Adopting a Promotion Focus to Motivate Inclusive Intergroup Behaviors

By

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Abstract

Improving intergroup relations requires changing intergroup behavior. However, this term actually represents two distinct types of behavior: discriminatory (negative) and inclusive (positive) behavior. There is evidence that these types of behavior in fact have distinct causes, so methods used to produce changes in one type of behavior will not necessarily lead to changes in the other type. In particular, we lack information about the causes of inclusive behavior. Relevant literature from the motivation domain would suggest that focusing on the negative consequences of discrimination (prevention focus) is unlikely to motivate adoption of such new, positive behaviors. In contrast, emphasizing the potential benefits of inclusive behaviors (promotion focus) may produce greater changes. Experiment 1 tested how emphasizing the benefits of behaving inclusively or negative consequences of failing to do so shapes intergroup behaviors, interest, and values. Experiment 2 considered how these effects were moderated by the source of the benefits/negative consequences: either self-generated or directly-communicated. In both studies, I expected the effect of emphasizing the benefits of inclusive behavior to be stronger for participants who were lower in baseline motivation to be non-prejudiced. Though the hypothesized pattern of effects was observed on outcomes related to interest in Experiment 1, the results were otherwise non-significant or inconclusive. Similarly, the predicted moderating effect of baseline motivation was observed on a behavioral outcome in Experiment 1, but the opposite of the predicted effect was observed on an interest outcome in Experiment 2. Possible explanations for the lack of clear results are discussed.

Adopting a Promotion Focus to Motivate Inclusive Intergroup Behaviors

Improving intergroup relations is one of the most pressing issues of our time. Despite steady improvements in explicit and, to a lesser degree, implicit attitudes towards historically marginalized groups (e.g., racial/ethnic minorities, religious minorities, LGBTQ individuals) in recent decades (Charlesworth & Banaji, 2019), members of these groups continue to face poorer life outcomes in a variety of domains, including health, academics, and career (e.g., Aud et al., 2010; Berchick et al., 2018; Kozuch, 2018; Meyer, 2007; National Academies of Science, Engineering, & Medicine, 2017; Nowicki, 2018; Quillian et al., 2017; Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, 2018). Relevant research suggests these discrepancies in life outcomes are largely driven by inequitable treatment in society (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Green et al., 2007; Okonofua et al., 2016; Schreer et al., 2009; Starr & Rahavi, 2014; West & Lloyd, 2017).

A primary focus of intergroup relations research is negative intergroup behaviors (which I will refer to as "discriminatory behaviors"), with the broader objective of eliminating these behaviors. As I explain below, emphasizing the negative consequences of engaging in these behaviors (i.e., adopting a "prevention" focus) is likely an effective way to reduce their occurrence. A topic that has received relatively less attention in intergroup relations research is positive intergroup behaviors (which I will refer to as "inclusive behaviors") and related psychological processes. The broader objective in terms of intergroup relations is to increase occurrence of these behaviors, e.g., making members of marginalized social groups feel included and welcome. In contrast to the motivation to avoid discriminatory behaviors, relevant literature from the motivation

domain suggests that inclusive behaviors are more likely to be motivated by emphasizing the benefits of engaging in these behaviors (i.e., adopting a "promotion" focus). In this paper, I examine whether it is the case that adopting a promotion focus increases inclusion. I will first distinguish between discriminatory and inclusive behaviors, then explain traditional approaches and challenges to explaining these behaviors. Next, I will present evidence from the motivation domain that suggests that promotion and prevention foci will have differential effects on discriminatory versus inclusive behavior. I will then combine these perspectives and explain the rationale behind the experiments I present in this paper. Finally, I will describe these experiments and their results, then discuss their implications. The fundamental goal of this work is to advance our understanding of the psychological factors driving engagement in inclusive behaviors.

Defining Discriminatory and Inclusive Behavior

Though usually lumped into the overarching term "intergroup behavior," discriminatory and inclusive behaviors are conceptually distinct. Discriminatory behaviors involve actively treating a member of a marginalized social group more negatively than a member of a non-marginalized group. Real-world examples of such behavior easily come to mind, including discrimination in housing, hiring, education (including punishment in school), policing, criminal prosecution and sentencing, healthcare, interpersonal communication (e.g., rudeness, harassment), and microaggressions. The research literature, accordingly, has worked to identify causes of discriminatory behavior. For example, prejudice researchers have found that people

engage in discriminatory behavior when groups are competing for limited resources (LeVine & Campbell, 1972) and as a means to bolster their social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) or self-esteem (Fein & Spencer, 1997). For researchers focusing on discrimination, improving intergroup relations requires ending discriminatory behaviors and instead encouraging people to treat others equally regardless of their social background (e.g., ensuring that Black individuals receive similar prison sentences to White individuals for similar crimes).

In contrast, inclusive behaviors involve actively signaling to members of marginalized groups that they belong, are respected, and are valued. Examples include making an effort to get to know a peer who belongs to a marginalized social group, making sure they are included in social events, showing an interest in them by asking them about their experiences, making sure they feel comfortable voicing their opinion during a team meeting, using terms and expressions that signal respect to them, participating in efforts to improve institutional climate around diversity, or confronting discrimination when it occurs. Though the causes of inclusive behavior have not been examined as thoroughly as those of discriminatory behavior, some research has considered them. For example, studies of allies—individuals who make a concerted effort to advance the status of marginalized groups they do not belong to—have revealed that these individuals are more likely to be socially connected to and have more positive attitudes toward members of the marginalized group than individuals who are not allies (Fingerhut, 2011). Note that failing to engage in inclusive behaviors is usually not

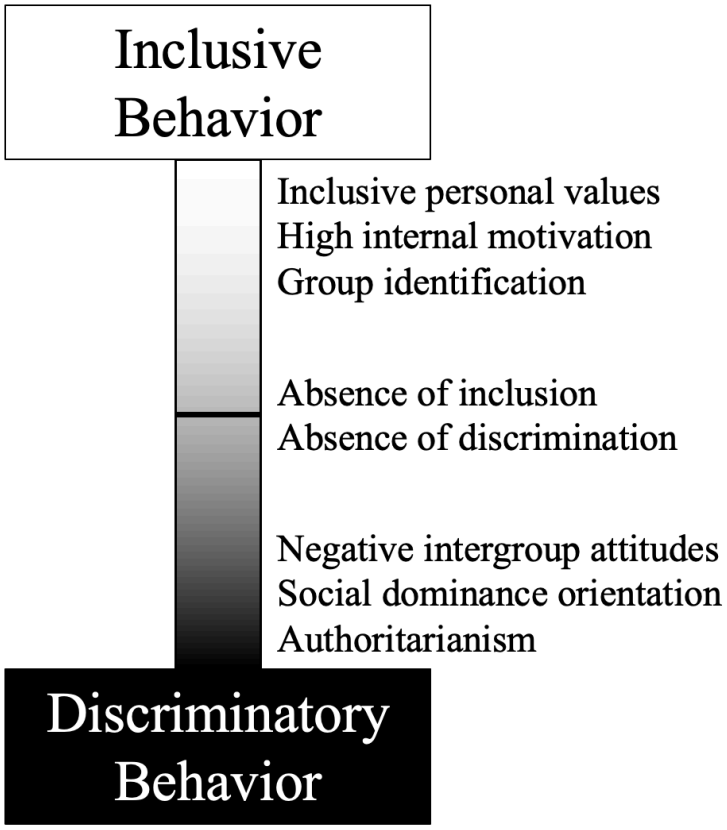
interpreted by observers as sign of hostility toward members of marginalized groups, but rather demonstrates passivity.

To clarify this distinction, consider the following example. Behaving in a non-discriminatory way would be inviting everyone on one's dorm floor to attend an athletic event, whereas behaving in an inclusive way would be reaching out to members of marginalized groups to make sure they are encouraged to attend and making a point to engage with them at the event itself. Using the same example, behaving in a discriminatory way would be deliberately not inviting a specific group (e.g., international students) to the athletic event, whereas failing to behave inclusively would be inviting these individuals but making no effort to ensure they feel welcomed or have a positive experience. It is important to note here that a lack of inclusion is not synonymous with discrimination, nor is a lack of discrimination synonymous with inclusion (see Figure 1). Rather, both a lack of inclusion and a lack of discrimination occupy a space representing neutral intergroup behavior.

As noted here, discriminatory behaviors have generally received more attention than inclusive behaviors in the research literature. Accordingly, we know relatively more about what causally affects discriminatory behaviors and have developed numerous tools to reduce these behaviors. In contrast, we know less about the causal predictors of inclusive behaviors and have fewer established methods for promoting these behaviors.

Figure 1

Comparing Inclusive and Discriminatory Intergroup Behavior



Note. According to this conceptualization of intergroup behavior, an absence of discrimination is not synonymous with inclusion, nor is a lack of inclusion synonymous with discrimination.

This description of the types of intergroup behavior suggests that removing discriminatory behaviors is necessary, but not sufficient to achieve intergroup equality. For example, though the proportion of Students of Color matriculating in colleges and universities has grown substantially in the recent past as discrimination in the admission process has decreased, these students continue to perform more poorly and are more likely to drop out than their White peers (Brown, 2019). Similarly, though the proportion

of People of Color and individuals with other marginalized social identities in higher-level corporate positions has also grown steadily, representing a reduction in workplace discrimination, members of these groups also have higher turnover (McKay et al., 2007). Relevant research suggests the culprit of these discouraging ongoing sources of inequality is barriers stemming from the institutional climate in universities, organizations, and communities: individuals from marginalized social groups often feel uncertain about whether they belong in these environments (Walton & Cohen, 2007), experience social identity threat that hinders their performance (Spencer et al., 1999; Steele & Aronson, 1995), and generally perceive these environments to be less welcoming to them (Museus et al., 2008). A number of studies have provided direct evidence that observed discrepancies in academic and career outcomes can be explained by perceptions of climate around diversity (Hurtado & Carter, 1997; McKay et al., 2007, Museus et al., 2008).

Perceptions of an unwelcoming climate could theoretically be driven by either the presence of discriminatory behaviors or a lack of inclusive behaviors, but some evidence suggests the latter has a larger influence. Most college students, at least at one large university, agree that the large majority of their peers do not discriminate (Campbell & Brauer, 2020). Furthermore, Students of Color reported in focus groups that their experiences and sense of belonging on campus were impacted to a greater degree by students who failed to be inclusive than those who actively engaged in discrimination (Brauer et al., 2020). In their telling, experiences like being picked last for group projects or having no one sit next to them in class were troubling because the perpetrators'

motives were difficult to determine, whereas overt discrimination was easier to disregard as the behavior of overtly bigoted individuals. These qualitative data are consistent with research on attributional ambiguity: when people can attribute a seemingly biased behavior to prejudice, their well-being and self-esteem are negatively affected to a lesser degree compared to when they cannot make such an attribution (Crocker et al., 1991; Major et al., 2002).

These findings suggest that many of the greatest barriers to improving intergroup relations result from a lack of behaviors signaling to members of marginalized groups that they are welcome and valued. Simply eliminating discrimination is not sufficient to create an inclusive climate: instead, adoption of more inclusive behaviors may hold the key to improving intergroup relations. One important unresolved question in the literature is the degree to which the psychological variables that predict discriminatory behaviors are the same as those that predict inclusive behaviors. To address both types of behavior, we must better understand what predicts them.

Attitudinal and Motivational Explanations of Intergroup Behavior

Traditionally, attitudinal explanations have been favored when faced with the challenge of explaining intergroup behavior, with the underlying assumption being that individuals with stronger explicit and implicit biases will engage in more discriminatory behaviors. This idea is well-supported in the research literature: discriminatory behaviors, both overt and subtle, are more common among people with stronger biases against social outgroups (Dovidio et al., 2003; McConnell & Leibold, 2001). What remains relatively

less clear is whether attitudes are similarly strong predictors of inclusive behaviors. Though Fingerhut (2011) showed that positive attitudes toward LGBT individuals were strong predictors of identifying as an LGBT "ally," more recent work has identified a number of causes for allyship aside from intergroup attitudes, including values, group identification, political ideology, and emotions (Radke et al., 2019). This work suggests that positive intergroup attitudes alone may not be sufficient to motivate inclusive behaviors, such as allyship.

Dunton and Fazio (1997) went beyond intergroup attitudes and considered the role of motivation in intergroup behavior, proposing the Motivation to Control Prejudiced Reactions (MCPR). The scale they developed predicted evaluations of Black individuals among participants with existing negative attitudes toward Black people. They argued that the MCPR comprises two distinct subscales: one representing a personal commitment to avoid prejudice and the other representing a desire to avoid dispute with or about members of other social groups (specifically Black individuals in their study).

Plant and Devine (1998) extended this work by proposing that internal and external sources of motivation to avoid prejudice are distinct and have unique roles in shaping intergroup attitudes and behavior. They showed that whereas high external motivation to respond without prejudice (EMS) scores tended to be associated with more explicitly prejudiced attitudes, social anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation from others, high internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) scores tended to be associated with more positive explicit attitudes and stronger egalitarian values. The predictive validity of IMS in particular has been reinforced across numerous studies: it

has been shown to, among other things, predict negative perceptions of sexist jokes (Klonis et al., 2005), explain gender differences in attitudes toward gay men and lesbians (Ratcliff et al., 2006), predict lower incidence of implicit and explicit bias (Devine et al., 2002; Fehr & Sassenberg, 2010), and increase the effectiveness of diversity training programs (Lindsey et al., 2015; Peruche & Plant, 2006). Together, this work reinforces the relevance of motivational, not just attitudinal explanations of intergroup behavior.

