of a moderated mediation predicting how close participants positioned their chair in relation to the researcher. Neither cheerfulness ($b = .04$, $p = .701$) nor egalitarian congruency condition ($b = -.09$, $p = .691$) predicted chair closeness. Promotion focus marginally predicted chair closeness ($b = .98$, $p = .089$). At high levels of promotion focus, there was no evidence of a mediated effect ($b = .003$). Overall, the moderated mediation index was not statistically significant (index: .01, 95% CI = -.05, .11]). See Table 17 for the model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of chair closeness.

Promotion-framed article interest ratings. Finally, there was no evidence of a moderated mediation predicting interest in promotion-framed articles. Neither cheerfulness ($b = .06$, $p = .658$), egalitarian congruency condition ($b = -.02$, $p = .849$), nor the interaction between condition and promotion focus ($b = .01$, $p = .981$) predicted promotion-framed article interest. Promotion focus directly significantly positively predicted promotion-framed article interest ($b = 2.30$, $p < .01$). Participants high in promotion focus were more interested in promotion-framed articles than participants low in promotion focus. At high levels of promotion focus, there was no evidence of a mediated effect ($b = .004$). Overall, the moderated mediation index was not statistically significant (index: .01, 95% CI [-.06, .12]). See Table 18 for the model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of promotion-framed article interest.

In sum, none of the moderated mediation models statistically significantly predicted any indicators of approach behavior. That is, we did not find evidence to suggest that cheerfulness

motivated high-promotion participants to engage in approach behaviors. We did find that cheerfulness predicted participant and researcher reported approach behavior, although this cheerfulness was not a direct result of the egalitarian congruency condition. Higher levels of cheerfulness, regardless of condition, were related to more approach behaviors. Further, we found a direct effect of promotion focus on participant self-reported behavior, how close they positioned their chair in relation to the researcher, and their interest in promotion-framed articles. Thus, participants high in promotion focus tended to exhibit more approach behaviors compared to participants low in promotion focus. See Figure 3 for a summary of the promotion focus model findings.

Moderated Mediation Models Predicting Avoidance Behavior

Based on previous discrepancy work in the context of nonprejudiced values, we predicted that participants high in prevention focus who were assigned to the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition would report and exhibit more avoidant behaviors, driven by their agitation emotions.

First, we examined participants' self-reported avoidant behaviors and intentions following the interaction. Next, we assessed the research assistants' reports of the participants' behaviors. Based on the research assistants' report, we again assessed how close the participant positioned their chair for the interview, with lower scores indicating avoidant/distancing behavior. Finally, we utilized participants' interest ratings in the prevention-framed articles as a measure of intended future avoidant behavior.

Participant self-reported avoidant behavior. Using model 8 of the PROCESS extension (Hayes, 2012; 2019), there was no evidence of a moderated mediation model predicting participant self-reported avoidant behaviors. Neither nonprejudiced discrepancy condition ($b = .02, p = .656$), prevention focus ($b = .22, p = .575$), nor the interaction ($b = .10, p$

= .637) predicted agitation. Moreover, neither agitation ($b = .17, p = .115$), nonprejudiced condition ($b = .001, p = .976$), prevention focus ($b = .24, p = .619$), nor the interaction between condition and prevention focus ($b = .11, p = .656$) predicted participant self-reported avoidant behavior. At high levels of prevention focus, there was no evidence of a mediated effect ($b = .01$). Overall, the moderated mediation index revealed that the model was not statistically significant (index: .02, 95% CI [-.07, .15]). See Table 19 for a model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of participant self-reported avoidant behavior.

Researcher reported avoidant behavior. There was no evidence of a moderated mediation model predicting researcher reported avoidant behaviors. Unexpectedly, agitation marginally negatively predicted avoidant behaviors ($b = -.22, p = .091$) such that more agitated participants were perceived as engaging in less avoidant behaviors, according to the researcher. Neither the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition ($b = -.06, p = .412$), prevention focus ($b = -.26, p = .645$), nor the interaction ($b = .26, p = .384$) predicted researcher reported behavior. At high levels of prevention focus, there was no evidence of a mediated effect ($b = -.01$). Overall, the moderated mediation index revealed that the model was not statistically significant (index: -.02, 95% CI [-.15, .07]). See Table 20 for a model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of researcher reported avoidant behavior.

Chair closeness. There was no evidence of a moderated mediation model predicting how close to the participants positioned their chair in relation to the researcher. Neither nonprejudiced discrepancy condition ($b = .03, p = .659$), agitation ($b = .11, p = .360$), nor prevention focus ($b = -.25, p = .621$) predicted chair closeness. There was, however, a significant interaction between nonprejudiced discrepancy condition and prevention focus in predicting chair closeness ($b = -.56, p = .041$). Following the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition, participants high in prevention

focus positioned their chair further away from the researcher compared to participants low in prevention focus. In all other conditions, chair closeness did not differ based on levels of prevention focus. See Figure 5 for a graph of the interaction. At high levels of prevention focus, there was no evidence of a mediated effect ($b = .01$). Overall, the moderated mediation index revealed that the model was not statistically significant (index = .01, 95% CI [-.05, .11]). See Table 21 for a model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of chair closeness.

Prevention-framed article interest ratings. Finally, there was no evidence of a moderated mediated model predicting participants' interest in prevention-framed articles. Nonprejudiced discrepancy condition marginally predicted article interest ($b = -.14, p = .078$) but agitation did not ($b = .16, p = .227$). Prevention focus significantly positively predicted article interest rating ($b = 2.30, p < .01$). Moreover, there was a statistically significant interaction between condition and prevention focus ($b = .69, p = .026$). Participants high in prevention focus were more interested in prevention-framed articles than participants low in prevention focus, but this relationship was stronger following the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition compared to all other conditions. See Figure 6 for a graph of the interaction. At high levels of prevention focus, there was no evidence of a mediated effect ($b = .01$). Overall, the moderated mediation index revealed that the model was not statistically significant (index = .01, 95% CI [-.06, .15]). See Table 22 for a model summary of the predictors and tests of effects of prevention-framed article interest.

In sum, there was no evidence of moderated mediation occurring among the variables of interest when predicting approach and avoidant behavior. We did find that agitation marginally predicted researcher reported avoidant behavior, although this agitation was not a direct result of the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition. High levels of agitation, regardless of condition, tended

to be related to less researcher reported avoidant behavior. Further, we found that the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition interacted with prevention focus to predict chair closeness and prevention-framed article interest. Participants high in prevention focus who experienced a nonprejudiced discrepancy positioned their chair further away from the researcher and were more interested in prevention-framed articles than participants low in prevention focus. See Figure 4 for a summary of the prevention focus model findings.

Analytic Approach for Nonprejudiced Discrepancy-based Hypotheses

To test the motivating differences between nonprejudiced discrepancies and egalitarian congruencies, we replicating previous work by predicting that within nonprejudiced value conditions, discrepancies would produce more agitation and result in more avoidant behavior compared to congruency conditions. Further, we hypothesized that this relationship would exist among people high in prevention focus. In a more novel application, we predicted that within egalitarian value conditions, congruencies would lead to more cheerfulness and result in more approach behavior compared to discrepancy conditions. Moreover, we hypothesized that this relationship would exist among people high in promotion focus.

For the following analyses, we only analyzed data from participants who were in the relevant value condition. That is, we first compared outcomes between congruency and discrepancy conditions only within the nonprejudiced value condition. Then, we compared outcomes between congruency and discrepancy conditions only within the egalitarian value condition. As such, we selected only cases for the relevant value condition and created two contrast-coded variables. The congruency contrast was coded such that the congruency condition received a value of “1” and the discrepancy condition received a code of “-1.” The discrepancy

contrast was coded such that the discrepancy condition received a value of “1” and the congruency condition received a value of “-1.”

First, selecting only the nonprejudiced value cases, we used hierarchical multiple regression to examine emotional and behavioral outcomes. Predicting agitation, we included discrepancy and prevention focus in step 1, also including promotion focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction between discrepancy and prevention focus. We predicted a two-way interaction such that high levels of prevention focus would predict more agitation in the discrepancy condition compared to the congruency condition. For the behavioral outcomes, we included discrepancy, prevention focus, and agitation in step 1, also including promotion focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction between discrepancy and prevention focus. We predicted a two-way interaction such that high levels of prevention focus would predict more avoidant behavior in the discrepancy conditions compared to the congruency conditions.

Next, we selected only cases from the egalitarian conditions. Predicting cheerfulness, we included congruency and promotion focus in step 1, also including prevention focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction between congruency and promotion focus. We predicted a two-way interaction such that high levels of promotion focus would predict more cheerfulness in the congruency condition compared to the discrepancy condition. For the behavioral outcomes, we included congruency, promotion focus, and cheerfulness in step 1, also including prevention focus as a control. In step 2, we included the interaction between congruency and promotion focus. We predicted a two-way interaction such that high levels of promotion focus would predict more approach behavior in the congruency condition compared to the discrepancy condition.⁶

Outcomes for Nonprejudiced Discrepancies

None of the variables included in the analysis predicted agitation, participant self-reported avoidant behavior, or researcher reported avoidant behavior.

Chair closeness. Prevention focus marginally predicted chair closeness ($\beta = -.22, p = .084$). Higher levels of prevention focus were associated with more distancing behavior from participants (i.e., they sat further away). See Table 23 for a full report of the model predicting chair closeness.

Article interest ratings. There was a statistically significant interaction between discrepancy and prevention ($\beta = .22, p = .055$). Within the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition, participants high in prevention focus were more interested in the prevention-framed articles than participants low in prevention focus. Within the nonprejudiced congruency condition, prevention focus did not predict article interest. This pattern is congruent with the previous comparisons made between the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition and all other conditions. Refer to Figure 6. See Table 24 for a full report of the model predicting prevention-framed article interest ratings.

Outcomes for Egalitarian Congruencies

None of the variables included in the analysis predicted cheerfulness, approach behavior, or chair closeness.

Participant self-reported behavior. Cheerfulness marginally predicted participant reported approach behavior ($\beta = .21, p = .078$). Participants who felt more cheerful tended to engage in more approach behaviors, as reported by the themselves, regardless of which condition they were assigned to. See Table 25 for a full report of the model predicting participant reported approach behavior.

Researcher reported behavior. Cheerfulness marginally predicted researcher reported approach behavior ($\beta = .23, p = .066$). Participants who felt more cheerful tended to engage in more approach behaviors, as reported by the researcher. See Table 26 for a full report of the model predicting researcher reported approach behavior.

Article interest ratings. Promotion focus predicted article interest ratings ($\beta = .50, p < .001$). Participants high in promotion focus were more interested in promotion-framed articles than participants low in promotion focus. See Table 27 for a full report of the model predicting promotion-framed article interest ratings.