The Role of Motivation in Intergroup Behavior

Perhaps it should not be surprising that diversity training is more effective for individuals higher in internal motivation to respond without prejudice, because many of the existing prejudice reduction methods used in diversity training require motivation among trainees. For example, cognitive training programs, such as those that treat bias as a habit and teach skills to break that habit, ask that participants put these skills into practice in their own lives (Devine et al., 2012; Forscher et al., 2017). Forscher and colleagues (2017) showed that individuals who participated in this habit-breaking intervention were more likely to post a public comment rejecting the premise of an essay arguing that stereotypes were harmless two years later. However, it should be noted that the individuals in the intervention group had high IMS scores at baseline (M = 7.45 on 9-point scale). The authors do not describe models that test the interaction between the habit-breaking intervention and baseline IMS scores, but it is reasonable to imagine that the intervention was more effective for those high in IMS: the intervention relies on participants implementing the skills introduced in their own lives, which individuals with

low motivation should necessarily be less likely to do. Self-regulation of prejudiced responses, which highlights discrepancies between inclusive personal standards and actual discriminatory behavior to increase monitoring of future behavior, requires individuals to have inclusive personal standards for the method to be effective: if someone does not possess these standards, discriminatory behavior would not provoke a discrepancy (Monteith, 1993; Plant & Devine, 1998). These examples demonstrate the high degree of internal motivation often required for traditional prejudice reduction methods to be effective.

Though these research examples suggest that internal motivation is sufficient to increase uptake of inclusive behaviors and other behavioral strategies, it may not be necessary. There are a variety of additional factors that increase motivation: it is reasonable to expect that just as these additional factors can affect behavior in other domains, they could be used to change intergroup behavior as well. Though motivation terminology is relatively rare in the intergroup domain, some existing prejudice reduction methods capitalize on the influence of some of these motivational factors.

For example, descriptive social norms messaging improves intergroup outcomes and, in field settings, improves outcomes for members of marginalized social groups (Murrar et al., 2020). Social norms messaging is powerful because it draws on the human motivation to belong with others (Walton & Wilson, 2018): people's concerns about fitting in with their peers can lead them to behave in particular, socially acceptable ways.

Perspective-taking improves attitudes toward social outgroups through empathy and increased situational attributions for behavior (Lindsey et al., 2015; Vescio et al.,

2003). This method draws on a basic human motive to understand our own behavior and the behavior of those around us (Walton & Wilson, 2018): when induced to assess another person's behavior the same way we would assess our own, we tend to make more situational attributions and consider to a greater degree how we might feel in that situation (empathy). Perspective-taking does not require a high degree of domain-specific motivation (like IMS) to be successful: indeed, Vescio and colleagues (2003) found that the effects of a perspective-taking manipulation did not differ based on how much participants endorsed outgroup stereotypes.

As a final example, some organizations have begun emphasizing the instrumental role of diversity, noting it confers some tangible benefit through profits, better solutions to problems, etc. (Starck, 2019). Intentionally or not, these messages functionally serve as manipulations of utility value, or the extent to which a behavior is seen as being useful for accomplishing future goals (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). When led to believe that a given set of behaviors is valuable, people are more likely to engage in those behaviors, even absent of believing those behaviors are inherently interesting or enjoyable.

Together, these examples demonstrate how a variety of motivational factors can be leveraged to improve intergroup behaviors even absent attitude change. There is an opportunity to contribute to the prejudice literature by exploring whether and how utilizing other motivational factors and concepts can alter intergroup behaviors, particularly among individuals who otherwise lack motivation to behave inclusively.

Motivating Behavior through Prevention and Promotion

A variety of additional motivational factors could theoretically be applied and tested in the intergroup domain: for example, people are more likely to engage in a given behavior if it allows them to express an aspect of their identity or a personal value (attainment value; Eccles & Wigfield, 2002), reinforces positive beliefs about themselves (self-esteem, self-integrity; Walton & Wilson, 2018), is associated with some reward (extrinsic motivation; Ryan & Deci, 2000), or leads to pleasurable and positive emotions (Bye et al., 2007). Each of these factors, though, can vary based on framing, including whether they adopt a "prevention focus" or a "promotion focus" (Higgins, 1998). These two foci stem from one of the oldest theories of human behavior: the hedonic principle. According to this principle, humans should seek pleasure and avoid pain. Messages with a promotion focus, then, highlight the potential benefits of a given behavior (e.g., the behavior will make you well-liked by others), whereas messages with a prevention focus highlight the potential negative consequences people seek to avoid (e.g., the behavior will prevent you from being socially ostracized).

Through his regulatory focus theory, Higgins (1998) is among multiple researchers who have shown that pursuing pleasure and avoiding pain are psychologically distinct rather than ends of the same continuum. When someone succeeds in the context of a promotion focus, they achieve some positive outcome: for example, someone who wants to qualify for the Elite Wave of the American Birkebeiner Cross-Country Ski Marathon will experience joy if they attain this goal and dejection if they fail to achieve it (i.e., absence of positive outcome). In contrast, success in the

context of a prevention focus involves avoiding a negative outcome: someone who wants to avoid losing the Elite Wave spot they earned previously will experience quiescence if they attain this goal and agitation if they fail. Whereas a promotion focus is associated with aspirations and the ideal self, a prevention focus is associated with responsibilities and the ought self. Promotion and prevention are closely related to the motivational concepts of approach versus avoidance and gain frame versus loss frame (Elliot & Church, 1997; Rothman et al., 2006). Though the fine distinctions between these terms should not be glossed over, for the purpose of clarity in this paper, I will discuss research on these topics using the terminology of "prevention" and "promotion."

A substantial amount of research from multiple perspectives has examined which of these foci produces greater changes in behavior. Some have argued that the foci reflect stable individual differences that represent the extent to which people are sensitive to negative (behavioral inhibition) or positive (behavioral activation) outcomes (Carver & White, 1994). Based on this individual difference perspective, whether a promotion or a prevention focus is more effective will depend on an individual's state behavioral inhibition and activation: prevention will be relatively more effective for individuals high in inhibition and promotion for individuals high in activation. Latimer and colleagues (2005) showed that messages about cancer prevention and detection that were tailored based on multiple psychological variables, including trait regulatory focus, were more persuasive to participants. Elliot (2006) refers to these individual difference variables as temperament, which he distinguishes from motives, which orient individuals to positive and negative stimuli within a given environment (e.g., awards or grades in an academic

setting). In his hierarchical model of approach-avoidance motivation, temperaments (i.e., individual differences) and motives (i.e., situational variables) jointly influence goals, the most proximal determinants of behavior. Thus, because both temperament and motives play a role in shaping goals, Elliot argues that a given message can be effective even if it does not correspond perfectly to a given individual's temperament.

Rather than focusing on correspondence between individual differences and situational variables, Rothman and Updegraff (2010) argue that a different type of correspondence be considered: that between the behavior sought and the motivational framing. That is, when cessation of an existing behavior is sought, a prevention focus should be more effective, and when production of a new behavior is sought, a promotion focus should be more effective. This conjecture stems from Rothman's work in the health domain, in which he demonstrated that a prevention focus more effectively motivated detection behaviors (i.e., awareness of the problem, trying to avoid negative health outcomes), whereas a promotion focus more effectively motivated (inconveniently named) prevention behaviors (i.e., those that address the problem, trying to actively address health problems; Rothman et al., 2003; Rothman & Salovey, 1997). This prediction is borne out in the results of Latimer and colleagues (2005), discussed earlier: only a promotion focus led to increases in vegetable consumption, the new behavior they examined. This work was extended by Pelletier and Sharp (2008), who applied this concept to the domain of pro-environmental behavior and argued that a prevention focus could raise awareness of the climate crisis, but a promotion focus was more likely to result in adoption of pro-environmental behavior.

Pelletier and Sharp (2008) are not the only researchers to note that a promotion focus may be preferable when a new behavior is sought. Gerend and Cullen (2008) found that only a promotion focus led to more responsible and limited alcohol consumption in college students. In later work, Higgins (2000) noted that a prevention focus provokes anxiety among those exposed to it, which could lead to adverse effects. Worth and colleagues (2005) further asserted that a prevention focus can only be effective if people are in an existing negative state or led to believe they are, which motivates them to resolve this discrepancy. In his paper describing his hierarchical model of approach-avoidance motivation, Elliot (2006) makes a particularly strong argument, noting that a prevention focus is inherently aversive: at best, it results in an absence of negative consequences or punishment, and, even if it achieves these ends, inhibits well-being because of the stress involved in avoiding those negative consequences. He states that prevention-focused messages are overused in modern society, and that a promotion focus is ideal in most circumstances. This argument is entirely consistent with the central treatise of the emerging field of positive psychology, which holds that people are generally motivated to seek out positive experiences and lead meaningful lives (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Together, this research shows that the relative effectiveness of promotion versus prevention focused messages differs across individuals and situations in predictable ways, and that a promotion focus may be preferable in many situations, particularly when the goal is the production of a new behavior.

Synthesizing These Perspectives

Many prejudice reduction methods emphasize negative consequences of discrimination (i.e., adopt a "prevention focus"). This focus is particularly evident in field settings: Bezrukova and colleagues (2016) found that more than 90% of the diversity trainings they considered in their meta-analysis of diversity training effectiveness involved raising awareness about participants' own biases and the biases of others. Diversity is also often discussed in the domain of compliance, where discrimination can result in consequences as serious as job loss (Gajanan, 2017). This emphasis on negative consequences is also evident in many prejudice reduction methods developed in lab settings. For example, Monteith's (1993) self-regulation approach considers negative self-directed affect (i.e., punishment) to be a key element of the effectiveness of the method. Similarly, the hypocrisy approach to prejudice reduction relies on instilling feelings of guilt to stoke attitude change (Bruneau et al., 2018; Bruneau et al., 2020). These examples illustrate the pervasiveness of the prevention focus in many approaches described in the intergroup relations literature. The research discussed above would suggest that this focus has a good chance of both raising awareness of the issue of prejudice (Pelletier & Sharp, 2008) and reducing discriminatory behaviors (Rothman & Updegraff, 2010), but it is relatively less clear that it would effectively promote inclusive behaviors. Instead, research from the motivation domain suggests that a promotion focus may be more likely to motivate inclusive behaviors.

Beyond fitting Rothman and Updegraff's (2010) assertion that the behavior sought should match the message framing, adopting a promotion focus to motivate

inclusive behavior has additional strengths relative to a prevention focus. First, the prevention focus often arouses stress among those exposed to it (Elliot, 2006; Higgins, 2000). Such a reaction may be especially pernicious in the intergroup domain, as previous research has shown that individuals rely on stereotypes to a greater degree when experiencing stress (Bodenhausen, 1992; Wilder, 1993). This issue is discussed at length by Richeson and Shelton (2007), in their analysis of the costs and possibilities afforded by intergroup contact. As the authors explain, White individuals (or majority group members) are preoccupied by appearing non-prejudiced in intergroup interactions, which can lead to cognitive depletion, in turn increasing reliance on stereotypes and interrupting the pathway through which intergroup contact reduces prejudice. In the research they describe, they found that participants who were told to "avoid prejudice" in an intergroup contact situation were more cognitively depleted than those who were told to focus on "having a positive intercultural exchange." They state that adopting a promotion focus is likely to increase positive intergroup contact.

Next, a prevention focus requires recognizing a discrepancy between one's current state and one's desired end state (Worth et al., 2005). This idea is consistent with Monteith's (1993) self-regulation theory of prejudice reduction, which similarly requires possession of an inclusive ideal self at baseline. Though it is the case that most people try to maintain an unprejudiced self-image (O'Brien et al., 2010), as I have described, not being prejudiced is not the same as being actively inclusive (see again Figure 1). Monteith's self-regulation theory, like other prevention-focused approaches, likely can reduce discriminatory or biased behavior, but is unlikely to increase inclusive behavior,

except among those highly motivated individuals who possess a very inclusive ideal self (as opposed to simply an unprejudiced ideal self).

Finally, as Higgins (1998) discusses, "success" in the context of a prevention focus is experienced as quiescence or, as Elliot (2006) would claim, an absence of negative consequences. In contrast, "success" in the context of a promotion focus is experienced as joy. Thus, an individual who engages in inclusive behavior in the context of a promotion focus has that behavior reinforced, increasing the likelihood of future inclusive behavior, whereas no reinforcement occurs in the context of a prevention focus. If the goal is to motivate inclusion in the long term and not just once, a promotion focus is therefore much more likely to improve one's attitude toward the behavior, which should theoretically increase future engagement (Ajzen, 1991). For these reasons, I hypothesize that a promotion focus will lead to greater changes in inclusive behaviors and behavioral intentions relative to a prevention focus. This effect may be stronger among individuals with lower prior motivation to behave inclusively.

Whether adopting a promotion focus can reliably increase engagement in inclusive behaviors has never been addressed directly, though research by Legault and colleagues (2011) sheds further light on the issue. These researchers tested the impact of messages that emphasized either autonomous motivation or societal standards to control prejudice. They found that the autonomous motivation message reduced both implicit and explicit biases relative to a no-exposure control condition, whereas the societal standards message increased these biases relative to the no-exposure control condition (i.e., a reactance effect). Though these researchers do not use the language of "promotion" and

"prevention," the connection between their messages and these constructs is clear. The societal standards message emphasized the negative consequences of prejudice and discrimination (e.g., "companies face legal liability for workplace prejudice or discrimination," "people with prejudiced attitudes are at risk of being excluded or ostracized," p. 1-2, Supplemental Material) and used "should" language in multiple places. Thus, this message represented an appeal to obligations and the ought self, which Higgins (1998) associated with prevention messages. In contrast, the autonomous motivation message emphasized benefits of inclusive behavior (e.g., "it is so interesting to interact with and learn about people from other cultural and social groups," "being open-minded is a real advantage to our mood and well-being," p. 1, Supplemental Material) and invoked idealistic values, relating to Higgins' idea that the promotion focus is related to the ideal, aspirational self. Though this study does not directly address the central question of the proposed research, it provides suggestive evidence of the potential effectiveness of adopting a promotion focus to promote incusive behaviors.

Fundamentally, I am suggesting that the motivational pathways that can be used effectively to reduce discriminatory behavior are distinct from those that can be used to increase inclusive behavior, an argument consistent with Higgins' regulatory focus theory. That is, the factors that can be leveraged to get people from discriminatory behavior to the neutral point in Figure 1 are different from those that can be leveraged to get people from that neutral point to inclusive behavior.

The Current Research

The studies described below tested the prediction that emphasizing the benefits of inclusive behavior (i.e., adopting a promotion focus) would lead to more inclusive behaviors and behavioral intentions relative to emphasizing the negative consequences of failing to engage in these behaviors (i.e., adopting a prevention focus). In Experiment 1, the effects of emphasizing the benefits of behaving inclusively (promotion focus) versus the negative consequences of failing to do so (prevention focus) were compared against each other and a control condition. In Experiment 2, I again manipulated the frame of either promotion of prevention focus as well as the source of the information: participants either thought of potential benefits of inclusive behavior or negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively themselves, or they had these benefits/negative consequences directly communicated to them. Though previous motivation literature has shown self-generation to be more effective (Canning & Harackiewicz, 2015), I expected which information source would be more effective would differ between the promotion and prevention foci, as I will describe below. Across both experiments, I also examined how the effectiveness of these messages differed across levels of baseline internal motivation (i.e., IMS). The experiments thus had the following aims:

- *Aim 1:* Examine the effects of making salient the positive (promotion) or negative (prevention) consequences of inclusive behavior on inclusive behaviors and attitudes.

- *Aim 2:* Investigate how the effects of a promotion versus prevention focus differ depending on whether the benefits/negative consequences are self-generated or directly-communicated.
- *Aim 3:* Assess whether the magnitude of these effects depends on individuals' level of existing motivation to behave inclusively.

Experiment 1

The purpose of Experiment 1 was to test the effects of a promotion versus a prevention focus relative to a related control condition on inclusive behaviors and attitudes. I hypothesized that both foci will lead to more inclusive behaviors and attitudes than the control (H1), but that the promotion focus would have a greater effect than the prevention focus (H2). Furthermore, I also examined whether the relative effects of these foci on inclusive behaviors depended on baseline internal motivation (IMS): I anticipated that the effect of the promotion focus would be stronger than the prevention focus for individuals lower in IMS, compared to the control condition (H3).

Method

Participants. I recruited 225 participants from the Introductory Psychology subject pool between November 2019 and March 2020. The subject pool differs from the general university population in that it tends to be younger (mostly first year and sophomore students) and, necessarily, more familiar with psychology. This sample was chosen because background research suggested increasing inclusive behavior among students was a promising way to improve campus climate (Brauer et al., 2020). These

students also had likely been exposed to fewer messages about discriminatory and inclusive behaviors than their older peers, potentially increasing the impact of the manipulation.

Participants received extra credit in their introductory psychology course in exchange for participating. Participants were excluded from analyses if they failed to complete the online module component of the experiment, answered both of two multiple-choice content questions incorrectly, or failed to complete the outcomes survey. These rules led to the exclusion of 19 participants, resulting in a total sample of 206 participants. Of these participants, 157 (76.2%) identified as White, 10 (4.9%) as Latina/o/x, 4 (1.9%) as Black, 24 (11.7%) as Asian, 3 (1.5%) as Arab/Middle Eastern, 3 (1.5%) as Native American/American Indian, 3 (1.5%) as multiracial, and 2 (1%) said their racial identity was not represented in the available options. In terms of gender, 75 (36.4%) were men, 131 (63.6%) were women, and no participants selected a non-binary gender identity. The mean age of the sample was 18.53. The baseline measure of internal motivation (described below) was included in an earlier survey: results were linked by student ID number. In all, 105 of the participants could have their data linked to this earlier survey.

Outcome Measures. I included a number of outcome measures to assess the degree to which the manipulation of focus affected relevant outcomes. In particular, I sought to include outcomes that would show effects in the categories of (1) interest in diversity, (2) inclusive behaviors and behavioral intentions, and (3) inclusive attitudes. As I discuss further below, I selected these categories because all are considered relevant

outcomes in the motivation domain. The specific items comprising these scales can be found in the Supplementary Materials.

Course interest (interest outcome 1). Participants first indicated their interest in a series of six proposed courses that either did or did not cover material related to diversity, using a 7-point scale from 1 (*no interest*) to 7 (*very interested;* on this scale and all other scales, intermediate values had numeric labels only). Interest is a key outcome in the motivation literature, so greater interest in courses related to diversity relative to those not related to diversity reflected increased motivation to be inclusive (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002; Hulleman, et al., 2010; Husman et al., 2004).

Interest in diversity-related organizations and events (interest outcomes 2-3). Participants were given a list of campus organizations, some of which were related to diversity (e.g., "Multicultural Student Center"), and asked if they were interested in receiving more information about these organizations. I recorded both whether a participant selected any diversity-related organizations and the proportion of the diversity-related groups they selected relative to the total number of organizations selected. Participants were also given a list of upcoming campus events tailored to a general audience, which again were either related to diversity or not. As with organizations, I recorded both whether a participant selected any diversity-related events and the proportion of these events relative to the total number of events they selected.

Volunteer commitment (behavior outcome 1). Participants were told about multiple organizations on campus asking for volunteers to help with upcoming events.

One of these organizations was the Multicultural Student Center. I recorded whether students indicated they would be willing to volunteer for this organization (*yes* or *no*).

Pro-diversity pledge and petition (behavior outcomes 2-3). Participants were asked to sign their name to both a pledge that they would engage in specific inclusive behaviors over the course of the semester and a petition stating the importance of inclusion to the institution. Both are relatively straightforward behaviors that are themselves reliably predictive of future behavior (Joule et al., 2008; Joule et al., 2007; Raju et al., 2010).

Inclusive behavioral intentions (behavior outcome 4). Participants rated their likelihood of engaging in a series of eight inclusive behaviors in the following two weeks, using a 7-point scale from 1 (*definitely won't*) to 7 (*definitely will*). The list included behaviors that ranged from simple (e.g., "Go out of your way to be friendly toward an individual from a different social background") to complex (e.g., "Make a point to attend a meeting where diversity issues are going to be discussed"). Behavior is the most unambiguous indicator of increased motivation, and behavioral intentions have been shown to be a reliable predictor of future behavior (Ajzen, 1991).

Support for pro-diversity policies (attitude outcome 1). This four-item scale asked participants to indicate the extent to which they agreed with several concrete (e.g., "The University should support campus organizations that are resources for students from underrepresented groups, like racial/ethnic minority students and LGBTQ students") and abstract (e.g., "Diversity makes this University a better place") pro-diversity policies. These items represent perceptions of the importance and value of diversity: perceptions

of value are considered an important outcome in the motivation domain (Gaspard et al., 2015).

Likelihood of confronting discrimination (attitude outcome 2). Participants completed a four-item scale measuring their likelihood of confronting discrimination if it occurs, using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*; example item: "I intervene when I see people being treated unfairly because of their social background").

Internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS; baseline moderator, attitude outcome 3). Participants completed a five-item IMS scale at two timepoints (Plant & Devine, 1998). First, participants completed the original version of the scale (which refers specifically to Black individuals) using a 9-point Likert scale at the beginning of the academic term (T1) as part of a larger battery of survey measures. IMS as measured at T1 was hypothesized to be a potential moderator of the observed effects. Participants also completed a modified version of the scale as part of the experimental outcome survey (T2), which was rewritten to concern prejudice in general (not specific to Black individuals) and used a 7-point Likert scale. IMS as measured at T2 was considered as an attitudinal outcome.

Filler items. To distract participants from the true nature of the survey, most of the items it comprised concerned other aspects of campus life, including sections about student health, academic habits, sustainability, and other kinds of campus involvement. These sections served to reinforce the backstory that the survey was meant to get a sense of student engagement and well-being on campus.

To review, there were three measures related to interest, four measures related to inclusive behavior and behavioral intentions, and three measures related to inclusive attitudes. I expected the experimental manipulation to have similar effects across these types of outcomes. I did not include measures of discriminatory behavior or behavioral intentions because the main goal of this research was to better understand the effect of motivational framing on inclusive behavior. Future work could examine the effect of prevention and promotion focus on discriminatory behavior.

Procedure. Participants were required to complete the experiment on a computer (rather than a mobile device): those who were determined to be on a mobile device by the survey software were asked to stop and complete the experiment on a computer. Once they were verified to be using a computer, they were taken to a main screen where they were told they would be completing two tasks to earn their credit: providing feedback on an online module and completing a general survey of student engagement.

When they clicked to advance, they were redirected to a website with different formatting and asked to complete a consent form for the online module task (see Supplementary Material). Participants were told they would be shown a module created by a fellow student intended to improve campus climate and were asked to pay close attention to the information because they would be asked questions about the content later on. The module itself presented nine inclusive behaviors and described each of them briefly (e.g., “Ask someone who is different from you about their experiences. This means you should go beyond the surface level: ask people to tell you more about their personal experiences, challenges they’ve faced, and successes they’ve achieved.”).

The module also contained the manipulation of focus. For those in the promotion focus condition, the title of the module was, “Want to have a more fun and interesting college experience? Check out these 9 ways to be a more inclusive Badger!” and the final section of the module stated, “You might be thinking, ‘Why should I do this stuff?’ There are actually a number of ways you could benefit from doing these things more.” Participants then saw a list of eleven messages highlighting potential benefits of inclusive behavior (e.g., “Opportunities to meet new, interesting people,” “You’ll help others feel happier and more included”). In contrast, students in the prevention focus condition were presented a module titled “Want to avoid contributing to inequality? Check out these 9 ways to be a more inclusive Badger!” The final section of the prevention focus module instead stated, “You might be thinking, ‘Why should I do this stuff?’ There are actually a number of negative consequences you could experience if you fail to do these things,” before a list of eleven potential negative consequences of failing to be inclusive written to be as related to the benefits displayed in the promotion focus condition as possible (e.g., “Missing out on chances to meet new, interesting people,” “You’ll make others feel excluded and like they don’t belong here”). Students in the control condition were presented a module with the title “Check out these 9 ways to be a more inclusive Badger!” and read about the nine inclusive behaviors, but they were not shown any final section with arguments for why they should engage in these behaviors.

Regardless of their condition, participants were required to spend two minutes on the module screen to prevent them from advancing before they could reasonably read the content fully. On the next screen, participants were asked two multiple-choice questions

about the content of the module as an attention check, then asked to complete a few items indicating their enjoyment of the module and open-ended questions requesting their suggestions and feedback.

After completing these questions, participants were rerouted back to the main screen. Here, they were thanked for their participation in this task and were asked to proceed to the survey task to earn their course credit. When they clicked to advance, they were again brought to a different website with different formatting from the previous websites. Participants completed the survey task consent form and were told that the university was interested in collecting data about student engagement and well-being in multiple domains, and they would be asked questions about a number of dimensions of their experiences on campus. The blocks of the survey, including the filler scales, were randomized across participants, with the exception that course interest was displayed first: when presented first, the purpose of this measure was ambiguous to participants in a way it might not be if preceded by measures of pro-diversity behaviors, behavioral intentions, and attitudes. Item order was consistent within the survey blocks. At the conclusion of the survey, participants were again rerouted to the main screen. Here, they were asked a series of open-ended questions to probe for suspicion before being given a complete debrief explaining the connection between the experimental tasks they completed.

Results

No participants were excluded due to suspicion. Though some linked the module task to later survey, none made a connection between the focus of the message presented

in the module and the survey: because all conditions provided overlapping pro-diversity content, linking the module and the survey alone was not grounds for removal. I computed average scores for each of the outcomes (scale characteristics and correlations can be found in Supplementary Table 1). I report any further processing of the variables beyond computing average scores below. Assuming a medium effect size of $\eta_p^2 = .08$ and a sample of 206, I had 98.8% statistical power.

Some of the data collection in this experiment occurred after the coronavirus caused the university campus where the research was conducted to close. Because this experiment was entirely online, only minimal changes to the method were necessary. In all, 38 individuals participated after campus closed. These participants differed significantly from others in their patterns of selecting pro-diversity organizations and events. Specifically, they were more likely to select at least one pro-diversity organization or event and selected a greater proportion of diversity-related organizations and events. I ran a series of models to determine whether the campus coronavirus closure affected the manipulation of focus, but there was no evidence for moderation by this variable (all *p*s > .366).

The effect of experimental condition was analyzed in two different ways. First, I conducted pairwise comparisons between the conditions, contrasting first the prevention focus with the control condition and then the promotion focus with the control condition. Second, I created centered, unit-weighted orthogonal contrasts to test my predictions regarding the pattern of means (Abelson & Prentice, 1997). Specifically, I anticipated that the two motivational messages would affect the outcome measures to a greater

degree than the control condition, but that the promotion focus condition would differ more from the control condition than the prevention focus condition. Thus, I created one contrast to represent the first part of the prediction (C1: control = -0.667, promotion = 0.333, prevention = 0.333) and another for the second part of the prediction (C2: control = 0, promotion = 0.5, prevention = -0.5). If the data were consistent with the hypothesized pattern of means on a given outcome measure, I would expect both of these contrasts to be statistically significant. I ran a series of models in which I regressed each outcome variable of interest first on (1) the two dummy codes representing comparisons between each of the two motivational focus conditions and the control condition and then on (2) the two orthogonal contrast codes representing the anticipated pattern of means. Because family-wise error rates can occur with non-orthogonal contrasts, I first checked that the omnibus effect of experimental condition significantly affected each outcome, in accordance with the Fisher LSD protected testing approach. All reported significant effects satisfied this check, unless noted otherwise.