Discussion of Findings

We did not find evidence to support the hypothesized moderated mediation models for either approach or avoidant behavior. We did find, however, that some components of the promotion focus and prevention focus framework functioned distinctly to influence behavior during interracial interactions.

Within the promotion focus framework, we found that participants who reported feeling cheerful were more likely to focus on approach strategies during the interaction and displayed more approach behaviors that were observed by the researcher. Although these emotions were not exclusively produced by our hypothesized manipulations, these findings convey that high arousal, positive emotions motivated some forms of approach behavior. In addition, we found that high levels of promotion focus, compared to low levels, predicted more participant reported approach behaviors, closer distances that participants positioned their chair in relation to the researcher, and more interest in promotion-framed articles. An internalization of race-relevant values based on aspirations, rather than internalizations based on feelings of obligation, predicted three out of the four indicators of approach behavior.

Within the prevention focus framework, we found that participants who reported feeling agitated were perceived as engaging in less avoidant behavior compared to participants who did not feel agitated, as reported by the researcher. In addition to agitation, we found that prevention focus predicted how distant participants positioned their chair in relation to the researcher and interest in prevention-framed articles. Importantly, we found that prevention focus more strongly predicted these outcomes within the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition. Participants with high levels of prevention focus who had reflected on memories where they violated their nonprejudiced standards sat further away from the researcher and were more interested in prevention-framed articles compared to participants who had not reflected on violations. These findings convey the importance of how race-relevant values are internalized and how this internalization influences behavior following value-behavior discrepancies. On their own, perceived violations of nonprejudiced standards and an internalized prevention focus may not automatically influence avoidant behavior. Together, though, an internalized prevention focus may stimulate avoidant tendencies following a violation.

Comparisons that were based on previous nonprejudiced discrepancy research were consistent with the above findings, although less powerful. In an attempt to replicate previous prejudice-discrepancy research, we failed to find that nonprejudiced discrepancies produced agitation among people who possess high levels of prevention focus. We did find, however, that participants high in prevention focus were more interested in prevention-framed articles following a nonprejudiced discrepancy compared to a nonprejudiced congruency. While our previous comparisons showed that nonprejudiced discrepancies uniquely predicted future avoidant behavioral intentions, these comparisons indicate that discrepancies were the primary motivator of future avoidant intentions, compared to congruencies. These findings reflect those

found in previous research. In both experimental settings and through qualitative interviews, Monteith and colleagues (1993; 2010) found that participants with low prejudiced standards learned to regulate and inhibit prejudiced responding in future settings after experiencing an initial discrepancy. Although we did not see the emotional effect of nonprejudiced discrepancies, we were able to replicate the findings that nonprejudiced discrepancies stimulated future avoidant behavioral intentions. Moreover, beyond possessing low prejudiced standards, we found that possessing an avoidant focus for race-relevant values stimulated this behavior as well.

Unfortunately, we did not find any evidence that egalitarian congruencies motivated approach behavior. Although the regulatory focus framework suggests that egalitarian congruencies motivate action-oriented behavior directed at positive goals, we were unable to support this theory in the context of race-related values. Because we were replicating comparisons made in previous prejudice-related literature, we only compared egalitarian congruencies against egalitarian discrepancies, predicting that congruencies would be especially motivating of approach behavior. However, some work has compared effects of ideal-framed versus ought-framed values on approach behavior. Does, Derks, Ellemers, and Scheepers (2012) asked participants to give an oral presentation on social equality that was either framed as a moral ideal or an obligation and then measured participants' cardiovascular and behavioral response. Participants who prepared and delivered a speech from the ideal perspective were found to exhibit more eager (versus vigilant) speaking patterns. Participants who delivered speeches from the obligation perspective spoke slower and engaged in more self-monitoring, indicative of avoidant behavior. Thus, in the future, we might want to investigate the effect of egalitarian (ideal) versus nonprejudiced (ought) framed values on approach and avoidant behavior during interracial interactions.

Although we did not find supporting evidence for our hypothesized process models, we found some evidence that was consistent with previous research. We found that nonprejudiced discrepancies motivated non-verbal distancing behavior and future avoidant intentions, among people high in prevention focus. Although we did not find evidence to support the motivating role of egalitarian congruencies, we found that people high in promotion focus consistently engaged in approach behavior.

General Discussion

Across two studies, we attempted to examine how aspects of the regulatory focus framework distinctively motivated approach and avoidant behavior within interracial interactions. We applied this framework by testing comparisons from both the broad regulatory focus theory and prejudice-based research. In Study 1, we failed to find that our manipulations of value framing and orientation interacted with regulatory focus to produce the hypothesized emotional experiences. We did find that promotion and prevention focus predicted dejection outcomes such that high levels of promotion focus were related to low levels of dejection whereas high levels of prevention focus were related to high levels of dejection. These relationships may be reflecting an affective recall bias where prevention focused individuals are *more* likely to feel dejected and promotion focused individuals are *less* likely to feel dejected when reflecting on their memories. We attribute the paucity of effects in Study 1 to potential shortcomings of the manipulation technique.

In Study 2, we used a more direct manipulation method and found more interpretable effects. Although the egalitarian congruency condition did not function as a motivator of cheerfulness or approach behaviors, we found that high levels of promotion focus predicted self-reported approach behavior, closer distances that participants sat in relation to the researcher, and

interest in articles that indicated strategies for increasing approach behavior. In addition, cheerfulness seemed to be motivating participant and researcher reported approach behavior, although cheerfulness was not a direct result of the egalitarian congruency condition. We did find effects of the nonprejudiced discrepancy condition such that induced violations of nonprejudiced standards motivated participants to sit further away from the researcher and seek out strategies for increasing avoidant behavior in the future. Emphasizing the importance of regulatory focus differences, we found that these avoidance behaviors were stronger among people high in prevention focus.

Although the main purpose of our research was to compare the motivating effects of egalitarian congruencies and nonprejudiced discrepancies, we found interesting relationships between regulatory focus and behavior. In particular, promotion focus directly motivated various forms of approach behavior, regardless of value and orientation framing. Prevention focus, on the other hand, motivated avoidant behavior only after nonprejudiced discrepancies. According to recent work on authenticity, our findings support the suggestion that promotion focus may be more closely tied to authentic behavior and, as such, buffers against effects of congruent or incongruent variations in behavior.

Derivative of trait theory, trait consistency theory posits that people are motivated to behave in ways that are consistent with their beliefs about their traits because it produces feelings of authenticity (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010). As such, discrepant behaviors create, not only negative emotional turmoil, but feelings of inauthenticity as well. Regulatory focus theory has traditionally been conceptualized in such a way that reflects this claim. We see robust evidence of this motivational process within prejudice research and even found support within the current studies that nonprejudiced discrepancies motivated avoidant behavior when prevention values

were strongly internalized. Although promotion and prevention focus seem to represent two sides of the same coin, recent work has shown that promotion focus may uniquely motivate behavior that is not based on fluctuations in behavior consistency.

In addition to trait consistency theory, the state-content significance hypothesis suggests that some behaviors feel more natural and authentic in a particular situation and, as such, people will behave in ways that feel most authentic, without regard to perceptions of their personal traits (Fleeson & Wilt, 2010). From this perspective, behavior is motivated by internal sources of authenticity rather than by external conditions in the environment. Indeed, Kim, Chen, David, Hicks, and Schlegel (2019) found that trait-level and experimentally manipulated promotion focus was related to more subjective authenticity compared to prevention focus. Participants with high levels of trait promotion focus felt more authentic when reflecting on their goals and after interpersonal interactions compared to prevention focused participants. These authors suggest that, in addition to some previously established psychological constructs like morals and positive affect, promotion focus may also be related to authenticity and, consequently, unaffected by trait-behavior congruencies or discrepancies.

By directly testing the relationships among promotion and prevention focus, congruencies and discrepancies, and behavior, we can directly speak to the way that promotion and prevention focus functioned as distinct motivational processes. In Study 2, we found that high levels of promotion focus directly motivated approach behaviors, regardless of the induced congruency or discrepancy between past behaviors and reported values. High levels of prevention focus, however, motivated avoidant behaviors only following a nonprejudiced discrepancy. Thus, our findings support the proposition that prevention focus reflects motivational processes consistent with the trait consistency theory and promotion focus reflects

motivational processes consistent with the state-content significance hypothesis. This divergent pattern of findings suggests that while prevention-focused individuals are motivated to pursue consistency (i.e., violations trigger compensatory behavior to regain consistency), promotion-focused individuals are motivated to pursue authenticity.

Within interracial paradigms, reflecting on personal traits, behaviors, and emotions have been useful techniques among individuals, teachers, and employers who want to decrease instances of prejudice and discrimination. Capitalizing on the assumed importance of trait-behavior congruencies, one popular strategy in workplace and classroom settings has been to complete the Implicit Association Task (IAT; Greenwald et al., 1998) and discuss the prevalence of implicit racial bias (Ashburn-Nardo, Morris, & Goodwin, 2008; Casad, Flores, & Didway, 2013; Hillard, Ryan, & Gervais, 2013). Among low prejudiced people, becoming aware of one's own racial bias can lead to self-discrepancies, feelings of guilt, and most importantly, behavior change. Considering individual differences in promotion and prevention focus, however, these techniques may not be effective or necessary for people who possess a strong promotion focus. Instead, encouraging and promoting people to live out their true, egalitarian values may promote positive outcomes as well as buffer against negative ones. Developments in positive psychology have increasingly found that when people are encouraged to display their naturally occurring, positive values (i.e., character strength approach), they experience a buffering effect against stress, experience more success and well-being in contexts where they can display their values, and experience an increase in other positive attributes like altruism, tolerance, and valuing of diversity (Park, 2004; Park & Peterson, 2009). Thus, microclimates that emphasize the importance of positive race-related values like egalitarianism or social justice may begin to see

an increase in interracial harmony and positive interracial outcomes, without engendering feelings of guilt or inspiring avoidance.

Limitations and future directions

Though our findings support the theory that promotion focus functions distinctly as an authenticity-based motivational framework and prevention focus functions as a congruency-based motivational framework, there are some notable limitations within the present design. First, in addition to the previously stated shortcomings of the manipulation used in Study 1, we did not see high levels of any emotions across all conditions. Therefore, we may have been unable to detect the true motivating power of these emotions, not because the effect does not exist, but because we did not successfully manipulate emotional states. A brief overview of the qualitative responses from both studies revealed that many participants found it difficult to think about specific memories associated with this topic:

“I do not think that I am fully able to measure my own quality of the actions I show to further racial diversity, inclusion, and equality.”

“I can't think of a specific event in which I went out of my way to promote racial equality. However, there have been multiple situations...”