Before completing the analyses, I checked for potential baseline differences between the experimental groups. First, I examined how participants rated the content of the modules. There were no differences in rated enjoyment of the module, but there were descriptive differences indicating that participants in the prevention condition found the content to be more valuable and more likely to benefit other students than in the other conditions (see Table 1). The omnibus tests of perceived value and benefit were not statistically significant, so no further inferential tests of pairwise between-group differences were conducted (both *p*s > .12). There were also baseline differences between

the groups in terms of their internal motivation to respond without prejudice (IMS) as measured at T1 (as a reminder, IMS was measured using a 9-point scale at T1): participants assigned to the control condition were highest at baseline (M = 8.04, sd = 0.99), followed by the prevention focus condition (M = 7.70, sd = 1.19) and finally the promotion focus condition (M = 7.48, sd = 1.56). Again, though, the omnibus test of baseline IMS scores was not significant (p = .181), so I did not perform inferential tests of pairwise between-group differences. Still, these descriptive differences indicate that there was a failure of random assignment. As mentioned previously, only 105 participants had baseline IMS scores available. Given the high proportion of missingness and because it was dubious to assume that these data were missing completely at random, I did not perform Full Information Maximum Likelihood (FIML) imputation to impute the missing IMS scores, instead opting to limit the sample to these 105 participants. Though FIML is possible with this level of missingness, it suffers from greatly reduced power, which given questions about the pattern of missingness in the data makes it a suboptimal strategy (Acock, 2005). Using this sample size brought my statistical power from 98.8% to 84.6%. In the following paragraphs, I will present the results from models in which I controlled for baseline IMS. These analyses thus include only participants who had baseline IMS scores available. Inferential statistics from models that did not control for baseline IMS (thus including the entire sample) can be found in Supplementary Table 2.

Table 1

Mean Module Assessment Scores in Experiment 1

Variable	Control	Prevention	Promotion
Enjoyment	3.38 (0.91)	3.50 (0.86)	3.88 (0.93)
Content valuable	4.02 (0.81)	4.33 (0.65)	4.22 (0.65)
Content beneficial	3.88 (0.93)	4.09 (0.60)	4.13 (0.63)

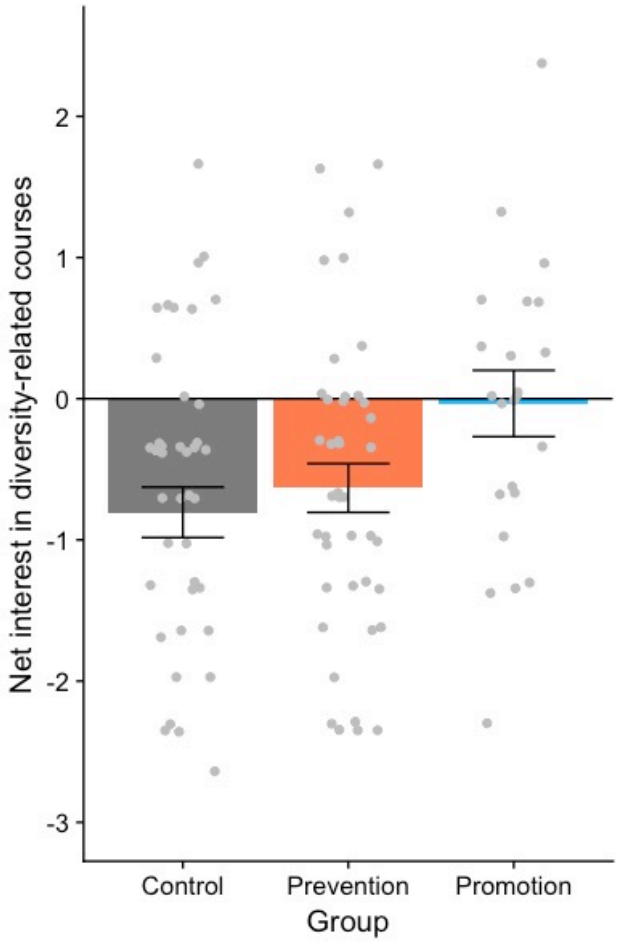
Note: Numbers in the cells indicate the mean for that variable for each condition. Numbers in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

Interest outcomes. I calculated the mean level of interest in both courses that were and were not related to diversity separately, then subtracted each participant's mean interest in courses not related to diversity from their mean interest in diversity-related courses. I refer to this variable as "net interest in diversity-related courses." The mean of this variable was -0.57, indicating that participants were somewhat less interested in diversity-related courses than in diversity-unrelated courses. The means of net interest in diversity-related courses were consistent with the hypothesized pattern, as both C1 ($t(101) = 2.031$, $p = .045$) and C2 ($t(101) = 2.059$, $p = .042$) were statistically significant (see Figure 2). An omnibus test of the effect of condition on net interest in diversity-related courses yielded a marginally significant result, $F(2, 104) = 2.835$, $p = .063$. Given the proximity to the $p = .05$ cutoff, I will present statistics from pairwise comparisons, but these statistics should be interpreted with caution. Participants in the promotion focus condition expressed significantly higher net interest in diversity-related courses compared

to those in the control condition, $b = 0.771$, $t(101) = 2.596$, $p = .011$, $\eta_p^2 = .061$, whereas those in the prevention focus condition did not differ significantly from control, $t(101) = 0.693$, $p = .490$.

Figure 2

Net Interest in Diversity-Related Courses as a function of Experimental Condition.



Note. Two data points in the control condition are not visible in this figure due to being extremely low. These bars represented the adjusted means across conditions, controlling for baseline IMS at the mean of this variable.

I created two variables related to both diversity-related organizations and events: the first represented whether a participant selected at least one organization/event related to diversity or not, whereas the second indicated the proportion of the organizations/events they selected that were related to diversity. Only participants who selected at least one organization/event were included in these analyses. I analyzed binary outcomes (and all other binary outcomes reported in this paper) using a generalized linear model with a logit link function (i.e., logistic regression), and the inferential statistics reported from these tests were χ^2. When it came to organizations, the experimental manipulation affected neither the likelihood participants selected at least one diversity-related organization nor the proportion of organizations they selected that were related to diversity (see Table 2 for inferential statistics and Supplementary Table 3 for descriptive statistics). Neither of the orthogonal contrasts was statistically significant. A similar pattern of results was found for events: the manipulation of focus did not increase the likelihood participants indicated interest in at least one diversity-related event nor the proportion of diversity-related events they selected (see Table 2 / Supplementary Table 3). Again, neither of the orthogonal contrasts was significant.

Behavior outcomes. Overall, 16% of the students indicated they would be willing to volunteer with the Multicultural Student Center, but this proportion did not vary by experimental condition (see Table 2 / Supplementary Table 3). Neither the tests of the pairwise comparisons nor of the orthogonal contrasts registered any significant effects. Compliance with the request to sign the pro-diversity pledge and the pro-diversity petition was higher, with 68% of students overall agreeing to sign the pledge and 69%

agreeing to sign the petition. Still, though, neither the likelihood of signing the pledge nor the likelihood of signing the petition was affected by experimental condition (see Table 2). There were no significant relationships between the experimental manipulation and these outcomes. Overall, participants expressed being relatively likely to engage in the inclusive behaviors listed in the inclusive behavioral intentions scale in the subsequent two weeks ($M = 4.45$). They reported being especially likely to be friendly toward a student from a different social background ($M = 5.32$) but least likely to attend an event that involved discussing issues related to a social group they did not belong to ($M = 2.87$). There was no effect of experimental condition on behavioral intentions, both in the pairwise tests and the tests of the orthogonal contrasts.

Attitude outcomes. There were no significant effects of the experimental manipulation on any of the three attitudinal outcomes (see Table 2 / Supplementary Table 3). Notably, baseline IMS was highly predictive of these outcomes. In a model predicting a composite score of the three attitudinal outcomes by condition, IMS alone explained more than 33% of the variance in this composite score, $t(101) = 7.163$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .337$.

Table 2

Inferential Statistics (t or χ^2) for All Outcomes in Experiment 1, Pairwise Comparisons and Orthogonal Contrasts

Measure	*df*	Control v. prevention	Control v. promotion	C1	C2
Interest outcomes					
Net interest in diversity courses	101	0.693	2.596*	2.031*	2.059*
Any diversity org†	81	0.030	0.301	0.208	0.184
Prop diversity orgs	81	-0.112	0.167	0.051	0.275
Any diversity event†	61	0.395	1.696	1.501	0.796
Prop diversity events	61	0.088	1.666	1.206	1.665°
Behavior outcomes					
Volunteer commitment†	86	0.346	0.667	0.030	1.657
Pledge†	101	0.031	0.283	0.064	0.488
Petition†	101	0.996	0.001	0.293	0.676
Inclusive behavioral intentions	101	0.635	-0.030	0.321	-0.575
Attitude outcomes					
Support for pro-diversity policies	101	0.066	0.475	0.340	0.429
Likelihood of confronting	101	1.270	0.586	1.056	-0.489
Internal motivation	101	0.631	-1.062	-0.341	-1.626

Note: Inferential statistics are *t* statistics for most variables, and χ^2 for dichotomous variables, as indicated with a †. Asterisks indicate significance. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. p values between .05 and .10 are indicated with a degree symbol (°).

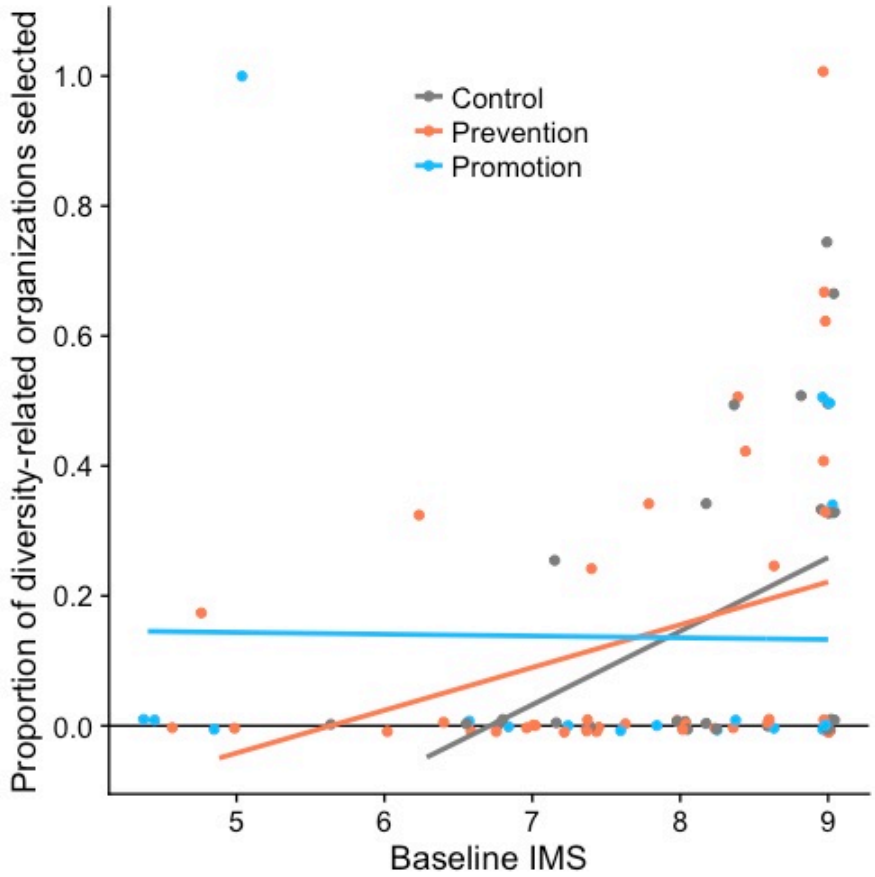
Moderation by baseline IMS. In addition to running models for each of the focal outcomes including baseline IMS as a covariate, I also hypothesized that IMS could moderate the effect of the promotion focus manipulation, such that the effect of the

manipulation would be stronger for individuals lower in IMS. I thus reran all of the above-mentioned models, but this time I included not only baseline IMS as a predictor but also the dummy codes by baseline IMS interactions. There was a marginally significant interaction between baseline IMS and the dummy code representing the comparison between the control condition and the promotion focus condition on proportion of diversity-related organizations selected, b = -0.115, $t(80)$ = -1.959, p = .054. Post-hoc analyses showed that this interaction was driven by the effect of the promotion focus being stronger for individuals lower in baseline IMS, consistent with my hypothesis. However, as visual inspection of Figure 3 makes clear, this effect could be driven by outlier observations and may be limited by the highly skewed nature of both baseline IMS (for which most participants were close to the maximum score) and proportion of pro-diversity organizations selected (for which most participants were close to 0). This effect should be interpreted with due skepticism, given it emerged on only one outcome variable (for which there was no significant main effect of condition) and is below conventional levels of statistical significance.

Exploratory analyses using posttest IMS. Given the strong correlation between baseline and posttest IMS (r = .600) and the much larger sample with scores on posttest IMS (N = 206) than baseline IMS (N = 105), I performed exploratory analyses that were identical to those mentioned above but using posttest as opposed to baseline IMS in the models. Despite the increase in sample size (and thus statistical power) afforded by using posttest IMS, there were no significant interactions between either of the dummy codes representing the manipulation of focus with posttest IMS.

Figure 3

Moderating Effect of Baseline IMS on Condition Predicting Proportion of Diversity-Related Organizations Selected



Note. Data points colored according to experimental condition. A small amount of vertical and horizontal jittering was added to better show point densities. The promotion focus was relatively more effective for participants lower in baseline IMS.

Summary

The predicted pattern of results was found for one outcome variable: net interest in diversity-related courses. The contrast analyses indicated that receiving a motivational message increased net interest in these courses relative to the control condition, but that

the promotion focused message led to a greater increase than the prevention focused message. However, these results were not replicated with any of the other outcome variables measured, neither those representing interest in diversity nor those measuring inclusive behaviors, inclusive behavioral intentions, or inclusive attitudes. There was a marginal effect indicating baseline IMS moderated the effect of the promotion condition on proportion of diversity-related events selected in a manner consistent with H3, but this effect was not observed on any other outcomes. The results of Experiment 1 thus provide at best very weak support for the hypotheses.

Experiment 2

The purpose of Experiment 2 was to examine the relative effects of prevention and promotion focused messaging in the context of another experimental manipulation adapted from the motivation literature. When one's goal is to make clear to an individual the value of a particular behavior, is it more motivating to provide specific reasons for the utility of the behavior or to ask them to generate these reasons themselves? This question was examined by Canning and Harackiewicz (2015). They found that "self-generated" sources of value increased motivation more than "directly-communicated" sources of value in the academic domain. However, this effect depends on an individual being familiar with the reasons why a given behavior may be valuable to them. In the math domain, which was the subject of Canning and Harackiewicz's study, individuals may have prior experiences with math to draw on as well as messages they have received across their educational career about its utility.

If awareness of possible benefits is a necessary condition for self-generated sources of value to increase motivation more than directly-communicated sources, I would expect this relationship would not be replicated when taking a promotion focused approach to inclusive behavior: the benefits of behaving inclusively are likely to be relatively unfamiliar to people, and therefore more difficult to generate spontaneously. In contrast, because of the focus on potential negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively often present in traditional diversity and inclusion programs, I would expect self-generated sources of value to be more effective than directly-communicated sources in the context of a prevention focused approach. Thus, I predicted that directly-communicated value would have larger effects on inclusive behaviors and attitudes when paired with a promotion focus, whereas self-generated value would have larger effect on inclusive behaviors and attitudes when paired with a prevention focus. These predictions would appear in the data as a crossover interaction between focus (promotion vs. prevention) and source (self-generated vs. directly-communicated). Again, I examined whether these effects were moderated by baseline IMS.

Method

Participants. I recruited 235 participants from the Introductory Psychology subject pool between December 2019 and March 2020 (before campus was closed due to the coronavirus). Participants received extra credit in exchange for their participation. Unlike in Experiment 1, all data collection concluded before the university campus closed due to coronavirus. Again, participants were removed if they failed to complete the online module component of the experiment, answered both multiple-choice

questions incorrectly, or failed to complete the outcomes survey. I thus excluded 49 participants, resulting in a total sample of 186 participants. Of these participants, 141 (76.2%) identified as White, 8 (4.3%) as Latina/o/x, 3 (1.6%) as Black, 30 (16.2%) as Asian, 1 (0.5%) as Arab/Middle Eastern, and 2 (1.1%) as Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian. In terms of gender, 89 (47.8%) were men, 96 (51.6%) were women, and 1 (0.5%) selected a non-binary gender identity. The mean age of the sample was 18.62.

Outcome Measures. The same outcome survey was used in Experiment 2 as that used in Experiment 1.

Procedure. The procedure was extremely similar to that used in Experiment 1. As in Experiment 1, participants were brought to a main page where they were told that they would complete two tasks to earn their course credit, and returned to this page between the experimental tasks and at the end of the experiment to probe for suspicion and debrief them. The content of the online module they were asked to give feedback on was also nearly identical. Instead of creating three experimental groups, though, the module was altered according to a 2 (manipulation of focus: promotion or prevention) x 2 (manipulation of source: directly-communicated or self-generated) design. Unlike in Experiment 1, the title of the module did not vary based on condition. Both manipulations occurred in the final section of the module. For the manipulation of focus, those in the promotion focus condition were either given a list of potential benefits of behaving inclusively or asked to generate such a list, whereas those in the prevention focus condition were either given a list of potential negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively or asked to generate such a list.

Those in the directly-communicated condition were provided a list of eleven potential benefits or negative consequences identical to the lists used in Experiment 1. Those in the self-generated condition were presented the following text, then asked to try to come up with five potential benefits of behaving inclusively or potential negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively (depending on their focus condition): "One thing people don't think about is how *failing to behave inclusively can have serious negative consequences* (prevention focus) / *behaving inclusively can benefit them personally* (promotion focus). Think of a few ways *your life would worsen if you failed to engage in these behaviors* (prevention focus) / *your life would improve if you engaged in these behaviors more often* (promotion focus). It might be easier if you spend a little time thinking about your personal life, your values/identity, your social life, your academic experience, and how *failing to behave inclusively could harm campus more generally* (prevention focus) / *the inclusive behaviors could benefit others and campus more generally* (promotion focus). For example, *failing to be inclusive will cause you to miss chances to meet new, interesting people* (prevention focus) / *being more inclusive will allow you to meet new, interesting people* (promotion focus)."

Like in Experiment 1, participants were asked to answer several multiple-choice questions about the content, to rate their enjoyment of the module, and to provide suggestions and feedback. The outcomes survey was identical to that used in Experiment 1.

Results

Again, no participants had to be excluded due to suspicion. As in Experiment 1, some connected the module task with the outcomes survey, but none mentioned aspects of the module having to do with either of the experimental manipulations. I computed average scores for each of the outcomes (scale characteristics can be found in Supplementary Table 4). Assuming a medium effect size of $\eta_p^2 = .08$ and a sample of 186, I had 97.8% statistical power.

I began by checking for baseline differences to identify potential failures of random assignment to group. Participants in the promotion and self-generated conditions descriptively rated the module as being more enjoyable, and those in the promotion and directly-communicated conditions rated the module as being most valuable (see Table 3). There were no notable differences in ratings of how beneficial the module would be for other students. Differences in IMS as measured at T1 were smaller overall than those present in Experiment 1, but existed nonetheless (see again Table 3). Though these differences did not rise to conventional levels of statistical significance (both *p*s > .19), they were substantial enough to warrant controlling for them. Again though, restricting the sample to those who could have their data from this experiment linked to their baseline survey results represents a substantial decrease in the sample, from 186 to 104 participants. As in Experiment 1, the high proportion of missingness and lack of clarity about whether the data were missing completely at random led me to limit the sample to those with baseline IMS scores instead of performing FIML imputation (Acock, 2005). Statistical power was reduced in kind, from 97.8% to 83.9%. I will present here the

results from models in which I control for baseline IMS. Statistics from models that did not control for baseline IMS can be found in Supplementary Table 5.

Table 3

Mean Module Assessment Scores and Baseline Internal Motivation in Experiment 2

Variable	*N*	Prevention	Promotion	Directly-communicated	Self-generated
Enjoyment	186	3.41 (0.92)	3.62 (0.92)	3.44 (0.90)	3.56 (0.95)
Content valuable	186	4.11 (0.90)	4.28 (0.65)	4.27 (0.75)	4.12 (0.83)
Content beneficial	186	3.95 (1.04)	4.05 (0.82)	4.01 (0.89)	3.98 (1.00)
Internal motivation, IMS	104	7.69 (1.36)	8.00 (1.26)	7.68 (1.49)	8.02 (1.10)

Note: Numbers in the cells indicate the mean for that variable, across levels of the other variable. Numbers in parentheses indicate standard deviations.

I centered the variables representing the manipulations of focus and source, then ran a series of models in which I regressed each of the outcomes on the two variables and their interaction, controlling for baseline IMS (centered). If the data were consistent with hypotheses, I would expect to observe a significant interaction between focus and source, but no main effect of either variable, due to the predicted crossover interaction.

Interest outcomes. The mean net interest in diversity-related courses was -0.36, indicating participants were somewhat less interested in the diversity-related courses overall. There was not a significant interaction between focus and source on net interest in diversity-related courses, $t(99) = 0.494$, $p = .622$. Neither of the main effects were

significant (see Table 4 for inferential statistics and Supplementary Table 6 for descriptive statistics). Note that the lack of effect here represents a failure to replicate the effect observed in Experiment 1: the effect of focus in the directly-communicated condition is analogous to the effect of focus in Experiment 1.

No differences emerged in interest in pro-diversity organizations and events either: the binary outcomes indicating whether participants selected at least one pro-diversity organization/event had no significant interaction or main effects, nor did the proportion of pro-diversity organizations/events participants selected (see Table 4 / Supplementary Table 6).

Behavior outcomes. Similar to Experiment 1, 17% of participants indicated they would be willing to volunteer for the Multicultural Student Center. There was no significant interaction between focus and source on this outcome, χ^2(N = 95) =1.072, p = .300, but there was a significant main effect of focus, χ^2(N = 95) = 6.352, p = .012, indicating that participants were more likely to offer to volunteer in the prevention condition than in the promotion condition. There was no significant main effect of source (see Table 4 / Supplementary Table 6). Across conditions, 57% of participants agreed to sign the pledge and 69% agreed to sign the petition. Neither of the independent variables nor their interaction predicted this behavior, however. Participants reported positive intentions to behave inclusively overall (M = 4.48). The behaviors rated as most likely (being friendly to a student from a different social background, M = 5.42) and least likely (attending an event than involves discussing issues related to a social group they did not belong to, M = 2.72) were identical to those from Experiment 1. There was not a

significant interaction between focus and source predicting this outcome, nor were either of the main effects significant (see Table 4).

Table 4

Inferential Statistics (t or χ^2) for All Outcomes in Experiment 2, Effects of Focus, Source, and their Interaction

Measure	*df*	Main effect of focus	Main effect of source	Interaction
Interest outcomes				
Net interest in diversity courses	99	-1.453	-0.261	0.494
Any diversity org	84	0.200	1.069	0.106
Prop diversity orgs	84	-0.593	-1.106	0.097
Any diversity event	66	0.455	0.090	1.556
Prop diversity events	66	-0.016	-0.533	-1.251
Behavior outcomes				
Volunteer commitment	90	6.352*	1.751	1.072
Pledge	99	0.268	0.001	0.005
Petition	99	0.285	1.654	2.563
Inclusive behavioral intentions	99	-1.046	-0.518	-1.531
Attitude outcomes				
Support for pro-diversity policies	99	-1.643°	0.637	-0.525
Likelihood of confronting	99	-0.667	-0.119	0.157
Internal motivation	99	-0.852	-0.236	-0.876

Note: Inferential statistics are *t* statistics for most variables, and χ^2 for dichotomous variables, as indicated with a †. Asterisks indicate significance. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. p values between .05 and .10 are indicated with a degree symbol (°).

Attitude outcomes. Focus, source, and the interaction between these variables failed to predict variance in inclusive attitudes (see Table 4 / Supplementary Table 6). I again calculated a composite score of the three attitudinal outcomes and ran a model predicting this composite score from focus, source, and their interaction. As in Experiment 1, baseline IMS was strongly predictive of the composite score, explaining more than 48% of the variance in it, $t(99) = 9.574$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .481$.

Moderation by baseline IMS. Because I anticipated that IMS could moderate the effects of the experimental manipulations, I ran a series of models examining the three-way interaction of focus, source, and baseline IMS (centered), as well as all lower-order interactions and main effects. In no cases was the three-way interaction significant, but there was a significant interaction between baseline IMS and the manipulation of focus on net interest in diversity-related courses, $b = 0.385$, $t(96) = 2.339$, $p = .021$. In contrast to the hypothesized effect concerning baseline IMS, post-hoc analyses showed that, among individuals one standard deviation below the mean in baseline IMS, those in the promotion focus condition had less net interest in diversity related courses relative to those in the prevention focus condition, $b = -0.822$, $t(96) = -2.721$, $p = .008$, whereas there was no effect of focus among individuals one standard deviation above the mean in baseline IMS, $t(96) = 0.616$, $p = .539$ (see Figure 4). This result contrasts directly with the prediction that the promotion focus would be more effective for individuals lower in baseline motivation to respond without prejudice.

Exploratory analyses using posttest IMS. As in Experiment 1, I again checked for moderation by posttest IMS given the large increase in sample and the strong

correlation between baseline and posttest IMS. In line with the results found with baseline IMS, there was a significant three-way interaction between the manipulation of focus, the manipulation of source, and posttest IMS, $t(177) = -2.032$, $p = .044$. Further inspection of this three-way interaction revealed that the effects of the promotion and self-generation experimental manipulations were more negative for individuals lower in posttest IMS.

Open-ended response analysis. Half of the participants in Experiment 2 wrote open-ended responses to prompts asking them to generate lists of either potential benefits of behaving inclusively or possible consequences of failing to do so. I performed some basic analyses on these responses to better understand how they differed (or not) across conditions. First, I counted the number of consequences each participant listed. Across both conditions, participants wrote fewer than the five consequences requested, but the means between the prevention condition ($M = 3.83$) and promotion condition ($M = 3.62$) did not differ, $t(104) = -0.844$, $p = .401$.

Next, I looked specifically at whether the consequences participants listed were rooted primarily in a concern for the self (e.g., "I would personally benefit from broadening my perspective of the world") or concern for others (e.g., "Doing all this will benefit me and my community in many ways such as, everyone will be nice to each other, and the place will be safe for everyone"). Working with a research assistant, I coded every consequence in terms of self- versus other-focus, then calculated the proportion of each participant's listed consequences that were self-focused and other-focused. In general, participants wrote a higher proportion of other-focused consequences ($M = .61$)

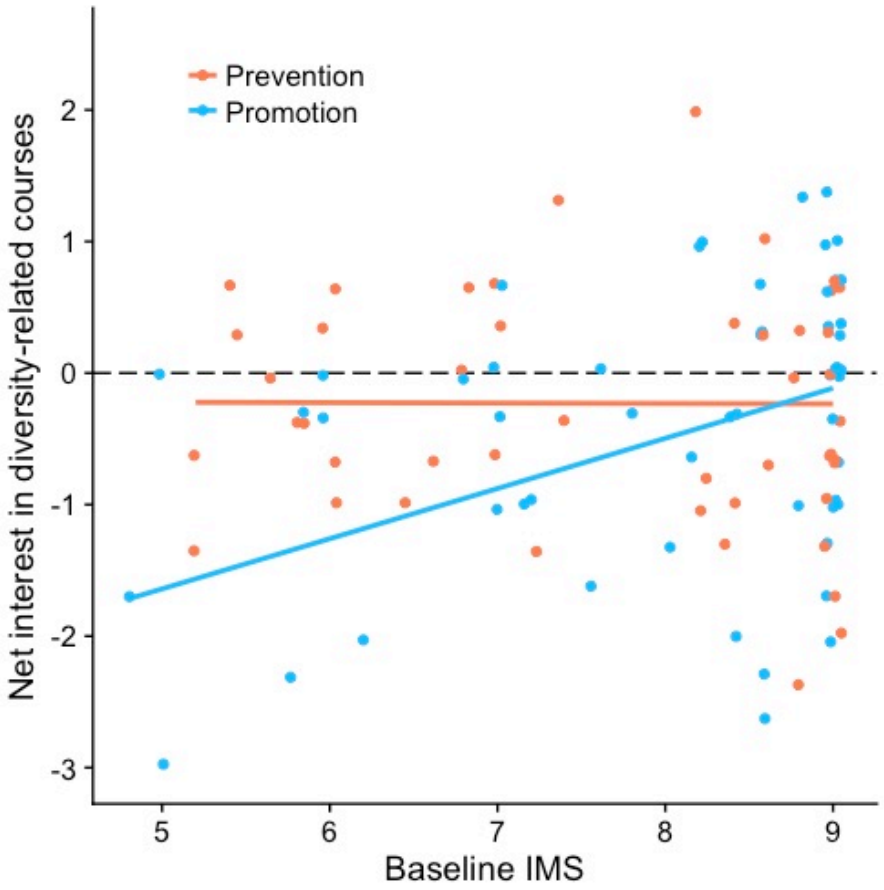
than self-focused consequences (M = .39). The proportion of self-focused consequences was descriptively higher in the promotion condition (43%, compared to 35% in the prevention condition), but this difference was not statistically significant, $t(98) = 1.231$, $p = .221$. Necessarily, the inverse was found with other-focused consequences, which were descriptively, but not statistically higher in the prevention condition (65%, compared to 57% in the promotion condition), $t(98) = -1.231$, $p = .221$. These results provide some indication that participants in the prevention condition could be focusing on others more than those in the promotion condition, but there was not strong statistical evidence to support this claim.