“I really try to not have racially prejudiced thoughts or actions and I strongly believe that it doesn't matter what race you are, but that everyone should be treated equal and strive towards being a kind person in society.”

These examples, and others like it, were most often accompanied with specific examples.

However, if participants were struggling to provide examples to satisfy the manipulation instructions, these events likely had minimal to no effect on their emotional states. As such, other methods of producing congruencies or discrepancies between the self and race-related values that

are less strenuous for the participants could produce stronger emotional effects and allow us to more accurately measure the predicted phenomenon. Future studies could utilize false-feedback methods by asking participants to complete a purported implicit values assessment and providing feedback that they have either above average or below average levels of egalitarianism or nonprejudice.

Our decision to include internal and external motivations was exploratory and based on intentions to extend previous work that showed relationships between sources of motivation and interracial behavior patterns. Due to concern about the potential carryover effects of reflecting on nonprejudiced values before completing the manipulation, we counterbalanced the order in which the manipulation and the motivations scales were presented. We found some evidence that the order in which participants completed the manipulation and motivations scales impacted outcomes of interest (i.e., In Study 2, cheerfulness was higher among participants in the egalitarian congruency condition compared to the egalitarian discrepancy condition if they completed the manipulation before the motivations scales but not if the presentation order was reversed). These effects are more concerning within the egalitarian conditions than the nonprejudiced conditions. If participants reflected on their levels of motivation to respond without prejudice before being asked to reflect on their egalitarian values, there is no way to parse the effects of egalitarian versus nonprejudiced reflections. Thus, the lack of consistent findings within the egalitarian conditions may have been due to the confounding effect of participants' reflections of both egalitarian and nonprejudiced values. In future research, the effects of internal and external motivation should be observed separately so as not to influence the specific effects of egalitarian versus nonprejudiced-framed values.

Within experimental settings, it can be challenging to create ecologically valid paradigms that do not garner too much suspicion on behalf of the participants. In the present studies, we constructed a surface-level interaction paradigm rather than a friendship-forming paradigm, which may have been more representative of spontaneous interracial interactions among college students. Our decision was made out of concern for being able to control how our researchers responded to participants during the interactions. In particular, we needed the researchers' reactions to be controlled across all conditions and across all participants while still allowing a space for participants to freely display their behaviors. Thus, rather than creating a rigid interaction that may not have been believable, we constructed the present interview-style interaction. We were successfully able to control researcher behavior through standardized trainings. However, because our interviews were more formal, we sacrificed being able to make inferences about how college students spontaneously interact with peers or form friendships with students from different racial groups. In future studies, we might find heightened differences between promotion and prevention-oriented individuals, or between our manipulated conditions, if we observe how participants interact with a peer in a more relaxed interaction setting.

Despite these limitations, we found interesting differences in approach and avoidant behavior between promotion and prevention-focused individuals within the context of race. Participants who strongly internalized race-relevant values because they wanted to more consistently utilized approach behaviors during interracial interactions, likely motivated by their authentic values. Participants who strongly internalized race-relevant values because they felt obligated to, however, tended to engage in avoidance strategies, only if they had been induced with a discrepancy and were motivated to restore their nonprejudiced self-concept. Although we measured researchers' perceptions of the *quantity* of approach and avoidance behaviors, future

research should investigate the *quality* of approach behaviors that stem from promotion and prevention-focused individuals. Indeed, minorities can experience stress and threat in response to smiles or other positive expressions from White people because these expressions may stem from a desire to avoid appearing prejudiced (Kunstman, Tuscherer, Trawalter, & Lloyd, 2016). Investigating factors from the perspective of minorities, researchers found that high levels of suspiciousness of White people's motives predicted the interpretation of ambiguous expressions as more disingenuous, increased cardiovascular threat, increased stress, heightened uncertainty, and lower self-esteem (Major, Kunstman, Malta, Sawyer, Townsend, & Mendes, 2015). Based on our findings, positive expressions that stem from a promotionally-motivated source might be interpreted as more authentic and subsequently more pleasant compared to prevention-motivated sources. Future work should explicitly measure how people of color experience the quality of behaviors strategies that stem from promotion or prevention sources.

Conclusions

In an effort to understand what psychological factors motivate decisions to use approach behavior during interracial interactions, we tested the role of regulatory focus, values, congruencies and discrepancies, and emotions. We found that promotion focus directly motivated approach behavior, regardless of perceived congruencies or discrepancies between behavior and values. Prevention focus, however, influenced avoidant behavior only after a prejudice discrepancy. These findings suggest that promotion and prevention focus may function based on distinct motivational components rather than complimentary mechanisms within the same model, at least in the context of race-related values. Indeed, in relation to recent developments on authenticity, promotion-focused individuals may be more motivated to pursue their authentic, egalitarian values whereas prevention-focused individuals may be more

motivated to pursue consistencies between their behavior and perceived traits. Positive psychologists have been accumulating a list of broad character traits that should be enthusiastically promoted, particularly among developing youth, because of their links to positive well-being (Park & Peterson, 2009). Our findings may complement this research as well, such that promoting positive race-relevant values may promote well-being in interracial paradigms.

Beyond the limitations that were addressed within the present design, future work should continue to develop and delineate differences between promotion-motivated and prevention-motivated behavior within interracial paradigms, as their differences likely span beyond those accounted for in the regulatory focus framework and may benefit individuals across a variety of contexts.

References

- Abelson, R. P. (1983). Whatever became of consistency theory? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9(1), 37-54.
- Ashburn-Nardo, L., Morris, K., & Goodwin, S. A. (2008). The confronting of prejudiced responses (CPR) model: Applying CPR in organizations. *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, 7(3), 332 – 342.
- Ausubel, D. P. (1955). Relationships between shame and guilt in the socializing process. *Psychological Review*, 62(5), 378-390.
- Casad, B. J., Flores, A. J., & Didway, J. D. (2012). Using the implicit association test as an unconsciousness raising tool in psychology. *Teaching of Psychology*, 40(2), 118 – 123.
- Devine, P. G., & Monteith, M. J. (1993). The role of discrepancy-associated affect in prejudice reduction. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping* (317-344). San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc.
- Devine, P. G., Monteith, M. J., Zuwerink, J. R., & Elliot, A. J. (1991). Prejudice with and without compunction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 60(6), 817-830.
- Does, S., Derks, B., Ellemers, N., & Scheepers, D. (2012). At the heart of egalitarianism: How morality framing shapes cardiovascular challenge versus threat in Whites. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 31(6), 747 – 753.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A.-G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, 41, 1149-1160.
- Fleeson, W., & Wily, J. (2010). The relevance of big five trait content in behavior to subjective

- authenticity: Do high levels of within-person behavioral variability undermine or enable authenticity achievement? *Journal of Personality*, 78(4), 1353 – 1382.
- Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy theory: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review*, 94(3), 319-340.
- Higgins, E. T. (1997). Beyond pleasure and pain. *American Psychologist*, 52(12), 1280-1300.
- Higgins, E. T., & Silberman, I. (1998). Development of regulatory focus: Promotion and prevention as ways of living. In J. Heckhausen & C. S. Dweck (Eds.), *Motivation and self-regulation across the life span*. (pp. 78–113). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Hillard, A. L., Ryan, C. C., & Gervais, S. J. (2013). Reactions to the implicit association test as an educational tool: A mix methods study. *Social Psychology of Education*, 16, 495 – 516.
- Kemper, T. D. (1984). Power, status, and emotions: A sociological contribution to a psychophysiological domain. *Approaches to emotion*, 377-378.
- Kim, J., Chen, K., Davis, W. E., Hicks, J., & Schlegel, R. J. (2018). Approaching the true self: Promotion focus predicts the experience of authenticity. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 78, 165 – 176.
- Kunstman, J. W., Tuscherer, T., Trawalter, S., & Lloyd, E. P. (2016). What lies beneath? Minority group members' suspicion of Whites' egalitarian motivation predicts responses to Whites' smiles. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 42(9), 1193 – 1205.
- Major, B., Kunstman, J. W., Malta, B. D., Sawyer, P. J., Townsend, A. S. M., & Mendes, W. B. (2015). Suspicion of motives predicts minorities' responses to positive feedback in interracial interactions. *Journal of experimental Social Psychology*, 62, 75 – 88.

- Monteith, M. J. (1993). Self-regulation of prejudiced responses: Implications for progress in prejudiced-reduction efforts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65(3), 469-485.
- Monteith, M. J., Devine, P. G., & Zuwerink, J. R. (1993). Self-directed versus other-directed affect as a consequence of prejudice-related discrepancies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 64(2), 198-210.
- Monteith, M. J., Mark, A. Y., & Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2010). The self-regulation of prejudice: Toward understanding its lived character. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 13(2), 183-200.
- Murphy, M. C., Richeson, J. A., & Molden, D. C. (2011). Leveraging motivational mindsets to foster positive interracial interactions. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 5(2), 118-131.
- Park, N., & Peterson, C. (2009). Character strengths: Research and practice. *Journal of College and Character*, 10(4), 1 -10.
- Phillips, A. G., & Silvia, P. J. (2005). Self-awareness and the emotional consequences of self discrepancies. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(5), 703-713.
- Plant, A. E., & Butz, D. A. (2006). The causes and consequences of an avoidance-focus for interracial interactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(6), 833-846.
- Plant, A. E., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(3), 811-832.
- Plant, A. E., Devine, P. G., & Peruche, M. B. (2010) Routes to positive interracial interactions: Approaching egalitarianism or avoiding prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(9), 1135-1147.

- Roseman, I. J. (1984). Cognitive determinants of emotion: A structural theory. *Review of Personality & Social Psychology, 5*, 11-36.
- Schwarz, N., Bless, H., Strack, F., Klumpp, G., Rittenauer-Schatka, H., & Simons, A. (1991). Ease of retrieval as information: Another look at the availability heuristic. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 61*(2), 195-202.
- Shah, J. Y., Brazy, P. C., & Higgins, E. T. (2004). Promoting us or preventing them: Regulatory focus and manifestations of intergroup bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 30*(4), 433-446.
- Shah, J., Higgins, E. T., & Friedman, R. S. (1998). Performance incentives and means: How regulatory focus influences goal attainment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(2), 285-293.
- Shelton, J. N., Richeson, J. A., Salvatore, J., & Hill, D. M. (2006). Silence is not golden: The interpersonal consequences of not confronting prejudice. In S. Levin & C. van Laar (Eds.), *Stigma and group inequality: Social psychological perspectives* (65-81). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Trawalter, S., & Richeson, J. A. (2005). Regulatory focus and executive function after interracial interactions. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 42*, 406-412.