Summary

There was little evidence in Experiment 2 to support the interactive hypotheses regarding the manipulations of focus and source. No outcome variables generated results consistent with the hypotheses: specifically, that the direct communication condition would be more effective for those in the promotion focus condition whereas the self-generated condition would be more effective for those in the prevention focus condition. The only significant effects obtained in this experiment suggested that, compared to participants in the prevention focus condition, those in the promotion focus condition were less willing to volunteer for a diversity-related organization and had lower net interest in diversity-related courses among individuals low in baseline IMS.

Figure 4

Participants' Net Interest in Diversity-Related Courses as a Function of Focus Condition and Baseline IMS



Note. Regression lines were calculated from a model including the three-way interaction of frame, source, and IMS, and all lower-order effects. As in Figure 3, data points have been colored according to condition and jittered slightly to better show point densities.

Discussion

The purpose of the experiments described in this paper was to examine the effect of promotion- and prevention-focused messages on participants' interest in diversity,

inclusive behaviors and behavioral intentions, and inclusive attitudes. According to research in the public health domain, a promotion focus is more effective at motivating people to adopt new, desired behaviors, whereas a prevention focus is more effective at motivating people to cease existing, undesired behaviors (Rothman & Updegraff, 2010). Extending these findings to the intergroup domain, then, the prevention focus predominant in many traditional diversity trainings is much more likely to reduce discrimination than it is to encourage inclusive behavior. I hypothesized that getting people to adopt a promotion focus may more effectively motivate participants to adopt these new, positive behaviors.

The accumulated evidence between the two experiments presented in this paper is weak at best when it comes to supporting my central hypothesis. In Experiment 1, there was some evidence that interest in diversity was higher in a promotion focus condition compared to a prevention focus or a control condition, but this effect was not replicated on every outcome representing interest. Furthermore, there was no evidence that a promotion focus increased inclusive behaviors, inclusive behavioral intentions, or inclusive attitudes relative to either a prevention focus or when no particular consequences are highlighted.

Experiment 2 provided an opportunity to again examine differences between promotion and prevention focus, as well as probing the effect of source: whether the benefits of behaving inclusively (promotion focus) or negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively (prevention focus) were self-generated or directly-communicated. I reasoned that because the negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively are

more well-known, the effect of the prevention focus should be stronger when participants self-generated these consequences, based on relevant evidence from the education domain (Canning & Harackiewicz, 2015). In contrast, because benefits of behaving inclusively are seldom discussed, I expected these benefits to be more effective when directly communicated to participants. The results from this experiment, though, were entirely inconclusive: the interaction between focus and source was non-significant for all outcome measures. The only significant effects found appeared to contradict rather than affirm the core hypotheses.

There are two broad possibilities that could explain why these experiments led to such inconclusive findings. First, the experiments could have flaws that prevented me from detecting the hypothesized relationships. Second, the hypotheses themselves could be incorrect. I will explore both possibilities in the following paragraphs.

Limitations of the Experiments

There are multiple aspects of the experiments I conducted that could have prevented me from obtaining statistically significant effects, should the hypothesized relationships be true. First, both studies had relatively low statistical power. Though both surpassed the traditional 80.0% power cutoff after limiting the sample to only participants with baseline IMS scores, they did not exceed this criterion value by much, raising the possibility that Type II errors were present in these experiments. Furthermore, the manipulation of focus was subtle and small. In Experiment 1, the only differences between the modules in the different conditions were the title and the content on the last slide: the large majority of the content was identical. Given participants only had to spend

two minutes inspecting the module total, it is entirely possible that participants did not pay attention to the content at the end of the module, therefore missing completely the manipulation of focus. The decision I made about how to manipulate focus was intended to be extremely specific and targeted, but in the end may have been too minimal.

The entire procedure was also intended to reduce social desirability concerns: providing a compelling cover story for the module, leading participants to believe they were participating in two experiments, and including numerous outcome measures not related to diversity to distract participants from the true purpose of the survey. Still, many participants connected the module task to the later survey. Though social desirability concerns should have been similarly salient to participants across the conditions, increases in such concerns could have obscured the effects of interest. In retrospect, it may have made more sense to employ an experimental design I have used in other work: providing an initial, stronger manipulation of the construct of interest (here, focus), then measuring outcomes weeks or even months later. Though effects can fade over time, such a time delay essentially eliminates the possibility that participants will connect the later survey to an earlier intervention, more effectively assuaging social desirability concerns.

The few differences that were found in Experiment 1 did not emerge in Experiment 2, in which the control condition was eliminated. Given I hypothesized that both the promotion and the prevention focus would be more effective than the control condition, eliminating that control condition would make differences between the focus conditions even more difficult to detect (especially because in Experiment 2 the title did not vary between the conditions). Though the source manipulation was much less

minimal, either requiring participants to generate a list of benefits/negative consequences or read a list like that presented in Experiment 1, this manipulation too had no measurable effect on relevant outcomes. For a stronger manipulation of source, I might have instead asked participants to complete a series of short writing assignments over a longer period of time, as Harackiewicz and colleagues have employed in other work (e.g., Hulleman & Harackiewicz, 2009). Such an approach would provide a stronger manipulation of source, in turn making any effects of source easier to detect.

In describing the benefits of inclusive behavior versus negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively, I tried to make the statements as equivalent as possible (e.g., "Meeting new, interesting people," versus "Missing opportunities to meet new, interesting people"). However, as a group, the benefits mentioned appear to focus more on the self, whereas the negative consequences focus more on one's impact on others. This discrepancy introduces a confound in the manipulation of focus: if participants are especially concerned about the impact their behaviors have on others, they will likely be more motivated by the negative consequences presented in the experiment than by the benefits. The qualitative analyses conduced in Experiment 2 provide some support for this idea, as those in the promotion condition generated descriptively (though not significantly) more consequences related to the self, whereas those in the prevention condition generated more consequences related to others. This confound may have obstructed my ability to find significant effects supporting my core hypotheses.

Finally, the outcomes survey included a series of measures representing multiple broad constructs: interest in diversity, inclusive behaviors and behavioral intentions, and

inclusive attitudes. Each of these constructs was chosen based on its relevance in the motivation domain. However, the most meaningful outcome in this domain is behavior. The behavioral outcomes included in the outcomes survey were simple, involving simply writing one's name or making a commitment to volunteer that may or may not have been believable to our student participants. Much more compelling than these outcomes would be actual observations of behavior in the real world, or other behavioral outcomes. For example, I could have examined whether the manipulations of focus and source led to downstream effects on the diversity of participants' self-reported friendship networks, or differences in who was featured in posts on their social media. I might have tracked their attendance at pro-diversity events on campus or asked them to complete a weekly questionnaire indicating their engagement in a variety of inclusive behaviors. Each of these possibilities would have provided a stronger behavioral outcome than those included in these experiments. Future research could look instead at such outcomes.

Limitations of the Theory

Despite the multiple limitations of the experiments that could have contributed to the lack of significant findings, there is another broad explanation that could apply: the hypotheses themselves are not correct. In effect, this explanation would imply that the finding from the public health domain that a promotion focus is relatively more effective at motivating new, desirable behaviors does not apply in the intergroup domain. There are several reasonable explanations for the lack of application in the intergroup domain.

First, it could be the case that a prevention focus is simply more relevant in the intergroup domain. As I have established, most people are highly motivated to maintain

an inclusive self-image (O'Brien et al., 2010). Thus, for most individuals, threats to that inclusive self-image are likely to be highly motivating: most people do not want to be labeled as a racist, bigot, etc. The fact that traditional diversity initiatives tend to focus on the negative consequences of failing to behave inclusively may not be a mere coincidence, but instead reflects a reality that threatening these consequences leads people to put more effort toward being more inclusive. In contrast, potential benefits of behaving inclusively, such as meeting new people with interesting life experiences, may not be as motivating as threats to aspects of one's personal identity.

A related limitation concerns the earlier discussion of correspondence between a motivational frame and a participant's sensitivity to negative versus positive outcomes (Carver & White, 1994). The individual differences perspective received little consideration in the experiments I presented in this paper, which focused instead on the correspondence between the motivational frame and the behavior sought, but it could have played a role in the results. It could be the case that if I had measured participants' state behavioral activation and behavioral inhibition, the promotion focus would have been more effective for participants with higher scores on the former construct and the prevention focus for those on the latter. Perhaps this type of correspondence is simply more influential than the correspondence tested in the experiments reported above.

Next, the distinction I have made between discriminatory and inclusive behavior may not be so clear-cut. In the public health domain, there is a clear distinction between existing behaviors that must be stopped (e.g., stopping smoking, reducing junk food consumption) and new behaviors to be sought (e.g., starting mindfulness meditation,

increasing fruit and vegetable consumption). In the intergroup domain, the distinction between discriminatory and inclusive behavior may not be so well-defined. For example, consider the behavior of getting to know people from different social backgrounds. We presented this behavior as an inclusive one because it involves making an active effort to engage in some meaningful way with diversity. However, imagine an individual who avoids interacting with people from different social backgrounds. Would we not consider this behavior to be discriminatory? This example highlights how behaviors in the intergroup domain could be seen as either existing, negative behaviors or new, positive behaviors depending on how they are framed. To return to Figure 1, the whole spectrum of intergroup behaviors might instead be predicted by the same variables, suggesting that the same factors can be leveraged to both reduce discrimination and foster inclusion. Thus, the concept from the motivation domain that informed my hypotheses may not translate to the intergroup domain, reducing the likelihood that a promotion versus a prevention focus would motivate inclusive behaviors differentially.

As I noted in the introduction to Experiment 2, the idea of benefits of behaving inclusively is novel to many individuals, given the aforementioned focus on negative consequences of failing to be inclusive present in many traditional diversity initiatives. If these messages truly were novel to participants, the manipulation I used was probably too brief to introduce participants to this concept. This issue, though, is more theoretical than methodological: if participants are not accustomed to thinking about inclusive behaviors in these terms, it is unlikely that the benefits they were presented would affect their motivation to a greater degree than negative consequences they were already highly

familiar with because of baseline differences in fluency (Reber et al., 1998). There is thus a confound present in these experiments with novelty of the consequences as well as their valence.

Finally, it could be that perceptions of how beneficial behaving inclusively is (or how deleterious failing to be inclusive is) are not actually a particularly salient factor when it comes to motivating people to behave more inclusively. According to expectancy-value theory, in order for an individual to feel motivated enough to engage in a given behavior, they must both value that behavior and believe they will able to succeed in enacting the behavior (Nagengast et al., 2011). In these experiments, the benefits mentioned in the promotion focus condition emphasized how behaving inclusively is enjoyable, useful, and beneficial to others, whereas the negative consequences mentioned in the prevention focus condition emphasized the costs of failing to behave inclusively. According to Eccles and Wigfield (2002), all these benefits and negative consequences fit roughly into categories associated with what these authors call "subjective task value." However, it could be the case that the participants in these studies already valued inclusive behavior, as indeed their high baseline scores on internal motivation to respond without prejudice would suggest. The second element of expectancy-value theory, expectations of success, may have been a more relevant construct to tap into. Instead of having the benefits or negative consequences of inclusive behavior laid out to them, participants would instead receive a manipulation of self-efficacy or reassurance that confronting discrimination would be effective or that they could successfully make friends across demographic differences.

There are thus various methodological and theoretical issues that can explain my failure to find consistent significant effects on the outcomes used in these experiments.

Future Directions

Due to the lack of significant effects, it is not clear that these experiments have notable real-world implications, nor can they serve as the basis for further research on related questions. In accordance with the methodological and theoretical challenges I have outlined, future research could make improvements to either or both of these aspects of this research to more precisely examine the utility of a promotion versus a prevention focus in the intergroup domain. One possible path would be to conduct research examining two of the key theoretical constraints: first, do people see a distinction between inclusive versus discriminatory behavior, and second, do people think about inclusive or non-discriminatory behavior in terms of how this behavior could benefit them personally? Furthermore, future research could consider how discriminatory behavior and behavioral intentions are affected by messages adopting a prevention and promotion focus. Results from such research would provide relevant background information for future examinations of the differential impact of adopting a promotion or prevention focus on inclusive intergroup behavior. As I described above, future work could seek to answer these research questions using stronger, more intensive manipulations of the core constructs and compelling behavioral outcome measures.