Footnotes

1. These race-relevant values were compiled based on values studied in the literature and based on pilot study interviews with undergraduate students who were recruited from a cross-cultural psychology course. Students were asked what their values were in relation to race and how they showed these values. Being nonjudgmental, treating people fairly, and educating themselves on racial issues were among the most commonly reported values.
2. The number of required examples for the congruency and discrepancy conditions was determined based on results from a pilot testing of this task. Participants were asked to list as many examples as they could of past behaviors where they avoided prejudice or pursued egalitarianism. On average, participants listed two examples with relative ease. Therefore, we used two as the congruency quota and six for the discrepancy quota.
3. These variables have been statistically significantly correlated in past research as well ($r = .73, p < .001$; Higgins, Shah, & Friedman, 1997)
4. Of the 22 individual emotion items included in the affect scale, uncomfortable and bothered did not theoretically align with any of the apriori emotion dimensions and were not included in the analysis. Upset was excluded from analysis because it was highly correlated with items on both the agitation and dejection dimensions.
5. Several article title ideas were pilot tested for approach and avoidance messages that maintained a similar impact on other domains (i.e., no one article title was inherently more interesting than another).
6. Compared to previous models that assessed the main effects of regulatory focus and emotions on behavior, the present results are to be interpreted with caution due to the

smaller sample size and lower amount of statistical power. We were mainly interested in the orientation by regulatory focus interactions as they predicted behavior.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Emotional Ratings by Condition Study 1.

	Egalitarian	Nonprejudiced
	Cheerfulness	
Congruency	2.60 (1.10)	2.63 (1.16)
Discrepancy	2.85 (1.35)	2.91 (.98)
	Dejection	
Congruency	2.54 (1.20)	1.94 (1.21)
Discrepancy	1.74 (.89)	2.36 (1.43)
	Quiescence	
Congruency	3.55 (1.32)	3.79 (1.37)
Discrepancy	4.10 (1.38)	4.37 (1.60)
	Agitation	
Congruency	2.16 (1.08)	2.03 (1.12)
Discrepancy	1.78 (.89)	2.23 (1.14)

Table 2. Correlations between Variables in Study1.

	2	3	4	5	6	<i>M (SD)</i>
1. Prevention focus	.53**	.08	.05	.13	.11	9.04 (1.31)
2. Promotion focus		-.03	.11	.19*	-.08	9.43 (1.27)
3. Agitation			-.25**	.15	.78**	2.05 (1.06)
4. Quiescence				.54**	-.31**	3.95 (1.44)
5. Cheerfulness					.02	2.75 (1.15)
6. Dejection						2.15 (1.34)

Note. * Correlation is significant at $p < .05$. ** Correlation is significant at $p < .01$. Green shaded boxes represent predicted promotive relationships. Red shaded boxes represent predicted preventative relationships.

Table 3. Model Summary of Predictors of Cheerfulness Study 1.

Step 1	b	SE	β	$t(164)$	p	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	2.80	.09					
Egalitarian congruency	-.05	.05	-.07	-.89	.375	-.15	.06
Promotion	.19	.11	.15	1.65	.100	-.04	.41
Prevention	.03	.11	.03	.30	.765	-.19	.25
Step 2	$t(163)$						
Constant	2.76	.09					
EgalCon x Promotion	-.01	.06	-.02	-.19	.848	-.13	.12

Note. $R^2 = .03$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 < .001$ for Step 2.

Table 4. Model Summary of Predictors of Dejection Study 1.

Step 1							CI	CI
	b	SE	β	$t(164)$	p		Lower	Upper
Constant	2.16	.10						
Egalitarian discrepancy	-.14	.06	-.18	-2.44	.016		-.26	-.03
Promotion	-.29	.13	-.19	-2.26	.025		-.55	-.04
Prevention	.28	.13	.19	2.20	.029		.03	.53
Step 2				$t(163)$				
Constant	2.16	.10						
EgalDiscrep x Promotion	.03	.06	.04	.55	.586		-.09	.16

Note. $R^2 = .07$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .002$ for Step 2.

Table 5. Model Summary of Predictors of Quiescence Study 1.

Step 1	b	SE	β	$t(164)$	p	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	3.94	.11					
Nonprejudiced Congruency	-.04	.07	-.05	-.68	.499	-.17	.09
Prevention	-.02	.14	-.01	-.12	.902	-.30	.26
Promotion	.23	.14	.14	1.59	.113	-.05	.51
Step 2				$t(163)$			
Constant	3.93	.11					
NonprejCon x Prevention	-.02	.07	-.02	-.25	.802	-.15	.11

Note. $R^2 = .02$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 < .001$ for Step 2

Table 6. Model Summary of Predictors of Agitation Study 1.

Step 1	b	SE	β	$t(164)$	p	CI	CI
						Lower	Upper
Constant	2.06	.08					
Nonprejudiced Discrepancy	.05	.05	.09	1.15	.252	-.04	.15
Prevention	.11	.10	.10	1.11	.267	-.09	.32
Promotion	-.14	.10	-.12	-1.37	.172	-.35	.06
Step 2				$t(163)$			
Constant	2.06	.08					
NonprejDiscrep x Prevention	.03	.06	.03	.43	.665	-.09	.14

Note. $R^2 = .02$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .001$ for Step 2.

Table 7. Model Summary of Discrepancy and Prevention Focus Predicting Agitation Study 1.

Step 1	b	SE	β	$t(79)$	p	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	2.12	.12					
Discrepancy contrast	.09	.12	.08	.71	.479	-.16	.34
Prevention	.16	.15	.13	1.06	.293	-.14	.45
Promotion	-.17	.15	-.14	-1.12	.266	-.48	.13
Step 2				$t(78)$			
Constant	2.13	.13					
Discrepancy x Prevention	.04	.14	.03	.27	.787	-.24	.32

Note. $R^2 = .03$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .001$ for Step 2.

Table 8. Model Summary of Congruency and Prevention Focus Predicting Quiescence Study 1.

Step 1							
	b	SE	β	$t(79)$	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	4.09	.17					
Congruency contrast	-.28	.17	-.19	-1.71	.091	-.61	.05
Prevention	-.01	.20	-.004	-.04	.971	-.40	.38
Promotion	.18	.20	.11	.89	.375	-.22	.59
Step 2				$t(78)$			
Constant							
Congruency x Prevention	-.05	.19	-.03	-.24	.809	-.42	.33

Note. $R^2 = .05$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .001$ for Step 2.

Table 9. Model Summary of Congruency and Promotion Focus Predicting Cheerfulness Study 1.

Step 1	b	SE	β	$t(81)$	p	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	2.75	.13					
Congruency contrast	-.10	.13	-.09	-.78	.435	-.37	.16
Promotion	.31	.18	.23	1.79	.078	-.04	.66
Prevention	-.20	.18	-.14	-1.13	.261	-.56	.15
Step 2				$t(80)$			
Constant	2.75	.14					
Congruency x Promotion	-.05	.15	-.04	-.32	.750	-.35	.25

Note. $R^2 = .04$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .001$ for Step 2.

Table 10. Model Summary of Discrepancy and Promotion Focus Predicting Dejection Study 1.

Step 1	B	SE	β	$t(81)$	p	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	2.18	.14					
Discrepancy contrast	-.44	.14	-.32	-3.07	.003	-.72	-.15
Promotion	-.30	.19	-.20	-1.63	.108	-.68	.07
Prevention	.18	.19	.12	.95	.347	-.20	.56
Step 2				$t(80)$			
Constant	2.20	.15					
Discrepancy x Promotion	.19	.16	.13	1.19	.237	-.13	.52

Note. $R^2 = .13$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .02$ for Step 2.

Table 11. Descriptive Statistics for Emotional Ratings by Condition Study 2.

	Egalitarian	Nonprejudiced
	Cheerfulness	
Congruency	2.82 (1.18)	2.89 (1.33)
Discrepancy	2.69 (1.08)	2.24 (1.32)
	Dejection	
Congruency	1.93 (1.40)	2.25 (1.43)
Discrepancy	2.71 (1.67)	2.06 (1.32)
	Quiescence	
Congruency	4.13 (1.45)	4.14 (1.48)
Discrepancy	3.85 (1.35)	3.27 (1.52)
	Agitation	
Congruency	1.84 (.97)	2.11 (1.17)
Discrepancy	2.58 (1.38)	2.30 (1.21)

Table 12. Descriptive Statistics for Approach Behaviors by Condition Study 2.

	Egalitarian	Nonprejudiced
Participant self-reported approach behavior		
Congruency	4.49 (1.06)	4.34 (1.14)
Discrepancy	4.02 (1.06)	4.80 (1.45)
Researcher reported approach behavior		
Congruency	4.67 (1.50)	4.86 (1.34)
Discrepancy	4.50 (1.31)	4.49 (1.45)
Chair positioning		
Congruency	4.44 (1.40)	4.48 (1.30)
Discrepancy	4.64 (1.25)	4.50 (1.52)
Promotion-framed article interest ratings		
Congruency	5.35 (1.62)	5.26 (1.63)
Discrepancy	5.38 (1.71)	4.94 (1.94)

Table 13. Descriptive Statistics for Avoidant Behaviors by Condition Study 2.

	Egalitarian	Nonprejudiced
Participant self-reported avoidant behavior		
Congruency	4.20 (1.08)	4.09 (1.43)
Discrepancy	3.98 (1.28)	4.14 (1.18)
Researcher reported avoidant behavior		
Congruency	3.50 (1.55)	3.45 (1.37)
Discrepancy	3.89 (1.61)	3.40 (1.31)
Prevention-framed article interest ratings		
Congruency	4.99 (1.53)	5.27 (1.69)
Discrepancy	5.34 (1.74)	4.87 (2.03)

Table 14. Correlations and Descriptive Statistics of Variables Study 2.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	<i>M (SD)</i>
1. Prevention Focus	.44**	.03	-.02	-.06	.05	-.02	.10	.42	.02	-.07	.44**	.02	10.94 (2.41)
2. Promotion Focus		-.04	-.03	.02	.04	.16	.10	.43**	-.06	-.07	.36**	.14	11.58 (2.20)
3. Agitation			-.39**	-.04	.75**	-.07	.03	.18*	.14	-.15	.09	.07	2.20 (1.21)
4. Quiescence				.58**	-.32**	.11	.09	-.08	.01	.02	-.06	-.09	3.85 (1.48)
5. Cheerfulness					-.06	.19*	.25**	.02	.10	-.15	.06	.05	2.66 (1.24)
6. Dejection						-.04	.01	.16	-.04	-.09	.02	.04	2.23 (1.47)
7. Participant approach							.21*	-.02	-.11	-.17	.06	.17*	4.41 (1.07)
8. Researcher approach								.25**	-.13	-.78**	.24**	.54**	4.63 (1.40)
9. Promotion article									.02	-.11	.82**	.11	5.24 (1.72)
10. Participant avoidance										.01	.004	-.003	4.11 (1.23)
11. Researcher Avoidance											-.13	-.46**	3.56 (1.46)
12. Prevention article												.08	5.11 (1.75)
13. Chair positioning													4.51 (1.36)

Note. * Correlation is significant at $p < .05$. ** Correlation is significant at $p < .01$. Green shaded boxes indicate predicted relationships among promotive variables. Red shaded boxes indicate predicted relationships among preventative variables.

Table 15. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Participant Approach Behaviors Study 2.

Step 1: Cheerfulness	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	.001	.09				
Congruency contrast	.01	.05	.24	.812	-.10	.18
Promotion	.16	.42	.39	.701	-.67	1.00
Congruency x Promotion	.24	.21	1.13	.259	-.18	.65
Prevention	-.36	.38	-.95	.346	-1.11	.39
Step 2: Participant Approach						
Constant	4.37	.10				
Congruency contrast	.004	.06	.08	.937	-.11	.12
Cheerfulness	.19	.09	2.09	.038	.01	.37
Promotion	.91	.44	2.05	.043	.03	1.79
Congruency x Promotion	-.03	.22	-.12	.905	-.46	.41
Prevention	-.39	.40	-.97	.332	-1.18	.40
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Promo)						
	-.003	.06	-.04	.966	-.13	.12
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Promo)						
			.02	.01	-.01	.05

Note. $R^2 = .02$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .07$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample.

Table 16. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Researcher Approach Behaviors Study 2.

Step 1: Cheerfulness	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	.01	.09				
Congruency contrast	.01	.06	.20	.939	-.10	.12
Promotion	.15	.43	.36	.720	-.70	.99
Congruency x Promotion	.24	.21	1.13	.262	-.18	.65
Prevention	-.35	.38	-.90	.370	-1.10	.41
Step 2: Researcher Approach						
Constant	4.56	.13				
Congruency contrast	-.03	.07	-.38	.703	-.18	.12
Cheerfulness	.35	.12	2.96	.004	.12	.58
Promotion	.32	.58	.55	.581	-.82	1.46
Congruency x Promotion	.17	.28	.60	.549	-.39	.73
Prevention	.47	.52	.91	.365	-.56	1.50
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Promo)						
	.02	.08	.24	.813	-.14	.18
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Promo)						
			.03	.03	-.02	.08

Note. $R^2 = .02$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .08$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample

Table 17. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Chair Closeness Study 2.

Step 1: Cheerfulness	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	.01	.09				
Congruency contrast	.01	.06	.20	.842	-.10	.12
Promotion	.15	.43	.36	.720	-.69	.99
Congruency x Promotion	.24	.21	1.13	.262	-.18	.65
Prevention	-.35	.38	-.90	.370	-1.10	.41
Step 2: Chair Closeness						
Constant	4.44	.14				
Congruency contrast	-.09	.07	-1.15	.252	-.23	.06
Cheerfulness	.05	.12	.39	.701	-.19	.28
Promotion	.98	.57	1.71	.089	-.15	2.11
Congruency x Promotion	.36	.28	1.26	.211	-.20	.92
Prevention	-.32	.52	-.63	.532	-1.35	.70
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Promo)						
	.01	.08	.18	.861	-.15	.18
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Promo)						
			.004	.01	-.02	.03

Note. $R^2 = .02$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .04$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 = .01$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample.

Table 18. Model Summary of Promotive Predictors of Promotion Article Interest Study 2.

Step 1: Cheerfulness	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	-.01	.09				
Congruency contrast	.02	.05	.29	.770	-.09	.12
Promotion	.13	.42	.32	.752	-.70	.97
Congruency x Promotion	.24	.21	1.16	.250	-.17	.65
Prevention	-.33	.38	-.87	.384	-1.09	.42
<hr/>						
Step 2: Promotion Article Interest						
Constant	4.88	.14				
Congruency contrast	-.02	.08	-.19	.849	-.18	.15
Cheerfulness	.06	.13	.44	.658	-.20	.32
Promotion	2.30	.64	3.62	< .001	1.05	3.56
Congruency x Promotion	.01	.31	.02	.981	-.61	.63
Prevention	1.98	.58	3.45	< .001	.85	3.12
<hr/>						
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Promo)						
	-.01	.09	-.15	.880	-.19	.17
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
<hr/>						
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Promo)			.004	.01	-.02	.04

Note. $R^2 = .02$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .26$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample.

Table 19. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Participant Avoidant Behavior Study 2.

Step 1: Agitation	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	.01	.09				
Discrepancy contrast	.02	.05	.45	.656	-.08	.13
Prevention	.22	.38	.56	.575	-.54	.98
Discrepancy x Prevention	.10	.21	.47	.637	-.31	.51
Promotion	-.23	.43	-.55	.585	-1.08	.61
<hr/>						
Step 2: Participant Avoidant						
Constant	4.12	.11				
Discrepancy contrast	.002	.06	.03	.976	-.13	.13
Agitation	.17	.11	1.59	.115	-.04	.38
Prevention	.23	.47	.50	.619	-.70	1.17
Discrepancy x Prevention	.11	.25	.45	.656	-.39	.61
Promotion	-.40	.52	-.77	.443	-1.44	.63
<hr/>						
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Prev)						
	.04	.09	.43	.668	-.14	.21
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
<hr/>						
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Prev)			.01	.02	-.03	.05

Note. $R^2 = .01$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .03$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample.

Table 20. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Researcher Avoidant Behavior Study 2.

Step 1: Agitation	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	-.02	.09				
Discrepancy contrast	.03	.05	.53	.597	-.07	.13
Prevention	.15	.37	.40	.691	-.59	.88
Discrepancy x Prevention	.10	.20	.49	.627	-.29	.48
Promotion	-.15	.41	-.36	.723	-.96	.67
Step 2: Researcher Avoidant						
Constant	3.60	.14				
Discrepancy contrast	-.06	.08	-.82	.413	-.21	.09
Agitation	-.22	.13	-1.70	.091	-.48	.04
Prevention	-.26	.56	-.46	.65	-1.35	.84
Discrepancy x Prevention	.26	.29	.87	.384	-.33	.84
Promotion	-.27	.62	-.44	.658	-1.49	.94
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Prev)						
	.02	.10	.19	.852	-.18	.22
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Prev)						
			-.01	.02	-.06	.02

Note. $R^2 = .01$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .04$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 = .01$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample.

Table 21. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Chair Closeness Study 2.

Step 1: Agitation	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	-.02	.09				
Discrepancy contrast	.03	.05	.53	.597	-.07	.13
Prevention	.15	.37	.40	.691	-.59	.88
Discrepancy x Prevention	.10	.20	.49	.627	-.29	.48
Promotion	-.15	.41	-.36	.723	-.96	.67
Step 2: Chair Closeness						
Constant	4.47	.12				
Discrepancy contrast	.03	.07	.44	.659	-.11	.17
Agitation	.11	.12	.92	.360	-.13	.35
Prevention	-.25	.51	-.50	.621	-1.26	.76
Discrepancy x Prevention	-.56	.27	-2.06	.041	-1.09	-.02
Promotion	.84	.57	1.48	.142	-.283	1.96
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Prev)						
	-.15	.09	-1.57	.120	-.33	.04
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Prev)						
			.001	.01	-.02	.02

Note. $R^2 = .01$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .06$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 = .03$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample.

Table 22. Model Summary of Preventative Predictors of Prevention Article Interest Study 2.

Step 1: Agitation	b	SE	t	p	CI Lower	CI Upper
Constant	.01	.09				
Discrepancy contrast	.02	.05	.37	.708	-.08	.12
Prevention	.20	.38	.51	.613	-.57	.96
Discrepancy x Prevention	.09	.20	.42	.675	-.32	.49
Promotion	-.24	.43	-.55	.580	-1.08	.61
Step 2: Prevention Article Interest						
Constant	4.77	.14				
Discrepancy contrast	-.14	.08	-1.78	.078	-.30	.02
Agitation	.16	.13	1.21	.227	-.10	.42
Prevention	2.30	.58	3.99	< .01	1.16	3.44
Discrepancy x Prevention	.69	.30	2.25	.026	.08	1.29
Promotion	1.88	.64	2.95	.003	.62	3.14
Step 3: Direct Effect (High Prev)						
	.08	.10	.74	.461	-.13	.28
			effect	BootSE	BootCI Lower	BootCI Upper
Step 4: Indirect Effect (High Prev)						
			.01	.02	-.02	.05

Note. $R^2 = .01$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 < .01$ including interaction term for Step 1. $R^2 = .27$ for Step 2;

$\Delta R^2 = .03$ including interaction term for Step 2. Bootstrap estimates based on 5,000 bootstrap sample.

Table 23. Model Summary of Predictors of Chair Closeness Study 2.

Step 1	b	SE	β	<i>t</i> (62)	<i>p</i>	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	4.51	.19					
Discrepancy	-.02	.18	-.01	-.11	.912	-.37	.33
Prevention	-1.24	.71	-.22	-1.75	.084	-2.67	.18
Promotion	.99	.92	.14	1.08	.286	-.84	2.82
Agitation	.13	.20	.08	.66	.510	-.26	.52
Step 2				<i>t</i> (61)			
Constant	4.52	.19					
Discrepancy x Prevention	-.73	.70	-.13	-1.05	.298	-2.13	.66

Note. $R^2 = .06$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .02$ for Step 2.

Table 24. Model Summary of Predictors of Prevention Article Interest Study 2.

Step 1	b	SE	β	<i>t</i> (62)	<i>p</i>	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	4.77	.22					
Discrepancy	-.28	.21	-.15	-1.34	.186	-.70	.14
Prevention	2.81	.86	.37	3.26	.002	1.09	4.53
Promotion	1.60	1.11	.17	1.45	.153	-.61	3.81
Agitation	.24	.21	.13	1.11	.272	-.19	.66
Step 2				<i>t</i> (61)			
Constant	4.76	.22					
Discrepancy x Prevention	1.61	.82	.22	1.96	.055	-.04	3.26

Note. $R^2 = .23$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .05$ for Step 2.

Table 25. Model Summary of Predictors of Participant Approach Behavior Study 2.

Step 1	b	SE	β	<i>t</i> (65)	<i>p</i>	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	4.16	.13					
Congruency	.19	.13	.18	1.49	.141	-.06	.44
Promotion	.75	.62	.18	1.21	.229	-.48	1.98
Prevention	.04	.62	.01	.07	.944	-1.19	1.28
Cheerfulness	.25	.14	.21	1.79	.078	-.03	.52
Step 2				<i>t</i> (64)			
Constant	4.17	.138					
Congruency x Promotion	-.19	.50	-.05	-.39	.699	-1.18	.80

Note. $R^2 = .13$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 < .01$ for Step 2.