More broadly, the present work represents a test of a specific aspect of diversity trainings implemented in the real world: raising the specter of the negative consequences of behaving in discriminatory or non-inclusive ways to motivate behavior change. The

large majority of real-world diversity trainings are not tested empirically, and many are based on "best practices" and perceptions of what *should* work rather than solid scientific evidence. Effectively reducing discriminatory and promoting inclusive behaviors requires developing and implementing evidence-based practices. The experiments described in this paper can be seen as an attempt to obtain such evidence. Even though the results I obtained have no direct implications for real-world diversity trainings, I maintain that the work described in this paper is an example of how researchers can use scientific methods to provide insight that can inform practitioners as well as future scientists.

Conclusion

Addressing prejudice and discrimination and promoting belonging and inclusion are among the most pressing challenges of our time. As behavioral scientists, we have an opportunity to provide tools that can help to meet these challenges while also advancing relevant psychological theory. Research from the motivation domain would suggest that reducing discrimination and promoting inclusion would be differentially impacted by adopting a promotion versus a prevention focus, where pairing potential benefits (promotion) with inclusion and pairing potential negative consequences (prevention) with discrimination would be the most effective ways to change these behaviors. The experiments described in this paper examined this question, though the data were not conclusive. Some methodological limitations of the experiments may have led to the inconclusive results, but it could also be that the differential effects of promotion and prevention do not apply to the intergroup domain as they do to other domains, such as public health. Future research could establish the validity of some of the assumptions

underlying the work described in this dissertation or attempt to answer some of the same research questions using more intensive methods. Though there was no clear pattern of results, the present research represents an example of how researchers can test aspects of traditional diversity trainings in ways that can refine the work of practitioners while advancing psychological theory. Experiments like those described in this dissertation represent our best hope of providing the evidence practitioners need to develop effective solutions based on science rather than speculation.

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Supplementary Material

Supplementary Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of and Correlations between Outcome Measures in Experiment 1

Measure	Mean	SD	α	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Net interest in diversity courses	-0.496	1.113												
2. Any diversity org	0.323	0.469		0.040										
3. Prop diversity orgs	0.158	0.266		0.174	0.855									
4. Any diversity event	0.383	0.488		0.160	0.438	0.496								
5. Prop diversity events	0.253	0.367		0.229	0.370	0.506	0.878							
6. Volunteer commitment	0.143	0.351		0.048	0.295	0.375	0.378	0.329						
7. Pledge	0.626	0.485		0.082	0.103	0.144	0.246	0.207	0.118					
8. Petition	0.655	0.476		0.028	0.069	0.119	0.224	0.232	0.129	0.658				
9. Inclusive behavioral intentions	4.403	1.124	.86	0.159	0.256	0.223	0.306	0.198	0.266	0.236	0.141			
10. Support for pro-diversity policies	5.865	1.053	.84	0.168	0.266	0.335	0.398	0.364	0.26	0.437	0.404	0.29		
11. Likelihood of confronting	5.119	1.221	.88	0.245	0.155	0.247	0.335	0.355	0.339	0.146	0.061	0.332	0.455	
12. Internal motivation, IMS (at T2)	5.852	0.951	.84	0.132	0.209	0.213	0.310	0.305	0.139	0.360	0.247	0.295	0.481	0.619

Note. These means represent those for the sample as a whole, before the sample was restricted to individuals with available baseline internal motivation (IMS) scores. Thus, the means may not match exactly those presented earlier in the text.

Supplementary Table 2

Inferential Statistics (t or χ^2) from Experiment 1 Not Controlling for IMS

Measure	*df*	Control v. prevention	Control v. promotion	C1	C2
Interest outcomes					
Net interest in diversity courses	203	0.927	2.030*	1.720°	1.095
Any diversity org†	161	0.005	0.249	0.112	0.197
Prop diversity orgs	161	-0.250	-0.291	-0.312	-0.052
Any diversity event†	130	0.218	0.010	0.041	0.302
Prop diversity events	130	0.258	0.355	0.357	0.111
Behavior outcomes					
Volunteer commitment†	179	5.775º	0.598	3.752º	2.598
Pledge†	203	0.013	1.229	0.327	1.446
Petition†	203	0.003	0.835	0.309	0.723
Inclusive behavioral intentions	203	0.455	-1.454	-0.584	-1.879°
Attitude outcomes					
Support for pro-diversity policies	202	-0.928	-2.204*	-1.820°	-1.270
Likelihood of confronting	203	0.186	-0.696	-0.299	-0.868
Internal motivation, IMS	203	-0.505	-2.387*	-1.684°	-1.860°

Note: Inferential statistics are *t* statistics for most variables, and χ^2 for dichotomous variables, as indicated with a †. Asterisks indicate significance. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. p values between .05 and .10 are indicated with a degree symbol (°).

Supplementary Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Experiment 1

Measure	Control	Prevention	Promotion
Interest outcomes			
Net interest in diversity courses	-0.76 (1.22)	-0.65 (1.07)	-0.09 (1.02)
Any diversity org	0.38 (0.49)	0.31 (0.47)	0.24 (0.44)
Prop diversity orgs	0.17 (0.24)	0.14 (0.24)	0.14 (0.28)
Any diversity event	0.36 (0.49)	0.39 (0.50)	0.56 (0.53)
Prop diversity events	0.23 (0.36)	0.21 (0.31)	0.43 (0.48)
Behavior outcomes			
Volunteer commitment	0.19 (0.40)	0.11 (0.31)	0.22 (0.43)
Pledge	0.71 (0.46)	0.64 (0.48)	0.70 (0.47)
Petition	0.76 (0.43)	0.62 (0.49)	0.70 (0.47)
Inclusive behavioral intentions	4.49 (1.10)	4.50 (0.98)	4.30 (1.27)
Attitude outcomes			
Support for pro-diversity policies	5.94 (0.90)	5.80 (0.96)	5.81 (1.01)
Likelihood of confronting	4.85 (1.26)	5.02 (1.28)	4.78 (1.37)
Internal motivation, IMS	5.92 (0.90)	5.88 (0.83)	5.48 (0.98)

Note. These statistics represent cell means in the sample restricted to participants who had scores on baseline IMS. They do not control for the effect of IMS.

Supplementary Table 4

Descriptive Statistics of and Correlations between Outcome Measures in Experiment 2

Measure	Mean	SD	α	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Net interest in diversity course	-0.367	1.095												
2. Any diversity org	0.451	0.499		0.200										
3. Prop diversity orgs	0.230	0.315		0.182	0.79									
4. Any diversity event	0.452	0.5		0.267	0.581	0.472								
5. Prop diversity events	0.259	0.333		0.234	0.458	0.401	0.862							
6. Volunteer commitment	0.139	0.347		0.027	0.310	0.268	0.249	0.221						
7. Pledge	0.608	0.490		0.096	0.106	0.111	0.219	0.223	0.147					
8. Petition	0.688	0.464		0.117	0.223	0.153	0.354	0.303	0.265	0.57				
9. Inclusive behavioral intentions	4.501	1.131	.85	0.138	0.069	0.176	0.271	0.278	0.268	0.231	0.220			
10. Support for pro-diversity policies	5.958	1.068	.87	0.037	0.114	0.228	0.292	0.316	0.130	0.181	0.329	0.373		
11. Likelihood of confronting	5.101	1.168	.84	0.085	0.091	0.204	0.167	0.201	0.200	0.235	0.093	0.473	0.308	
12. Internal motivation, IMS (at T2)	5.892	1.019	.87	0.093	0.072	0.122	0.243	0.26	0.123	0.295	0.300	0.410	0.574	0.628

Supplementary Table 5

Inferential Statistics (t or χ^2) from Experiment 2 Not Controlling for IMS

Measure	*df*	*t,* main effect of focus	*t*, main effect of source	*t,* interaction
Interest outcomes				
Net interest in diversity courses	182	-0.415	-1.038	0.729
Any diversity org	149	0.226	0.398	0.014
Prop diversity orgs	149	-0.761	-0.909	0.434
Any diversity event	120	0.246	1.432	1.019
Prop diversity events	120	0.005	0.814	-0.949
Behavior outcomes				
Volunteer commitment	169	3.477	0.631	0.364
Pledge	182	0.485	0.041	0.016
Petition	182	0.118	0.169	3.272º
Inclusive behavioral intentions	182	-0.599	0.550	-0.940
Attitude outcomes				
Support for pro-diversity policies	181	-0.339	-0.463	-0.430
Likelihood of confronting	181	-0.693	0.215	0.400
Internal motivation, IMS	181	0.450	0.072	-0.149

Note: Inferential statistics are *t* statistics for most variables, and χ^2 for dichotomous variables, as indicated with a †. Asterisks indicate significance. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. p values between .05 and .10 are indicated with a degree symbol (°).

Supplementary Table 6

Descriptive Statistics for Experiment 2

Measure	Prevention	Promotion	Directly-communicated	Self-generated
Interest outcomes				
Net interest in diversity courses	-0.22 (0.98)	-0.48 (1.13)	-0.34 (0.97)	-0.37 (1.16)
Any diversity org	0.45 (0.50)	0.40 (0.50)	0.48 (0.51)	0.38 (0.49)
Prop diversity orgs	0.21 (0.28)	0.18 (0.27)	0.22 (0.29)	0.17 (0.26)
Any diversity event	0.49 (0.51)	0.44 (0.50)	0.44 (0.50)	0.49 (0.51)
Prop diversity events	0.24 (0.31)	0.27 (0.34)	0.27 (0.35)	0.24 (0.30)
Behavior outcomes				
Volunteer commitment	0.27 (0.45)	0.08 (0.27)	0.22 (0.42)	0.12 (0.33)
Pledge	0.58 (0.50)	0.55 (0.50)	0.56 (0.50)	0.57 (0.50)
Petition	0.67 (0.48)	0.66 (0.48)	0.60 (0.49)	0.72 (0.45)
Inclusive behavioral intentions	4.55 (1.01	4.41 (1.22)	4.50 (1.04)	4.45 (1.21)
Attitude outcomes				
Support for pro-diversity policies	6.17 (0.72)	6.02 (1.11)	5.99 (1.12)	6.18 (0.75)
Likelihood of confronting	5.01 (1.40)	5.01 (1.11)	4.95 (1.29)	5.07 (1.21)
Internal motivation, IMS	6.01 (0.98)	6.06 (1.01)	5.97 (1.04)	6.10 (0.95)

Note. These statistics represent condition means in the sample restricted to participants who had scores on baseline IMS. They do not control for the effect of IMS.

Experiment 1 Materials

[Note: content that varies by experimental condition will have the promotion condition written first in green text and the prevention condition written second in red text. All black text will appear the same in all three conditions (including control).]

Inclusive Behavior Module

Title: Want to have a more fun and interesting college experience? / Want to avoid contributing to inequality? Check out these 9 ways to become a more inclusive Badger!

Written by Michael French

Our campus is a better place to be when we have a positive, supportive campus environment where people behave inclusively. With this goal in mind, we've written up the following list of inclusive behaviors for you to consider taking up:

1. **Get to know people who are different from you!** This suggestion means you should look around your dorm and classes to find people you think have different experiences than you and ask them about their lives.
2. **Ask someone who is different from you about their experiences.** This means you should go beyond the surface level: ask people to tell you more about their personal experiences, challenges they've faced, and successes they've achieved.
3. **Attend an event related to diversity (or a few!)** Many different campus offices and student organizations put on a variety of events over the course of the year, involving some combination of outside speakers, panel presentations, small group discussions, and cultural experiences.
4. **When making a group for a class project, choose people you don't talk to much.** When students are asked to make groups for a project, they usually choose the people they know the best. Instead, be more mindful about choosing people for your group you usually don't work with.
5. **Go out of your way to be friendly to students from different social groups.** You might consider asking someone to study with you, having a coffee with someone you might not otherwise, or performing a small random act of kindness. Or, find a couple friends and do something as a group.
6. **Discuss diversity in your student orgs!** There are many different guides available online for how to bring up the topic of diversity in a variety of settings. You might consider doing an activity you find online and then having a group discussion about it.
7. **Invite someone with a different background to hang out with you and your friends.** When you and your friends are deciding what to do that evening, think about who else you can include. You could invite someone to dinner, ask them to go on a walk, or play a game with them.
8. **Do some learning on your own about different social backgrounds.** Start with a simple Google search asking about some social group's experiences and you'll easily be connected to many books, movies, and other forms of media that describe what members of those groups have experienced.

9. **Tell your friends when they say offensive things.** Look online for guides that describe how to approach somebody who has engaged in discrimination. Remember you are on the same team as the perpetrator, and the thing you're united against is offensive language.

You might be thinking, "Why should I do this stuff?" There are actually a number of ways you could benefit from doing these things more / negative consequences you could experience if you fail to do these things. For example:

- Opportunities to meet new, interesting people
- People will have a more positive impression of you
- You'll be able to live out personal values like the Golden Rule
- You'll be contributing to strengthening the campus community
- You'll gain valuable skills interacting with people from different backgrounds
- Opportunities to hear engaging personal stories
- You'll be making the most of your college experience
- You'll help others feel happier and more included
- Opportunities to make friends you might never meet otherwise
- Strengthening your existing friendships and other relationships
- More exposure to different perspectives will make you a better critical thinker

- Missing out on chances to meet new, interesting people
- People will have a more negative impression of you
- You'll be acting in a way inconsistent with your values, like the Golden Rule
- You'll be undermining the strength of the campus community
- You'll say or do offensive things, even if you don't mean to
- You'll make others feel excluded and like they don't belong here
- Being part of an echo chamber: hanging out with only people like you
- Contributing to inequality
- Breeding mistrust with others about your intentions
- Making others feel lonely or left out
- Being complicit in discrimination happening around you

Working together, we can make our campus more welcoming and inclusive!