Table 26. Model Summary of Predictors of Researcher Approach Behavior Study 2.

Step 1	b	SE	β	<i>t</i> (64)	<i>p</i>	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	4.47	.18					
Congruency	.05	.17	.04	.30	.767	-.29	.40
Promotion	.40	.83	.07	.48	.634	-1.26	2.06
Prevention	.53	.83	.10	.63	.529	-1.14	2.19
Cheerfulness	.35	.19	.23	1.87	.066	-.02	.72
Step 2				<i>t</i> (65)			
Constant	4.45	.19					
Congruency x Promotion	.38	.67	.07	.57	.568	-.95	1.72

Note. $R^2 = .08$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .01$ for Step 2.

Table 27. Model Summary of Predictors of Promotion Article Interest Study 2.

Step 1	b	SE	β	<i>t</i> (64)	<i>p</i>	CI	
						Lower	Upper
Constant	4.41	.17					
Congruency	-.12	.16	-.09	-.76	.450	-.45	.20
Promotion	.53	.79	.11	.68	.500	-1.04	2.10
Prevention	.80	.79	.16	1.02	.312	-.77	2.37
Cheerfulness	.13	.18	.09	.72	.475	-.23	.48
Step 2				<i>t</i> (65)			
Constant	4.36	.174					
Congruency x Promotion	.77	.63	.16	1.23	.223	-.48	2.03

Note. $R^2 = .07$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .02$ for Step 2.

Figure 1. Theoretical Model of the Cognitive and Emotional Components of Regulatory Focus.

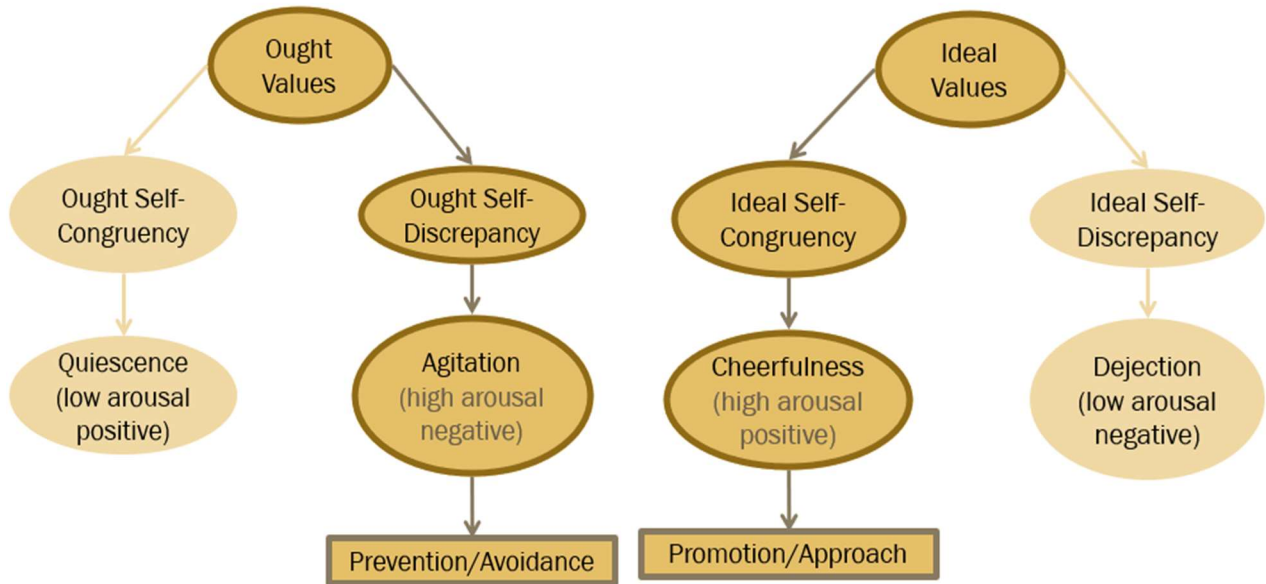
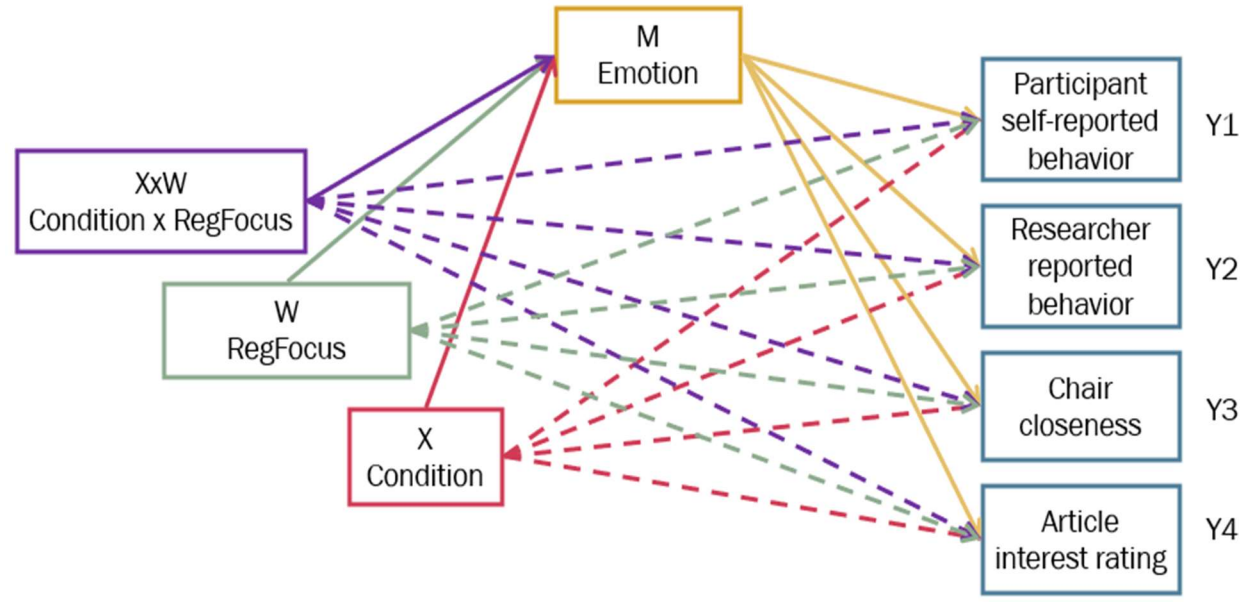
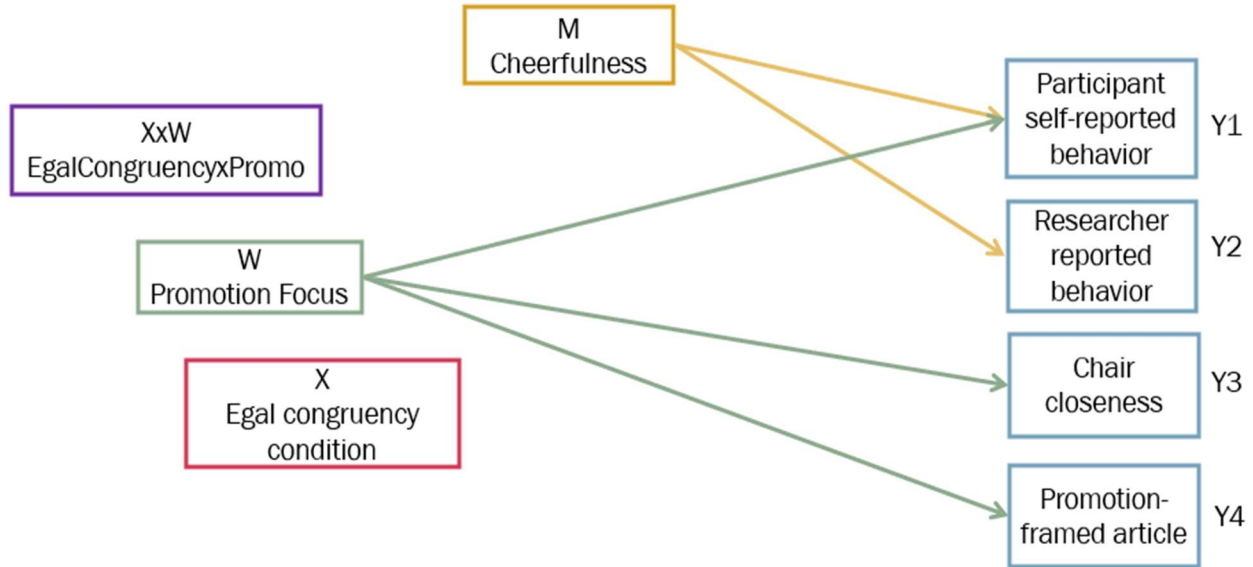


Figure 2. Tested Moderated Mediation Model for Study 2.



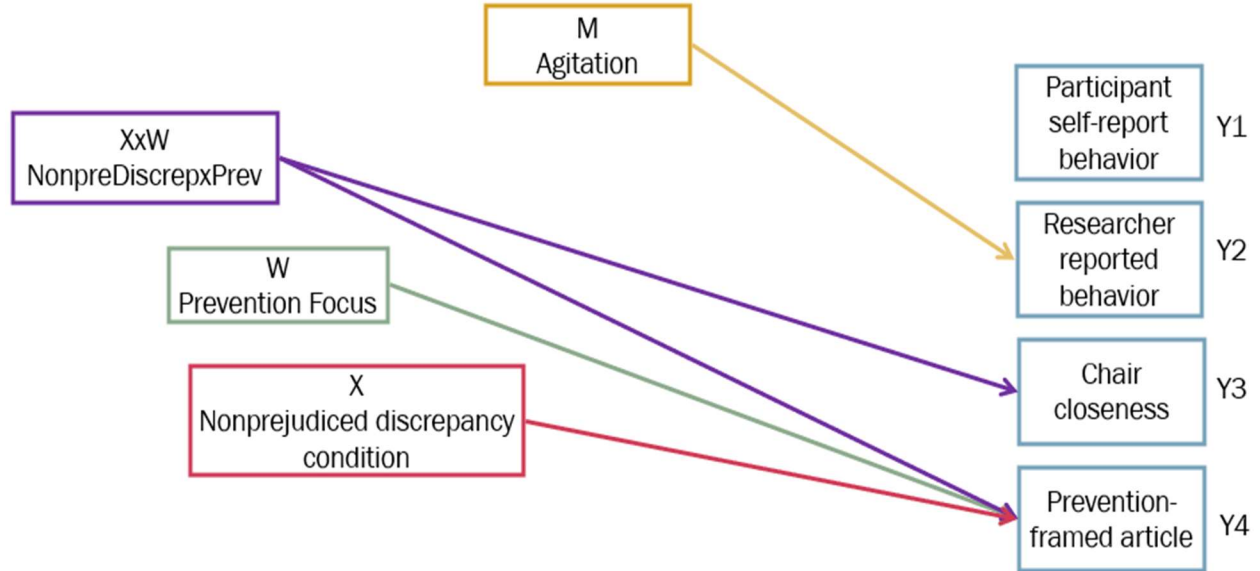
Note. Process model was tested for both approach and avoidance behavior. Each outcome (Y) variable was tested individually. The regulatory focus variable that was not included as a moderator variable (W) was included as a covariate. Solid lines represent indirect pathways and dashed lines represent direct pathways.

Figure 3. Moderated Mediation Model Summary for Promotion Focus.



Note. Pathways presented were found to be statistically significant at $p < .05$, except promotion focus predicting chair closeness, which was marginally significant at $p = .089$. Prevention focus was included as a covariate.

Figure 4. Moderated Mediation Model Summary for Prevention Focus.



Note. All pathways presented were found to be statistically significant at $p < .05$, except agitation predicting behavior ($p = .091$) and condition predicting article interest ($p = .078$). Promotion focus was included as a covariate.

Figure 5. Differences in Chair Closeness by Condition and Prevention Focus.

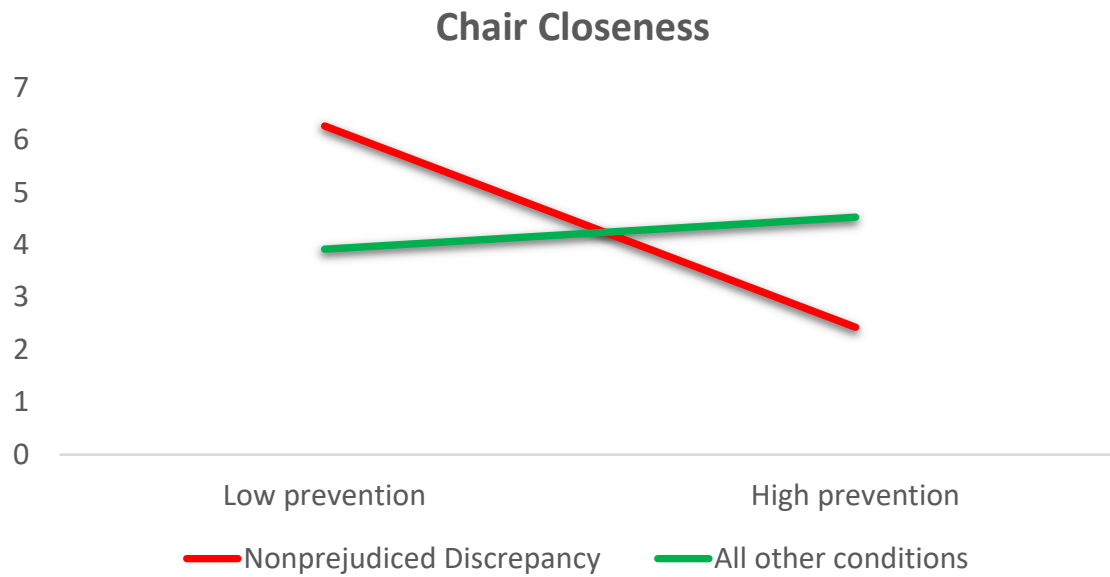
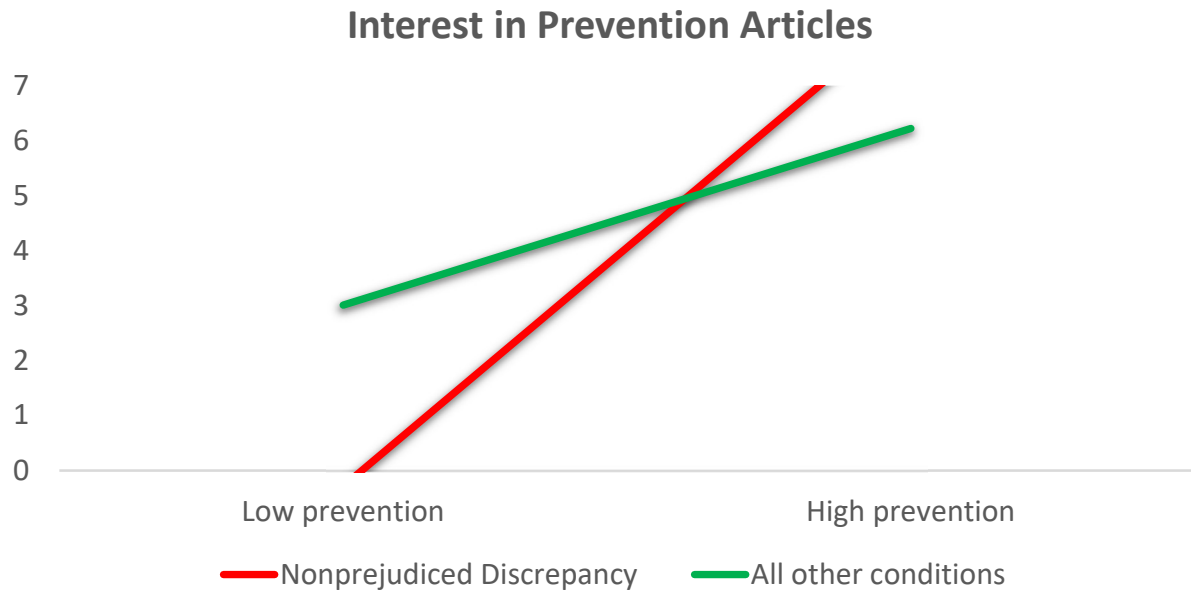


Figure 6. Differences in Prevention-framed Article Interest by Condition and Prevention Focus.



Note. A similar pattern of findings was observed when comparing nonprejudiced discrepancy congruency conditions such that prevention focus more strongly predicted article interest ratings in the discrepancy condition, compared to the congruency condition.

Appendix A. Self-guide Strength Measure for Studies 1 and 2

Instructions:

The purpose of the current study is to understand the values of college students. Researchers at Western have partnered with a larger, nonprofit research organization (The UpNext Project) to gather information on college students' values. In addition to knowing what college students value and how these values change over time, we want to know how they think about these values.

People can generally think of values as "**shoulds**" (things they *should* uphold, like responsibilities or obligations) or as "**wants**" (things they *desire* to be/uphold). Usually, people value shoulds because a failure to could result in something negative or bad happening. People value wants because they are seeking a reward or a positive outcome. Generally, people can internalize values more as shoulds or more as wants, but they can also internalize values as both or neither. Please read the next four examples carefully that show how people can think about their values.

Strong should, low want:

Susan feels like she should recycle for the environment. Global warming could get even worse if she does not do her part. However, Susan does not strongly want or desire to recycle because it is not particularly fun or enjoyable. Susan values recycling because she feels like she *should*, not necessarily because she wants to.

High should, high want:

Paul feels like he should vote in the upcoming election. By not voting, the disliked candidate could become the next elected official, which would be upsetting. Paul also wants to vote in the upcoming election because there is a candidate that strongly represents Paul's values. It would make Paul happy and excited to see his preferred candidate in office. Paul values voting as a strong should and as a strong want.

Low should, low want:

Sam doesn't feel like they should be a vegetarian and they also do not want to be a vegetarian. Therefore, Sam does not value being a vegetarian as a strong should or a strong want (Thus, Sam eats meat).

Low should, high want:

Alex likes being social. Many times, Alex feels like he should not be social in order to focus on schoolwork; otherwise he might make bad grades. However, Alex really values being social because he wants to go out, have fun, and make friends: all things that make him happy. Alex values being social because he wants to, but not necessarily because he feels like he *should*.

You are about to be presented with a series of values. For each value, you will first indicate how strongly you feel like you **should** uphold that value and then how strongly you **want** to uphold

that value. Please evaluate how you typically think and behave according to that value using the scale 0 (Not at all) to 5 (Extremely).

Your responses for the following section will be timed. You do not need to rush through this exercise but please complete it promptly.

(Filler block):

I value being a good student because I should.

I value being a good student because I want to.

I value religion because I should/want to.

I value voting because I should/want to.

I value being environmentally conscious because I should/want to.

I value being organized because I should/want to.

I value community service because I should/want to.

(Target block):

I value antiracist action because I should/want to.

I value being nonprejudiced because I should/want to.

I value being nonjudgmental because I should/want to.

I value being nonbiased because I should/want to.

I value racial equality because I should/want to.

I value racial awareness because I should/want to.

I value multicultural education because I should/want to.

I value fairness because I should/want to.

Note. Each statement appeared on the screen individually so that latent response times per each statement could be recorded. Although the order with which the values was randomized for each participant, should and want statements for the same value appeared in succession. Should and want words were bolded to prevent against participant error. Only target block values were included in prevention and promotion focus variable creation.

Appendix B. Motivations to Respond without Prejudice

The following questions concern various reasons or motivations people might have for trying to respond in nonprejudiced ways. Some of the reasons reflect internal-personal motivations whereas others reflect more external-social motivations. Of course, people may be motivated for both internal and external reasons; we want to emphasize that neither type of motivation is by definition better than the other. In addition, we want to be clear that we are not evaluating you or your individual responses. All your responses will be completely confidential. We are simply trying to get an idea of the types of motivations that students in general have for responding in nonprejudiced ways. If we are to learn anything useful, it is important that you respond to each of the questions openly and honestly. Please give your response according to the scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree).

External motivation items

Because of today's PC (politically correct) standards I try to appear nonprejudiced.

I try to hide any negative thoughts about people different from me in order to avoid negative reactions from others.

If I acted prejudiced, I would be concerned that others would be angry with me.

I attempt to appear nonprejudiced in order to avoid disapproval from others.

I try to act nonprejudiced because of pressure from others.

Internal motivation items

I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways because it is personally important to me.

According to my personal values, using stereotypes is OK. (R)

I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced.

Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes is wrong.

Being nonprejudiced is important to my self-concept.

Note. All items were presented in a randomized order.

Appendix C. Value and Orientation Manipulations for Study 1

Nonprejudiced conditions

For this part of the study, we are interested in knowing specific behaviors that convey your values. The larger study we are partnering with is interested in behaviors associated with a variety of values, but you will only need to report on behaviors associated with one set of values.