Questions about the Module

Content

1. Which of these is NOT a way the author suggests you can be more inclusive?
    a. Tell your friends when they say offensive things
    b. Go out of your way to be friendly to people from different social groups
    c. Attend a diversity-related event
    d. Attend an unconscious bias training

2. Which of these best describes the point of this article?
    a. Providing people advice about how to be more inclusive
    b. Describing the effects of prejudice and discrimination in society
    c. Sharing relevant research on how people interact with people from other groups
    d. Listing different campus groups that are related to diversity

Opinion scales (1, strongly disagree to 5, strongly agree)

1. I found the article enjoyable to read.
2. I think students will benefit from being provided this information.
3. The article contains valuable information.

Open-ended

1. What suggestions do you have for how this article could be improved?
2. Do you think anything was left out?
3. Did anything rub you the wrong way in the article?

Outcomes survey items

Interest in diversity-related courses
Rate each of the courses described below in terms of how much interest you would have in taking them, where 1 is no interest and 7 is very interested.

English 127: [diversity-related]
Introduction to Latin American Literature: A broad introduction to the literature of Latin America, spanning different topics from a variety of areas. We will read works by authors including Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Domingo Sarmiento, Gloria Anzaldua, Jorge Luis Borges, Jose Marti. Primarily reading and essay-writing course with multiple guest lecturers.

Anthropology 155: [diversity-related]
Anthropology of Native America: This course will introduce students to the history and culture of America's original residents, now referred to as Native Americans or American Indians. Throughout the semester, the class will delve into Native American culture and development, including trips to reservations, museums, historical societies, and more. We will discuss readings from Native American writers and films that address a particular aspect of Native American culture.

Counseling Psychology 226: [diversity-related]
Diversity in America: This course introduces students to issues of diversity and explores how they relate to mental health, academic achievement, and other outcomes within the United States. Topics such as sex, gender, race, ethnicity, and the intersections of these and other identities will be discussed throughout the course.

Art 115: [filler]
Picasso: History and Style: The politically, socially, and artistically influential Pablo Picasso is world-renowned for his works. This seminar-style course discusses the illustrious biography of Picasso, his early works that set the foundation on his later great pieces, and many other aspects of this influential artist. Many projects will be included to show influences of Picasso, and demonstrate the array of styles that play a part in his art.

Environmental Studies 185: [filler]
Introduction to Climate Change Dynamics: Why does the ozone layer exist? What have humans done to accelerate global warming to the state it is at today? How do we mitigate climate change? This course explores current daunting questions about global warming and how to answer them. Starting from the early climate-related scientific discoveries, this course will inform students about our scientific understanding of global warming, and steps being taken to slow its progress.

Psychology 233: [filler]
Psychology of Adolescence: This class explores the transition from pre-pubescence to puberty, and then to the start of adulthood, with an emphasis on the cognition and environmental factors that play a part in the world of adolescence. We will consider information from multiple

approaches and pioneers of psychology including Freud, Piaget, Skinner, and Watson to attempt to gain a better understanding of the life of adolescents and their psychology.

Interest in diversity-related organizations and events

Below, we have listed some organizations on campus you might want to know about as a student. Please indicate which ones you'd like more info about.

- Multicultural Student Center (MSC) [diversity-related]
- Gender and Sexuality Campus Center (GSCC) [diversity-related]
- International Student Services [diversity-related]
- Black Cultural Center [diversity-related]
- Muslim Student Association [diversity-related]
- National Alliance of Mental Illness [diversity-related]
- Office of Equity and Diversity [diversity-related]
- Residential Life
- Wisconsin Union Directorate
- Rec Sports
- UW Hoofers Outdoors Organization
- University Health Services (UHS)
- Center for First Year Experience
- Adventure Learning Programs (ALPS)
- Music @ UW

Below, we have listed some future events on campus you might want to know about as a student. Please indicate which ones you'd like more info about. *Note: these events have not yet been, but could be canceled because of COVID-19

- Social Justice 101 Workshops
- Writing Center Workshop
- Diversity Forum
- The Art Of Wisconsin Climate Change Exhibition
- Big Ideas For Busy People: Water, Water, Everywhere
- Social Justice Panel
- Stargazing In Alumni Park
- Multicultural Student Center Community Meal

Volunteer commitment

The UW-Madison office of Diversity and Equity is recruiting volunteers to help with some of their events. Would you be interested in having your email passed along to them to receive more information about volunteering? [Y/N]

Pledge

Please read the pledge below and if you'd like, write your name.

I commit to being a more inclusive Badger by doing the following:

- Getting to know at least 3 people from a different social background than me next semester.
- Attending 2 events related to diversity next semester.
- Confronting my friends when they say something insensitive or offensive about someone from a different social group.
- Reaching out to someone who is different from me when forming a study group or class project group.
- Learning about the experience of some social group I'm not a part of, by attending a talk or reading a book or article.

Petition

Please read petition below and if you'd like, write your name.

The UW-Madison administration must do more to make our campus a welcoming and inclusive environment for all students. They should commit more resources to this cause, provide more support for students from underrepresented backgrounds, and establish diversity as a core value of the institution.

Inclusive behavioral intentions

How likely are you to do each of these things in the next two weeks? Answer on a scale from 1 – definitely won't to 7 – definitely will

- Get to know someone with a different social background than yours
- Talk to someone with a different social background about their experiences
- Attend an event discussing issues relevant to a social group you're not a member of (e.g., attending a National Coming Out Day event as a straight person)
- Work with a student from a different social group on a class project/assignment
- Go out of your way to be friendly toward a student from a social group you don't belong to
- Make a point to attend a meeting where diversity issues are going to be discussed
- Invite someone from a different social group to hang out with you and your friends
- Make an effort to learn what life is like for people who are different from you (for example, by reading a book or watching a talk)

Support for pro-diversity policies

Please respond honestly to the following items using the provided 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale:

- It's important that this University makes sure many different social groups are represented on this campus.
- The University should make an effort to recruit and retain faculty from underrepresented groups.
- The University should support campus organizations that are resources for students from underrepresented groups, like racial/ethnic minority students and LGBTQ students.
- Diversity makes this University a better place.

Likelihood of confronting discrimination

Please respond to the following items using the provided 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale.

- If I see someone discriminating against another student based on his/her membership in a certain social group, I will say something.
- If I see blatant discrimination, I report it to the proper authority.
- I will confront someone who says something racist.
- I intervene when I see people being treated unfairly because of their social background.

Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

Please respond to the following items using the scale provided (1, strongly disagree to 7, strongly agree).

1. I attempt to act in nonprejudiced ways because it is personally important to me.
2. According to my personal values, using stereotypes is okay.
3. I am personally motivated by my beliefs to be nonprejudiced.
4. Because of my personal values, I believe that using stereotypes is wrong.
5. Being nonprejudiced is important to my self-concept.

Filler Items

Sustainable behaviors

1. It's important to me that UW-Madison have sustainability as one of its core values. (1-7)
2. I try to live my life in such a way that I minimize any negative impact on the environment. (1-7)
3. UW-Madison should aim to be carbon neutral as soon as possible. (1-7)
4. I try to be a good steward of the natural environment. (1-7)
5. How likely are you to engage in each of the following behaviors in the coming 2 weeks?
    - Use a reusable mug instead of a paper/Styrofoam cup.
    - Use a reusable straw instead of a plastic straw.
    - Hang clothes to dry on a line instead of using the dryer.
    - Use a reusable water bottle instead of a plastic bottle.
    - Make an effort to buy local or organic foods with little packaging.
    - Compost fruit and vegetable scraps.
    - Bike or walk to work instead of using transportation reliant on fossil fuels.

Health behavior and athletics

1. On average, how many servings of vegetables did you eat per day in the last week?
2. On average, how many servings of fruit did you eat per day in the last week?
3. On average, how many servings of sweets, junk food, or other unhealthy foods did you eat per day in the last week?
4. Maintaining a healthy diet is an important part of my self-concept. (1-7)
5. On average, how many minutes of physical exercise did you participate in per day in the last week?
6. Being physically active is an important part of my self-concept. (1-7)
7. Sometimes I'm just too busy to exercise or eat healthy. (1-7)

Mental health

1. Rate your physical health over the last two months on a scale from 1, poor to 7, excellent (midpoint labeled as "good").
2. About how many hours of sleep do you get every night, on average?
3. To what extent have you felt the following ways over the last two months? (1-7)
    - Stressed
    - Overwhelmed
    - Worried
    - Sad
    - Depressed
    - Lonely
    - Worthless
    - Isolated
4. If I had a concern about my mental health or someone else's, I would know what resources to go to. (1-7)
5. If I had a concern about my mental health or someone else's, I would feel comfortable talking to someone about my concern. (1-7)

Activities, Work/life balance

1. I participate in one or more activities outside academics that enrich my life. (1-7)
2. How many extracurricular activities are you involved in (e.g., sports, clubs)?
3. I feel I have a community that supports me at UW-Madison. (1-7)
4. I feel as though I have a sense of purpose. (1-7)
5. How do you feel about the amount of time you have to pursue activities outside of school or work? (1, not nearly enough to 7, more than enough)

Academic behaviors

1. In the past month, how many classes have you missed for any reason?
2. Of these, how many could you have gone to, but you chose to skip?
3. How confident are you that you'll complete your degree at UW-Madison? [1, not at all confident to 7, extremely confident]
4. Have you considered dropping out of UW-Madison this semester? [no, never to yes, frequently]
5. I feel overwhelmed by coursework. (1-7)
6. The university's expectations for a reasonable amount of work are too high. (1-7)

Experiment 2 Materials

Inclusive Behavior Module

Our campus is a better place to be when we have a positive, supportive campus environment free from discrimination. One way we can achieve this goal is by encouraging people to engage in more inclusive behaviors.
Here is a list of some inclusive behaviors and their descriptions:

1. **Get to know people who are different from you!** This suggestion means you should look around your dorm and classes to find people you think have different experiences than you and ask them about their lives.
2. **Ask someone who is different from you about their experiences.** This means you should go beyond the surface level: ask people to tell you more about their personal experiences, challenges they've faced, and successes they've achieved.
3. **Attend an event related to diversity (or a few!)** Many different campus offices and student organizations put on a variety of events over the course of the year, involving some combination of outside speakers, panel presentations, small group discussions, and cultural experiences.
4. **When making a group for a class project, choose people you don't talk to much.** When students are asked to make groups for a project, they usually choose the people they know the best. Instead, be more mindful about choosing people for your group you usually don't work with.
5. **Go out of your way to be friendly to students from different social groups.** You might consider asking someone to study with you, having a coffee with someone you might not otherwise, or performing a small random act of kindness. Or, find a couple friends and do something as a group.
6. **Discuss diversity in your student orgs!** There are many different guides available online for how to bring up the topic of diversity in a variety of settings. You might consider doing an activity you find online and then having a group discussion about it.
7. **Invite someone with a different background to hang out with you and your friends.** When you and your friends are deciding what to do that evening, think about who else you can include. You could invite someone to dinner, ask them to go on a walk, or play a game with them.
8. **Do some learning on your own about different social backgrounds.** Start with a simple Google search asking about some social group's experiences and you'll easily be connected to many books, movies, and other forms of media that describe what members of those groups have experienced.
9. **Tell your friends when they say offensive things.** Look online for guides that describe how to approach somebody who has engaged in discrimination. Remember you are on the same team as the perpetrator, and the thing you're united against is offensive language.

One thing people don't think about is how behaving inclusively can benefit them personally / failing to behave inclusively can have serious negative consequences.

[directly-communicated condition]
Here are some examples of ways your life might improve if you engage in these behaviors more often / worsen if you fail to engage in these behaviors:

- Opportunities to meet new, interesting people
- People will have a more positive impression of you
- You'll be able to live out personal values like the Golden Rule
- You'll be contributing to strengthening the campus community
- You'll gain valuable skills interacting with people from different backgrounds
- Opportunities to hear engaging personal stories
- You'll be making the most of your college experience
- You'll help others feel happier and more included
- Opportunities to make friends you might never meet otherwise
- Strengthening your existing friendships and other relationships
- More exposure to different perspectives will make you a better critical thinker

- Missing out on chances to meet new, interesting people
- People will have a more negative impression of you
- You'll be acting in a way inconsistent with your values, like the Golden Rule
- You'll be undermining the strength of the campus community
- You'll say or do offensive things, even if you don't mean to
- You'll make others feel excluded and like they don't belong here
- Being part of an echo chamber: hanging out with only people like you
- Contributing to inequality
- Breeding mistrust with others about your intentions
- Making others feel lonely or left out
- Being complicit in discrimination happening around you

[self-generated condition]
Think of a few ways your life would improve if you engaged in these behaviors more often / worsen if you failed to engage in these behaviors. It might be easier if you spend a little time thinking about your personal life, your values/identity, your social life, your academic experience, and how the inclusive behaviors could benefit others or campus more generally / failing to be inclusive could harm campus more generally. For example, being more inclusive will allow you to meet new, interesting people / For example, failing to be inclusive will cause you to miss chances to meet new, interesting people.

Try to come up with at least 5 possible benefits / negative consequences of behaving inclusively / failing to behave inclusively.

[all conditions]
Working together, we can make our campus more welcoming and inclusive.

Questions about the Module

Content

1. Which of these is NOT a way the author suggests you can be more inclusive?
    a. Tell your friends when they say offensive things
    b. Go out of your way to be friendly to people from different social groups
    c. Attend a diversity-related event
    d. Attend an unconscious bias training
2. Which of these best describes the point of this article?
    a. Providing people advice about how to be more inclusive
    b. Describing the effects of prejudice and discrimination in society
    c. Sharing relevant research on how people interact with people from other groups
    d. Listing different campus groups that are related to diversity

Opinion scales (1, strongly disagree to 5, strongly agree)

1. I found the article enjoyable to read.
2. I think students will benefit from being provided this information.
3. The article contains valuable information.

Open-ended

1. What suggestions do you have for how this activity could be improved?
2. [self-generated] Were you able to think of relevant benefits / consequences?
3. [directly-communicated] Were the benefits / consequences provided relevant to you?
4. Did anything rub you the wrong way in the activity?

Outcomes Survey same as that used in Experiment 1