For this task, please think about your values of being nonprejudiced, specifically in the context of race. How do you behave to reflect that you hold these values? Many of us hold these values, but sometimes we think, say, or do things against these values because of the pervasiveness of stereotypes and implicit prejudice. Think about past, personal examples. Are there times where you may have thought about or noticed something that could be considered prejudiced but instead of behaving in a biased way, you avoided that negative behavior and felt relieved? What did you do that led you to feel a sense of relief or comfort? These past examples could take place anywhere: on campus, in a classroom, during an interaction, a conversation with a parent/friend/stranger.

In the space below, please list (*6 in discrepancy condition/2 in congruency condition*) personal, specific examples of times when you feel like you successfully avoided showing racial prejudice. These examples do not have to be long, but please be specific and list only personal examples (something you personally said/did not say or did/did not do).

—

On a scale from 1 (extremely easy) to 7 (extremely difficult), please rate how difficult it was for you to come up with all (*6 in discrepancy condition/2 in congruency condition*) examples.

Egalitarian conditions

For this part of the study, we are interested in knowing specific behaviors that convey your values. The larger study we are partnering with is interested in behaviors associated with a variety of values, but you will only need to report on behaviors associated with one set of values.

For this task, please think about your values of treating everyone equally, specifically in the context of race. People who value this ideology are typically labeled as "egalitarians." Egalitarians are people who seek out opportunities for growth and social change. Please think about this value in the context of race. Are there past times you can think of when you engaged in opportunities to show others that you hold this value? These past behaviors could have happened anywhere: in a class, in an interaction, a discussion with a friend/parent/friend, on social media, at a social gathering.

In the space below, please list (*6 in discrepancy condition/2 in congruency condition*) personal, specific examples of times when you feel like you went above and beyond to show

you value racial equality. These examples do not have to be long, but please be specific and list only personal examples (something you personally said or did).

On a scale from 1 (extremely easy) to 7 (extremely difficult), please rate how difficult it was for you to come up with (6 in discrepancy condition/2 in congruency condition) examples.

All participants read the following information after the manipulation:

Information about the current research:



The UpNext Project

Background:

The task you just completed is part of a larger study on social values, being conducted in collaboration with “The UpNext Project” which is a nonprofit, social-educational research team interested in understanding the social values of upcoming cohorts. As part of this nation-wide study, the broad aim is to compare the social values of college students from different regions of the United States and how these values change over time. This has been an ongoing research project that began in 2013. We hope to better understand more about what college students feel is important right now and predict what attitudes will be important in the future.

What we are doing:

We have asked thousands of students to list examples that portray their values in a variety of social contexts: gender, race, the environment, learning, STEM, politics, and more. By using the difficulty ratings you provided and the completion time, we are able to compare how students at different colleges and universities think about their social values.



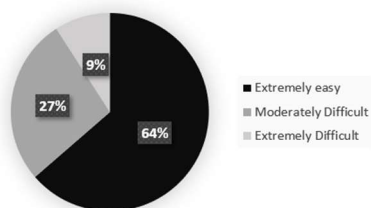
See current project results on the next page

Participants in the discrepancy conditions were given the following feedback:

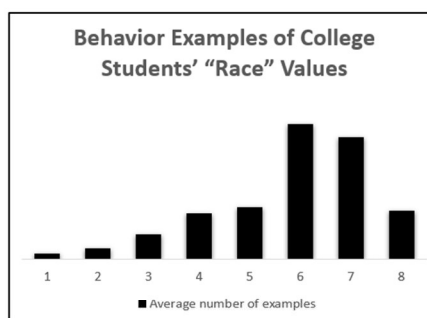
The data:

Below is a chart that shows how students performed on the same task that you just completed. As you can see, most students found this task to be extremely easy.

Difficulty rating for value set "Race"



Data from "UpNext Project" (2018)



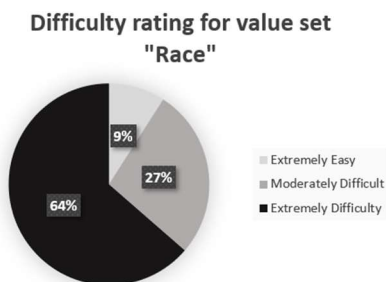
In fact, as you can see in the chart above, the number of items students are typically able to generate is 6.5 on average. There are more students who are able to provide more than 6 than those who can only provide a few examples.

Continue to the rest of the survey

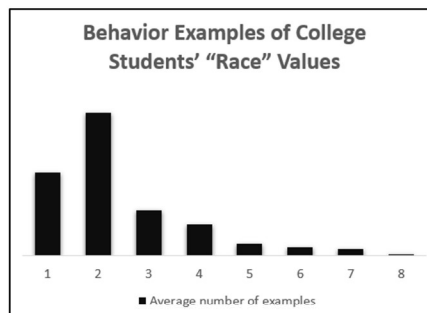
Participants in the congruency conditions were given the following feedback:

The data:

Below is a chart that shows how students performed on the same task that you just completed. As you can see, most students found this task to be extremely difficult.



Data from "UpNext Project" (2018)



In fact, as you can see in the chart above, the number of items students are typically able to generate is only 2 on average. Very few students are able to list more than 3 items for this task.

Continue to the rest of the survey

Appendix D. Self-guide Manipulation Prompt for Study 2

Nonprejudiced discrepancy condition

People often behave according to their personal beliefs, especially when it comes to their beliefs about others. Although this is generally how people strive to live, there are many times when people act against their beliefs for various reasons. Many of us think, say, and do things that sometimes go against our personal values. These experiences are important to study because they can inform us about how to modify our behavior and avoid inconsistencies in the future.

We are interested in understanding these behaviors regarding your personal values of being nonprejudiced in the context of race. Think of a time when you had a racially prejudiced thought or feeling, or engaged in a behavior that you personally felt was wrong. This experience can be a conversation, specific behaviors, interactions, thoughts, jokes, etc.

Think about the details of that experience. **Please write a short paragraph about your experience, including where you were, when this happened, what you did, and what you may have felt afterward.**

Your responses here are in no way linked to your personally identifying information, so there is no way a researcher will be able to identify you when reading these responses. Please be as open and honest as you feel comfortable.

Nonprejudiced congruency condition

People often behave according to their personal beliefs, especially when it comes to their beliefs about others. We are interested in understanding how the behaviors that people feel reflect their personal values in the context of race. Think about your personal values of treating people of a different race than you in nonprejudiced ways. Although many of us hold this value, there are many times when we are confronted with prejudice and must try to avoid it (i.e., a stereotypical thought, a conversation with someone who holds different views, a racially insensitive post on social media, etc.).

Now, recall a specific time when you were able to show that you value being nonprejudiced and how you successfully avoided engaging in prejudiced responding. This example can be about a thought, feeling or behavior you experienced but did not engage with. This experience can be a conversation, interaction, personal thoughts, jokes, etc. The memory you provide here should be a time when you personally inhibited engaging with a prejudiced thought, feeling, or behavior.

Please write a short paragraph about your experience, including where you were, when this happened, what you did or did not do, and what you may have felt.

Your responses here are in no way linked to your personally identifying information, so there is no way a researcher will be able to identify you when reading these responses. Please be as open and honest as you feel comfortable.

Egalitarian discrepancy condition

People often behave according to their personal beliefs, especially when it comes to their beliefs about others. Although this is generally how people strive to live, there are many times when people fail to act on their beliefs for various reasons. Many of us fail to think, say, and do things that are consistent with our personal values and, as a result, we feel distant from accomplishing our personal goals. We are interested in these events regarding your personal values of racial equality. Think of a time that you can remember feeling like you missed an opportunity to show you value racial equality. This experience can be a conversation where you felt you should have spoken up, an interaction you wished you had engaged in, a class or event you wished you had attended, etc.

Think about the details of that experience. **Please write a short paragraph about your experience, including where you were, when this happened, what you did or did not do, and what you may have felt afterward.**

Your responses here are in no way linked to your personally identifying information, so there is no way a researcher will be able to identify you when reading these responses. Please be as open and honest as you feel comfortable.

Egalitarian congruency condition

People often behave according to their personal beliefs, especially when it comes to their beliefs about others. We are interested in understanding how the behaviors that people feel reflect their personal values in the context of race. Think about your personal values of treating people of a different race than you in egalitarian or socially equitable ways. Now, recall a specific time when you were able to show that you value racial equality to others. This example can be about a class you took to increase your understanding, an event you attended publicly, an interaction on social media, an interracial interaction you felt was especially successful, or a time when you openly confronted someone else about race. Think of a time where you went "above and beyond" or out of your way to show that you value racial diversity, inclusion, and equality.

Please write a short paragraph about your experience, including where you were, when this happened, what you did, and what you may have felt.

Your responses here are in no way linked to your personally identifying information, so there is no way a researcher will be able to identify you when reading these responses. Please be as open and honest as you feel comfortable.

Appendix E. Researcher Interview Prompt for Study 2.

This portion of the study is a brief interview where I will ask you a few questions. For these questions, there is no right or wrong answer. We just want to know your personal opinion or perception of this topic. Just so you know, it will be audio recorded on my phone. (TURN ON RECORDER)

I am a research assistant in Dr. Czopp's research lab. We are interested in students' perceptions of racial issues right now, specifically on Western's campus. I am going to ask you a few, short questions and then you will complete the rest of the study on the computer. Again, there is no right or wrong answer, just let us know what you personally think. For reference, your participant ID number is _____.

1) What do you think about the current diversity at Western?

2) Do you think there is a diversity/inclusion issue on this campus?

(IF ONLY SAY YES OR NO): Would you like to say any more about that?

3) (IF YES, THERE IS A PROBLEM): How do you think you could help address this problem as a student?

(IF NO, THERE IS NOT A PROBLEM): Some people say there is a problem with the current diversity/inclusion on campus. Do you think you could help address it as a student? And if so, how?

*Appendix F. Post-Interaction Survey***(Participants)**

Please rate the extent to which you agree with the following statements based on the interaction you just had using the scale 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The researcher will not see your answers so please answer as honestly as you can.

I made eye contact during the interaction.

I smiled frequently during the interaction

I engaged fully in the conversation.

I focused on making sure I did not say something that sounded racist or offensive.

I tried to avoid coming across as racially biased.

I focused on avoiding using stereotypes.

I thought carefully about which words I used.

I tried to keep the conversation short.

I felt comfortable talking to the researcher.

I felt confident talking to the researcher.

I felt uncomfortable talking to the researcher.

(Researcher)

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements regarding the interaction you just had using the scale 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree).

For the interview, the participant positioned the chair close to me.

The participant made eye contact during the interaction.

The participant seemed engaged during the conversation.

The participant hesitated a lot when they spoke.

The participant tried to keep the conversation short.

The participant fidgeted throughout the conversation.

The participant seemed to be giving thoughtful responses.

The participant seemed comfortable talking to me.

The participant seemed anxious talking to me.

Overall, I feel like the interaction went smoothly.